International law and order

by Georg Schwarzenberger.

# THE LIBRARY OF WORLD AFFAIRS

Editors:

GEORGE W. KEETON

AND

GEORG SCHWARZENBERGER

Number 69

INTERNATIONAL LAW AND ORDER

100-

## BY THE SAME AUTHOR

Das Völkerbunds-Mandat für Palästina, Stuttgart 1929 Die Kreuger-Anleihen, Munich and Leipzig 1931 Die Internationalen Banken für Zahlungsausgleich und Argrarkredite, Berlin Die Verfassung der Spanischen Republik, Königsberg 1933 William Ladd, London 1935-2nd ed. 1936 The League of Nations and World Order, London 1936 Making International Law Work (together with G. W. Keeton), London 1939 -2nd ed. 1946 Power Politics. A Study of World Society, London 1941-3rd ed. 1964 (German ed. 1955—Spanish ed. 1960)
International Law and Totalitarian Lawlessness, London 1943 International Law as Applied by International Courts and Tribunals, First published London 1945—Vol. I: General Principles, 3rd ed. 1957; Vol. II: The Law of Armed Conflict, 1968; Vol. III: The Law of International Institutions (in preparation)

A Manual of International Law, London 1947—5th ed. 1967 (German ed. The Fundamental Principles of International Law, Recueil, Hague Academy of International Law, 1955-Vol. 87 The Legality of Nuclear Weapons, London 1958 (transl. into German, Italian and Spanish, 1958-59) The Frontiers of International Law, London 1962 The Inductive Approach to International Law, London 1965 The Principles and Standards of International Economic Law, Recueil, Hague Academy of International Law, 1966-Vol. 117 Foreign Investments and International Law, London 1969 Economic World Order? The Melland Schill Lectures, 1970, Manchester 1970

# INTERNATIONAL LAW AND ORDER

BY

## GEORG SCHWARZENBERGER

of Gray's Inn, Barrister-at-Law Professor of International Law in the University of London Director, London Institute of World Affairs

LONDON
STEVENS & SONS

First published - - 1971

Published by Stevens and Sons Limited of 11 New Fetter Lane in the City of London and printed in Great Britain by The Eastern Press Ltd. of London and Reading

AUSTRALIA

The Law Book Company Ltd. Sydney: Melbourne: Brisbane

CANADA AND U.S.A.
The Carswell Company Ltd.
Agincourt, Ontario

INDIA
N. M. Tripathi Private Ltd.
Bombay

ISRAEL

Steimatzky's Agency Ltd. Jerusalem: Tel Aviv: Haifa

MALAYSIA: SINGAPORE: BRUNEI Malayan Law Journal (Pte) Ltd. Singapore

> NEW ZEALAND Sweet & Maxwell (N.Z.) Ltd. Wellington

> > PAKISTAN
> > Pakistan Law House
> > Karachi

SBN 420 43440 2

0

Georg Schwarzenberger 1971 To

PAUL AND ALAN

## PREFACE

SINCE I started working on The League of Nations and World Order (Constable, London — 1936), I have become increasingly fascinated by the relations between law and order in general, and international law and order in particular. The fourteen essays published in this book are concerned with various aspects of this fundamental legal problem. International Law and Order is also intended as a companion to The Frontiers of International Law, published in 1962.

Both books are addressed to three categories of reader:

- (1) The increasing number of postgraduate students who desire to balance specialised work in the various branches of international law by the study of more basic problems and receive guidance on issues beyond the scope available in a textbook.
- (2) Law teachers and students who wish to have some of these essays more easily accessible than in the form in which they had first been published and to have them brought up to date, interrelated, pruned or expanded as the case required.
- (3) Legal practitioners, politicians, civil servants—national, international and supranational—and interested laymen who would like to make up their own minds on the relevance of international law in contemporary world society.

At various stages when I contemplated the publication of such a book, the editors and publishers of periodicals, in which the original version of these essays appeared, generously responded to my requests for permission to include material in the book. While more detailed references will be found in Chapter 1, the names of these periodicals should head the list of acknowledgments: The British Year Book of International Law; Current Legal Problems; Indian Journal of International Law; Texas Law Journal; the Transactions of the Grotius Society and the Year Book of World Affairs. As, again, will be indicated more fully in Chapter 1, most of these essays owe a great deal to the stimulation received from colleagues and students in lectures and seminar discussions at universities I was privileged to visit in this country and abroad.

I am under a greater debt than I can tell, to my own students, undergraduate and postgraduate alike, at University College London and the London Institute of World Affairs and my colleagues at both these institutions: Mr. R. Austin, Dr. E. D. Brown, Professor Bin Cheng, Miss Alpha Connelly, Mrs. Margaret Homewood, Miss Eileen Landray and Mr. A. Sutton. They have splendidly assisted me by their critical, editorial and technical co-operation. Dr. Brown has also shouldered the burden of preparing the tables and indices. Again, it was a pleasure to work together in the production of this book with the Publishers and Printers.

G. S.

University College London January 14, 1971

## CONTENTS

24	
reface pa	ye Vii
Table of Cases	ciii
Table of Treaties	χv
Abbreviations	кхі
1. Fundamentals	1
I—The Theme	1
II—Methods	4
III—Key Words	5
2. Law, Order and Legitimation	8
I—Potentialities of the Subject	8
II—Definitions	10
III—Basic Models	10
IV—Law, Order and Legitimation	12
V—Law, Order and Legitimation as Analytical Tools VI—Working Hypotheses	15
• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	15
3. International Law and Order	16
I—Law and Order in Unorganised International Society II—Law and Order in Organised International Society	16 18
III—World Peace through World Law?	23
IV—Working Hypotheses	26
International Jus Cogens	27
I—The Meaning and Functions of International	
Jus Cogens	28
II—Examining the Evidence	29
III—Jus Cogens in the International Law Commission	
and at the Vienna Conference 1968-69	48
5. The Forms of Sovereignty	57
I—The Problem	57
II—The Forms of Sovereignty	58
III—The Forms of Legal Sovereignty	66
IV—Uses of the Forms of Sovereignty	72
6. Prohibition of the Abuse of Rights	84
I—Abuse of Rights and the Law of Treaties	85
II—Abuse of Rights and the General Principles of Law III—Usefulness of the Hypothesis of the Abuse of Rights	86 88
<del></del>	00 100
_	106

