International Law in the Post-Cold War World

Essays in memory of Li Haopei

Edited by Sienho Yee and Wang Tieya

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Preface and acknowledgements

The collection now presented in memory of Judge Li Haopei has had a long period of gestation. When Judge Li was still alive, preparations were already underway for this project. Due to the many demands on our time, we were not able formally to embark upon this venture until after Judge Li left us in November 1997. Nevertheless, we, together with the contributors, persevered. We are all glad that the collection has finally seen the light of day.

This collection begins with a set of materials specifically relating to Judge Li. Various contributors relate also in other parts of the collection the personal touch of Judge Li and comment upon his work. The collection also includes an Appendix written by Judge Li on the topic of *jus cogens*. Together, these no doubt paint a solid picture of the man and his contributions to the cause of international law.

We hope that the title of this book will not be considered in the future as evidence of undue optimism, despite some signs that the Cold War may revive, whether between old enemies or new ones. At this time, many of the contributors, from all corners of the world, discern some special features in international law and relations and have endeavoured, in their individual capacity, to dissect and comment upon these features. The contributions have been divided into four parts — Trends and perspectives, Sources of international law, Substance and theories of international law, and Courts and adjudication. The contributions are broad in scope, rich in content, rigorous in analysis, and inspiring in viewpoint. Rather than attempting any introduction, we thought it better to leave it to the readers to appreciate them.

We are grateful to all those whom we invited to participate in this venture, particularly the contributors whose works finally appear in this collection. We regret that we have been unable to accept all the manuscripts we received, and that personal circumstances have prevented some invitees from completing their drafts. We are also grateful for the encouragement that we received from the Judges who have not been able to contribute. This collection would not have been possible without the assistance of the Li family, especially Ling Yan, who helped translate various materials from Chinese to English, compiled Judge Li's bibliography, and, on behalf of the family, gave us permission to reprint Judge Li's article entitled 'Jus cogens and international law' in the Appendix to this volume. For all this we are grateful to Ling Yan and the entire Li family.

xii Preface and acknowledgements

Sienho Yee worked on this collection while a member of St Hugh's College, Oxford, and while a visiting assistant professor of law at Northwestern University School of Law in Chicago. He is grateful to Professors Ian Brownlie, CBE, QC, FBA (Oxford) and Anthony D'Amato (Northwestern) for their encouragement and for answering his various questions. He is also grateful for the hospitality and encouragement he received from Mr Derek Wood, CBE, QC, Principal, and Dr Joshua Getzler, Fellow and Director of Legal Studies of St Hugh's, and Dean David Van Zandt of Northwestern; and for the assistance he received at Oxford from the staff of the Bodleian Law Library and at Northwestern from his research assistants, Cleo Kung and Todd Lloyd; foreign and international law librarian, Irene Berkey; his secretary, Martha Minor; Professor D'Amato's secretary, Mary Finn; and Bill Haydasz, computer expert.

Finally, we are grateful to Routledge for undertaking to publish this collection and to Joe Whiting, Simon Whitmore and Annabel Watson at Routledge and Mike Hauser and his team at M Rules for having assisted us all along.

We can say to the ever-demanding Judge Li that we have all tried our best in this project. Our sincere hope is that this scholarly enterprise will help to deepen our understanding of the pressing issues of our time and to promote peace and justice in the world. Limited though this collection may be, we hope that there will be those who like it.

The Editors December 2000

Abbreviations

AER All England Reports

AFDI Annuaire français de droit international
AJIL American Journal of International Law
AmCHR American Convention on Human Rights

AUJILP American University Journal of International Law & Policy

BYIL British Year Book of International Law

CL Comparative Law

Cmd. Command Paper [Paper laid by command of the Crown before

Parliament]

Decl. Declaration by individual judges
Diss. op. Dissenting opinion by individual judges

Doc. Document

ECHR European Convention on Human Rights, or European Court of

Human Rights

EcmHR European Commission of Human Rights
EJIL European Journal of International Law

EPIL R. Bernhardt (ed.), Encyclopedia of Public International Law

ETS European Treaty Series

FRY Federal Republic of Yugoslavia HMSO Her (His) Majesty's Stationery Office

HR Human Rights

HRLJ Human Rights Law Journal ICC International Criminal Court

ICCPR International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

ICJ International Court of Justice

ICJ Reports International Court of Justice Reports of Judgments, Orders

and Advisory Opinions

ICJYB International Court of Justice Yearbook ICL International & Comparative Law

ICLQInternational & Comparative Law QuarterlyICRCInternational Committee of the Red CrossICTRInternational Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda

