

LAW AMONG NATIONS

AN INTRODUCTION
TO PUBLIC
INTERNATIONAL LAW

GERHARD VON GLAHN

Law Among Nations

AN INTRODUCTION TO PUBLIC INTERNATIONAL LAW

SEVENTH EDITION

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Preface to Seventh Edition

The seventh edition of this text has been revised substantially in content, references cited, and suggested readings, as well as being updated from the previous edition. Major changes have been made in the coverage of the disintegration of the Soviet Union, international criminal law, the law of the sea, United Nations peace-keeping activities, as well as of military occupation in view of recent events in the Middle East. The previous chapter on neutrality has been eliminated.

As in the past, I have been assisted greatly in preparing this seventh edition by the helpful criticism and suggestions of colleagues and former students. Their advice and factual contributions are gratefully acknowledged.

Preface to First Edition

Traditional texts in international law have fallen into one of three basic categories: (1) commentaries, heavily weighted with historical background material, (2) casebooks, and (3) combinations of cases and extensive editorial notes.

The writer has long felt a need for a text adapted specifically for the typical undergraduate course in international law: an upper-level offering commonly limited to one semester or two quarters in length. He believes that the bulk of the students enrolled in such a course do not intend to enter law schools, government service, or the employment of an international agency after the completion of undergraduate training. Such students may be assumed to be taking a course in international law because it forms a part of the required curriculum for majors in political science or because of their personal interest in a rather fascinating and timely subject.

If the foregoing assumptions are correct, then available texts, regardless of excellence, do not really satisfy the needs of the student clientele, for those texts are, on the whole, too extensive in their treatment of the subject considering the time available in the typical course. They also require, in the instance of commentaries, a casebook to accompany the text. Such collections are, again, extremely comprehensive in scope and expensive, and they appear to be designed primarily for use in law schools or on the graduate level of instruction.

These considerations led to the writing of a relatively brief text on international law, using the traditional approach to the subject but incorporating in the actual text, whenever called for as illustrative materials, abstracts of classic and

modern cases. The volume thus obviates the use of a casebook and stands as a self-contained unit. Admittedly, an obvious disadvantage of this unique feature is that students miss the complete wording of the judges in some of the great classic cases. Nothing would prevent the instructor, on the other hand, from assigning selected cases as outside reading and for practice in briefing. Most of the chapters are followed by lists of suggested readings to make possible the adaptation of the text to a course running for a full academic year.

In view of the notorious inability of undergraduates to read foreign languages with any degree of fluency, the references in both footnotes and suggested readings have been deliberately restricted to sources in the English language. This has meant the sacrifice of a very large number of valuable contributions to international law by foreign scholars but has resulted in references usable by students. The omission of this portion of the scholarly "apparatus" has also kept the volume within manageable limits. Most references have been restricted intentionally to sources likely to be found in the library of a college offering courses in international law; if lacking, they could be added at modest cost. The inclusion of numerous references to legal journals was prompted by the fact that the legal profession has created central reference libraries in many urban centers; such facilities may be available to students by special arrangement.

The inclusion or omission of subject matter is the responsibility of the writer. Dictated by his own experience in teaching international law courses, the selection of topics and the extent of their coverage also reflect his views as to the importance of each of them. Thus, since the text is intended to present a realistic picture of what the law is and not what it ought to be, relatively extensive treatment has been accorded the law of war.

The use of force has not been eliminated from the world scene, and when states or international agencies have recourse to force, the rules of the law designed for such purposes still find application. Despite the eloquence of the writings of many people of goodwill, methods for the peaceful settlement of international disputes have been, and are likely to be, abandoned in favor of war. Neutrality, pronounced dead on many occasions by learned jurists, has shown a perhaps not-too-surprising ability to survive in the practice of nations. And assertions of the present or rapidly approaching existence of a world law must as yet be regarded as utopian.