ix

## Contents

7.		110
	I—Necessary Distinctions	113
	II—The Rules Governing Treaty Interpretation	117
	III—The "Ordinary" Meaning of Words	121
	IV—The Problem in Sociological Perspective	123
	V—The Problem de lege ferenda	125
8.		129
	I-Functions of the Most-Favoured-Nation Standard	130
•	II—Types of Most-Favoured-Nation Clause	134
	III—Legal Basis and Structure of the Most-Favoured- Nation Standard	
		137
•	IV—The Scope of the Most-Favoured-Nation Standard	142
4 .	V—Exceptions VI—The Impact of State Trading and Directionist	145
	VI—The Impact of State Trading and Directionist	1.40
	Economic Policies	148
:	VII—Circumvention and Infraction of the Most-Favoured- Nation Standard	154
	VIII—The Most-Favoured-Nation Standard and the Other	154
	Standards of International Economic Law	156
9.	Peace, War and Order	161
	I-The Peace-Conserving Functions of pre-1914	
	International Law	161
	II—The Peace-Conserving Functions of Contemporary	
	International Law	163
	III—Explanations and Remedies	166
10.	From the Laws of War to the Law of Armed Conflict	169
	I-The Evolution of the Laws of War and Neutrality	169
	II—Major Trends	173
	III—The Study of the Laws of War in the Nuclear	
	and Space Age	179
11.		185
	I-Relevant Law-Creating Processes	185
	II—Relevant Legal Principles	188
	III—Relevant Individual Rules	193
12.	Terrorists, Guerrilleros, Mercenaries	219
	I—Terrorists	219
	II—Guerrilleros	223
	IIIMercenaries	234
13.	THE EICHMANN JUDGMENT	237
	I-The Trial: An Abuse of Legal Forms?	238
	II—The Court's Jurisdiction	239
	III—The Substantive Law	246
i i	+ Secondition of the	<i>2</i> 40

0-	4-	nte	

Contents	Хi
4. IMAGES AND MODELS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW AND ORDER I—Images	252 253 255
II—Models III—Normative and Sociological Tests of Images	
and Models	262
Appendix 1: Letters on International Law and Order	265
(1) The United States "Aid Britain" Bill (The Manchester Guardian, February 11, 1941)	265
(2) Most-Favoured-Nation Treatment and State Planning (The Times, February 9, 1945)	266
(3) The Recognition of Governments (ibid., January 9, 1950)	267
(4) The Anglo-Iranian Oil Dispute (ibid., June 4, 1951)	268
(5) Power Politics and Rule of Law	270
(ibid., October 12, 1951)  (6) Unification or Reunification of Germany?	271
(ibid., February 18, 1953) (7) The Legal Status of Formosa	272
(ibid., February 2, 1955) (8) A Magna Carta for Small-Power Lawlessness?	274
(ibid., November 8, 1956) (9) Mass Expulsion of Foreign Nationals	275
(The Manchester Guardian, December 14, 1957) (10) Guidance for Soldiers? (The Times, January 19, 1959)	277
(11) Human Rights under the Peace Treaties of 1947 (ibid., November 6, 1959)	277
(12) "Humane" Methods of Torture (ibid., December 28, 1959)	278
(13) Indonesia and the United Nations (ibid., January 11, 1965)	279
(14) Priorities for Solving the Arab-Israeli Conflict (ibid., June 2, 1967)	280
Appendix II: A NOTE ON HIJACKING AND AIR PIRACY	283
Index of Persons	28
Subject Index	29

# TABLE OF CASES

[Cases which are referred to by title and date only are decisions of English Cour	rts]
Aroa Mines Case (Compromis, 1903) (G.B.—Venezuela)  AttGen. for Canada v. Cain (1906)  AttGen. of the Government of Israel v. Adolf Eichmann (1961) (Israel)	102 145 101
Aubert and Others v. Secretary-General of the United Nations (1950) (U.N. Adm. Trib.)  Austria v. Italy (1961) (E.C.H.R.)	100
	232 151 9
Certain German Interests in Polish Upper Silesia (Merits) (1926) (P.C.I.J.) Certain Norwegian Loans (1957) (I.C.J.)	, 88 116 273 , 94 103 240
	55 245 245 186
Eichmann v. Auswärtiges Amt, Bonn (1961) (Germany)	237 243 242 102 31
Fedala (1957) (Egypt)	174 55 108
German Interests in Polish Upper Silesia (1926) (P.C.I.J.)	156 ), 41
Hagendorf Trial (1947) (U.S.)	99
Interpandel Case (1959) (I.C.J.)	88 278
Jolis, Re (1933) (France)  Joyce v. Director of Public Prosecutions (1946)  Jurisdiction of the Courts of Danzig (1928) (P.C.I.J.)	242 243 142

