

CONTENTS

Acknowledgments vii

- 1 Introduction 1
- 2 Rule of Law, Domestic and International 19
- 3 How to Do Things with International Law 47
- 4 The Permissive Power of the Ban on War 58
- 5 The Rule of No Law: Nukes, Drones,
and the Horror Vacui 82
- 6 Torture: Legitimation and Legality 103
- 7 The Empire of International Legalism 129

Notes 139

Index 177

1

Introduction

—Well what would you do if you were the king? asked the prince.

—I would do absolutely nothing

—And who then would govern?

—The Laws!

—FRANÇOIS QUESNAY TO THE DAUPHIN, CITED IN BERNARD HARCOURT, *THE ILLUSION OF FREE MARKETS*

Aerial drones, humanitarian intervention, cyberattacks, torture. The big debates in world politics today are inseparable from international law. Controversy over what is and is not legal is standard fare in international conflicts, and commitment to rule of law is presumed a marker of good governance. Rule following is said to lead naturally to more desirable collective outcomes.

This *legalization* of global affairs is widely viewed as a progressive advance on earlier conditions. No longer must self-interest, coercion, and power politics dominate decision making. Now the rule of law is cited as the remedy for human rights abuses, domestic dictatorship, international war, and other problems.¹ For instance, as Anne-Marie Slaughter says, it is “far better to resolve boundary

2 CHAPTER 1

issues in the South China Sea multilaterally by agreed-upon rules of the game than unilaterally by the strongest nation.”² Along with scholars, governments, activists, and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) routinely emphasize the significance of international law and urge states and nonstate actors alike to conform to its requirements. The United Nations recently established a bureau to promote and coordinate its rule-of-law activities internally and around the world.³ The Pentagon opened its Office for Rule of Law and International Humanitarian Policy in 2010. In these efforts, the rule of law appears as a charmed concept, outside politics, without doubters and without critics. Keally McBride says it is treated “as a largely uncontested self-evident good.”⁴ As Quesnay said to the dauphin, let the laws themselves rule. Yet the politics of the international rule of law are not so simple and are rarely investigated directly.⁵

In this book, I look at how the concept is used in world politics and to what ends. My goal is to better understand the power and politics of international law.⁶ I show that international law is properly seen not as a set of rules external to and constraining of state power but rather as a social practice in which states and others engage. They put the political power of international law to work in the pursuit of their goals and interests.

Governments use international law to explain and justify their choices. This is both constraining and permissive. On the one hand, states must fit their preferences into legal forms. On the other hand, they are empowered when they can show their choices to be lawful. Thus international law makes it easier for states to do some things (those that can be presented as lawful) and harder to do others (those that appear to be unlawful).

The legalization of politics is permissive even as it imposes limits. States strive to fit their policies into the categories of international law, showing themselves to be compliant with their obligations. But in doing so, they appear to depoliticize their choices. Compliance with the law becomes the marker for acceptable

policy, masking the substantive politics of the situation and the law itself.

This is not to say that law never limits state power. It can be a source of individual emancipation and a bulwark of human rights. Beth Simmons reflects this conventional view when she says, “It is precisely because of their potential power to constrain that treaty commitments are contentious in domestic and international politics.”⁷ But it is not necessarily so. Against the “enchanted” view of law as naturally progressive and protective against state power, I suggest we adopt a more empirical attitude in which law’s normative valence is a question for investigation rather than assumed in advance. Drawing on several case studies, I will argue that attention to the actual content of international law as well as its application and interpretation demands new conclusions about law’s political implications. We cannot get away with assumptions of inherently superior, apolitical rule following.

In part this is because the rules themselves mutate according to political exigency. If law were above politics, it would be easy to distinguish between the legality and illegality of foreign policy choices. But, in the cases I examine, international law does a notably poor job of differentiating compliance from violation. For instance, despite decades of debates, it remains unclear just what kinds of force may be justified under the laws of self-defense. Even the general parameters of self-defense have changed over the years with shifting circumstances—specifically, as powerful states come to need or desire new legitimations for new forms of war in relation to new forms of threat.⁸ In other words, the contents of the law change through its use. I also find that international law is often much more successful at constituting and legitimating government policies than at positively distinguishing between compliance and noncompliance. The international rule of law is thus a permissive regime as much as a constraining one, and its relationship to power is more complicated than standard assumptions acknowledge.

The International Rule of Law and Its Politics

In 1908, Lassa Oppenheim looked forward to the day that historians would declare the “ultimate victory of international law over international anarchy.”⁹ According to many liberal internationalists, the international rule of law brings us closer to that day. G. John Ikenberry says we live in a “rules-based international order.”¹⁰ John H. Jackson, the eminent international trade lawyer and scholar, takes this view to the extreme when he says, “To a large degree the history of civilization may be described as a gradual evolution from a power-oriented approach, in the state of nature, to a rule-oriented approach.”¹¹ It is a good thing, too, according to President Dwight David Eisenhower. Faced with the threat of nuclear proliferation, Eisenhower propounded the liberal perspective in which law is an *alternative* to power: “In a very real sense the world no longer has a choice between force and law. If civilization is to survive, it must choose the rule of law.”¹² Compliance with law is equated with political order, stability, and peaceful settlement of disputes, while failures to abide by the rule of law are said to provide the raw materials for innumerable international crises.

In this account, law is a counterpoint to power. Obligation to comply with law binds governments acting internationally in much the same way law binds individuals within states. Through law, governments escape a global Lockean state of nature: agents recognize their weakness and the dangers of anarchy and so consent to limits on their absolute freedom, thereby establishing a political system that better serves their individual and collective needs.¹³

The domestic model of law and legal obligation, however, does not translate well to the international realm. The conventional account of international law, based in this model, both overstates and understates the power of the rule of law in international affairs. It overstates because states do not automatically and unproblematically comply with international law, as individuals generally

do with respect to domestic law. Governments frequently break, ignore, avoid, and redefine their international legal obligations. Thus, as many have noted, the regulative capacity of international law is weak.¹⁴ Moreover, many of the most important rules of international law permit fundamentally conflicting interpretations. As a result, it may not be possible to identify clearly what compliance means in order to assess rule following versus rule breaking.

At the same time, the conventional view understates the power of international law because it begins with the assumption that the power of law rests in its capacity to limit strong actors. If law can't constrain the powerful, it is said, then it is probably not doing its job.¹⁵ But the focus on constraint is misplaced. It rests on a narrow conception of law and legalization along with an unrealistic ideal-type view of law's relation to politics. Law has power to constrain, but it also has powers to authorize, permit, and constitute actions. Legal realists of various types and constructivists in international relations (IR) emphasize these powers.¹⁶ As I show in the following chapters, the instrumental use of law to legitimize state policy is ubiquitous.¹⁷ For instance, law is used in public diplomacy to explain and frame competing policy choices, and as such, offers resources states rely on.¹⁸ In this sense, international law is pervasive and even foundational in global affairs. It shapes the context in which governments operate and provides the raw materials with which foreign policy is pursued.

In practice, international rules provoke two kinds of interpretation, which complicates their meaning. Participants in international law interpret rules in order to provide an account of what actions are allowed or forbidden, and they interpret the case at hand in order to know how it fits with those rules. It is therefore hard to establish clean boundaries among states, their interests, and the meaning of international rules. These processes are also open to nonstate actors, and while I do not focus on them here, it is apparent that much of the politics of international law happens in a broader public domain, beyond formal state or legal settings.

6 CHAPTER 1

For example, the NGO Sea Shepherd says it is enforcing the International Convention on the Regulation of Whaling when it interrupts Japanese whale hunting in the southern ocean.¹⁹ Similarly, the Institute for Development and Justice in Haiti, a US NGO, claims its efforts to gain compensation for cholera victims in Haiti are authorized by the Status of Forces Agreement between the United Nations and Haitian government.²⁰ The various parties to international law, whether states or otherwise, are constantly rewriting the rules as a function of their deployment.

