

## INDEX

- Abu Ghraib, 207–8, 219, 268, 271, *See* *Bush, George W.*
- American exceptionalism, 207–8
- Afghanistan Situation
- ICC investigation, 14, 268
- Pre-Trial Chamber, 270
- Afghanistan War 2001, 103, 162, 207, 214
- aggression, crime of. *See* *Rome Statute*
- activation, 221, 256
- complementarity and, 254
- legalism and, 253
- non-state parties, 255
- Nuremberg precedent, 221
- prosecution routes, 244, 254
- rationale, 242
- Understandings, the, 244–5
- UNSC control, 184
- US policy toward, 239, 244, 253, 254
- humanitarian intervention, 245–6
- Albright, Madeleine, 131
- American exceptionalism, 26, 130
- liberal internationalism, 135
- realism and idealism, 130
- American exceptionalism
- check on US power, 270, 276
- competing variants, 68–9
- definition, 24–5
- history of, 25–6
- ICC policy and, 267
- ideology and, 26, 69
- imperial power and, 47
- legal scholarship, 24, 27–32
- realism and, 69
- Syria and, 23
- US global responsibilities, 99, 188, 196
- American foreign policy ideology
- dimensionality
- governance dimension, 74–5
- values dimension, 75–6
- diplomatic history, 63–4
- four-part typologies, 65–8, 224, 230
- idealism and realism, 130, 223
- illiberal internationalism, 74
- illiberal nationalism, 74
- illiberalism, 76
- internationalism, 74
- Jacksonians, 64, 66–7
- liberal internationalism, 74
- liberal nationalism, 74
- liberalism, 63, 75
- messianism, 46, 52, 63, 91
- nationalism, 75
- US Supreme Court and, 273
- Wilsonians, 66, 73
- Amnesty International, 180, 205, 208, 214
- Annan, Kofi, 132, 205
- Art. 98 agreements, 179, *See* *Rome Statute*, Bolton, John
- EU position, 180
- practical effect, 189
- SOFA, 187
- ASPA, 179, 183
- amendment, 192, 213
- Art. 98 agreements and, 179
- Clinton opposition, 179
- Dodd Amendment, 186
- EU position, 180
- liberal internationalist criticism, 186
- Bassiouni, Cherif, 15, 146, 148, 155, 158, 174, 208
- Bellinger III, John, 14, 41, 104
- Bolton, John and, 200
- commitment to IL, 199
- ICC policy continuity, 199
- ideology, 196

