

Not Enough: Human Rights in an Unequal World

What does it mean that our modern era of international human rights has coincided with the remarkable growth of economic inequality and a golden age for the wealthy?

In his latest book, Not Enough: Human Rights in an Unequal World, Professor Samuel Moyn explores the social and economic history of human rights alongside the inequalities that resulted from the triumph of neoliberal globalization.

In a tightly-focused tour of the history of distributive ideals, Moyn invites a new and more layered understanding of the nature of human rights in our global present. From their origins in the Jacobin welfare state to our current neoliberal moment, Moyn tracks



Neoliberalism has changed the world, while the human rights movement has posed no threat to it. The tragedy of human rights is that they have occupied the global imagination but have so far contributed little of note..." SAMUEL MOYN

the subtle shifts in how human rights movements understood what, exactly, their high principles entailed. Earlier visionaries imagined those rights as a call for distributive justice—a society which guaranteed a sufficient minimum of the good things in life. And they generally strove, even more boldly, to create a rough

equality of circumstances, so that the rich would not tower over the rest. Over time, however, these egalitarian ideas gave way. When transnational human rights became famous a few decades ago, they generally focused on civil liberties-or, at most, sufficient provision. In our current age of human rights, Moyn comments, the pertinence of fairness beyond some bare minimum has largely been abandoned.

Because contemporary human rights focuses on material gains for the poor, it has, Movn observes, selectively emphasized only one aspect of social justice while "scanting in

particular the distributional victory of the rich." The result is an unfortunate misunder-

standing of the scope of our present-day moral crisis by neglecting national and global disparities of wealth distribution. This book recalibrates contemporary discussions by setting human rights in their proper perspective as neither a cure-all nor a cloak concealing domination, but as one part of a larger solution.

In his concluding remarks, Moyn writes, "[T]he real trouble about human rights, when historically correlated with market fundamentalism, is not that they promote it but that they are unambitious in theory and ineffectual in practice in the face of market fundamentalism's success. Neoliberalism has changed the world, while the human rights movement has posed no threat to it. The tragedy of human rights is that they have occupied the global imagination but have so far contributed little of note, merely nipping at the heels of the neoliberal giant whose path goes unaltered and unresisted."

Not Enough aims to sharpen our understanding of the human rights movement and the contemporary challenges it faces, detailing the social and political forces that constrain the work of human rights and providing vital lessons for those seeking to pursue its unfulfilled potential.







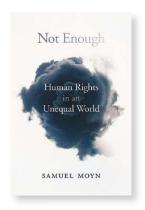
"No U.S. administration has ever successfully connected human rights to global equity by including economic policies that provide not just for basic subsistence but for equal outcomes." - Samuel Moyn, Foreign Policy, "Economic Rights Are Human Rights," April 9, 2018

THE CHRONICLE OF HIGHER EDUCATION

"Promises to cement [Moyn's] reputation as one of the most trenchant critics of 'liberal humanitarian' foreign policy." -Jon Baskin, The Chronicle of Higher Education

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

"No one has written with more penetrating skepticism about the history of human rights than Samuel Moyn... In Not Enough, Moyn asks whether human-rights theorists and advocates, in the quest to make the world better for all, have actually helped to make things worse... This book, like the author's last, is the rare academic study that is sure to provoke a wider discussion about important political and economic questions."—Adam Kirsch, The Wall Street Journal, 'Not Enough' Review: "Don't Just Do Something, Stand There," April 19, 2018



Samuel Moyn Not Enough: **Human Rights in** an Unequal World

Harvard University Press, 2018

SURVEY OF BOOKS

Here's just a sampling of the many other books recently written or edited by our alumni, faculty, staff, and students. We welcome your submissions. Please contact us: lawreport@yale.edu.



Benjamin Alarie and Andrew Green Commitment and **Cooperation on High Courts: A Cross-Country Examination** of Institutional Constraints on Judges

Oxford University Press, 2017

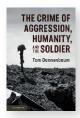
Alarie '03 LLM and Green examine how the design of high courts in the U.S., U.K., Canada, India, and Australia influences how judges in these locations decide appeals. The authors ask four institutional questions, including how judges are selected and who performs this task. From the results the book promotes a deeper understanding of how institutional differences affect judicial decision-making.