Scope and Goals of the Book

The idea that state behavior should be consistent with international law is deeply rooted in international law and politics, both in practice and scholarship. This demand for compliance constitutes the ideology of the rule of law and carries important consequences for the conduct of international affairs.²¹ Among these is the political legitimation that comes from being seen as compliant with international law. This is attractive to states. On the flip side, international actors can undermine others' power by showing that they are violating the law. What I've sketched here is a political understanding of law by which I mean the recognition that law produces both winners and losers. States and rules are mutually implicating, law and politics inseparable. This leads away from the conventional view in at least three ways.

First, my understanding avoids much of the debate about the "true" meaning of international legal rules. This is a major concern among theorists and observers of international law. The ability to differentiate compliance and noncompliance is often taken to be the hallmark of a well-functioning legal system; the rule of law itself is usually said to require that actors be able to distinguish what is legal from what is not, and international law is frequently faulted for its inadequacy on this point, particularly for the lack of a judicial branch with automatic jurisdiction over interstate disputes. To remedy this apparent problem, scholars and others invest in codification, the "rational design" of international institutions,

and other projects that aim to clarify the meaning of existing laws or institute better ones.²² Relatedly, much social science scholarship on international law asks whether the law induces states to change their behavior, from noncompliance to compliance.²³ This is consistent with the tradition of positivism as a research method: positivists look for the causal impact of an independent variable (international law) on a dependent variable (state behavior). Both positivist social science and rational design require that the law be separate from and prior to the behavior it governs.

In the chapters that follow, a stable notion of compliance is elusive, at least with respect to a large subset of important international legal obligations. So there can be no comparison between law and practice. Contestation over the meaning and application of law is endemic to law's political uses and effects. Indeed, compliance may be a political rather than legal artifact—the thing being contested as opposed to an external standard that can be applied to behavior. To assess an actor's compliance with international law involves more than reading formal sources of law. It also entails the rendering of political judgment about what policies deserve to be endorsed. Put another way, international law cannot be separated from state practice, and state practice does not exist independent of the legal explanations, justifications, and rationalizations that governments give for it. Debates about the true meaning of international rules therefore are bound to be inconclusive. If we are to understand what international law is and is used for, we need a research methodology attentive to the mutual constitution of states and rules.

Second, I depart from conventional readings of international law by highlighting the dialectical relationship between state policies and international rules. It is not just that the meaning of international law shifts under the influence of state practice. The relationship between state interests and international rules is bidirectional and mutually constituting. Governments rely on international law to construct their foreign policies and in so doing contribute to remaking those rules. State practice is jurisgenerative of international law: it creates the resources that constitute it.

8 CHAPTER 1

For instance, the debate over whether the US drone program is legal or not depends on how states have in the past given meaning to various legal categories and concepts, including interstate war, the Geneva Conventions and other instruments, the legal personality of nonstate actors, and command responsibility.

When states use the legal resources of the international system to explain or justify their actions, they change how those resources are understood for purposes of future cases and thereby refashion the law in ways that influence policy choices.²⁴ Thus the categories of “lawful” and “unlawful” are closely related to states’ interests, desires, and past and present choices. The distinction between legality and illegality, on which positivist accounts of international law rest, is both an output of state practice and an input to it.

This point has substantive and methodological implications. Substantively, it means that we should not treat states’ references to international law as easy rhetoric or cheap talk. To do so overlooks the investment in law and legal language: states feel pressure to frame their actions as rule abiding and consistent with their legal obligations. When they do so, they can reap political benefits. Couching actions in law is not the same as complying with law, but this does not mean that compliance is irrelevant. My point is that what it means to comply, to act consistently with one’s obligations, is the currency of contestation in the politics of international law.

Scholars have recognized international law’s susceptibility to manipulation but often draw from this overly narrow conclusions. For instance Stephen Krasner shows that leaders use the rules of state sovereignty to strengthen their claims on power but argues that this instrumental manipulation signals the weakness of those rules.²⁵ Yet we might instead say that there is productive power in the rhetorical use of these rules. Openness to this possibility is the beginning of inquiry into how such power works and what it yields.

From the standpoint of methodology, the mutual constitution of states and rules means the two cannot be isolated and treated

as distinct variables. State interests are not independent of the legal resources in the international system, and legal resources are not independent of state interests. To understand how international law works, then, we must employ new research approaches attentive to its use rather than ideal theories of what law is.

The third novel contribution of this book follows from the previous two. By bringing together political power and international law, I address some of the problems that arise when they are kept apart. This forced separation conditions international politics—and the study thereof—in at least three important ways. First, under the regime of separation, states are asked to prioritize between their self-interests and the communal position, where the former is unstructured by law and the latter is law defined.²⁶ Second, IR theory then divides between realists—who a priori expect the nonlaw position to prevail—and liberals—who believe that well-crafted law suits the mutual interests of states and may therefore hold sway in certain circumstances.²⁷ Finally, separation tends to elevate law's standing because law is thought to closely model morality and foster collective progress, while power and politics are associated with coercion, disorder, and unilateralism.²⁸

This book shows that international law and international power cannot be separated, and in doing so, rejects the assumed opposition between the two. Where scholars in the liberal tradition celebrate international law for its capacity to protect human welfare against state power, I argue that lawfulness confers political legitimacy and may or may not limit states' power and flexibility. Law itself has no preference for human welfare. The legalization of international politics may reduce coercion and destruction, and it may strengthen states' ability to make war or deploy drones.

This malleability reflects the sources of international rules and patterns of rule following. Rules are constructed through negotiation among motivated actors seeking to shape the legal landscape to suit their interests. Powerful actors presumably have more success in these negotiations than do weaker ones. Once rules are in place, agents try to bring them to bear on disputes and policies in

ways that, again, suit their interests. Here, too, state power is in play. Strong states can more easily shoulder the costs of international rule breaking than can weaker states, as the United States showed in the Iraq invasion of 2003. And when strong states break rules, their choices may be taken as evidence of a change in the rules. Rule breaking by weak states is less likely to have such effect.²⁹

Accepting that international law is a function of political power does not mean adopting the perspective of IR realists. To see why, we must get a handle on just what realists believe. For some IR scholars, anyone attentive to differences in the use of power is a realist.³⁰ This is misleading. Realism does not have a monopoly on the study of international power politics; indeed, most approaches to IR, from realist to constructivist to Marxist to critical theory and more, are interested in power.

What distinguishes IR realism is its particularly narrow conceptualization of power in terms of military and industrial capacity.³¹ Thus realism's characteristic concern with comparative access to military hardware. For realists, fighting capacity is distinct from, and more important than, power found in law, morals, ideas, concepts, or identities. By contrast, other approaches see these as sources or expressions of power. For instance, Benno Teschke, arguing for a wider conception of power, sees state sovereignty itself as a function of the power of international capital and demands of the capital-controlling class.³² Charlotte Epstein examines power mobilized in the 1970s through the rising antiwhaling discourse, which had profound consequences for the legal regime of the International Whaling Commission.³³ Andrew Guzman sees reputation as a form of power among states, a kind of currency with its own economy. The desire to cultivate a good reputation induces states to take certain actions and refrain from others even when they perceive benefits from acting differently.³⁴

In all these cases, international law is at once a potential constraint on the power of states, a tool with which states can increase their power over others, and a by-product of some actors' power. It is thoroughly implicated in power politics. In sum, that interna-

tional law is politically useful does not demonstrate the triumph of realist “Machiavellian parochialists.”³⁵

The usefulness of international law is acknowledged in the concept of *lawfare*, the strategy or tactic of using international law to pursue goals.³⁶ The term has come to be associated with *abuse*: in an unwelcome development, weak states illegitimately use international law to constrain the strong.³⁷ But it is a mistake to identify lawfare as an aberration or solely a weapon of the weak. Lawfare is better seen as the typical condition of international law. Indeed, law is more likely to serve as a tool of the strong than of the weak, since it is the strong who have the greatest influence over the design of international rules and the greatest capacity to both deploy and evade them. This is evident in US liberal internationalists’ enthusiasm for international law. Many see international institutions and law as protecting US interests and hope that other states will accede to the existing rules rather than attempt to rewrite them.³⁸

The chapters that follow explore these themes in detail. I show that states remake international law as they use it to pursue their interests. Those states are simultaneously bound and empowered. Practice, legality, and state interests are mutually implicated, and the international rule of law is the institution that emerges from their repeated interaction. Indeed, the strategic use of international law *is* international law.