- Bellinger III, John (cont.)  
 international judicial power, 215  
 Iraq War 2003, 273  
 rule of law, 195, 198
- Bolton, John, 159  
 Afghanistan Situation, 269  
 Art. 98 agreements, 188  
 compliance with IL, 170  
 EU criticism of, 200  
 ICC and US Constitution, 169  
 ICC prosecutor, 182  
 ICJ, 117  
 ideological beliefs, 165–6  
 jurisprudence, 112  
 Trump administration, 261, 264  
 unsigning Rome Statute, 166, 170
- Bork, Robert, 112, 114, 117  
 ICC, 169, 170
- Bradley, Curtis, 108, 160, 172, 203
- Brazil, 206, 215, 243, 249
- Bush, George H. W., 2  
 Clinton criticism by, 129  
 ICC policy, 125–8, 134  
 illiberalism, 126  
 internationalism, 127
- Bush, George W.  
 Bush Doctrine, 116  
 Darfur referral, 209  
 Habermas, Jürgen on, 260  
 ICC, criticism of, 192  
 ideological beliefs, 32, 117, 161  
 illiberal nationalism, 168  
 legalistic policies, 202–4  
 liberal internationalism and, 162  
 NSS 2002, 163, 181, 202  
 pragmatic development of IL, 198, 203, 204  
 unsigning Rome Statute, 171, 235  
 War on Terror, 116, 162, 186, 194, 202, 213  
 enhanced interrogation, 203  
 Geneva Conventions, 194  
 prisoner abuse scandal, 205, 207–8, 213, 268
- Cassese, Antonio, 154, 198
- Chesterman, Simon, 81, 83, 84, 85, 86
- Christopher, Warren, 129–30  
 confirmation hearing, 135
- CICC, 123, 146, 151, 205
- Clinton, Hillary, 239  
 American exceptionalism, 206  
 ideological beliefs, 229–31
- Clinton, William J., 156, 160  
 ICC personal support, 133, 134  
 ICC signature, 139  
 ideological beliefs, 128  
 Iraq airstrikes, 272  
 Wilsonianism, 128, 163, 193
- comparative international law, 9, 70, 88  
 European and American views, 41, 45, 89, 196
- Darfur situation, 201, *See* UNSC  
 Commission of Inquiry, 198, 214  
 UNSC referral, 200, 204, 209–13, 214–18, 249, 252
- Department of Defense  
 ICC policy under Clinton, 136, 143  
 UNSC control of ICC, 143, 144, 156
- Department of State  
 Legal Adviser, 10, 11, 41, 84, 126, 133, 139, 150, 164, 195, 196, 221, 231
- Dicey, A. V., 82, 93
- Dodd, Christopher, 134–5, 185, 193  
 ASPA criticism, 213
- EU, 124  
 ASPA criticism, 180  
 ICC relationship, 197  
 Kampala Conference, 234  
 sovereign equality, 174  
 US criticism of, 170, 200
- foreign policy  
 definition, 7
- Foreign Policy Analysis  
 definition, 9  
 levels of analysis, 48
- foreign policy ideology, 4, *See* ideology  
 definition, 57  
 legal scholarship and, 70–3  
 meanings, 56  
 populism and, 75  
 US constitution and, 71
- Friedman, Wolfgang, 77

- Germany, 124, 141, 150, 180, 234
- Goldsmith, Jack, 32, 100, 108, 115  
     Darfur referral, 209  
     hegemonic privilege, 175–7  
     *The Limits of International Law*, 34–5, 76, 81, 113, 119
- Grewe, Wilhelm, 1, 36
- Hamdan v. Rumsfeld*, 101, 106, 273
- hegemonic international law  
     American hegemony, 36  
     counter-hegemonic interests, 37  
     definition, 35  
     hegemonial lawmaking, 36  
     policy-oriented jurisprudence  
         and, 40
- Helms, Jesse, 64, 113, 117, 138, 145, 164, 168, 169, 171, 178, 184, 266  
     Bolton, John on, 166
- Higgins, Rosalyn  
     international rule of law, 84, 85, 87, 95  
     policy-oriented jurisprudence  
         and, 41  
     US power, 43
- Human Rights Watch, 144, 146, 206
- ICC. *See aggression, crime of, Rome Statute*  
     amnesties, 133, 137  
     complementarity, 145, 149  
         definition, 149  
         prosecutorial independence, 149–51  
     delegated jurisdiction, 151–5  
     EU relationship, 167, 197  
     history, 12–13  
     judicial independence, 147, 269  
     jurisdiction over non-state  
         parties, 249  
     OTP, 150, 268  
     *proprio motu* powers, 149  
     separation of powers, 146  
     UN relationship, 197  
     UNSC control, 141, 173  
     US values and, 269
- ICJ, 117, 126, 135  
     *Armed Activities Case*, 95  
     *Nicaragua Case*, 2, 115–16, 272  
         separation of powers, 95
- ICTR, 13, 140, 149
- ICTY, 13, 43, 140, 149, 176
- ideology. *See foreign policy ideology*  
     definitions, 54–6  
     dimensionality, 58  
     foreign policy ideology, 56–7  
     ideal types, 59  
     ideas as beliefs, 53  
     interests and, 53, 212  
     International Relations, 51, 53  
     populism and, 75  
     power legitimation, 56
- Ignatieff, Michael  
     American exceptionalism, 29–30
- ILC, 12, 93, 123, 127
- illiberal internationalism, 96–7, 101–2  
     consent to judicial power, 105  
     customary IL, 106  
     domestic courts, 106  
     domestic politics and, 102  
     equality meaning, 104  
     hegemonic privilege, 104, 209  
     international judicial power, 105, 156  
     legal diplomacy, 196  
     pragmatic development of IL, 102  
     *realpolitik* and, 101  
     treaties, 106
- illiberal nationalism, 112–13  
     Bush doctrine, 116  
     equality meaning, 116  
     municipal supremacy, 117  
     permissive development of IL, 114  
     populism and, 113  
     relative sovereignty, 115  
     rogue states, 116  
     Schmitt, Carl, 116  
     strategic costs of, 201  
     terrorism, 194
- interdisciplinary research, 8–11
- international law policy  
     coherence, meaning of, 119  
     definition, 7  
     interdisciplinarity, 8  
     interests and ideology, 266