Kansas v. Colorado (1907) (U.S.)  Ker v. Illinois (1886) (U.S.)  Khavkine v. Secretary-General of the United Nations (1956) (U.N. Adm. Trib.)	10 24
Trib.) Kuruma v. R. (1955)	10 24
Lighthouses in Crete and Samos (1937) (P.C.I.J.) List, In re (1948) (U.S.) Lotus Case (1927) (P.C.I.J.)	7 , 22 24
Magdalena Steam Navigation Co. v. Martin (1859)  Mapp v. Ohio (1961) (U.S.)  Mayrommatis Jerusalem Concessions (Merits) (1925) (P.C.I.J.)  Military Prosecutor v. Kassem and Others (1969) (Israel)  Mosul Case (1925) (P.C.I.J.)  Musgrove v. Chun Teeong Toy (1891)  Nationality Decrees in Tunis & Morocco (1923) (P.C.I.J.)  North Sea Continental Shelf Cases (1969) (I.C.J.)  Nottebohm Case (1955) (I.C.J.)  Nottebohm Case (1955) (I.C.J.)  Nuremberg Trial (1946) (I.M.T.)  45-46, 176-177, 186, 191, 228,	10 10 14
Oscar Chinn Case (1934) (P.C.I.J.)	3:
Peter Pázmány University (1933) (P.C.I.J.) Piracy Jure Gentium, Re (1934) Polish Nationals in Danzig (1932) (P.C.I.J.) Portendeck Claims (1843) (France—G.B.) Public Prosecutor v. Oie Hee Koi (1968)	150 283 273 103 223
R. v. Garside (1957)  Rannveig, The (1922)  Reparation for Injuries Suffered in the Service of the United Nations (1949)  (I.C.J.)  Reservations to the Genocide Convention (1951) (I.C.J.)  Rights of U.S. Nationals in Morocco (1952) (I.C.J.)	243 90 31 203
Serbian and Brazilian Loans (1929) (P.C.I.J.) Shimoda and Others v. The State (1963) (Japan) Skerzeny and Others (1947) (U.S.) South-West Africa Ethiopia v. South Africa; Liberia v. South Africa (Second Phase) (1966) (I.C.J.) Voting Procedure (1955) (I.C.J.) 44, Standard Oil Company Tankers (1926) (Renaration Commission—II.S.) 90	28 185 99 54 106
Susannah Scott, Ex p. (1829)	242
Tacna-Arica Arbitrations (1925) (Chile—Peru)  Tattler, The (1920) (G.B.—U.S.)  Tinoco Arbitration (1923) (Costa Rica—G.B.)  Tokyo War Crimes Trial (1948) (I.M.T.)	108 90 267 248 213 101
	242
Walter Fletcher Smith Claim (1929) (U.S.—Cuba) Wilhelm v. Bundeskartellamt (1969) (Eur. Ct.) Wimbledon Case (1923) (P.C.I.J.) Zamora (No. 2) The (1921)	90 10 147 90

# TABLE OF TREATIES

["Treaty with" means a treaty between England, Great Britain or the United Kingdom and the State mentioned]

1297	Treaty of Alliance between the Count of Flanders and the King of	52
1417	Treaty between Henry V and the Duke of Burgundy and Count of	_
	Florders	30
1446		30
1467		30
1490	Treaty with Denmark	31 31
		31
1496		31
1498	Treaty with Riga 1 Anglo-French Treaty of Commerce 137, 1	55
1606	Anglo-French Treaty of Commerce 137, 1 Treaty with the United Provinces 1	37
1608	Treaty with the United Provinces	44
1642	Treaty with Portugal 1 1661 Treaty of Peace and Commerce with Denmark	40
1660-1 1667	Treaty with Spain	39
1669	Treaty with Savov	<i>3</i> 7
1670	Treaty with Denmark	33
1675	Turkish Capitulations	.34
1682	Treaty with Algiere	43
1713	Treaty with Snain 130, 1	31
1715	Treaty with Spain	41
1760	Treaty with Maracca	133
1791	Teasty with Morocco	134
1810	Treaty with Portugal 130, 130,	153
1814	Treaty with France	133
1815	Treaty with United States	13/
1825	Convention with Venezuela  Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation with the United Provinces	145
	Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation with the United Provinces	125
	of Rio de la Plata 33, Treaty of Commerce and Navigation with Colombia	152
	Treaty of Commerce and Navigation with Colombia	135
1826		145
1834	Treaty with Muscat	135
1839	Treaty with Portugal	136
1842	Treaty with Uruguay	135
1043	There with Conducts Islands	135
1843 1844	Transv with Oldenburg	135
1845	Teacty with the Chiefe of Samo (Africa)	134
1043		136
1847	Treaty with the Chiefs of Manna (Africa)	134
104/	Twenty with the Sultan of Rornen	134
1849	Twenty with Ahveeinia	135
1851	Tenatr with Ecuador	136
1001	Treaty with the Sandwich Islands	136
1853	Convention with the United States	155
1854	Treaty with Janan 134, 139.	141
1855	Twanty with Siam	134
	Teasts with Cuitzerland	158
1856	Treaty with Morocco	143
1857	7 Testy with Persia	141
1868	St Petershurg Declaration	204
1875	Comment Agranment with Typic	100
10/3	Treaty between Portugal and Transvaal	140
1877	7 Protocol between Great Britain, Spain and Germany regarding the	
107	Sulu Archipelago	138