ICTY International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia

xiv Abbreviations

ICTYJR ICTY Judicial Reports
IL International Law

ILC International Law Commission

ILCYB Yearbook of the International Law Commission

ILM International Legal Materials
ILO International Labour Organization

ILR International Law Reports or International Law Review

IMF International Monetary Fund

IMO International Maritime Organization

J Journal

JCL Journal of Comparative Law
JIL Journal of International Law
JTL Journal of Transnational Law

LJ Law Journal LR Law Review

NATO North Atlantic Treaty Organisation

NY New York

NYU JILP New York University Journal of International Law & Policy OSCE Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe

PCA Permanent Court of Arbitration

PCIJ Permanent Court of International Justice

PRC People's Republic of China

RCADI Recueil des Cours de L'Académie de Droit International de La

Haye

Res. Resolution

RIAA United Nations, Reports of International Arbitral Awards Rome Statute Rome Statute for an International Criminal Court (1998)

Sep. op. Separate opinion by individual judges

Ser. Series Sess. Session

UN United Nations

UNESCO United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural

Organization

UNGA United Nations General Assembly
UNJY United Nations Juridical Yearbook
UNSC United Nations Security Council
UNTS United Nations Treaty Series

UNWCC United Nations War Crimes Commission

USC United States Code

USSR Soviet Union

UST United States Treaty Series WTO World Trade Organization

Y Yearbook YB Yearbook

YBECHR Yearbook of the European Convention on Human Rights

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A eulogy for Judge Li Haopei*

Antonio Cassese

Ambassadors, Friends, Colleagues,

Thank you for coming here today to join in this expression of our regard for Judge Haopei Li. I know you will join me in expressing sympathies to his family. His death is something that has affected all who have had the privilege of knowing and working with this eminent judge and scholar.

I would like to share a few thoughts about Judge Li. When I last saw him, he had been in hospital for some time. I asked him what he would do when he returned to China following his retirement. "I will write a book," he said, "I will write a book on private international law. I have taken many photocopies of the relevant writings and am ready to start on my return." "Judge Li," I asked, "Why a book on private international law? Why not public international law?" "Because," he answered, "private international law is hard law. And when I finish it, I will start again and translate the book into English!" This was the man we knew and loved: whilst frail in body, his fighting spirit and intellectual vigour were undiminished. My lasting memory of this wise and learned man is one of a strong spirit constantly seeking out new challenges and pushing intellectual boundaries. This reminds me of the words of a philosopher I treasure. Nearing the end of his years, he wrote that everyone contributing to the common good, be it by way of manual labour or intellectual pursuits, ought not to stop labouring, even in his twilight years. Death, he said, must not surprise us in sloth or idleness. Death did not surprise Judge Li in sloth or idleness.

My fellow judges and I had great respect for Judge Li. The man with whom we worked in the Appeals Chamber had immense legal knowledge, yet he was always gentle and kind-hearted, taking a cooperative and conciliatory approach. I have always said to myself that we judges should all learn Judge Li's style of writing succinctly and to the point. His separate opinions in the Appeals Chamber decisions on *Tadic* and *Erdemovic* demonstrate, in addition to his courage in expressing his very

^{*} This oration was delivered at the funeral of Judge Li Haopei at The Hague, 14 November 1997, by Antonio Cassese in his capacity as President of the ICTY.

independent views, his remarkable concision. His genuine concern for the fundamental rights of persons and a deep sense of humanity infused his judicial approach. Many a time during the course of deliberations on technicalities, he would see the essence of the issue and insist on the importance of upholding fundamental principles. There are so many such incidents shedding light on the character of Judge Li, which I would like to share with you, but unfortunately, judicial propriety prevents my doing so. Judge Li was the model of an international judge. He was truly independent, had absolute integrity and, of course, deep knowledge of international law.

You all know what the Greeks thought of man's destiny: one should count no man happy until his death, for the gods are jealous, and the mighty and the heroes have their woes just as do ordinary people. As Sophocles wrote at the end of one of his most disconcerting tragedies:

Now as we keep our watch and wait the final day, Count no man happy till he dies, free of pain at last.

Dear Judge Li, now that your life is done, you may rest in peace, for we may say with certainty of you that you had a rich, long and fulfilled life marked by unstinting intellectual industry, admirable knowledge and wisdom. You have lived surrounded until the end by the love of your relatives, the affection of your friends and the respect and admiration of your fellow judges.

What is more, you have passed away peacefully, without suffering. You will always remain to us a model of moral honesty, intellectual vigour and admirable gentleness.