- International Law scholarship, 8, 16, 24, 27, 38, 40, 51, 70, 92, 266
- International Relations, 40
- constructivism, 52
  - FPA subfield, 9
  - ideology and, 51
  - IR and IL, 8
  - neoclassical realism, 51–3
    - definition, 52
  - realism and institutions, 34
- international rule of law
- balance of power, 33
  - commitment to process, 275
  - competing conceptions, 88
  - Dacey, A. V. formulation, 83
  - equality meanings, 85
  - functionalist definition, 84
  - global governance, 84
  - ICC as exemplar, 15
  - integrity of judicial power, 86
  - non-arbitrary global governance, 84
  - separation of powers, 87
  - sovereign equality, 119
  - UN endorsement, 80
- Iraq War 2003, 32, 45, 115, 162, 163, 207, 214, 272
- legality, 2, 3, 44, 231
  - Taft IV, William, 273
- Jackson, Andrew, 148, 263
- Kagan, Robert, 32–3, 37, 160, 175, 276
- Habermas, Jürgen on, 260
  - liberalism and, 47
- Kennan, George, 64, 92
- Kennedy, David, 38, 39
- Koh, Harold
- American exceptionalism, 29–32
  - Bush 43 administration on, 235, 238–9
  - commitment to IL, 231
  - humanitarian intervention, 100
  - ICC policy shift, 220
  - ideological beliefs, 231–2
  - Iraq War 2003, 3
  - signature Rome Statute, 235–8
  - transnational legal process, 98, 231
- Koskenniemi, Martti
- domestic analogy, 95
  - hegemony, 37
  - law and politics, 5, 87, 275, 276
  - policy-oriented jurisprudence, 39
  - US imperialism, 89
- Kosovo Intervention 1999, 99, 246
- policy-oriented jurisprudence and, 42
- lawfare, 161, 207, 254
- Rumsfeld, Donald on, 161, 182
- legal policymakers
- definition, 10
  - legal policymaking, 11
  - WHR typology and, 60
- legalism
- cosmopolitanism, 91
  - defining equality, 140, 174, 205, 242
  - definition, 89
  - determining judicial power, 95, 146, 179, 214, 249
  - developing global governance, 132, 167, 197, 233
  - domestic analogy, 90
  - formalised development of IL, 92–3
  - ICC and UNSC, 214, 249
  - judges, 95
  - pejorative uses, 90
  - positive obligations, 94
  - power and, 89
  - sovereign equality, 93, 242
  - UN peacekeeper immunity, 205
  - US advocates of, 92
  - value of, 275
- liberal internationalism
- Bush 43 administration and, 185
  - complementarity, 156
  - democracy and, 97, 100, 227
  - exceptionalist responsibilities, 142
  - humanitarian intervention, 99
  - legalism and, 97, 98
  - liberal equality, 99
  - municipal rule of law and, 96
  - transnational development of IL, 98
  - US Constitution, 98
  - Wilsonianism, 66, 73, 96–7, 129
- liberal nationalism, 107–9
- democracy and, 107
  - human rights, 110