The International Rule of Law in Practice: Cases and Chapters

The conventional perspective on the international rule of law is Lockean: law amounts to “externally imposed obligatory constraints”—freestanding rules and institutions that exercise authority over states.³⁹ In chapters 2 and 3, I explain my alternative view. I then document it in chapters 4 through 6, focusing on cases demonstrating law’s capacity to enable, permit, and constitute state action.

12 CHAPTER 1

Chapter 2 looks at the domestic rule of law and its uneasy translation to international politics. The central claim is this: the domestic rule of law is in effect when there exists a set of stable public laws binding in theory and practice on both citizens and the state. As Rosa Brooks puts it, “At root it’s pretty simple. The rule of law requires that governments follow transparent, universally applicable, and clearly defined laws and procedures.”⁴⁰ From this broad notion come disagreements about the content and nature of the rules and their effects.

There are two main lines of debate in existing literature on the domestic rule of law. The first asks whether individual human rights and collective social welfare are effects of the rule of law or constitutive of it. This produces a distinction between formalist and substantive theories of the rule of law. The second debate involves how the rule *of* law can be distinguished from rule *by* law, in which the state uses the framework of law instrumentally to legitimate and reinforce its domination.

Three claims about the rule of law are constant across these debates: that rules should be public and stable, that rules should apply to the government as well as the citizens, and that the rules should be applied equally across cases. None of these translates easily to the realm of international law. I therefore argue that domestic rule of law provides an unsuitable model for an international equivalent.

Drawing on legal realism and practice theory in IR, chapter 3 presents an account of the international rule of law that reflects the particular dynamics of international politics. On this reading, the international rule of law is a social practice that states and others engage in when they provide legal reasons and justifications for their actions. The goal may be either political legitimation for oneself or delegitimation of adversaries. This sort of use of international law both relies on and reinforces the idea that states should act lawfully rather than unlawfully. The priority of lawfulness is taken for granted.

The approach I outline in chapter 3 helps to make sense of international law's contribution to contemporary disputes and crises. In chapters 4, 5, and 6, I examine the relationship between international law and war, torture, and drones. Each is a highly legalized corner of international politics. Governments expend considerable effort to present their positions as consistent with international law and characterize their opponents as violators. International legal instruments, from the Charter of the United Nations to multilateral treaties, largely provide the terms of debate. Despite—or perhaps because of—this high degree of legalization, what constitutes compliance with international law is contested and perhaps unresolvable.

In the disputes I examine, all players profess their commitment to the rule of law and their intent to fulfill specific international legal obligations. But the distinction between legality and illegality in these cases is more political construction than legal fact. Determination of lawfulness follows use of international law rather than preceding it.⁴¹ Moreover, in each dispute the protagonists provide legal interpretations motivated by the desire to legitimize their actions through law. Thus the teleology of their legal reasoning points toward their own interest, and state practice shapes the content of international law toward the preferences of strong states.

The meanings of key legal terms in these disputes are neither self-evident nor matters of consensus. In the course of the disputes themselves, the legal terms are interpreted by various parties, always in ways that are informed by their interests. To explore this, I follow methods similar to those Bernard Harcourt, Helen Kinsella, and others use to study category distinctions in other settings. In *The Illusion of Free Markets*, Harcourt looks at the social construction of the divide between free markets and government regulation.⁴² Kinsella, in *The Image before the Weapon*, focuses on the differentiation of civilians and combatants in the laws of war.⁴³ As with legality and illegality, these distinctions are made instead

of found. They rely, as Kinsella says, on “an established rather than an inherent contrast,” yet they carry significant political consequences in the world.⁴⁴

To see the difference between established and inherent contrast, consider the US use of drones in war against terrorists and other kinds of enemies. Is it legal? The conventional approach to international law suggests that US policy makers should consult written conventions to determine under what circumstances the use of drones is legal, then decide whether the current circumstances suit that definition, and finally make a choice informed by this consultation.⁴⁵ They may decide to cross the line into illegality; the standard model does not predict that they will comply with the law, only that the law will help organize foreign policy choices into legal and illegal options.

Missing from this process is the connection between law and politics, and therefore the controversy inherent in the matter. The legality of today’s drone warfare is controversial because it is not clear which legal resources are relevant to the practice and because the choice of resources is inseparable from one’s position on the desirability of the activity itself.

When we take stock of the underlying legal questions, it becomes clear that the answers have significant political implications. Are drones like conventional aircraft bombers and so governed by preexisting rules concerning the dropping of bombs in times of war? If so, the questions relevant to legality include the belligerent status of the United States and the state where the drone is operating; the *jus in bello* rules of proportionality, distinction, and necessity; and more. Then there is the further question of whether the current situation is a war in the international legal sense, and if so, between whom? Or are drone killings more like political assassinations? In that case, the laws of war are irrelevant. Do the people targeted for killing by drones share a corporate identity with the people who organized the 9/11 attacks? If they do, then killing them may represent a lawful use of force in self-defense under the UN Charter and the Authorization for Use of Military

Force in US law.⁴⁶ Do due process rules apply? Do the targeted individuals have rights, and if so, of what kind and in which jurisdiction?

Deciding whether the United States is complying with international law requires answering these questions and more, but the choice of questions themselves is a matter of political determination. So the legality of the conduct can be assessed only after rounds of political interpretation. Policy makers, scholars, and military officials are equally at sea when it comes to understanding how to apply international law to drones, with the result that the generic policy commitment to comply with international law has little content.

Despite this, US officials have sought a legal framing in which drone killings appear lawful. This suggests politics at work: the politics of international law require that the United States provide a legal defense of its drone policy even where there exists no coherent body of law to appeal to. And the outcome of this political work, so far, indicates law's permissiveness. Choices about which law is relevant are motivated by the consequences they generate for the legality of the policy itself: critics of the drone program ask legal questions that lead to a finding of illegality, while drone enthusiasts ask legal questions that produce the opposite result.

It is tempting to assume that the ambiguity surrounding the legality of drone-based killing—and the exploitation of that ambiguity—is a function of drones' novelty. But the problem is not that drones are a new technology. The political utility of legal justification is not limited to novel policy questions. The political productivity of law exists by virtue of legalization itself—in the fact that legal resources are used to legitimate and delegitimize political conditions or decisions.⁴⁷ This is true whether or not the contested behavior is well established.

To illustrate this, chapter 4 examines a classical area of international law: the use of force by states. The ban on war is often cited as the centerpiece of the modern international legal-political

system and used to distinguish the contemporary age from earlier, less legalized periods.⁴⁸ Liberal convention sees the ban on war as a legal constraint on states' political choices; states seeking to uphold the international rule of are advised to refrain from using force against other states.

But this understanding is flawed. The UN Charter outlaws some kinds of war and permits others, such as those undertaken in self-defense. I show that the Charter is a mechanism by which law sorts the motivations for war into lawful (self-defense) and unlawful (all others) categories. It thereby creates a framework to legitimate wars and reduce their political costs. The Charter is not antiwar: it is explicitly permissive of war so long as the claimed motive is self-defense.