Steven Brill **Tailspin: The People** and Forces Behind America's Fifty-Year Fall—and Those Fighting to Reverse It

Alfred A. Knopf, 2018

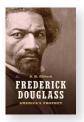
Brill '75 crafts a compelling narrative to describe the broken system at the heart of American society. The author examines how and why major American institutions no longer serve us as they should, causing a deep rift between the vulnerable majority and the protected few, and how some individuals and organizations are laying the foundation for real, lasting change.



Tom Dannenbaum The Crime of Aggression, Humanity, and the Soldier

Cambridge University Press, 2018

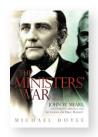
Dannenbaum '10 explores ambiguities and paradoxes of international law regarding the military. Soldiers who refuse to fight in illegal wars, for instance, are not shielded from criminal sanction for that refusal. The death and suffering inflicted on soldiers has been repeatedly excluded from the calculation of postwar reparations. Dannenbaum argues for institutional reforms through which the law would better respect the rights and responsibilities of those doing the fighting.



D.H. Dilbeck Frederick Douglass: **America's Prophet**

University of North Carolina Press, 2018

Dilbeck '20 offers a provocative interpretation of Frederick Douglass's life through the lens of Douglass's faith. It narrates how his faith shaped his public career, his writings, and his personal life.



Michael Doyle The Minister's War: John Mears, the Oneida Community, and the Crusade for Public Morality

Syracuse University Press

Doyle '98 MSL traces the story of Presbyterian minister John W. Mears's crusade against Upstate New York's famed Oneida Community. He explores the ways in which Mears's multipurpose zeal reflected the passions behind the nineteenth-century temperance movement, the fight against obscenity, and the public animus toward unconventional thought.



Lea Brilmayer, Chiara Giorgetti, and Lorraine Charlton **International Claims Commissions: Righting Wrongs** after Conflict

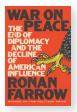
Edward Elgar Publishing, 2017

International Claims Commissions

Howard M. Holtzmann Professor of International Law Lea Brilmayer's book provides a comprehensive review and analysis of the workings and mechanics of claims commissions to assess their success and predict their utility in the future. *International Claims Commissions*: Righting Wrongs after Conflict is co-authored by Richmond School of Law professor Chiara Giorgetti '02 LLM, '09 JSD and Lorraine Charlton.

International claims commissions have, over the last few decades, appeared as the only option for states or international institutions to make mass claims. Despite their failings, these commissions have established themselves as important and permanent fixtures in international adjudication. The authors examine the legal framework of an international claims commission and the basic elements of its processing procedure, as well as explore the difficulties and challenges associated with operating costs, remedies, and compliance with judgments.

Commenting on the book, Myres S. McDougal Professor of International Law at Yale Law School W. Michael Reisman '64 LLM '65 JSD writes that "[the authors] offer important recommendations to ensure that an interstate arrangement that is supposed to provide postconflict justice for the 'collateral' victims does not degenerate into a continuation of war by other means."



Ronan Farrow War on Peace: The End of Diplomacy and the Decline of American Influence

W. W. Norton & Company, 2018

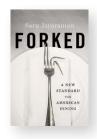
Farrow '09, who won the 2018 Pulitzer Prize in Public Service for his reporting in the New Yorker, illuminates the significant transformations in U.S. foreign policy and their relation to America's changing place in the world. Drawing on recently unearthed documents and rare interviews from leaders around the world, War on Peace makes a case for the diplomat's endangered profession. Diplomacy, Farrow argues, has declined after decades of political cowardice, short sightedness, and outright malice—but it may offer America a way out of a world at war.



Eric M. Freedman Making Habeas Work: A Legal History

NYU Press, 2018

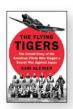
Freedman '79 tells a history of habeas corpus heavily based on primary sources from the colonial and early national periods and significant original research in the New Hampshire State Archives. Using dozens of previously unknown examples, Freedman shows how the writ of habeas corpus has been just one part of an intricate machinery for securing freedom under law, and explores the lessons this history holds for some of today's most pressing problems.