- illiberalism and, 108
- inviolable sovereignty, 110
- isolationism and, 172
- Obama, Barack, 228–9
- Paul, Rand, 108
- Paul, Ron, 108–10, 185
- protective development of IL, 109
- UN and, 109
- US Constitution, 109
- vertical separation of powers, 111, 185
- Libyan Civil War 2011
  - UNSC referral, 249, 252
- Lietzau, William, 143
  - commitment to IL, 137, 148
  - draft elements of crimes, 136
- LMS, 124, 147, 151, 158, 202
- Lotus Case*, 103, 152
  
- Matheson, Michael, 84, 139
- Mead, Walter Russell
  - American exceptionalism, 69
  - Bush, George W., 163
  - Clinton, William J., 129
  - foreign policy traditions, 65, 67–8, 74
  - Hamiltonians, 66
  - Jacksonians, 67, 112, 194, 263
  - Jeffersonians, 66
  - legal scholarship and, 71–3
  - Obama, Barack, 223
  - Powell, Colin, 164
  - Trump, Donald, 263
  - Wilsonians, 66
- Morris, Madeline, 153–5
- Murphy, John, 28, 44, 81, 142
  
- NGOs, 123, 147
- Nolte, Georg, 80, 154
- Nuremberg Tribunal, 12, 134, 146, 259
  - aggression, 221
  - ICC comparison, 240, 247
  
- Obama, Barack
  - American exceptionalism, 23
  - Bush 43 comparison, 241
  - commitment to IL, 221
  - conservative criticism of, 223
  - ideological beliefs, 229
  - illiberal internationalism, 229
  - liberal internationalism, 222
  - liberal nationalism, 228–9
  - Niebuhr, Reinhold, 223
  - Nobel Lecture, 225, 226–7, 245
  - Nobel Peace Prize, 220
  - NSS 2010, 227, 228, 234, 251
  - NSS 2015, 257
  - realism, 228
  - rule of law, 227
  - signature Rome Statute, 235–8, 267
  - transnational development of IL, 238
  - US global responsibilities, 245
- Persian Gulf War 1991, 2, 126, 272–3
- policy-oriented jurisprudence
  - American exceptionalism, 48
  - American legal realism, 39
  - distinctive US policy and, 38–44
  - legal positivism and, 41
  - New Haven School, 40, 48
  - political and legal realism, 42
  - US power and, 43, 48
- populism, 113
  - globalism and, 262
  - ideology and, 75
  - rising support, 61
  - Trump administration, 262
- Posner, Eric, 35
  - The Limits of International Law*, 34–5, 76, 81, 113, 119
- Powell, Colin, 162, 164, 166, 184
  
- Rapp, Stephen
  - aggression, crime of, 253
  - humanitarian intervention, 246
  - ICC and US Constitution, 252
  - unsigned Rome Statute, 236
  - US global responsibilities, 240
- Rice, Condoleezza, 216
  - Abu Ghraib, 208
  - ASPA criticism, 213
  - Bellinger, John and, 195
  - Bolton, John and, 191, 195
  - commitment to IL, 193, 211, 274
  - Darfur referral, 210
  - ideological beliefs, 192–5
  - rule of law, 274
- Rice, Susan, 239