1880	Convention between Great Britain, Austria-Hungary, Belgium, etc	138
1882	Commercial Treaty with France	141
1883		155
1884	I really with Povnt	138
1886	Ticaty with Spain	140
1888 1894	Sucz Canai Convention	274
1074	Convention between China and Ofear Britain regarding Rurms and	
1895	Tibet	135
1896	Peace Treaty of Shimonoseki	272
1897	Franco-Italian Consular Convention Anglo-French Convention relative to Tunis Hague Peace Conventions	145
1899	Hague Peace Conventions	133
	Hague Convention I (Pacific Settlement of Disputes)	163
	Anglo-French Convention relative to Tunis Hague Peace Conventions 182, 228, Hague Convention I (Pacific Settlement of Disputes) Hague Convention II (Warfare on Land) 221, Presemble 160, 101, 102, 103, 103, 103, 103, 103, 103, 103, 103	324
	Preamble	200
	REPUBLIONS ON LAND WAFFAFA	
	Article 1	228
	Article 22	188
	Article 23 (a)	207
•	Hagna Dasharation on Annual Communication	195
1903		
1905	British-Venezuelan Protocol	145
1907	Treaty with Rumania	144
	Hague Peace Conventions 182, Hague Convention I (Pacific Settlement of Disputes) Hague Convention II (Recovery of Contract Debts) Hague Convention II (Opening of Medicine)	224
	Hague Convention II (Recovery of Contract Debts)	103
*	Hague Convention III (Opening of Hostilities)	163
	Dakuc Convention IV (Warrage on Land) 00 221 224	230
	Afficie 5	172
	Hague Regulations on Land Warfare	
	Preamble	228
	Mude 1	7778
	Article 2	225
	Article 23 (a) 194, Article 23 (e) 195, Article 24	202
	Article 23 (e) 105	207
	Article 24 Hague Convention VIII (Contact Mines)	99
	Hague Convention VIII (Contact Mines)	186
	MARGE CONVENIENT IN TINAVAL BOTTOMENT	188
1919	Exchange of Notes between France and Great Britain modifying Anglo-French Convention relative to Tunis of September 18,	
	Anglo-French Convention relative to Tunis of September 18,	
	1897	135
	Peace Treaties	201
		135
	Versailles 72 135 154 163 201	135
	Versailles	163
	164 174 771	278
1920	Peace Treaty of Trianon	135
1921	Treaty of Berlin	201
1922	Lieneva Protocol on Alietria	63
1923	Convention and Statute on the International Regime of Maritime Ports	
	Ports	138
	International Convention on the Simplification of Customs Formalities Peace Treaty of Lausanne	157
	Treaty with Poland	2/3
1924		138 147
1925	Geneva Gas Protocol	207
	Treaty with Albania	135
1926		146
1928	Exchange of Notes with Guatemala	140
	Exchange of Notes with Persia regarding the Position of British	
	Nationals in Persia	269
	Nationals in Persia	271

	100
1928	Treaty between Egypt and Palestine
1929	
1930	Treaty with Turkey
1932	Treaty with Turkey
1,04	Ottawa Agreements
	Ottawa Agreements
	Treaty between Brazil and India
1933	
1933	Taraba of Commerce between 1 21V12 2DC TRE MOVIET UILIUI
1934	Agreement between the United States of America, the Economic Union of Belgium and Luxembourg, Colombia, etc
1734	Agreement between the Smith Spring and Luxembourg, Colombia, etc
	Official Of Designation and Editorial States of the States
	Agreement with Estonia
	Union
	Treaty with the soviet chick
	Treaty with the Soviet Union
1935	Consular Convenion Detween Carolina and Sweden
	Treaty between New Zealand and Sweepen Czechoslovakia and the
	Soviet Union
	Treaty of Establishment, Commerce and Navigation between Iran and
1026	
1936	
	The to work Donard
1937	Commercial Agreement between the Soviet Union and the United
1/37	G
	T 141, 130
1938	
1750	
1939	
1,00	There with Greece
1941	
1943	
1945	Cairo Declaration International Court of Justice, Statute 4, 106 Article 36 80, 108, 269, 276 Article 36 41, 182, 267
	Article 36
	Article 36
	London Agreement on Punishment of Major was Criminals 40, 203, 273
	Potsdam Declaration
	United Nations Charter 20, 21, 30, 32, 32, 47, 17, 178, 180, 185, 201, 233, 248.
	763 270-271, 276, 277, 279
	45, 105, 276
	43. 49. 100. 203
	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
	104, 221, 233, 270, 274
	11.40
	Article 2 (7)
	Article 27
	Article 46
	Article 46
	Article 51
	Article 74
	Article 76
	Article 106
	Article 100
	•

1045	TT-2A-5 %T-A' AV.	
1945	United Nations Charter—continued.	165
	Chapter VII	281
1947	Chapter VI Chapter VII Chapter VII Agreement regarding United States Trusteeship of former Japanese Mandated Islands	215
	Mandated Islands Peace Treaties 211,	277
	Peace Treaty with Italy	125
1947	1 rade and Pinance Agreement with the Soviet Union	143
1948	Bogotá Charter of the Organisation of American States	100
	Genocide Convention	249
1949	Peace Treaties	224,
	1.00venion 1-1v	222
	Article 3	279
	Article 13	230
	Article 13 (2)	228 225
	Article 13 (2) Article 13 (3) Article 13 (6) Article 14 (6)	225
	Article 13 (6)	225
	Article 14 Articles 49-50	244
	Article 59	229
	Article 59  Convention II (Sea Warfare) 221, 224, 225, 227, 228, Article 13	230
	Article 13 (3)	228
	Article 13 (6)	225 225
	Article 16	225
	Articles 50-51	244
	Article 58	229
	Article 4A (2) and (3)	228
	Article 4A (2) and (3)  Article 4 (2)  Article 4 (3)	225
	Article 4 (3)	225
	Article 4 (6) Article 5	225 225
	Article 85	226
	Articles 129–130 Article 135	244
	Convention IV (Civilians)	229
	Articles 146–147	244
4050	Articles 146-147 North Atlantic Treaty	181
1950 1951	European Convention on Human Rights	249
1931	European Coal and Steel Community Treaty	95 109
	Treaty with Muscat and Oman Treaty of Peace with Japan	143
1052	Treaty of Peace with Japan	273
1952-	and the U.S.) and the Federal Republic of Germany 211 248	271
1954	Hague Convention on the Protection of Cultural Property in the	2/1
	Hague Convention on the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict	192
	Penublic of Germany	272
	Republic of Germany Treaty between China and India on Tibet	259
1954-	1962 International Convention for the Prevention of Pollution of the Sea by Oil	
1955	Agreement between Argentina and the United States regarding Supply	214
.,,,	of Nuclear Material	212
	of Nuclear Material Austrian "State Treaty" 211- Baghdad Pact	-212
1956	Statute of the International Atomic France Agency	65
1956	Statute of the International Atomic Energy Agency	210
	of Nuclear Material	212
	Agreement with Norway regarding Supply of Nuclear Material European Atomic Energy Community Treaty	212
	European Economic Community Treaty	100
		-07