Saru Jayaraman Forked: A New Standard for American Dining

Oxford University Press, 2016

Jayaraman 'oo makes the argument that restaurant employees' pay and benefits are an important measure of quality in American dining. As most corporate restaurants continue to lower worker wages and benefits, a new generation of chefs and restaurateurs is working to foster greater sustainability for food and employees. Including insider interviews with well-known chefs and restaurateurs. Forked offers evaluations and recommendations for this large sector of the American economy.



Sam Kleiner

The Flying Tigers: The Untold Story of the American Pilots Who Waged a Secret War Against Japan

Penguin Random House, 2018

Kleiner '15 uncovers the hidden story of the group of young American men and women who crossed the Pacific before Pearl Harbor to defend China. Led by legendary pilot Claire Chennault, the group used false identities to travel to a run-down airbase in the jungles of Burma, and eventually became the first group of Americans to take on Japan in combat. At a time when the Allies were being defeated across the globe, the Flying Tigers' exploits gave hope to Americans and Chinese alike.

SPOTLIGHT -

Misdemeanors, Policing Practices, and Social Control

What happens between police encounters and jail time?

In her new book Misdemeanorland: Criminal Courts and Social Control in an Age of Broken Windows Policing, Associate Professor of Law and Associate Professor of Sociology Issa Kohler-Hausmann '08 contributes to the growing research on the U.S. criminal justice system by directing attention to the neglected yet central role that misdemeanors play in

administering social control.

Misdemeanorland surveys misdemeanor justice in New York City. Beginning in the 1990s, the NYPD adopted a series of reforms classified under the rubric of "Broken Windows," or quality-of-life policing. Law enforcement across the country heralded the model as an inspiration, but it was adopted with special enthusiasm by the

New York City Police Department, which has generated almost 4.5 million misdemeanor arrests since 1995. Kohler-Hausmann asks the question, "What happens to all of those arrests when they arrive in courts?" After arrest, these people go into "misde-



Issa Kohler-Hausmann'o8
Misdemeanorland:
Criminal Courts and
Social Control in an Age
of Broken Windows Policing

Princeton University Press, 2018

meanorland," a colloquialism used by those who work in courts that receive the large volume of cases as a result of the city's policing tactics.

Many social science and media accounts of the U.S. criminal justice system tend to address prisons or policing. Between police encounters and jail time stands an institution assigned the important role of deciding where people will end: criminal court. Most legal and sociological models presume that the role of courts is to use the criminal process to sort the guilty from the innocent. But, as New York City's lower criminal courts were

flooded with arrests from the Broken Window's policing model, Kohler-Hausmann argues, they adapted to these increases by largely abandoning an adjudicative model of criminal law administration in which questions of factual guilt and legal punishment drive case outcomes. They turned instead to what Kohler-Hausmann calls a managerial model—and, she notes, the implications are troubling. As her study details, misdemeanor courts marked, tested, and surveilled significant amounts of people, even though approximately half the cases result in some form of legal dismissal.

Revealing and innovative, *Misdemeanorland* elaborates how the lower reaches of the New York criminal justice system exert social control and surveillance, often without adjudicating cases or imposing formal punishment.

Our Tribes, Our Selves

How tribalism shapes human—and political—behavior

In her new book, Political Tribes: Group Instinct and the Fate of Nations (Penguin, 2018), Amy Chua diagnoses

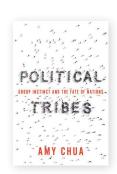
> the rising tribalism in America and abroad and prescribes solutions for creating unity amidst group differences.

> Chua, who is the John M. Duff, Jr. Professor of Law, begins Political Tribes with a simple observation: "Humans are tribal." But tribalism, Chua explains, encompasses not only an innate

desire for belonging but also a vehement and sometimes violent "instinct to exclude." Some groups organize for

noble purposes, others because of a common enemy. In Chua's assessment, the United States, in both foreign and domestic policies, has failed to fully understand the importance of these powerful bonds of group identity.

Chua explores how elites in the United States are often remarkably oblivious to group identities most important to large segments of Americans, even those who are supposedly the focus of attention. As an example, she contrasts the Occupy Movement with the prosperity gospel. The Occupy Movement was supposed to be for



Amy Chua **Political Tribes**

Penguin Press, 2018

the poor, yet did not catch on among the poor due in part to its perceived elitism. Yet the prosperity gospel—that being rich is godly, and that God will make people rich if they dutifully pray and tithe—has been enormously popular, especially among poor and working-class African and Hispanic Americans.



