

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-12111-9 - The Evolution and Legitimacy of International Security Institutions

M. Patrick Cottrell

Index

[More information](#)

Index

- Acharya, Amitav, 210
 Acheson, Dean, 141
 Acheson-Lilienthal Plan, 140–142, 143
 agency, 23–25, 29
 Angell, Norman, 74
 Angola, 107, 113
Anti-personnel Landmines (ICRC), 121
 anti-personnel mines. *See* landmines
 anti-tank mines, 103–104
 See also landmines
 arbitration and Hague Conferences, 69
 Argentina, 92, 157
 argumentative persuasion theory, 45–46, 48–49
 atomic weaponry. *See* nuclear technology
 Axworthy, Lloyd, 123
- Baruch, Bernard, 141, 142
 Baruch Plan, 141–142
 Bergmann, David, 146
 BLU-43/44 mines, 106
 Bohr, Niels, 138
 Bourgeois, Leon, 72
 Boutros-Ghali, Boutros, 119
 Brazil, 151, 157
 Bremmer, Ian, 210
 Bretton Woods System, 92
 Britain. *See* Great Britain
 Brown, Harold, 171
 Bulletin of Atomic Scientists, 205
 Burma, 204
 Butler, Richard, 172
- Cambodia, 107
 Canada, 123, 130–131
 See also Ottawa Convention
 Carr, E.H., 209
 “Castle Bravo” testing, 144
 causal beliefs, 42, 48–49, 53, 142–143
 CCW. *See* Convention on Certain
 Conventional Weapons (CCW),
 Protocol II
 Cecil, Robert, 65, 72, 78
 China
 on landmine bans, 100, 126
 NPT and, 148, 157
 UN and, 86, 90
 Chinese expression for crisis, 3, 8
 Churchill, Winston, 10
 Claude, Inis, 84
 Clemenceau, Georges, 73
 climate change initiatives. *See* Kyoto
 Protocol
 Clinton, Bill, 117, 120–121
 cognitive evolution, 42–43
 collective legitimization, 37
 collective security
 League of Nations and, 78–79, 83
 United Nations and, 88–91, 186, 207
 colonialism *vs.* self-determination, 76–77, 95
 competitive regime creation, 192
 Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty
 (CTBT), 175, 198
 Conant, James, 142

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-12111-9 - The Evolution and Legitimacy of International Security Institutions

M. Patrick Cottrell

Index

[More information](#)

258

Index

- Concert of Europe, 68–69
See also League of Nations
- Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), 187
- consensus building
 global governance and, 8, 10
 legitimacy through, 41–42, 43–44
- constructivist theory, 27–28
- Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons (CCW), Protocol II
 delegitimation process of, 58–59, 112–114
 evolutionary development of, 60–61, 103–105, 107–112
 landmine crisis awareness, 100, 114–118
 legitimacy of amendments to, 119–121
 Review Conference (RevCon), 118–119, 155, 156
 summary of institutional replacement of, 2, 13, 100–103, 127–132
See also Ottawa Convention
- Convention on Cluster Munitions (CCM), 59, 183, 199
- Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production, and Transfer of Anti-Personnel Mines and Their Destruction. *See* Ottawa Convention
- Cooper, John Milton, 78–79
- Cousins, Norman, 150
- Declaration of the United Nations (1942), 86
- democracy. *See* global governance
- Diana, Princess of Wales, 125
- diplomacy and Hague Conferences, 69
- Diplomatic Conference on the Reaffirmation and Development of International Law Applicable in Armed Conflicts, 108–110, 115
- disarmament, nuclear. *See* nuclear technology: disarmament
- dissolution, 21
See also institutional replacements
- Doomsday Clock, Bulletin of Atomic Scientists, 205
- Draft Rules for the Limitation of the Dangers Incurred by the Civilian Population in Time of War* (ICRC), 107–108
- Dumbarton Oaks conference, 85
See also United Nations (UN)
- Egypt, 162, 165
- Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee (ENDC), 146
- Einstein, Albert, 137, 144
- Eisenhower, Dwight D., 148–149
- Electoral College system, 9
- Ethiopia, 83
- experimental governance and legitimacy, 214
- Federation of American Scientists, 139–140, 144
- Financial Action Task Force (FATF), 213
- Food and Agriculture Organization, 60, 188
- forum effects, 52
- Fourteen Points speech (Wilson), 72, 75
- framing theory, 46
- France
 on landmine bans, 130
 NPT and, 157, 166
 postwar League and, 73
- Franck Report, 138–139, 142–143
- Gang of Four disarmament group, 163, 172
- Gard, Robert, 110
- General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), 2, 188
- Gentz, Friedrich von, 68
- George, Lloyd, 73
- Germany, 73, 82
- global governance
 Churchill on, 10
 collective security and, 78–79, 83, 88–91
 consensus building and, 8, 10
 future of, 210–212
 legitimacy paradox and future of, 9–11
 multilateralism in, 74–75, 91–93
 order, defined, 17
 public perceptions of, 1, 2, 3–4, 17–18
 role of, 3
 self-determination and, 76–77, 93–96
 universalism in, 75
 weaknesses of, 2
See also institutional legitimacy; *specific security institutions*