1958	Geneva Conventions on the High Seas
1959	Antarctic Treaty
1961	Agreement between I.A.E.A., Yugoslavia and the United States
	Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations
1962	Treaty of Commerce, Establishment and Navigation with Japan 142,
1963	Test Ban Treaty
	on Board Aircraft 283
1964	Vienna Convention on Consular Relations
1965	Regulations for the U.N. Porces in Cypius
1705	Exchange of Letters regarding the Agreement of December 14, 1965, on the Free Trade Area between Ireland and the United Kingdom 141
	Tripartite Agreement on the Application of Safeguards between
1966	Exchange of Letters between the U.N. and the United Kingdom
	Exchange of Notes with the United States
1967	
	Outer Space Treaty  Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America 210, 211, 214, 216
1968 1969	Non-Proliferation Treaty
1707	Sea by Oil
	Pollution Casualties 214 Long-Term Agreement with the Soviet Union 150
	Vicens Convention on the Law Of Treaties'
	Article 4
	A_4:_1_ 19 82
	Article 24
	A-ticle 20 113
	Article 30
	Austria 21 22
	A mining 22
	Antinto 22
	Article 36
	Aminin 53 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 30
	A_4:=ta_67
	4 44 4 44
	Article 0.5
	Aminin 74
	Autolo 01 JZ
	Article 83 Article 83 Article 83 Article 83 Article 83
197	On the lambia and the Soviet Union
	Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Seizure of Aircraft 284

<sup>\*</sup> The Convention is not yet in force.

# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A	Series A, containing the Judgments and Orders of the
	Permanent Court of International Justice, 1923-30
A/B	Series A/B, containing the Judgments, Orders and
	Advisory Opinions of the Permanent Court of Inter-
	national Justice, 1931–40
A.J. Comp. Law	American Journal of Comparative Law
A.J.I.L	American Journal of International Law
Am. Pol. Science Rev.	American Political Science Review
Annuaire Français	Annuaire français de droit international
Annuaire_de l'Institut	Annuaire de l'Institut de Droit International
Annual Digest	Annual Digest and Reports of Public International
	Law Cases, 1929-55
A.S.I.L. Proceedings	Proceedings of the American Society of International
	Law
A.V.R	Archiv des Völkerrechts
B	Series B, containing the Advisory Opinions of the
	Permanent Court of International Justice, 1922-30
B.D.I.L	Parry, C. (ed.), A British Digest of International Law,
	1965-
B.I.L.C	British International Law Cases
B.P.I.L	Lauterpacht, E., British Practice in International Law,
	1963-
Br. and For. St. Pap.	British and Foreign State Papers
B.Y.I.L	British Yearbook of International Law
Ç	Command Papers (United Kingdom) 1870-99
C.L.P	Current Legal Problems
Can. Y.B.I.L	Canadian Yearbook of International Law
Cheng, General Prin-	Cheng, B., General Principles of Law as Applied by
ciples of Law	International Courts and Tribunals, 1953
Cmnd	Command Papers (United Kingdom), 1956-
Diss. Op	Dissenting Opinion
	European Commission of Human Rights
Economic World	Schwarzenberger, G., Economic World Order? (The
Order?	Melland Schill Lectures, 1970) 1970
Eur. Ct	Court of Justice of the European Communities
European Y.B	European Yearbook
F. O. Handbook	United Kingdom Foreign Office; Handbook of
	Commercial Treaties, 1931
Foreign Investments	Schwarzenberger, G., Foreign Investments and Inter-
7	national Law, 1969
Frontiers	Schwarzenberger, G., The Frontiers of International Law, 1962
Fundamental Prin-	Schwarzenberger, G., The Fundamental Principles of
	International Law, 87 Hague Recueil (1955)
ciples	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GATT	Great Britain
G.B Grotius Transactions	Transactions of the Grotius Society
	Hackworth, G. H., Digest of International Law, 1940—
	44 (8 vols.)
Digest H.C. Deb	House of Commons, Parliamentary Debates (Hansard)
YT 71#	Recueil des Cours, Académie de Droit International
Hague Recueu	de la Haye
Hall, W. E. Inter-	Hall, W. E., International Law (unless otherwise
	indicated, edition by A. P. Higgins, 1924)
I.A.E.A	International Atomic Energy Agency
I.B.R.D	International Bank for Reconstruction and Develop-
1040	ment International Civil Aviation Openination
I.C.A.O	International Civil Aviation Organisation
	I