The United States has to come to grips with political tribalism abroad. And if we want to save our nation, we need to come to grips with its growing power at home." AMY CHUA

With illuminating clarity, Chua reviews historical and contemporary examples of U.S. foreign policy, identifying why and how the United States overlooked important tribal dynamics, and how doing so undermined its goals. Political Tribes offers revelatory insights into our global and domestic past and present while charting persuasive paths forward.

"If we want to get our foreign policy right," Chua states, "if we don't want to be perpetually caught off guard, fighting unwinnable wars... the United States has to come to grips with political tribalism abroad. And if we want to save our nation, we need to come to grips with its growing power at home."

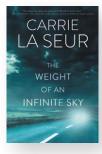
SURVEY OF BOOKS



Bernie Lambek Uncivil Liberties: A Novel

Rootstock Publishing, 2018

Lambek's '88 legal mystery tells the story of a community who confronts its conflicting beliefs and values in the aftermath of the death of a high school student. The book explores hate speech and free speech, cyberbullying and privacy, and religious and sexual freedom. None other than Guido Calabresi '58 is a prominent character in the latter part of the novel.



Carrie La Seur The Weight of an Infinite Sky

William Morrow, 2018

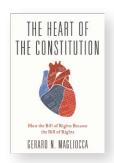
La Seur's '02 coming-of-age novel, inspired by Shakespeare's Hamlet, tells a story of home, love, and responsibility. The narrative explores the dissonance between adhering to expectations and following dreams, as well as environmental themes that allude to contemporary headlines and controversies.



Brendan Lim **Australia's Constitution** After Whitlam

Cambridge University Press, 2017

Lim '09 LLM, '13 JSD writes about the continuing legacy of the Australian constitutional crisis of 1975. The book asks novel questions about the debate and chronicles its subsequent iterations in sometimes surprising institutional configurations. Though the patterns of institutional engagement have varied, the book claims, the persistent question of how to legitimize informal constitutional change continues to shape Australia's constitution after Whitlam.



Gerard N. Magliocca The Heart of the Constitution: How the Bill of Rights Became the Bill of Rights

Oxford University Press, 2018

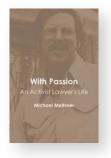
Magliocca'98 traces the career of the term "Bill of Rights" to reveal that its dominance is a fairly recent phenomenon. Ironically, the term, typically associated with limiting the national government, was wielded to justify a stronger national government between the Spanish-American War and World War II, around the time it gained popularity.



Menachem Mautner **Human Flourishing,** Liberal Theory, and the Arts

Routledge, 2018

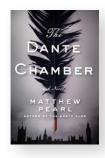
Mautner '80 LLM, '83 JSD finds the roots of the "liberalism of flourishing" in the works of great philosophers and argues for engagement with the arts. The author discusses the need for the state to create the conditions to allow for developing or materializing intellectual and moral capabilities.



Michael Meltsner With Passion: An Activist Lawyer's Life

Twelve Tables Press, 2018

Meltsner's '60 autobiography tells of his involvement in the civil rights movement, defending peaceful protesters, representing Muhammad Ali, and his work to abolish the death penalty. With Passion also recounts his early childhood as a New York City kid, struggling to make sense of vast demographic and cultural changes in the City.



Matthew Pearl The Dante Chamber: A Novel

Penguin Press, 2018

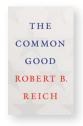
Pearl 'oo continues his series of literary mysteries with this complex murder mystery set in London in 1870. Dante Gabriel Rossetti, an expert on Dante's Divine Comedy, is missing, and his sister, poet Christina Rossetti, is worried. Christina teams up with fellow poets Robert Browning, Alfred Tennyson, and Oliver Wendell Holmes to find Gabriel and solve the murders. The novel vividly portrays London's literary arts scene and the city's fear and fascination with the occult and a serial killer.



Michael A. Rebell Flunking Democracy: Schools, **Courts, and Civic Participation**

University of Chicago Press, 2018

Rebell '70 makes the case that America's schools have systematically failed to prepare students to be capable citizens. The book analyzes the causes of this failure, provides a detailed analysis of what we know about how to prepare students for productive citizenship, and considers examples of best practices. It concludes with specific recommendations for how the courts can and should address this deficiency.