- Global Zero movement, 135, 136,
171–172, 176, 178, 184, 201–202
- Goodrich, Leland, 90, 186
- grafting, 46
- Gramsci, Antonio, 214
- Great Britain
on landmine bans, 130
nuclear negotiations of, 156, 166
postwar League and, 73
on UN veto power, 90
- green technology and nuclear
disarmament, 176, 204
- Hague Conferences, 69, 206
- Hall, Peter, 61
- Handicap International, 114, 117
- hard cases, defined, 30–31
- H-bomb regulation, 144
- hegemonic stability theory, 24
- Helms, Jesse, 130
- Hiroshima nuclear bombing, 137–138
- historical institutionalist approach, 61
- Hitler, Adolf, 83
- House, Edward, 72
- Hull, Cordell, 88
- Humanitarian Consequences Initiative,
135, 166, 172
- human rights, universal, 95–96
See also self-determination
- Human Rights Watch, 113, 114
- ideational foundations
consensus and legitimacy, 50–51, 54,
170
summary of, 179
- IMF (International Monetary Fund), 92
- India
on landmine bans, 100, 126
NPT and, 166
nuclear weaponry of, 133, 134, 143, 148
- Indonesia, 158
- institutional development and replacement,
181–182
- institutional legitimacy
analytical framework of, 33–34, 38–39,
49f, 60, 63–64, 179–181
arguments and perceptions of, 6, 7–8,
45–46, 48–49
causal beliefs, 42, 48–49, 53
change and process of, 204–205
cognitive evolution, 42–43
consensus-based procedures, 41–42,
43–44
defined, 4–5, 8–9, 34–35
experimental governance and, 214
forum effects, 52
foundational norms of, 37–38, 39
founding ideational consensus and,
50–51, 54, 195
framing theory, 46, 48–49
future of, 210–212
grafting, 46
learning mechanism, 53–54
norm entrepreneurs and, 47–48, 53, 201
paradox and global governance future,
9–11
political opportunity structure, 47, 55
political will, 215
power and, 24–29, 35–36, 37, 199
procedural contests of, 39–40
replacement and, 6, 7, 13–14, 56, 57f
stigmatization and, 53–54
struggles of, 51–52
substantive dimension of, 40–41
success *vs.* progress, 201
temporal context strategy, 55–56
variables and procedural space, 52–53
See also specific institutions
- institutional replacements
after war, 26
analytical framework of, 34, 44–45,
63–64
constructivist theory, 27–28
defined, 2, 3, 12, 15, 23
diagnostics for, 57–59, 60
vs. dissolution, 21
evolutionary process of, 6, 15–17,
20–21, 195
examples of, 16f
foundational norms and, 21–22, 43–44
historical institutionalist approach and,
61
institutional development and, 181–182
legal process of, 22–23
legitimation analyses in, 6, 7, 12, 13–14,
56, 57f, 189
life cycle theory of, 45–47
rational functionalist theory, 26–27, 35
replacement by reaffirmation, 58, 188
replacement by reconstruction, 58–59,
182–183
resilience and, 23–25