Chapter 4 also charts how the law has changed since 1945 in response to changing state practice. In particular, the understanding of what is permitted and forbidden by the self-defense exemption contained in Articles 2(4) and 51 of the Charter has shifted. As the perceived dangers in the international system have changed, states have changed the rules so that they can use force without leaving the confines of legal behavior. The definition of legal use of force thus internalizes states interests in two distinct ways: first, because states are permitted to use force in response to perceived threats originating in other states; second, because post-1945 interpretative practice has removed the limits of time and space implied in Article 51 of the Charter. The ban on war after 1945 has produced a legalized version of the nineteenth-century rationale for war: *raisons d'état* supported by legal justifications.

Chapter 5 explores the legality of latter-day weapons—specifically, nuclear arms and lethal drones—to consider the potential for voids in the coverage of international law. When technological or other developments enable previously inconceivable kinds of warfare, states face open legal questions. Recent debates over the legality of US drones illustrate this, as do earlier debates about the legality of nuclear arms. The weapons arise in a kind of legal vacuum, empty of specific regulation. Drawing on these examples, I

consider the power of the international rule of law in situations where there may be no law.

With respect to nuclear weapons, the International Court of Justice decided that despite there being no directly applicable laws, use is nonetheless governed by international law. Rules designed for other weapons are relevant, as is a general principle that in the end, international law must defend states' rights to protect their national security as they see fit. These two sets of resources—general principles and analogies to other laws—are also important in legal debates over drones today: the lawfulness of drones as instruments of war is inferred from the legality of what are said to be analogous weapons from earlier times, and the needs of the state are internalized in legality debates through the mechanism of self-defense. The perception of threat justifies the legality of the military action, in a self-fulfilling circle of interiorization.

These debates reveal the inescapability of international law: it fills legal dead zones, as if under the influence of a horror vacui. Even a new policy, one for which treaties and custom have not yet been created, is seen as already structured by international law. The prelegalization condition, which presumably exists before law is written and on which much of the legalization literature in IR depends, does not exist. Law-free policy space is impossible.

The legal status of torture is the subject of chapter 6, where I examine the implications of an international ban on torture that coexists with a nontrivial level of torture in practice. This is not simply a case of torture law being violated. There is wide, perhaps-unanimous, agreement that torture is prohibited by international law, and the legitimacy of the ban is rarely contested. The rule is established most directly by the Geneva Conventions and 1984 Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment (CAT), but it is also widely held that torture is outlawed under *jus cogens* norms intrinsic in the international system.⁴⁹

Despite this, many governments engage in practices that seem clearly prohibited by laws against torture. Much of this behavior

comes with detailed defense of its legality. Thus the politics of torture generally address questions of what constitutes torture, not concerns over the ban itself. The connection between law and behavior does not fit neatly into categories of compliance and violation, and the politics overflow the bounds of these positivist legal containers. For example, the US government in the 2000s encased its use of torture in an extensive legal framework drawn from international sources including the CAT. International lawyers, largely unconvinced, disputed the contention that US torture was lawful.⁵⁰ But the fact that the US government attempted to justify its behavior using legal resources designed to forbid torture speaks to the political power of international law. Such efforts illustrate what Scott Veitch calls law's capacity to define "irresponsibility"—that is, law can define an actor as not responsible for the harms it has caused.⁵¹ This is precisely how Bush administration used antitorture law: to demonstrate that its actions were not subject to the rules. Officials sought a zone of legally protected irresponsibility. They used international law against torture as tools to legalize torture.

Each of the cases detailed in this book shows different aspects of the relationship between international law and world politics, but all serve the same goal: to illuminate the international rule of law as it actually exists. On the basis of this history, I conclude in chapter 7 that the international rule of law is a structure of political authority. It creates a hierarchy in international affairs in which legal obligations are superior and governments are subordinate. The structure depends on and is reinforced by the widespread practice of legal justification by states. Within that structure, international law is at once constraining, empowering, and constituting of the foreign policies of governments. I use the language of "empire" to describe this structure. It is a centralized and hierarchical system that unites its subjects under a single political authority, the empire of international legalism.

INDEX

- Abbott, Kenneth, 124
Abraham, Ronny, 147n51
acquiescence and social power, theory of, 114
Adler, Emmanuel, 53
Afghanistan, 72, 73, 92, 120, 159n41
aggression, 35, 49, 51, 75, 78, 81, 131.
 See also war
Albright, Madeleine, 136
Alter, Karen, 24, 139n2
Alvarez, José E., 41
American Convention on Human Rights (1969), 108
Amnesty International, 94
anarchy, 4, 36–37, 131–32
Arbour, Louise, 113
Arendt, Hannah, 135, 173n1
Argentina, 67
assassinations, 14, 165n39
atrocities, prevention of, 52
Australia, 33, 52
Aznar-Gomez, Mariano J., 86
- balance of power, 132
Bauman, Zygmunt, 52
Belgium, 110–11, 159–60n50
Belgium v. Senegal, 35, 110–11
Berlin, disco bombing in, 161n65
Besson, Samantha, 49, 130
Betts, Alexander, 167n2
bill of rights, 23
Bingham, Tom, 27–28
Bolton, John, 88
Bosnia, 72
Bourdieu, Pierre, 53
Brooks, Rosa, 12, 157n19
- Brooks, Stephen, 136
Brunkhorst, Hauke, 142–43n37; *Critical Theory of Legal Revolutions*, 82
Brunnée, Jutta, 53, 55
Buchanan, Allen, 115
Bull, Hedley, 36, 37, 63, 126
Bush, George W., 117–18
Bush administration, 18, 105, 106, 118–19, 121, 134
Bybee memo, 121
Byers, Michael, 58, 63, 70, 81, 158n37
- Caroline* case (1837), 69
CAT. *See* Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment (CAT)
Center for Justice and Accountability, 152n5
chemical weapons, 49
Chesterman, Simon, 22
Chimni, B. S., 65, 134
China, 49
citizens: defense of abroad, 74; government *vs.*, 20; law as binding on, 12, 24; limited government authority over, 36; obligation of to follow law, 25–26; and Rome Statute of International Criminal Court, 111; and rule of law, 21, 22
civilians, 13–14, 73, 86, 90–91, 93
Coalition for the International Criminal Court, 152n5
Coates, Benjamin, 55
codification, 6–7, 30, 31–33
coercion, 1, 114
Cold War, 72

178 INDEX

- colonialism, 49, 78, 133
common good, 25
communicative action, model of, 114
compliance, 137; and ban on war, 60, 66, 72, 74, 76, 79, 80–81; contested claims about, 3, 6–7, 105, 107–8; as crucial to state policy, 98; and determinacy of rules, 32; and instrumentalism, 19, 66; and interpretation of law, 5, 7, 46; and justice, 29; and justification, 49, 133; and legitimacy, 6, 105, 106–7, 114–17, 126–27, 167–68n5; moral obligation for, 25; and norms, 167n2; and obligation, 33; and politics, 3, 6, 7, 8, 19, 108, 130, 132, 144n1; and rule of law, 21, 25, 26; and self-defense, 72; and social goods, 28; and strong states, 56, 60; and torture, 17–18, 104, 105, 106–7, 112, 116–17, 119–21, 125, 126, 127, 128; and US drone policy, 14, 15. *See also* obligation; rule following
Congressional Authorization to Use Military Force (2001), 96, 97
consent: and domestic *vs.* international law, 20; to limits on freedom, 4; and non liquet, 86–87; and obligations of states, 69; of states to rules, 31, 33, 35, 43; and torture, 112; transfer of obligations via, 20; and treaties, 30
consent theory, 114
constitution, 23
constitutional discourse, 130
constitutionalism, global, 27, 130
constructive noncompliance, 39
constructivism, 5, 10, 152n11
Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment (CAT), 17, 18, 107, 108–11, 112–13; Article 1, 109; Article 2, 109; Article 2[2], 109; Article 4, 109, 110; legitimacy of, 113; and US law, 112; and US policy, 118, 119, 120
Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora, 147n44
Convention on the Law of Treaties, 34, 35, 43
Court of Justice of the European Union, 40, 41, 131
Covenant of the League of Nations, 31
Crawford, James, 132
critical theory, 10
cyberattacks, 1, 98