- Rome Statute, 13  
 Art. 8*bis*, 244, 245  
 Art. 12, 152, 255  
 Art. 13(b), 205, 206, 211, 251  
 Art. 15*bis*, 244, 255, 256  
 Art. 15*ter*, 244, 256  
 Art. 16, 204, 244, 251  
 Art. 17(1)(a), 149  
 Art. 18, 150  
 Art. 34, 150  
 Art. 42, 150  
 Art. 53(1), 150  
 Art. 98, 187–8, 217  
 Arts. 6, 7 & 8, 13, 246  
 draft statute 1994, 145, 243  
 Kampala Conference, 221, 243, 244, 254, 256  
 Rome Conference, 13, 124, 142, 157, 236  
 unsigning effect, 235
- Rubinfeld, Jed, 109, 112  
 constitutionalism, 44–7
- Sanders, Bernie, 108, 110
- Sands, Philippe, 182, 192, 210, 274  
 delegated jurisdiction, 154  
 law and power, 3, 77, 174, 190, 203  
 rule of law, 3, 173, 174, 179  
 US Supreme Court on, 273
- Scharf, Michael, 126, 128, 133, 168, 209
- Scheffer, David  
 American exceptionalism, 27, 156  
 Art. 98 agreements, 187  
 Bolton, John, 212  
 delegated jurisdiction, 153  
 ICC policy contradictions, 15, 137, 139, 142, 143, 266  
 ideological beliefs, 131  
 Rome Conference, on, 138, 142, 157, 187  
 rule of law, 141  
 UNSC privileges, 247  
 unsigning Rome Statute, 235
- Sewell, Sarah, 239
- Shklar, Judith, 89, 90, 91, 259  
 legalism, value of, 276
- Slaughter, Anne-Marie, 16, 28, 101  
 humanitarian intervention, 99  
 rule of law, 96
- Taft IV, William, 3, 164, 165, 195  
 Iraq War 2003, 273
- Trump, Donald, 4  
 ICC policy, 14, 262, 270  
 ideological beliefs, 64, 262–5  
 IL policy, 6, 261–5  
 illiberal nationalism, 263  
 Jacksonian, 263  
 signature Rome Statute, 267  
 US Supreme Court, 273
- United States  
 ICC policy  
 Art. 98 agreements, 187  
 ASP attendance, 236  
 ASPA, 179, 183  
 complementarity, 150, 269  
 customary IL, 136, 152–3, 157  
 delegated jurisdiction, 152  
 domestic prosecutions, 170, 183, 216, 251, 270  
 global responsibilities, 27, 105, 135, 142–3, 176, 186, 196, 207, 240, 245  
 hegemonic privilege, 175–7  
 hybrid courts, 198, 216, 251  
 hypocrisy, 141–2, 177, 196, 257, 265–8  
 independent prosecutor, 150–1  
 international judicial power, 153, 253  
 law and politics, 267  
 territorial jurisdiction, 151–5  
 torture, 44, 110, 115, 182, 264  
 UNSC control, 155, 217, 243  
 unsigning Rome Statute, 170–1, 267  
 US Constitution and, 73, 106, 138, 148, 164, 169, 184, 185, 252
- IL policy  
 customary IL, 106, 108, 164  
 global responsibilities, 145, 227

## INDEX

283

- hypocrisy, 2, 14, 45–6, 55, 71–2, 73, 196, 265, 271
- ICJ, 117–18, 125–6, 272
- policymakers, 10–11
- treaties, 106, 109
- UNSC
  - aggression, crime of, 242
  - ICC control, 140–1, 211
  - P5, 36, 124, 140, 206, 211, 242, 243, 247, 255
  - peacekeeping immunity, 174, 177, 178, 205, 206, 214, 217
  - rule of law meeting 2012, 233–4
- US Senate
  - ICC hearing 1998, 138, 159, 169
  - ICC support, 134
  - treaty ratification, 31, 238
- US Supreme Court, 101
- foreign policy ideology, 273
- rule of law, 148, 230, 241
- VCLT
  - Art. 18, 164, 170–1, 172, 237
  - Art. 34, 153, 185
- WHR typology, 50, 57–8, *See foreign policy ideology*
  - belief types, 60
  - development, 59–62
  - dimensionality, 67–8
  - diplomatic history and, 64–5
  - elites and masses, 61
  - ideal types, 59
  - Mead typology, similarity, 67
  - partisanship, 61
- Wilson, Woodrow, 64, 66, 101, 223, 260