- institutional replacements (*cont.*)
 scholarship on, 18
 scope of inquiry on, 18–20, 23
 social constructivist approach, 61–63
 succession, 22
See also specific institutions
- International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), 10, 149
See also Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT)
- International Campaign to Ban Landmines (ICBL)
 creation and public awareness by, 114–118
 ideational foundations of, 121–122
 legitimization of, 201
 monitoring by, 127
 Nobel Peace Prize committee on, 199
 Ottawa Convention and, 58–59, 101
See also Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons (CCW), Protocol II
- International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC)
 creation of, 69
 on landmines, 107–108, 114, 121
- international humanitarian law principles, 108, 109
See also Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons (CCW), Protocol II
- International Labor Organization, 92
International Organization (journal), 17
- international public unions, 69–70
- International Refugee Organization, 21
- International Telecommunications Union, 59, 188
- Iran, 134, 157, 162
- Iraq, 134, 157
- Ireland, 77
- Israel, 134, 143
- Italy, 82, 117
- Japan
 League membership of, 73, 81, 82
 NPT and, 162
 nuclear bombing of, 137–138
 on nuclear power, 203
- Jervis, Robert, 30
- Kan Naoto, 203
- Kant, Immanuel, 68, 83
- Keeny, Spurgeon, 146
- Kellogg-Briand Pact, 82–83
- Kennedy, John F., 150, 174, 205
- Keohane, Robert O., 23–24
- Keynes, John Maynard, 73
- Khan, A.Q., 170
- Khrushchev, Nikita, 150
- Kissinger, Henry, 36, 163, 173
- Kupchan, Charles, 210
- Kyl, John, 175
- Kyoto Protocol, 2–3, 185
- landmines
 1970–90s use of, 113
 awareness by victims, 125–126
 description of, 100, 103–104, 105–106, 120
 historical use of, 103, 105, 107, 108, 122
 international humanitarian law
 principles and, 108, 109
 manufacturing of, 113, 127
 statistics on, 116
 U.S. officer letter on, 122
See also Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons (CCW), Protocol II; International Campaign to Ban Landmines (ICBL); Ottawa Convention
- Landmine Survivors' Network (LSN), 125
- League of Nations
 collective security by, 78–79, 83
 evolutionary development of, 60–61
 historical context of replacement, 12–13, 65
 ideational foundations of, 65–66, 70–74, 80, 93, 97
 legitimacy analysis of, 66, 80–84
 on multilateralism, 74–75, 207
 origin of, 67–70
 on self-determination, 76–77
 summary of institutional replacement of, 2, 58, 66–67, 96–98, 207
 Treaty of Versailles and, 83–84
 on universalism, 75, 207
See also United Nations (UN); *specific countries*
- “The League of Nations” (Smuts), 72
- Leahy, Patrick, 117