D’Amato, Anthony, 161n66
defensism, 60, 71–73
democracy, 77, 114, 115
Democratic Republic of Congo v. Rwanda case, 35
Dershowitz, Alan, 114
despotism, 36
Dicey, A. V., 22, 24
Dill, Janina, 53
divine right, 55
drone attacks, 1, 9, 13, 14–15, 16, 17, 54; as assassinations, 14; and command responsibility, 8; and imminent threat, 97; interpretation of legality of, 84, 91, 92, 93, 95, 99, 100; legality of, 53, 84, 91–102; legal resources relevant to, 14; mistakes in use of, 93; as new technology, 15; and United States, 8, 14–15, 53, 72, 92, 94–95, 100
due process, 15, 93, 96, 131

East Timor case, 35
Eisenhower, Dwight David, 4
empire, and law, 18, 65–66, 130, 134, 137
enemy combatants, 123
enhanced interrogation, 49, 120, 123, 131
Entebbe, 72
Epstein, Charlotte, 10, 171n43
European Union, Court of Justice of. *See* Court of Justice of the European Union

Falkland Islands, 67
Finnemore, Martha, 78
Føllesdal, Andreas, 116
formalism, 83, 95

- Franck, Thomas, 32, 63, 68–69, 70, 79, 167–68n5
- François, J.P.A., 88
- Friedman, Thomas, 136
- Fuller, Lon, 22, 26
- Gaddafi, Muammar, 139n1
- Gaventa, John, 114
- Geneva Conventions, 8, 17, 95–96, 107, 108, 109–10, 118; legitimacy of, 113; and US law, 112; and US torture policy, 119
- genital cutting, 133
- genocide, 28, 35, 111
- Genocide Convention: Article 5, 111
- Germany, 136
- Giddens, Anthony, 52, 53
- Glennon, Michael, 79
- global governance, 59, 103, 105, 132, 134
- global order, ban on war as start of, 62–66
- global state, 65, 66
- Goldsmith, Jack, 142n26, 171n48
- Goldstein, Judith, 30, 32, 84, 99
- governance: and ban on war, 63; global, 59, 103, 105, 132, 134; in interstate realm, 20, 24, 37, 38, 42, 63, 121, 123, 129; and legitimacy, 105; and rule of law, 1, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30; rule of law as structure of, 130–38; without government, 37
- government(s): absence of international, 36; absolute power of, 24; authority of international law over, 121; and CAT, 111; citizens *vs.*, 20; and compliance, 130; as constructing own sets of legal obligations, 34; and instrumentalism, 48; instrumental utility of law to, 47; law as constituting, 3; law as constraining, empowering, and constituting foreign policies of, 18; law as justifying, 48; law as legitimating, 3, 48, 84, 126; and legitimacy and morality, 115; as limited by law, 2, 4, 12, 18, 21, 22, 23–24, 36–42; as not limited by law, 5; and prescription to follow international law, 100; prevention of misuse and abuse of power by, 21; reputation of, 125; as subject to popular will, 36; as subordinate to law, 129; and torture, 112, 114; and war, 94, 95, 97, 98. *See also* states
- Gray, Christine, 62–63
- Great Britain, 136
- Great Powers, 37, 38, 134, 135, 136
- Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, 123
- Guillaume, Gilbert, 88, 89, 90–91
- Guzman, Andrew, 10
- Habermas, Jürgen, 114
- Habrè, Hissene, 110, 169n16
- Hague Convention on the Opening of Hostilities, 95
- Haiti, cholera victims in, 6
- Halliday, Terence, 84
- Harcourt, Bernard, 60; *The Illusion of Free Markets*, 13
- Hardt, Michael, 65–66; *Empire*, 129
- Hart, H.L.A., 49
- Hathaway, Oona, 136
- Hayek, Friedrich, 23, 144n5
- Helfer, Larry, 34
- Henkin, Louis, 160–61n64
- Heyns, Christoph, 94
- Honig, Bonnie, 100, 135
- Hopgood, Stephen, 133
- horror vacui, 17, 98–99. *See also* law, absence of
- Hull, Isabel, 90
- humanitarian intervention, 1, 39, 52, 77, 78, 134, 159–60n50
- humanitarianism, 54, 75, 132–33
- humanitarian law, 48, 96
- humanity, crime against, 49
- human rights, 1, 3, 12, 26, 27, 96, 115, 152n5; activism around, 105; and drone use, 94–95; and Geneva Conventions, 109; juridification of, 125; law concerning, 103–4, 108–13; and legitimation and compliance, 105; and rule of law, 27–28, 29; and US torture policy, 119
- human welfare, 9, 28, 103, 131

180 INDEX

- Iceland, 33
Ignatieff, Michael, 114
Ikenberry, G. John, 4, 55, 63–64, 65, 122, 130, 134, 159n42
illegal enemy combatant, 120
imperialism, 54
imperial sovereignty, 65
individuals: and CAT, 109–10; and Geneva Conventions, 109–10; and Genocide Conventions, 111; protection of liberty of, 36; rights of, 27, 103; and Rome Statute of International Criminal Court, 111
Institute for Development and Justice in Haiti, 6
instrumentalism, 8, 46, 47, 48–57, 151n86; and common good, 25; and compliance, 19; and domination, 12; feeling of obligation *vs.*, 49–50; and lawfare, 49; and legitimation, 5, 12, 50; as misuse of law, 49; reality of, 50; and rule following, 50; and state, 12; and torture, 107
International Committee of the Red Cross, 96
International Convention on the Regulation of Whaling, 6, 87
International Court of Justice (ICJ), 35, 39, 84, 150n75; *Belgium v. Senegal*, 35, 110–11; and equality, 43; and *ex aequo et bono* cases, 42; and humanitarian intervention, 159–60n50; and judicial review of UN Security Council, 41–42; Legality of the Use of Force case, 159–60n50; and *Nicaragua* decision, 71; and nuclear weapons, 17; *Nuclear Weapons* advisory opinion of, 85–91, 92–93, 162n3, 163n16; and *Nuclear Weapons* case, 101; as principal judicial organ of United Nations, 40; and state security needs, 100; and whale hunting, 52
International Court of Justice (ICJ) Statute, 85; Article 35, 43; Article 38(1), 158n32; Article 38(2), 42; Article 59, 43
International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, 108, 111
International Criminal Court, 33, 128, 152n5; Rome Statute, 111; Rome Statute, Article 98, 34
International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, 35; *Prosecutor v. Anto Furundzija*, 143n49, 147n49, 168n11
International Law Commission, 31, 141n22
International Whaling Commission, 10
International Whaling Convention, 33, 147n44
Iran, 157n25
Iraq, US-led invasion of (2003), 10, 67–68, 158n37
Iraq-Kuwait War (1990), 67, 73, 159n41
Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant, 74–75
Jackson, John H., 4
Japan, and whale hunting, 6, 52
Johnson, Paul, 25
judicial process: privileging of, 22
judiciary: independent, 24–25
juridification: of international human rights, 125; and politics, 65, 100, 123–24, 127; and torture policy, 125
jus cogens, 17, 35, 83, 108
jus in bello, 14, 95
justice, 26, 28–29, 53
justification, 48, 54; as changing future understanding of law, 8; and compliance, 50, 133; as constraint, 75; dialogic quality of, 53; and drones, 72, 97, 101; and law as social practice, 12; and legalism, 132–33; and legalization, 51; and nuclear weapons, 90; and obligations, 45; political utility of, 15, 45; and politics, 18, 56, 104, 121, 130, 131; and *raison d'état*, 80, 81; and self-defense, 3, 51–52, 71, 72–73, 76, 78, 80; and shared values, 53; and torture, 104, 106–7, 109, 115, 118–19, 121, 122, 128; use of international law for, 2, 7, 54–55, 59; and war, 3, 16, 52, 67,