Robert Reich **The Common Good**

Alfred Knopf, 2018

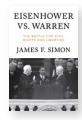
Reich '73 makes a generous, inclusive reading of the American project, centering on the moral obligations of citizenship. He demonstrates the existence of a common good, and argues that this provides definition to a society or a nation. Over the course of the past five decades, however, America has been in a slowly accelerating vicious cycle—one that can and should be reversed. But first Americans need to weigh what really matters, and how the country should relate to honor, shame, patriotism, truth, and the meaning of leadership.



Jennifer Prah Ruger Global Health Justice and Governance

Oxford University Press, 2018

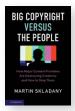
Ruger '11 MSL lays out the critical problems of health disparities facing the world today and offers a new theory of justice and governance as a way to resolve these seemingly intractable issues. Gaps in health law, contagions that can circle our globalized planet in hours, and a confusion of health systems are all challenges requiring urgent address. Global Health Justice and Governance depicts a vision for achieving a new architecture of central health systems.



James F. Simon Eisenhower vs. Warren: The Battle for Civil Rights and Liberties

Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2018

Simon '64 examines the years of strife between President Dwight D. Eisenhower and Chief Justice Earl Warren that framed the tumultuous future of the modern civil rights movement. Exploring such fundamental issues as racial segregation and McCarthyism, Simon reveals conflicts, compromises, and antagonisms that shaped a key period in American history.



Martin Skladany

Big Copyright Versus the People: How Major Content Providers Are Destroying Creativity and **How to Stop Them**

Cambridge University Press, 2018

Skladany 'o6 examines the transformation of copyright into a system that offers the bulk of its protection to major corporate content providers (or "Big Copyright"). Although originally created to induce citizens to create, copyright has turned the United States from a country of creators into one of consumers who spend, on average, ten hours each day on entertainment. This culture of overconsumption leads not only to addiction, but it unravels important societal threadsfamily, friendship, and community.

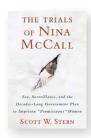
SURVEY OF BOOKS -



Marc I. Steinberg The Federalization of **Corporate Governance**

Oxford University Press, 2018

Steinberg '77 LLM discusses the evolution and development of corporate governance from a federal law perspective from the commencement of the twentieth century to the present. The book examines the tension between state company law and federal law, analyzes federal historical developments, explains the ramifications of the federal legislation enacted during the past two decades, and recommends corrective measures that should be implemented.



Scott Stern The Trials of Nina McCall: Sex, Surveillance, and the Decades-Long **Government Plan to Imprison** "Promiscuous" Women

Beacon Press, 2018

Stern '20 tells the forgotten story of Nina McCall, one of many women unfairly imprisoned by the U.S government's "American Plan" throughout the twentieth century. Thousands of women and girls were locked up-usually without due process—simply because officials suspected these women were prostitutes, carrying STIs, or just "promiscuous."



Stephen Joel Trachtenberg '62, Gerald B. Kauvar, and E. Gordon Gee **Leading Colleges and Universities: Lessons from Higher Education Leaders**

Johns Hopkins University Press, 2018

Trachtenberg '62 and co-editors curate a collection of essays written by presidents and other leaders in higher education. The book aims to provide insights for navigating the complex world of higher education from leaders in the field

ALSO OF NOTE

Barbara Babcock '63 Fish Raincoats: A Woman Lawyer's Life

Quid Pro Books, 2016

Matthew Lieberman '94 Lucius

CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform

Linda Morris and John H. Morris '77 (contributor) **Cherry Hill:**

Raising Successful Black Children in Jim Crow Baltimore

History Publishing Company, 2018

David Pepper '99 The Wingman: A Jack Sharpe Political Thriller

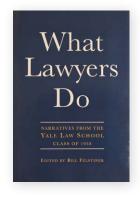
St. Helena Press. 2018

Barbara Paul Robinson '65 **Heroes of Horticulture:** Americans who Transformed the Landscape

David R. Godine, 2018

Allan Topol '65 **Russian Resurgence:** A Craig Paige Thriller

Select Books, 2018



Bill Felstiner, ed. What Lawyers Do: Narratives from the Yale Law School Class of 1958

El Bosque Editions, 2018

Wisdom from the Class of 1958

This book, written by twenty-one members of Yale Law School's Class of 1958 and edited by Felstiner '58, illustrates how lawyers are engaged in an incredible range of professional activities beyond the law office and the courtroom. From negotiating NAFTA to translating "Beowulf," from developing a new form of business to running a Red Cross shelter, these lawyers tell stories from their remarkable careers.



