



## *The Politics of International Norms*

Norm contestation is prevalent in international affairs: Legal ambiguities and tensions generate debate, even when well-established international norms are applied to concrete situations. This book discusses a wide range of norm disputes and develops a rhetorical approach to the politics of international norms. Anette Stimmer demonstrates how actors can agree or disagree on the norm frame (norm-based justification) and/or behavioral claim (implementing action) when applying international law. Thus, norm contestation can have four “alternate endings”: norm impasse, norm neglect, norm recognition, and norm clarification. These alternate endings affect the clarity and strength of the contested norms, as well as subsequent debate, differently. Furthermore, Stimmer explains how three classical elements of rhetoric – speakers (including delegation to agents), argumentation, and audience reactions – influence the duration and outcome of contestation. This rhetorical approach is applied to eight norm disputes, ranging from military interventions to contestation over the human rights of terror suspects.

ANETTE STIMMER is a Lecturer in International Relations at the University of St Andrews. Her research focuses on norm contestation and change, reasons for action, international security, and human rights. Her work has been published in the *European Journal of International Relations*, *International Studies Quarterly*, and the *Journal of Global Security Studies*. She has received awards from the International Studies Association and the Political Studies Association.

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# The Politics of International Norms

A Rhetorical Approach

ANETTE STIMMER

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*To Emma and Ben*

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Contents

<i>List of Figures</i>	<i>page</i> viii
<i>List of Tables</i>	ix
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	x
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	xii
Introduction	1
1 Alternate Endings of Norm Contestation	38
2 Persistence of Alternate Endings: Argumentation, Audience Reactions, and Speakers (Delegation to Agents)	78
3 Norm Impasse: Contested Statehoods of Kosovo, and of South Ossetia and Abkhazia (Territorial Integrity vs. Self-Determination)	118
4 Norm Neglect: 2011 Libya No-Fly Zone (R2P, PoC vs. Sovereignty) and South China Sea Dispute (UNCLOS, 2016 Arbitral Award vs. Nine-Dash Line)	156
5 Norm Recognition: 2003 Iraq War (Chapter VII Norms) and Targeted Sanctions (Due Process Rights)	209
6 Norm Clarification: International Terrorism (Right to Self-Defense and Torture Prohibition)	261
Conclusion	299
<i>Bibliography</i>	311
<i>Index</i>	355
	vii

*Figures*

1.1 The basic structure of arguments	<i>page</i> 46
1.2 Overlapping frame disagreements	52
1.3 Changes in scope are relative	68
1.4 Undermining of a norm core	70
4.1 Map of nine-dash line	167
4.2 Contested areas in the SCS	169
6.1 Bush and White House argumentation	292
6.2 In-group members' support for US interpretations	292
6.3 Rejection of US interpretations	293



Tables

1.1 “Alternate endings” typology	<i>page</i> 44
3.1 Overview of case study findings	128
4.1 Overview of case study findings	175
6.1 Overview of case study findings	267

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xi

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*Abbreviations*

ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
CAT	Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment
CC	competence–control (trade-off)
CFI	(European) Court of First Instance
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CID	cruel, inhuman or degrading (treatment)
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
CIVIC	Center for Civilians in Conflict
CSTO	Collective Security Treaty Organization
ECJ	European Court of Justice
EEZ	exclusive economic zone
GCC	Gulf Cooperation Council
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICJ	International Court of Justice
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
IIFMCG	Independent International Fact-Finding Mission on the Conflict in Georgia
IO	international organization
IR	International Relations
ISIL	Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant
ITLOS	International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea
KFOR	(NATO) Kosovo Force
KIG	Kalayaan Island Group
LAS	League of Arab States
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	non-governmental organization
O	opponent

*List of Abbreviations*

xiii

OIC	Organization of the Islamic Conference
P3	Three permanent UNSC members: the US, the UK and France
P5	Five permanent UNSC members: the US, the UK, France, Russia and China
PCA	Permanent Court of Arbitration
PoC	Protection of Civilians
PoW	prisoner of war
R2P	Responsibility to Protect
RO	regional organization
RwP	Responsibility while Protecting
SCO	Shanghai Cooperation Organization
SCS	South China Sea
TAN	transnational advocacy network
TRIPS	Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights
UNCLOS	United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNMIK	United Nations Mission in Kosovo
UNMOVIC	United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UNSCOM	United Nations Special Commission
WMD	weapons of mass destruction
WTO	World Trade Organization