- 71, 72–73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 80, 81, 133
just war theory, 80, 97
- Kadi* cases, 40, 41, 131
Kant, Immanuel, “Second Definitive Article for a Perpetual Peace,” 37
Kellogg-Briand Pact (Pact of Paris, 1928), 62, 156n6
Kennedy, David, 56
Kinsella, Helen, 60, 73; *The Image before the Weapon*, 13–14
Klabbers, Jan, 70–71, 98–99
Koh, Harold, 37, 82, 93, 126
Koremenos, Barbara, 175n24
Koskenniemi, Martti, 30, 55, 101, 132, 150n80; *From Apology to Utopia*, 47; “Constitutionalism as Mindset,” 151n86
Kosovo, 72, 159–60n50
Krasner, Stephen, 8
Kratochwil, Friedrich, 53
Kuwait, 67, 73, 159n41
- labor standards, 34, 44
Laden, Osama bin, 118
Lauterpacht, Hersch, 63
law: as applied consistently across cases, 22, 24–25; behavioral effect of, 66; citizens bound by, 12, 21, 22, 24, 25–26; as enabling, 5, 47, 102; as framework for politics, 22, 46, 100, 129; and irresponsibility, 18; and legalism, 48; rule of *vs.* rule by, 12, 27; stability of, 12, 21–23, 32–33; terms and categories created by, 24–25; universalism of, 44–45. *See also* compliance
law, absence of, 17, 82–102; and drone attacks, 16, 84, 91–98; and new weapons technologies, 16, 82, 84, 99; and nuclear weapons, 16, 84, 85–91; and obligation, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 91, 94, 99, 101. *See also* postlegalization; prelegal space/condition
law, as constraining, 3, 5, 18, 46, 50, 55–56, 59, 75, 83, 84, 102; and compliance, 2; and justification, 107; and legalism, 131, 132, 135; and legalization, 99; and liberalism, 11, 88, 129; and liberal-realist divide, 56; and new technologies, 84, 90; and torture, 118, 121, 126; and war, 16, 58, 63, 74, 75, 76, 94
law, as permissive, 2, 3, 5, 11, 32, 83, 137; and drones, 15, 94–95, 96, 98, 102; and legalism, 135, 136; and nuclear weapons, 85–86, 89–91; and politics, 124, 131, 135, 138; and thin *vs.* thick terms, 27; and torture, 104, 114, 124–25; and war, 16, 59–60, 66, 67, 68, 69, 73, 75, 76, 77–78, 80; and whaling, 33, 52
law, customary, 34, 38, 43, 134; and drone attacks, 91; and torture, 108; and use of nuclear weapons, 86
law, domestic, 4–5; as applied consistently across cases, 12, 22, 24–29, 42–44; and CAT, 110, 111; characteristics of, 19–29; and citizens *vs.* government power, 12, 20, 23–24, 36; and codification, 33; and consent, 20; as forward-looking, 21; and genocide, 111; and Genocide Convention, 111; and international system, 29–44; legal equality in, 43; as public and stable, 21, 22–23, 30–36; and US law on torture, 111–12
law, international: adaptability of, 23, 70–71, 134–36; codification of, 32–33; completeness of, 83; as constraint, 2, 23–24, 129; as controlling violence, 81; and drone attacks, 92, 97; and Eisenhower, 4; and empire, 18, 65–66, 134; and good governance, 1–2; hard *vs.* soft, 140n7, 144n1; and inequalities, 24, 129; infrangible, 79–80; and international politics, 24, 132; and lawful *vs.* unlawful conduct, 66; legitimating discourse from, 54; and morality, 9, 22; neutrality of, 22, 100; persuasive capacity of, 51; and political practice, 12, 48, 56; and power, 56, 129, 137; productive power of, 8, 47, 48,

182 INDEX

- law, international (*cont.*)
51–55, 98, 100, 103–4, 105, 106, 129;
as progressive force, 137; and rights,
responsibilities, obligations, and lia-
bilities, 52–53; as sovereign, 130–
38; state as bound by, 12, 21, 22, 24,
101; state claims of adherence to, 52;
utility of, 47, 48, 50, 136
- lawfare, 49; defined, 11
- League of Nations, 31; Committee of
Experts for the Progressive Codifi-
cation of International Law, 31;
Conference on Codification, 31
- legalism: and compliance, 130; as em-
pire, 85, 130, 137; government as
subordinate to, 48; lack of alterna-
tives to, 133–34; as normative and
political structure, 100, 132, 135; and
obligations, 137–38; permissive and
constraining effects of, 131; and poli-
tics, 100, 135; and United States, 136
- legalization, 32, 51; behavioral manifes-
tations of, 55; and compliance, 19;
and drone attacks, 98; as enhancing
state power, 75; and exculpatory ca-
pacity, 125; of global affairs, 1; and
lack of law, 83; and legitimation,
101, 106; and politics, 2–3, 51, 52,
105, 136; and prelegal conditions,
83–84; specific discourse of, 124;
and US torture policy, 127, 128
- legal vacuum theory, 88. *See also* law,
absence of
- legitimacy/legitimation, 12, 15, 36, 37,
137; and compliance, 6, 105, 106–7,
114–17, 126–27, 167–68n5; and con-
testation, 131; and determinacy of
rules, 32; and drone attacks, 95, 97–
98, 101; and Great Powers, 136; and
instrumentalism, 5, 12; international
law as discourse of, 9, 13, 45, 51, 131;
and legality, 50, 54, 74, 75; and le-
galization, 101, 106; legal resources
used for, 46, 48; objective tradition
on, 115–16; and politics, 6, 62, 75,
104, 106, 116, 122; and prelegal con-
ditions, 84; and rule violation, 116;
and self-defense, 51–52, 59, 76, 79–
80; subjective tradition on, 114–16;
and torture, 17, 104, 105, 106, 107,
113–17, 119, 125, 126, 127, 128; and
UN Charter, 76–77, 79; of violation
of UN rules, 39; and war, 3, 16, 60,
62, 66, 73, 74, 75, 76–77, 78, 79–80,
81, 95
- liberal internationalism, 4, 11, 28, 58,
64
- liberalism, 9, 11, 46, 47, 65, 88, 99, 102,
137; and ban on war, 16; and law as
constraining states, 55–56, 129; and
strong states, 155n40; and violence,
81
- Libya, 72, 139n1, 150n75
- Liese, Andrea, 112
- Lindseth, Peter, 126
- List, Friedrich, 136, 175n33
- Locke, John, 4, 11
- Lockerbie* case, 41–42, 150n75
- Lotus* case, 31, 83, 87, 88, 89, 92, 99,
101, 163n9
- MacCormack, Neil, 54, 123–24
- Machiavelli, Niccolò, 11, 80
- Maitland, Frederic William, *The His-
tory of English Law*, 58
- March, James, 49–50
- Marx, Karl, 80
- Marxism, 10
- Mazower, Mark, 55
- McBride, Keally, 2
- Michelman, Frank, 54
- Mitzen, Jennifer, 55
- morality, 9, 22, 25, 27, 28, 51, 100, 115,
116, 135, 136
- Namibia* case, 41
- natural law, 83
- Nau, Henry R., 64–65, 66, 157n25
- Nazism, 27
- Negri, Antonio, 65–66; *Empire*, 129
- New York Times*, 136
- Nicaragua* decision, 71
- 9/11 attacks, 14, 96, 97, 105, 107
- 9/11 Commission, 165n39
- nomos, 137
- non liquet, 83, 86–87