WATCH: Gideon Yaffe (left) and Tom Tyler discuss the overlapping topics of their books on youth, the juvenile justice system, and consent in the legal system. https://vimeo.com/274508457

SPOTLIGHT



Tom R. Tyler and Rick Trinkner
Why Children Follow Rules:
Legal Socialization and the
Development of Legitimacy

Oxford University Press, 2017

A Legal System Based on Consent

Legal authority that is fair and respectful prompts a greater likelihood of cooperation

In Why Children Follow Rules: Legal Socialization and the Development of Legitimacy, Macklin Fleming Professor of Law and Professor of Psychology Tom Tyler and Justice Collaboratory Research Fellow Rick Trinkner make a case for the possibility of a legal system based upon consent—rather than coercion—by demonstrating that children can develop a consensual relationship with legal authority.

Legal socialization is the process by which children and adolescents acquire their law-related values, attitudes, and reasoning capacities. Such values and attitudes, in particular legitimacy, underlie the willingness to consent to laws and

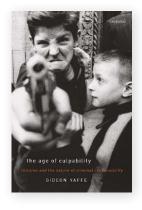
defer to legal authorities that make legitimacybased legal systems possible, according to the authors.

Tyler and Trinkner examine the three institutions that comprise the primary settings for legal socialization: family, school, and the juvenile justice system. From the various encounters children and adolescents have with the law, and especially

criminal-justice interactions, a general framework develops that guides people in determining whether to defer to legal authority.

Throughout Why Children Follow Rules, Tyler and Trinkner emphasize the degree to which individuals can develop their orientations toward law and legal authority upon values connected to responsibility and obligation as opposed to fear of punishment.

Despite evidence showing the benefits of consensual authority, strong pressures and popular support for the exercise of authority based on dominance and force persist in America's families, schools, and within the juvenile justice system. As low levels of public trust and confidence in the police, the courts, and the law undermine the effectiveness of the legal system, Tyler and Trinkner point to alternative ways to foster the popular legitimacy of the law in an era of mistrust.



Gideon Yaffe
The Age of Culpability:
Children and the Nature of
Criminal Responsibility
Oxford University Press, 2018

Childhood and Criminal Responsibility

A philosophical explanation of the connection of the voting age and the juvenile justice system

In his latest book, The Age of Culpability: Children and the Nature of Criminal Responsibility, Professor Gideon Yaffe sets out to explain why the age of an offender should matter when assessing criminal liability.

Yaffe makes the simple yet important observation that "kids who commit crimes are treated differently than adults who commit crimes." But, he asks, why be lenient toward children who commit crimes?

Yaffe begins by arguing against the common wisdom that child criminals deserve lesser punishments than adults

because of their psychological, behavioral, or neural immaturity. Yaffe devotes the second part of his book to providing his own justification for leniency. He proposes that children are owed lesser punishments because they are denied the right to vote. This conclusion is reached through accounts of the nature of criminal culpability,

wrongdoing and appropriate redress, strength of

legal reasons, and what it is to have a say over the law.

To be criminally culpable, Yaffe argues, is for one's criminal act to manifest a failure to grant sufficient weight to the legal reasons to refrain. The stronger the legal reasons, then, the greater the criminal culpability. Those who lack a say over the law, it is argued, have weaker legal reasons to refrain from crime than those who have a say, according to the book. They are therefore reduced in criminal culpability and deserve lesser punishment for their crimes. Children are owed leniency, then, because of the political meaning of age rather than because of its psychological meaning. This position has implications for criminal justice policy, with respect to, among other things, the interrogation of children suspected of crimes and the enfranchisement of adult felons.

The Age of Culpability fundamentally rethinks the justifications for why children should receive more lenient treatment for criminal behavior. It provides a moral and conceptual framework that can guide criminal justice policy in regard to children.