

Contents

<i>List of Figures and Table</i>	xix
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	xxi
1. Introduction: Non-Great Power Treaties in International Relations	1
Setting the Scene	1
Non-Great Power Treaties and Global Governance	6
The Argument in Brief: Treaties as Vectors for International Social Change	13
Case Selection: Non-Great Power Treaties and their Alternatives	16
The Plan for the Book	23
2. A Social Theory of Treaty Influence	25
Three Problems for Non-Great Power Law	27
The Social Structure of International Law and its Consequences	29
The Promise of Non-Great Power Law	34
Conclusion	45
3. Assessing Treaty Impact	47
Conceptualizing Institutional Effectiveness	47
Treaties, Norms, and Outcomes	49
The Normative Structure of the Mine Ban Treaty and Rome Statute of the ICC	60
Conclusion	71
4. Building a Community of Law: States Parties and the Mine Ban Treaty	73
Patterns of Membership in the Mine Ban Treaty	73
Logics of Membership: Humanitarianism and the Discursive Legitimacy of the Mine Ban	75
Changing International Behaviour: Compliance with Core Prohibitions	81
Exceptional Politics: Public Discourse and the Status of the Mine Ban Norm	88
Enforcing Community Expectations: Responses to Violations and the Impact on Norms	95
Conclusion: The Status of the Mine Ban Treaty	98

5. Informal Adaptation: Non-Parties and the Mine Ban Treaty	100
Discursive Engagement: Non-Parties and Normative Pulls	101
Informal Restraint: Non-Party Adaptation to the Mine Ban	107
The Rhetorical Politics of Mines: Non-Party Discourse and the Social Status of the Ban	113
Gulliver (Informally) Bound: The United States and the Mine Ban	116
Conclusion: Non-Parties and Normative Pulls	120
6. States Parties and the International Criminal Court	123
Membership in the ICC Community	124
Implementation and Compliance: Accommodation with the Rome Statute Regime	131
Deferring to the Court? Instrumentalizing the Legal Process and its Consequences	139
Contesting the Court: Debates over the Jurisdiction and Status of the ICC	145
Conclusion: The ICC and its Membership	150
7. Non-Parties and the International Criminal Court	152
The Principle of Internationalized Justice in Non-Party Discourse	154
Logics of Resistance: Contestation over the Court	155
Instrumentalizing the Court: The Politics of Security Council Referrals	159
Shaping Future ICC Jurisdiction: Negotiations over the Crime of Aggression	168
Accommodation amid Resistance: The United States and the ICC	172
Conclusion	182
8. Lessons from the Cases	185
Comparing the MBT and ICC	185
Explaining Variation in Non-Great Power Norms	193
Shared Conditions of Possibility	198
Alternative Institutional Worlds: Counterfactuals and the Impact of the MBT and ICC	198
Conclusion	208
9. Conclusion: Towards a Research Agenda on Non-Great Power Institutions	209
Non-Great Power Treaties in Wider Context	210
Alternative Choices: Multilateralism (or Not) with the Great Powers	214
Future Governance without the Great Powers: Considering Actors and Agency	219

Conclusion	223
Appendix: List of Interviewees Cited in the Text	225
<i>Bibliography</i>	227
Academic Sources	227
Policy Sources (NGO, Governmental, Intergovernmental, and News Reports)	246
<i>Index</i>	281