- Non-Proliferation Treaty, 85
nonresponsibility, 125
nonstate actors, 8, 48, 74
North Atlantic Treaty Organization, 72–73, 157n25
North Korea, 33, 34
nuclear-free zones, 85
nuclear research, 34, 44
nuclear weapons, 16, 17, 85–91; and Eisenhower, 4; legality of, 84, 85–91, 92, 98–102; and rules on conduct of war, 88–89; and state security needs, 100
- Obama, Barack, 118; Nobel speech of, 122
Obama administration, 93, 97
obligation, 7, 21; and absence of law, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 91, 94, 99, 101; of citizens, 25; and compliance, 130, 137; and consistency across cases, 42–43, 44, 45; and drone attacks, 91, 94; and interstate treaties, 33; and League of Nations, 31; and legalism, 137–38; and Locke, 11; and new weapons, 99; and nuclear weapons, 85, 86, 88; origins of, 55; and state autonomy, 30, 32–33, 34, 42–43, 88; and state policy, 137–38; and state practice, 69; states' interpretation of, 46, 51, 52, 134; states' specific, 20, 43, 44–45; as superior to governments, 18; and torture, 108, 109, 110–11, 112, 120, 122; and UN Security Council, 40; and war, 58, 62, 65, 68–69. *See also* compliance
- O'Connell, Mary Ellen, 55, 63, 66
Olsen, Johan, 49–50
Oppenheim, Lassa, 4
Orchard, Phil, 167n2
- pacta sunt servanda, 130, 132, 136, 137
Pakistan, 92
Peevers, Charlotte, 53
Pellet, Alain, 144n1
Pentagon, Office for Rule of Law and International Humanitarian Policy, 2
Permanent Court of International Justice, 30–31, 87
Philippines, 49
piracy, 35, 109
politics, 5, 27, 28, 47, 85, 138, 157n20; as associated with coercion, disorder, and unilateralism, 9; and compliance, 3, 6, 7, 8, 19, 108, 130, 144n1; and domestic rule of law, 12; and drone attacks, 14, 15, 97; and inseparable from law, 6, 47, 102; and international law, 2, 4–6, 29, 45, 48–57, 67; international *vs.* domestic, 132; juridification and displacement of, 52, 65, 85, 100, 123–24, 127, 135; and justification, 18, 56, 104, 121, 130, 131; law as framework for, 31, 46, 100, 129; and law as permissive, 124, 131, 135, 138; and legal categorization, 52; and legalization, 2–3, 51, 52, 105, 136; and legitimation, 6, 62, 75, 104, 106, 116, 122; and prelegal conditions, 84; and productivity of law, 103–4; and science, 52; as separate from international law, 9; and state's definition of self, 73; and torture, 18, 127; and war, 59, 62, 81
- Pollock, Frederick, *The History of English Law*, 58
pooled sovereignty organizations, 37
positivism, 7, 8, 30, 72, 76, 86, 101, 125
Posner, Eric, 142n26, 173n1
postlegalization, 83, 91, 99. *See also* law, absence of
postpositivism, 72
Pouliot, Vincent, 53
power, 9; arbitrary exercise of, 21, 24; conception of, 10; as exercised through rules and institutions, 64; in law, morals, ideas, concepts, or identities, 10; law as counterpoint to, 4; law as function of political, 10; law as negating, 56; as military and industrial capacity, 10; reputation as form of, 10; role of, 47; and state sovereignty, 10

184 INDEX

- power politics, 1, 122; coconstitution of law with, 47; international rules as taking place of, 65; and realism, 75
practice, 54, 69, 74, 80; international law as, 2; as jurisgenerative, 7–8; rule of law as product of, 56; theory of, 12, 21, 48, 53
prelegal space/condition, 17, 83, 84, 85, 89, 91, 99, 101. *See also* law, absence of
president, of United States, 119, 121
protection, responsibility for, 77, 133
Putin, Vladimir, 139n2
- al Qaeda, 72, 92, 95, 96, 97, 119–20
Quesnay, François, 1, 2, 129
- raisons d'état, 16, 80, 81
rationalism, 6–7, 76, 152n11
Raz, Joseph, 23, 24, 26, 27, 49, 77
realists, 5, 9, 10, 11, 12, 48, 137; and law as constraint, 55–56; and power politics, 75; and strong states, 155n40
rebel groups, 48, 113
Reinold, Theresa, 31
Reisman, W. Michael, 70, 80
Rejali, Darius, 168n9
religious freedom, 49, 51
Reus-Smit, Christian, 55
Rosenfeld, Michel, 145n21
rule following: and justification, 130; and legalism, 100; and legitimacy, 50, 51, 105, 114; outcomes of, 135; and reputation, 32, 52; and torture, 118, 125–26. *See also* compliance
rule of law: domestic, 19–29; as ideology, 6, 44, 47–48, 75, 100, 127–28, 131; international, 29–44, 47–57, 129; and justification, 45, 51–57, 130–36; thick *vs.* thin versions of, 26–29. *See also* Scott, Shirley
Ruys, Tom, 62, 70, 80–81
- Savage, Charlie, 95
Scalia, Antonin, 120
Schachter, Oscar, 51, 71, 159n42
Schaffer, Johan Karlsson, 116
Schatzki, Theodore, 53
Schmitt, Carl, 137
Schwebel, Stephen, 41–42
science, 49, 51, 52
scientific racism, 55
Scott, Shirley, 45
Sea Shepherd, 6, 152n5
self-defense, 3, 49, 59–60, 78, 124, 159nn41, 42; anticipatory, 69–70; and armed attack *vs.* threat, 73–74; ceasing of operations of, 69; changing understanding of, 3, 16, 59–60, 69–75, 79–80; and compliance, 72; constitution of self in, 72–73; as defense of interests of state, 73; and drone attacks, 14–15, 92, 96, 97; expansion of wars of, 131; and genuineness, 71; and justification, 3, 52, 71, 72–73, 76, 78, 80; and legitimization, 51–52, 59, 76, 79–80; necessity of, 72; and 9/11 Commission, 165n39; and nuclear weapons, 17, 89–90, 91, 92; and perceived threats, 16, 17; physical and temporal limits on, 74; privileged status of, 77; and threat to national interests, 74; and UN Charter, 16, 59, 61, 68, 69–70, 71–75, 96; and US-led invasion of Iraq (2003), 67. *See also* war
self-determination, 35
Senegal, 110–11
sensemaking, 53–54
Shaffer, Gregory, 84
Shklar, Judith, 100, 130, 135, 173n1
Simmons, Beth, 2, 55
Simpson, Gerry, 38, 43
Slaughter, Anne-Marie, 1–2
Snidal, Duncan, 124
social context, 77–78
social contract theory, 20
social goods, 26, 27–28, 29
social order, 26
Sørensen, Georg, 55
South Africa, 39, 149n63
sovereign: harm suffered by, 62, 74; and justification for war, 80
sovereign equality, 43