- legitimacy. *See* institutional legitimacy
- liberal order
 defined, 17
 economic *vs.* social, 18
 legitimacy and, 36
 See also global governance
- Lilienthal, David, 141
- Limited Test Ban Treaty (LTBT), 150–151
- Lipschutz, Ronnie D., 29
- “Little Boy” nuclear bomb, 137–138
- Lodge, Henry Cabot, 79
- Manhattan Project, 137
- Marx, Karl, 55
- Mattern, Bially, 27
- Mazower, Mark, 76
- Medico International, 114
- Mine Ban Treaty. *See* Ottawa Convention
- Mines, A Perverse Use of Technology*
 (ICRC), 114
- Mines Awareness Group, 114
- mine warfare. *See* landmines
- Mitterand, Francois, 117
- money laundering, 213
- Montreux Symposium (1993),
 115–116
- multilateralism, 74–75, 91–93, 207
 See also specific institutions
- Nagasaki nuclear bombing, 137–138
- NATO (North Atlantic Trade
 Organization), 29, 190, 194
- New Agenda Coalition, 166
- Niemayer, Gerhart, 98
- Nobel Peace Prize committee, 199
- Noor, Queen of Jordan, 125–126
- norm entrepreneurs, 47–48, 53
- North Korea, 134, 157
- NSC-68, 143
- Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT)
 1975–1990 disagreements, 156–157
 2000–2005 activities, 159–162
 2005–2010 activities, 163
 2010–2015 activities, 163–164
 actors in, 135, 153–155
 arguments and perceptions of, 7–8, 13,
 31
 assistance provision of, 152
 bargain summary of, 154t
 on civilians’ needs and regulation,
 148–149
 conditions for replacement of, 136
 consensus-based process of, 191
 evolutionary development of, 60–61,
 136, 145–147
 fairness and legitimacy of, 164–167,
 168
 historical context of, 136
 ideational foundations of, 147, 172–178
 implementation of, 153
 institutional reinforcements of, 10, 60
 legitimacy of, 153–156, 164
 monitoring and regulation of, 133, 149,
 150
 morality of, 150–152
 nonproliferation of, 154, 191
 on proliferation and destabilization,
 147–148
 resilience and legitimacy of, 133–136,
 167–169
 Review Conferences (RevCon), 155,
 156, 157–159
 weaknesses in, 2, 197
- nuclear technology
 causal beliefs on, 53, 142–143
 for civilians’ needs, 148–149, 174
 debates on strategic use of, 139,
 202–203, 204
- disarmament
 conditions for, 170–172
 delegitimation and ideational shift,
 172–176
 Global Zero movement, 135, 136,
 171–172, 176, 178, 201–202
 green technology and, 176, 204
 non-state groups for, 135, 136, 163,
 164
 Obama on, 163
 summary of steps towards, 160–161t
- early regulation efforts on, 145
- historical use of, 137–139
- military value of, 152–153, 172
- production process of, 165
- traditional assumptions of, 135
- See also* Nuclear Nonproliferation
 Treaty (NPT)
- Nunn, Sam, 163
- Obama, Barack, 135, 163
- Oppenheimer, Robert, 141
- order, 17
 See also liberal order

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-12111-9 - The Evolution and Legitimacy of International Security Institutions

M. Patrick Cottrell

Index

[More information](#)