I.C.J. Reports	Reports of Judgments, Advisory Opinions and Orders of the International Court of Justice
I.C.L.Q	International and Comparative Law Quarterly
I.C.R.C	International Committee of the Red Cross
I.E.L	International Economic Law
I.L.A	International Law Association
I.L.C	International Law Commission
I.L.M	International Legal Material
I.L.R	International Law Reports, 1950-
I.M.T	International Military Tribunal
Indian J.I.L	Indian Journal of International Law
Inductive Approach	Schwarzenberger, G., The Inductive Approach to
	International Law, 1965
I.O.I	Panhuys, J. H. F. van, and Others, International Organisation and Integration, 1968
J. of Legal Ed	Journal of Legal Education
Kiss, Répertoire	Kiss, A. Ch., Répertoire de la pratique française en
	matière de droit international public, 1962-
L.N.T.S	League of Nations Treaty Series
L.Q.R	Law Quarterly Review
L. Rev	Law Review, for instance, Alberta L. Rev.
Manual	Schwarzenberger, G.: A Manual of International Law
	(5th ed.) 1967
Martens, N. R	Martens, G. F. von, Nouveau Recueil de Traités, 1817-42
Martens, N. R. G	Martens, G. F. von, Nouveau Recueil Général de Traités, 1908-
Martens, R	Martens, G. F. von, Recueil de Traités, 1817-35
M.A.T	Mixed Arbitral Tribunal (the references are to the
	Recueil des décisions des tribunaux arbitraux mixtes, 1921–30)
m.f.n	most-favoured-nation
M.L.R	Modern Law Review
Mélanges de Luna	Estudios de Derecho Internacional Homenaje. A. D. Antonio de Luna, 1968
Mélanges Guggenheim	Recueil d'Études de Droit International en Hommage à Paul Guggenheim, 1968
Mélanges Modinos	Mélanges offerts à Polys Modinos, 1968
Moore, J. B., Digest of	Moore, J. B., Digest of International Law, 1906 (8
International Law	vols.)
N.S. Journ. Soc.	Journal of Comparative Legislation and International
Comp. Leg	Law, New Series
O.A.S	Organisation of American States
O.A.U	Organisation of African Unity
O.E.C.D	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
O.E.E.C	Organisation for European Economic Co-operation
ONUC	United Nations Force in the Congo
Oppenheim, L., Inter-	Oppenheim, L., International Law (unless otherwise
national Law	indicated, edition by H. Lauterpacht) 1952-55 (2 vols.)
P.C.I.J	Permanent Court of International Justice
Power Politics	Schwarzenberger, G., Power Politics. A Study of World Society (3rd ed.) 1964
Principles of I.E.L	Schwarzenberger, G., The Principles and Standards of International Economic Law, 117 Hague Recueil (1966)
R.D.J.L.C	Revue de droit international et de législation comparée
DCDID	Revue générale de droit international public
DIAA	
K.I.A.A	United Nations, Reports of International Arbitral Awards, 1948-

Scand. Studie	es in l	Law	Scandinavian Studies in Law
Sep. Op.			Separate Opinion
Totalitarian	Law	less-	Schwarzenberger, G., International Law and Totali-
ness			tarian Lawlessness, 1943
U.N	•••		United Nations
		•••	United Nations Administrative Tribunal
U.N. Adm.		•••	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
U.N.C.T.A.D	).	•••	United Nations Force in Cyprus
UNFICYP	•••	• • •	United Nations Protes in Cyprus
U.N.T.S.		•••	United Nations Treaty Series
U.N.Y.B.	•••	•••	Yearbook of the United Nations
Verdross Fes	stschrif	t	Heydte, F. A. von der, and Others (eds.), Völkerrecht
	•		und rechtliches Weltbild. Festschrift für Alfred
			Verdross, 1960
Virginia J.I.	Τ.		Virginia Journal of International Law
Vol. I	٠.		Schwarzenherger G. International Law as Applied by
V 01. 1	•••	•••	International Courts and Tribunals, Vol. I: General
			Principles 3rd ed., 1957
			Schwarzenberger, G.: International Law, Vol. II:
Vol. II	•••	•••	The Law of Armed Conflict, 1968
			The Law of Armed Connect, 1900
Whiteman,	М.	M.,	
Digest	•••	•••	Whiteman, M. M., Digest of International Law, 1963-
W.L.R.	•••		Weekly Law Reports
Y.B.I.L.C.	•••		Yearbook of the International Law Commission, 1949-
Y.B.W.A.			Year Book of World Affairs
Z.A.Ö.R.V.I		•••	Zeitschrift für ausländisches öffentliches Recht und
2.11 2.00.12.1 1.12			Völkerrecht
Z.V.R			Zeitschrift für Völkerrecht
Z. V .K	• • •	•••	

#### CHAPTER 1

### **FUNDAMENTALS**

- "Law and order is a name for civilisation as a task."

  R. G. Collingwood, The New Leviathan (1942)
- " Revolution is the main trend in the world today."

  Mao Tse-tung (May 20, 1970)

This Chapter contains a discussion of the theme of the book, a restatement of the methods applied and a glossary of key words.

#### І-Тне Тнеме

The criteria for the inclusion of the papers selected may be more apparent in some cases than others. Thus, in each case, a short explanation is offered.

This also provides an opportunity to express my sense of obligation to the many colleagues, students and institutions in four continents who, over the years, have allowed me to try out some of my ideas on them, and to the editors of a number of periodicals in which earlier versions of these chapters took their first shape.

Almost inevitably, any such summary also reveals the model of my own views on the relations between international law and order. Such a model may help readers to see at a glance the object of the exercise.<sup>1</sup>

The essentials of this model can be presented in six propositions:

- (1) In a sociological view, order and law are distinct, if closely related, phenomena.
- (2) Historically, the available evidence appears to suggest that order tends to precede law.
- (3) If, and when, order and law coalesce, it depends on the circumstances of the individual case which of the two predominates, and whether any particular correlation of law and order serves the interests of a civilising process or accelerates movements in the opposite direction.
- (4) In unorganised international society, international law is conditioned by the underlying quasi-order of power politics, rather than the reverse.
- (5) In consensual international quasi-orders, such as those of the League of Nations or United Nations, the changes attained in the relations

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See, further, below, p. 255 et seq.

between international law and order are changes in degree, rather than in kind, from systems of open power politics to systems of power politics in disguise.

(6) So long as the basic structure of world society remains substantially unaltered, proposals for world peace through world law fulfil the functions of ideologies or utopias in the sociological meaning of these terms.2

Even from this preliminary survey, the intellectual debt I owe to philosophers, sociologists and lawyers such as Hobbes, Spinoza, Henry Sumner Maine, Max Weber, Collingwood, J. L. Brierly and Gustav Radbruch is apparent and is gratefully acknowledged.

To describe the contents of the book in greater detail:

Chapter 2 on Law, Order and Legitimation is a historical and sociological introduction to the problems posed by the dichotomy of law and order, with emphasis on the operative link: legitimation in its various forms.2

Chapter 3 on International Law and Order is an attempt to apply these findings to law and order in international society and the ambivalent notion of world law.4

Chapter 4 on International Jus Cogens is an analysis, in relation to international order, of the concept of jus cogens, borrowed from Roman Law and incorporated in the form of "peremptory" rules of international law in the 1969 Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties.5

Chapter 5 on The Forms of Sovereignty is an application of the phenomenological method 6 to one of the central concepts of any legal system and, especially, legal systems based on conditioning de facto orders or quasi-orders,7 with especial reference to the phenomenon of hegemony.8

Chapter 6 on Prohibition of the Abuse of Rights is a critical examination of doctrines which, without support from commensurate

<sup>2</sup> See, further, below, p. 23 et seq.