- Soviet Union, 339, 72
- Stanton, Jessica, 48
- Stassen, Harold, 159n44
- state: as centralized agent with monopoly on legitimate use of force, 40; global, 65, 134; interests of, 50, 81, 99; world, 134, 174n17
- state of nature, 4, 26, 83, 88, 101, 102
- states: autonomy of, 20, 34, 56, 84, 90; citizens of abroad, 72; disaggregated governance among, 37; equality of, 42–44; as explaining and justifying policies, 2; as free in absence of law, 101; and gaps in legal coverage, 86–87; interdependence of, 20; interests of, 13, 72, 142n26; and International Criminal Court, 33; interpretation by, 5, 20, 44, 46, 51, 56; and interpretation of UN ban on war, 66–75, 79; as jurisgenerative of international law, 8; and law as applied consistently across cases, 42–44; law as constraining, 2, 3, 56, 59, 129; law as empowering, 129; law as naturally progressive and protective against, 3; legal and political agency of, 32–35; legality as enhancing power of, 75; legitimacy of, 48; and liability for accidental deaths in war, 53; and national self-preservation, 89–90; and non liquet, 86–87; as not bound by legal decisions of others, 43; and policies *vs.* international rules, 7–9; reputation of, 10, 32, 52, 131; security of, 17, 60, 64, 71, 72, 73, 78, 80, 91, 92, 100, 132; and torture, 107, 109–10, 112; and UN Charter, 61, 62; and war, 62, 66–75, 79. *See also* compliance; government(s); obligation
- states, strong, 13, 38, 44, 100; law as malleable by, 134–36; legal interpretation by, 44; and legalism, 138; and meaning of rules and obligations, 134; priorities of, 137; and war, 59, 60, 64, 74; weak *vs.*, 9–10, 11
- Strauss, Leo, 157n20
- Syria, 49, 74–75
- Taliban, 92, 96, 97
- Tamanaha, Brian, 22, 23–24, 38; *On the Rule of Law*, 151n86
- Tammelo, Ilmar, 86
- Taylor, Charles, 53, 77–78
- Teitel, Ruti, 55
- terrorists, 14
- Teschke, Benno, 10
- Thatcher, Margaret, 67
- Toope, Stephen, 53, 55
- torture, 1, 13, 27, 28, 34, 44, 103–28, 147n49, 168n11, 171n48; definition of, 18, 104, 109, 120; and enhanced interrogation, 49, 120, 123, 131; and interpretation of law, 104, 106–7, 121, 123, 124, 127; and *jus cogens*, 35; and justification, 104, 106–7, 109, 115, 118–19, 121, 122, 128; prohibition of, 104, 105; and rules and interests, 104; and states *vs.* individuals, 109–10; and United States, 18, 104, 105, 107, 111–12, 117–28, 131, 134, 170–71n40; waterboarding as, 51
- torture warrants, 114
- travaux préparatoires*, 99
- treaties, 13, 30–31, 33, 38, 41, 54, 67, 99; CAT and Geneva Conventions as, 109; and drone attacks, 91; interpretation of, 70; and states' divergent legal rights and obligations, 43; and torture, 108, 112, 124, 127
- Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, 33, 34
- Trindade, Antonio Augusto Cançado, 147n51
- Trump, Donald, 118
- Trump administration, 136
- Turkey, 33, 87, 147n44
- Tyler, Tom, 115
- Ulfstein, Geir, 116
- United Kingdom, 67, 159–60n50
- United Nations, 25, 65; and codification of laws, 31; and Geneva Conventions, 109; as international government, 39, 40; and rule of law, 2; sovereign equality of members of, 43; Status of Forces Agreement with

186 INDEX

United Nations (*cont.*)

Haitian government, 6. *See also* International Court of Justice (ICJ)

United Nations Charter, 13, 14–15, 38, 39, 40–41, 111, 159n42; adaptability of, 70–71; and armed attack, 69, 73; Article 2(1), 42–43; Article 2(4), 61, 66–68, 77, 79, 81; Article 24(1), 40; Article 25, 149n68; Article 39, 41, 149n68; Article 51, 61, 69, 77, 81, 96; Article 51 of, 16; Article 92, 40; Chapter VII, 42; and humanitarian intervention, 159–60n50; and self-defense, 16, 59, 61, 68, 69–70, 71–75, 96; and states' sovereign equality, 43; and torture, 108; and UN Security Council, 40–41; and war, 16, 58, 59, 60–61, 62–63, 66–68; war as permitted *vs.* constrained by, 76–78

United Nations General Assembly, 31

United Nations Security Council, 34, 39–42, 69, 133, 149n68, 159n41; abstentions in, 38–39; as form of international government, 40; Great Power veto in, 134; and humanitarian intervention, 134; ICJ and judicial review of, 41–42; and Iraqi Army in Kuwait, 67; and *Kadi* case, 131; and Lockerbie dispute, 150n75; as political *vs.* legal organ, 40; Resolution 502, 67; as subordinate to international law, 41; as superior to international law, 40–41; and UN Charter, 40–41; and use of force, 39; and war, 59, 61, 67; as world government, 40

United States: and Afghanistan, 73, 120; and anticipatory war, 159n44; attacks on Islamic State, 74–75; attacks on Libya of 1986, 161n65; Authorization for Use of Military Force, 14–15; and CAT, 112, 118, 119, 120; Cold War spheres of influence of, 72; Department of Justice, Office of Legal Counsel, 119; and drone attacks, 8, 14–15, 53, 72, 92, 94–95,

100; and existence of armed conflict, 92, 95–98; and Geneva Conventions, 112, 119; invasion of Iraq by (2003), 10, 67–68; and legalism and violence, 136; liberal ideas and principles of, 64; and postwar order, 64; prisoners in custody of, 119–20, 123; as projecting interests and values, 136; rendition programs of, 123; as rule-of-law nation, 122; self-serving justifications of, 122; as subordinate to international legal rules and forms, 121–23; and Syria, 49; and torture, 18, 104, 105, 107, 111–12, 117–28, 131, 134, 170–71n40

United States Congress, 121

United States Constitution: Eighth Amendment, 112, 120; and president and torture, 119, 121

Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 108, 111

Veitch, Scott, 18, 54, 100

Venzke, Ingo, 124, 135

Vogel, Ryan, 96–97

Waltz, Kenneth, 36, 37, 78, 131–32

war, 1, 9, 27, 62, 66–67; aggressive, 28; ambiguity of, 97; anticipatory, 69–70, 159n43, 159n44; authorized by UN Security Council, 67; ban on, 15–16, 39, 58–81; bombing in, 14; capture *vs.* killing in, 93; changing rules of, 3, 16, 59–60, 69–75; civilians in, 13–14, 73, 86, 90–91, 93; and compliance with law, 80–81; declaration of, 95; and defensism, 60, 71; determination of existence of, 95–98; distinction and necessity in, 14, 88; and drone attacks, 8, 14–15, 54, 92, 93, 94–98, 100; and global order, 62–66; and harm suffered by sovereign, 62, 74; and humanitarian intervention, 1, 39, 52, 77, 78, 134, 159–60n50; and illegal enemy combatants, 120; and justification, 3, 16, 52, 67, 71, 72–73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78,

- 80, 81, 133; law as constraining, 16, 58, 63, 74, 75, 76, 94; law as permissive toward, 16, 59–60, 66, 67, 68, 69, 73, 75, 76, 77–78, 80; as legal category, 65; legalization of, 66; and legitimation, 3, 16, 60, 62, 66, 73, 74, 75, 76–77, 78, 79–80, 81, 95; noninternational, 119, 120; and politics, 59, 62, 81; proportionality in, 14, 72, 88, 93; purposes for, 77; and *raisons d'état*, 16, 80, 81; in response to armed attack, 67; as response to harm, 74; responsibility for killing in, 53; rules on conduct of, 88–89; states' liability for accidental deaths in, 53; and UN Charter, 16, 58, 59, 60–61, 62–63, 65, 66–68, 76–78; use of robots in, 118. *See also* aggression; self-defense
- War Crimes Act (1996), 111–12
- waterboarding, 51, 119, 120
- Watts, Arthur, 55
- weapons positivism, 90
- weapons technologies, 15, 16, 70, 82, 84, 89, 90, 93, 101. *See also* drone attacks; nuclear weapons
- Weber, Max, 114
- Webster, Daniel, 159n43
- Weick, Karl, 53–54
- Weiss, Peter, 163n9
- Wendt, Alexander E., 36, 134, 174n17
- Westphalian interstate system, 62
- whale hunting, 6, 10, 33, 34, 49, 52, 152n5
- Wiener, Antje, 131
- Wilson, Sloan, *The Man in the Grey Flannel Suit*, 103
- Wilson, Woodrow: Fourteen Points, 31
- Wohlforth, William, 136
- Wolff, Robert Paul, 133
- World Justice Project Rule of Law Index, 22
- World Trade Organization, 43
- Yemen, 92
- Zarbiyez, Fuad, 100
- Zürn, Michael, 31