262

Index

- Organization for Security and Cooperation
in Europe (OSCE), 187
- Organization of Economic Cooperation
and Development, 60, 189
- Ottawa Convention
consensus-based process of, 122–127
historical context of, 98–99
replacement process of, 58–59
requirements of, 126
summary as institutional replacement, 2,
13, 100–103, 127–132
See also Convention on Certain
Conventional Weapons (CCW),
Protocol II
- Pakistan, 134
- Pan-American Pact (1914), 78
- “Peace without Victory” (Wilson), 71–72
- Permanent Court of International Justice,
75, 92
- “Perpetual Peace” (Kant), 68
- Perry, William, 163
- Physicians for Human Rights, 114
- Poland, 86, 93, 104
- political opportunity structure, 47, 55
- political time, 55–56
- political will, 215
- Price, Richard, 101
- process/input, substance/output analytic
framework, 41–42
- process tracing method, 61–62
- public perceptions of global governance, 1,
2
- rational functionalist theory, 26–27, 35
- Reagan, Ronald, 174
- Red Cross. *See* International Committee of
the Red Cross (ICRC)
- replacements. *See* institutional
replacements
- Rhodes, Richard, 138
- Roosevelt, Franklin Delano, 87, 89
- Russell, Bertrand, 144
- Russell, Ruth, 94
- Russia. *See* Soviet Union
- Schattschneider, E.E., 198
- Schmitter, Philippe, 35
- Schultz, George, 163, 173
- security institutions
evolutionary process of, 29–31, 32t
scholarship on, 29–30
See also institutional replacements
- Selassie, Haile, I, 83
- self-determination
colonialism and, 76–77, 95
in League of Nations Covenant,
76–77
United Nations on, 93–96, 207–208
Wilson on, 77
- Skowronek, Stephen, 48, 55
- Smuts, Jan, 72
- social constructivist approach, 61–63
- South Africa, 157
- South Korea, 165
- Soviet Union
on arms control, 110, 142–143
on landmine bans, 100, 126
NPT and, 156, 157
United Nations and, 89, 93
-US nuclear negotiations, 146, 147, 175
- Stalin, Joseph, 89, 142–143
- START Treaty, 175, 202
- stigmatization and legitimacy, 53–54
- Strange, Susan, 23
- substance/output, process/input analytic
framework, 41–42
- succession, 22
See also institutional replacements
- Taylor, Adolfo, 158
- Tehran Declaration (1943), 94
- temporal context strategy, 55–56
- Treaty of Locarno, 82–83
- Treaty of Tlatelco, 157
- Treaty of Versailles, 83–84
- Truman, Harry S., 140, 143
- Twain, Mark, 215
- UNESCO (United Nations Educational,
Science and Cultural Organization),
92
- UN High Commissioner for Refugees
(UNHCR), 21
- unions, international public, 69–70
- United Nations (UN)
Atomic Energy Commission, 140
CCW and, 109–110
collective legitimization of, 37
on collective security, 88–91, 186, 207
early planning process of, 85–87
experimental governance of, 213

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-12111-9 - The Evolution and Legitimacy of International Security Institutions

M. Patrick Cottrell

Index

[More information](#)

Index

263

- historical context of, 12–13, 65, 84–85
- ideational foundations of, 97, 182
- on multilateralism, 91–93, 207
- on self-determination, 93–96, 207–208
- summary as institutional replacement, 2, 58, 66–67, 96–98, 207
- weaknesses in, 1
- See also* League of Nations
- United States
 - on landmine bans, 100
 - nuclear bombing by, 137–138
 - nuclear control proposals by, 141, 142, 144
 - nuclear monitoring provisions and, 149, 150
 - Soviet nuclear negotiations, 146, 147, 156, 175
 - See also specific institutions and agreements; specific leaders*
- universalism, 75, 207
- See also* multilateralism
- USSR. *See* Soviet Union
- Venezuela, 158
- Vietnam Veterans of America Foundation, 114, 122
- Walters, Frank, 72
- war
 - ideational consensus and, 50–51
 - institutional replacements after, 26, 31
 - League of Nations origins in, 70, 71
 - mine use in, 105, 107
 - See also specific security institutions*
- weapons industry. *See* landmines; nuclear technology
- Webster, C.K., 186
- Weiss, Thomas, 98, 206, 208
- Wells, H.G., 208–209
- Wendt, Alexander, 25–26
- Williams, Jody, 127–128
- Williamson, Oliver, 106
- Wilson, Woodrow
 - on collective security, 78
 - on democracy, 77
 - Fourteen Points speech, 72, 75
 - isolationism of, 81, 87
 - on League of Nations, 67, 71–73
 - on self-determination, 76, 77
- Wisnumurti, Nugroho, 158
- World Health Organization, 59, 92, 188
- World Meteorological Association, 59, 188
- World Trade Organization (WTO), 1, 2, 188, 198
- WTO. *See* World Trade Organization (WTO)
- Young, Oran, 30–31
- Zimmern, Alfred, 74