This Chapter is based on lectures given at the Haile Selassie University of Addis Ababa (1963), the Laws Faculty of Tehran University (1967) and the Geneva Cercle des Juristes Internationaux (1970). See also loc. cit. above, note 3, p. 258 et seq.

<sup>5</sup> This Chapter is based on lectures given at the Laws Faculties of Bombay (1965), Kerala (1965) and San Marcos, Lima (1966), and contributions to discussions at the Lagonissi Conference, convened in 1966 by the European Office of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. See also 43 Texas L.R. (1965), p. 455 et seq., and 18 C.L.P. (1965), p. 191 et seq.

See, further, below, pp. 5-6 and 59 et seq.

<sup>7</sup> See, further, below, p. 5 et seq. 8 See, further, below, pp. 5 and 65 et seq. international orders, are supposed to transform on the grand scale international jus strictum into jus aequum.9

Chapter 7 on Myths and Realities of Treaty Interpretation is a re-examination, against the background of the 1969 Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties, of one of the major issues of any consensual international order or quasi-order.10

Chapter 8 on The Most-Favoured-Nation Standard in British Practice is concerned with the evolution and structure of techniques which have made possible the growth of legal regimes 11 of remarkable stability and elasticity, but falling short of international economic orders.12

Chapter 9 on Peace, War and Order is a discussion of the interrelations between the three major states of international law—peace, war and status mixtus—and the problem of international order. 13

Chapter 10 on From the Laws of War to the Law of Armed Conflict is an analysis of the dynamics of the laws of war, themselves a constant reminder of the weakness of the quasi-order sustaining international law.14

Chapter 11 on The Legality of Nuclear Weapons continues an earlier examination of this catalytic problem of international order and disorder, 15 especially the attempts made in recent years to develop a consensual world order in the nuclear field.16

Chapter 12 on Terrorists, Guerrilleros and Mercenaries deals with three perennial phenomena, which have assumed a new significance in contemporary national and international conflicts.17

<sup>8</sup> This Chapter is based on lectures given at the Hague Academy of International Law (1955), the Grotius Society (1956) and Heidelberg (1960) and Calcutta (1965) Universities. See, further, 87 Hague Recueil (1955), p. 290 et seq.; 42 Transactions Grotius Society (1956), p. 147 et seq., and below, pp. 5-6.

10 This Chapter is based on lectures given at the University of Madras (1965), the National University of Mexico (1968) and an introduction to a discussion in a seminar led by Professor Schwelb in the Law School of Yale University (1968). See also 22 C.L.P. (1969), p. 205 et seq.

11 See, below, p. 6.

12 This Chapter is based on lectures given at Tübingen University (1947), l'Institut de Hautes Etudes Internationales of the University of Paris (1949) and Madrid University (1957). See also 22 B.Y.I.L. (1945), p. 96 et seq.

On related problems of international economic order, including the application of economic sanctions in support of the political quasi-orders of the League of Nations and the United Nations, see the Schill Lectures 1970 on Economic World Order? (Manchester University Press).

13 This Chapter is based on a lecture given at Tel-Aviv University (1965) and an address delivered at the Annual Conference of the Indian Society of International Law in New Delhi (1965). See also 6 Indian J.I.L. (1966), p. 1 et seq.

14 This Chapter is based on the Sherrill Lecture, delivered at the Law School of Yale University (1968). See also 21 C.L.P. (1968), p. 239 et seq.

15 See, further, Vol. II, p. 1 et seq.

16 Published separately under this title in The Library of World Affairs (1958—out of print) and translated into German in 13 Europa Archiv (1958), p. 10671 et seq.; Italian in 1 Diritto ed Economia Nucleare (1959), p. 15 et seq., and Spanish in 93 Revista de Estudios Politicos (1958), p. 83 et seq. See also International Law Association, Report of the Brussels Conference 1962, p. 192 et seq.

17 This Chapter is based on lectures delivered at the University of Leuven (1970) and the

Cambridge International Law Club (1970).

<sup>3</sup> This Chapter is based on lectures given in the Laws Faculty of the University of Khartoum (1963) and at the Institut de Hautes Etudes Internationales of the University of Paris (1969). See also 23 C.L.P. (1970), p. 240 et seq.

This Chapter is based on lectures, delivered at the Universities of McGill (1958) and Cologne (1960) and at El Colegio de Mexico (1968). See also 10 C.L.P. (1957), p. 264 et seq.

**Fundamentals** 

Chapter 13 on The Eichmann Judgment serves to illustrate the relative strength of national centres of order and the corresponding weakness of the existing international quasi-order under the United Nations in the field of criminal jurisdiction.<sup>18</sup>

Chapter 14 on Images and Models of International Law is offered as a tentative sketch of iconological techniques<sup>19</sup> which appear helpful for purposes of more articulate criticism (and self-criticism) of an increasing variety of approaches to problems of international law and order.<sup>20</sup>

Appendix I on Letters on International Law and Order brings together a number of letters to the Editors of The Manchester Guardian, The Guardian and The Times, concerned with various facets of international law and order and assembled for easier reference. While it would have been inadvisable to alter the text of these letters as published at the time, footnotes on relevant literature have been added. Finally, Appendix II contains a Note on Hijacking and Air Piracy, which should be read in the context of Terrorism in Peacetime Situations (p. 221).

#### II-METHODS

As with earlier writings, the essays in this book are based on an inductive, inter-disciplinary and relativist approach to international law.