My friend Li Haopei

Wang Tieya

On 6 November 1997, Judge Li passed away in The Hague after a short period of sickness. I was deeply saddened when I suddenly received the news in Beijing. The Chinese international law community lost a great scholar of no equal in his time, whose death was like a giant star falling from the sky.

On 20 May 1997, I was elected to be a Judge of the UN International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia. I expected to meet him in The Hague. Unfortunately he was gone before I was to go to The Hague. I lost the last chance to listen to his talk about the work of the Tribunal and his experiences. This is my greatest regret.

Haopei and I were friends for sixty years. In 1937 I went to the London School of Economics and Political Science to pursue further studies when Haopei had already been there for one year. I had a feeling that we had known each other for a long time when we met for the first time. We became bosom friends at once. He was a couple of years older than I was. We called each other brother. It has been sixty years since then.

At the London School of Economics and Political Science, I studied public international law. Haopei studied private international law as well as public international law. We were together from morning till evening studying diligently in the library. Haopei always studied until late at night. He kept up his diligence and industriousness throughout the following decades. This trait of his character is admirable and no one can match him in this regard. His great academic achievements owed a lot to his exemplary hard work.

Haopei and I taught and conducted research together on many occasions during the past six decades. I was introduced by him and recommended by Mr Zhou Gensheng to teach at Wuhan University located at Leshan, Sichuan province during the war against the Japanese invaders. Haopei was teaching jurisprudence and private international law at the Faculty of Law. I was teaching international law and history of foreign affairs at the Department of Politics. We encouraged each other and learned from each other by exchanging views, which gave me a good start in my teaching career. Haopei taught conscientiously, lectured at once simply and profoundly, analyzed issues point by point, and gave a clear presentation. This was highly appreciated by the students.

I left Wuhan University two years later and taught at Chungqing University and

Beijing University successively. Haopei also left to teach at Zhejiang University. We had little contact during that period. However, Haopei came to Beijing soon after the liberation. He first worked at the Bureau of Legislative Affairs of the State Council, and then as a legal advisor at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Our contact resumed and increased as my teaching and his work were closely linked. We had more opportunities to see each other, especially after 1978. At that time international law scholarship and teaching was entering a new stage in China. We were often together to discuss international law issues and to cooperate in the work of international law development.

Haopei never gave up teaching when he was engaged in practical work. He was invited to lecture as a part-time professor at Beijing University and was well received by the students. Haopei was very much concerned about the development of international law in China. He participated in the activities of the Chinese Society of International Law since it was founded. Haopei made great contributions to improving the academic standard of the Chinese Yearbook of International Law which was launched in 1982. After Professor Chen Tigiang passed away in 1983, Haopei and I became the co-editors-in-chief of the Yearbook. He was in charge of going over the manuscripts in the field of private international law. He performed his duty carefully and conscientiously. In 1993, I was in charge of editing the International Law volume of the Chinese Encyclopedia of Law. I invited Haopei to be an editor of the section on private international law. He made a great effort to make the book a unique and fairly comprehensive international law dictionary of high standard. Having collaborated with Haopei on several occasions, I deeply admired him for his profound and immense learning.

Haopei had a fine command of English. He also read and wrote French, Russian, German and Latin. He translated various classics in English, French and German into Chinese. It is rare in China that a person can use materials and references in English, German and other languages to do research on international law issues as he could.

Haopei conducted research on private international law for a long time. His research achievements were known in China and overseas. He lectured on private international law at The Hague Academy of International Law in 1989. The lecture appeared in the Collected Courses and has been well received.

Haopei also accomplished many outstanding achievements in public international law. His classic work, The Law of Treaties, contains a wealth of data and materials and firmly establishes his views. This study received favourable review in the Chinese Yearbook of International Law (1989, 607-24) and the Heidelberg Journal of International Law (ZaöRV, 1991, 245-46), and won a coveted prize in China. He also published a study on sources of international law and numerous articles on public international law.

His work at the ICTY demonstrated his learning and his talents. He was known as a judge of independence, having absolute integrity and deep knowledge of international law. This is evident from the comments on his work made by various contributors in this volume. He was unique in present-day China in that he was a learned jurist in both public and private international law.

xxiv Wang Tieya

Haopei was gone abruptly and unexpectedly. I felt sad and was at a loss. Only the works he left behind remain. They are our precious heritage in international law. His diligent study and profound learning set an example for us, from which we must make great efforts to learn and with which we will promote the development of international law in China. Only in this way will we not let Haopei down.