
CONTENTS

<i>Acknowledgements</i>	<i>v</i>
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	<i>vii</i>
Chapter 1: Introduction—The Rise and Fall of Human Rights	
Treaty-Making	1
A. The Primacy of Treaties	1
B. The Declining Appeal and Utility of Treaty-Making.....	4
1. Implementation vs. Elaboration	5
2. The Limitations of Treaty-Making.....	11
C. Recourse to Alternative Techniques—The Case of Internally Displaced Persons	12
Chapter 2: The Limited Effectiveness of Treaty-Making	
A. The Problem of Consensus and Its Implications	19
1. Protracted or Stalled Negotiations	26
2. Problems of Ratification and Entry Into Force	35
3. Reservations	37
4. Domestic Administrative Overload and Its Implications	46
B. Structural and Procedural Weaknesses in Human Rights	
Treaty-Making	47
1. Lack of Structure	47
2. Initiation and Planning	48
3. Coordination.....	50
4. Normative Inconsistency	54
5. Expertise	58
6. Practical Problems	60
7. Proposals and Prospects for Reform	62
C. Conclusion.....	69
Chapter 3: Recourse to Alternative Law-Making Techniques—	
The Development of the Normative Framework for the Protection of Internally Displaced Persons	71
A. The International Response to Internal Displacement	72
1. Analytical Report of the Secretary-General.....	76
2. Appointment of the Representative of the Secretary-General	79
B. Developing the Normative Framework	82
1. Compilation and Analysis of Legal Norms—Part One	82
2. Developments at the Commission on Human Rights, 1996–1997	90

3. Compilation and Analysis of Legal Norms—Part Two	94
4. The Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement	96
Chapter 4: Developing the Guiding Principles—Context, Motives and Opportunities	99
A. The Guiding Principles in Context—Soft Law-Making Through Restatement	99
1. Clarifying the Grey Areas	103
2. Addressing the Gaps	112
B. Motives and Opportunities	121
1. Avoiding the Pitfalls of Treaty-Making	122
2. Broader Range of Expertise	125
3. Financial Support	130
4. Political Support	132
C. Conclusion	138
Chapter 5: Taking the Guiding Principles Seriously	139
A. State Responses to the Guiding Principles	140
B. Creating a Climate of Compliance and Acceptance	149
1. At the International Level	150
2. At the Regional Level	154
3. At the National Level	159
C. Future Steps	166
D. Conclusions	168
Chapter 6: Implications for the Human Rights Law-Making Process	171
A. A New Brand of Soft Law?	171
B. Lessons Learned	173
C. The Shape of Human Rights Law-Making in the Future?	175
Appendix: Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement	179
Bibliography	191
Index	219