On the normative level, the inductive approach to international law is an empirical technique based on the authority of near-universal consent (as expressed in Article 38 of the Statute of the International Court of Justice), to safeguard international law against the subjectivism of destructive speculation and eclectic caprice, and the vested interests prone to use—and abuse—both.<sup>21</sup> It has four distinctive features:

- (1) Emphasis on the exclusive character of the three primary lawcreating processes in international law and their derivatives: consensual understandings in the widest sense, international customary law, and the general principles of law recognised by civilised nations.
- (2) Establishment of the "means for the determination of rules of law," as they are termed in Article 38 of the Statute of the International Court of Justice—the law-determining agencies and their elements—in accordance with rationally verifiable criteria.
- (3) Awareness of the character of the rules of international law as the only binding norms of international law unless evidence is forthcoming that a principle, which has been abstracted from such rules, has itself acquired the character of an overriding rule.

This Chapter is based on lectures delivered at the Geneva Cercle des Juristes Internationaux (1963) and the Laws Faculty of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (1965). See also 19 C.L.P. (1966), p. 192 et seq.

21 See below, p. 252 et seq.

(4) Realisation of the differences which exist between international law as applied in unorganised, partly organised and fully organised international society.<sup>22</sup>

On the level of social studies, the inter-disciplinary approach makes use of any facet of a phenomenon that, in relation to any particular problem, may be of especial significance.

This description is formal in that it merely underlines the relevance, for international law, of other disciplines concerned with international studies. If the emphasis is put on the substance of such investigations, this inter-disciplinary technique can also be described as *phenomenological*.<sup>23</sup>

Again, the *caveat* may be repeated that any metalegal statements and evaluations made in this book are to be understood as such and are not to be given any intralegal meaning.

Finally, in the field of lex ferenda,<sup>24</sup> the relativist treatment of questions connected with the development of international law and organisation provides legitimate scope for imagination and creativeness, but imposes highly necessary controls of rational verification, indispensable in any field of serious study.

#### III--KEY WORDS

Absolute Universality: including all relevant entities of a system, e.g., a United Nations which would include all subjects of international law (see also under Relative Universality).

Community: social group which is more highly integrated than a society  $(q, v_n)$ .

Disorder: see Order.

Hegemony: the position of factual pre-eminence in the relations between sovereign and equal States.

Iconology: the study of images.

Ideology: idea or argument, employed to disguise in terms of abstract ideas or principles undisclosed interests, e.g., alleged concern for human rights as an excuse for interfering with the affairs of another sovereign State (see also under *Utopia*).

Jus ad bellum: right to resort to war (see also under Jus in bello).

Jus aequum: legal system in which rights are relative and must be exercised reasonably and in good faith.

Jus cogens: law binding irrespective of will of individual parties.

Jus dispositivum: law capable of being modified by contrary consensual engagements.

Jus in bello: the laws and customs of warfare. (See also under Jus ad bellum).

<sup>22</sup> See, further, Inductive Approach, p. 4 et seq.

23 See, further, below, pp, 6 and 5 et seq. and Inductive Approach, pp. 7, 54 and 75 et seq. 24 See, further, below, p. 6, and Inductive Approach, pp. 7, 65 and 153 et seq.

Bibliographical and other formal references apart, the Chapter is published intentionally (see below, pp. 250-251) as written during the interval between the Judgment of the Israeli Court of first instance and that of the Israeli Supreme Court as a Court of Appeal. See also 15 C.L.P. (1962), p. 248 et seq.
 See below, pp. 5, 20 and 252 et seq.

Jus strictum: legal system in which rights are absolute and may be exercised irrespective of equitable considerations.

Law: includes any norms intended to regulate social conduct which, if required, can be authoritatively determined on a basis of consent or compulsion and enforced by the application of external sanctions.

Law of Co-ordination: the law of a community (q.v.) which is characterised by freely accepted duties, rather than rights.

Law of Power: the law of a society (q.v.), which is characterised by subservience to the interests of some, as distinct from those of the group as a whole.

Law of Reciprocity: the law of a social group which has features of a society and community (q.v.) and is characterised by a substantial equivalence of rights and duties.

Legal Order: legal system, embodying a de facto order (q.v.) and endowing it with the dignity of the law.

Legal Regime: system of legal rules which are reasonably coherent but are too specialised or subordinate to qualify as a legal order (q.v.).

Legitimation: recognition, confirmation, acceptance or justification of an existing or aspired to and, essentially, factual state of affairs.

Lex ferenda: the law which it is desired to establish.

Lex lata: the law in force.

Norm: legal or moral rule, expressing an Ought, as distinct from an Is. Order: state of affairs, characterised by the effective control of those subject to such a system by an essentially factual rather than normative (see under Norm) apparatus of force and power (see also under Legal Order).

Organised International Society: international society on the level of, e.g., the confederate organisation of the United Nations and its Specialised Agencies.

Phenomenology: the study of all or, at least, all significant manifestations of a problem.

Power: the mean between influence and force. Power distinguishes itself from influence by reliance on external pressure as a background threat, and from force by preference for achieving its ends without the actual use of physical pressure.

Pseudo-Order: a pretended order which lacks the sanctions sustaining any true society or community order (q.v.).

Quasi-Order: an order which, like the League of Nations, is too weak or precarious to achieve its appointed task.

Relative Universality: including the most important entities of a system, e.g., the United Nations, which includes all the world Powers (see also under Absolute Universality).

Society: a loose type of association, as distinct from a community (q.v.). Standard: optional norm (e.g., the most-favoured-nation standard) which may be incorporated as a binding rule in a treaty and, in this case, qualifies the operation of an otherwise absolute principle, such as the principle of freedom of commerce.

Fundamentals

Universality: see under Absolute and Relative Universality.

Unorganised International Society: international society, lacking significant institutional superstructures.

Utopia: proposal de lege ferenda (q.v.), incompatible with an existing political or social order (see also under Ideology).

(See, further, the Glossary in the Manual, p. 625 et seq.)