It may well be that at some future time humans will utilize their reason more fully and bring into being a peaceful world under the rule of law. For the time being, however, realism dictates the regrettable assumption that the scourge of war is with us and will be so for a long time. Hence the rules governing the use of force must be studied by the generations that will be affected most profoundly by recourse to forcible settlements of disputes. Condensation of the law of war and neutrality into a chapter, or total omission of such disagreeable topics, would be an inexcusable and unrealistic approach to the totality of international law.

The title of this volume has been chosen with care: the principles and rules embodied in what is termed *international law* represent not law above nations or supranational law but law *among* nations, *jus inter gentes*. Jurists may smile at such a concept, since to them law must stand above its subjects. This is not true, however,

in the case of general international law, which at present is only a weak and developing form of law. It applies to a relatively unorganized community and lacks specialized agencies dedicated to its enforcement. Nevertheless it represents the best that a chaotic community composed of sovereign states has been able to evolve to date. And whenever the often elaborate particular law of such international agencies as the United Nations fails to be applied to relations among states, recourse is had to the general law based on custom and on general lawmaking treaties in order to regulate such relations.

G. v. G.

Abbreviations

Certain sources utilized frequently throughout this volume are cited in abbreviated form as follows:

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Periodicals, Etc.

A7IL American Journal of International Law

APSR American Political Science Review

BYIL British Year Book of International Law

CSM Christian Science Monitor

I.C.7. Reports International Court of Justice, Reports of Judgments, Advisory

Opinions and Orders (1947-)

ILM International Legal Materials

NYT The New York Times

P.C.I.J. Permanent Court of International Justice,

Ser. A. Judgments and Orders (1922–1930)
Ser. B. Advisory Opinions (1922–1930)

Ser. A/B Judgments, Orders, and Advisory Opinions (1931–1940)

Proceedings Proceedings of the American Society of International Law

TGS Transactions of the Grotius Society [London]
Tijdschrift Nederlands Tijdschrift voor International Recht

Current Policy US Dept. of State, Bureau of Public Affairs publication

Gist US Dept. of State, Bureau of Public Affairs publication

U.S. (in case citations) United States Reports (Supreme Court of the United States).

Cases before 1875 are cited by the name of the reporter:

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USNWR U.S. News and World Report

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PART I

The Law of Nations

CHAPTER 1

The Nature and Sources of International Law

A. THE NATURE OF THE LAW

Definition of International Law International law is a body of principles, customs, and rules recognized as effectively binding obligations by sovereign states and such other entities as have been granted international personality; the law is also increasingly applicable to individuals in their relations with states. This definition of the subject corresponds closely to the current opinion of most writers on international law but represents by no means the only acceptable definition. Few areas of knowledge have been defined as often and in as many different ways as has international law. As Jessup pointed out, an old and possibly apocryphal Chinese proverb is said to counsel, "One should always have in the background of ones mind a multiplicity of definitions covering the subject at hand in order to prevent oneself from accepting the most obvious." In the spirit of that advice, the following additional definitions are offered:

¹Jessup, 4. (Full references to this and other works cited subsequently by author only may be found in the list of abbreviations).

The Law of Nations, or International Law, may be defined as the body of rules and principles of action which are binding upon civilized states in their relations with one another.²

International law consists in certain rules of conduct which modern civilized states regard as being binding on them in their relations with one another with a force comparable in nature and degree to that binding the conscientious person to obey the law of his country, and which they also regard as being enforceable by appropriate means in case of infringement.³

International law is to law as professional wrestling is to wrestling.⁴

On the other hand, the definition given by Abba Eban, then the Israeli ambassador to the United States, on Edward Murrow's television program "Person to Person" on September 20, 1957, corresponds to a widespread popular belief concerning the nature of the law: "International law is the law which the wicked do not obey and which the righteous do not enforce."

It should be realized even at this early point that the scope and, hence, the subjects, of international law are created by states and are determined by those same states. The definition given in the opening paragraph may therefore be changed in the future to accommodate additional categories of subjects. Many modern writers do, in fact, include individuals among the subjects of the law, although they usually are forced to admit that generally, the practice does not yet support their theoretical contention. The variations found currently among definitions of international law can also be explained logically by the fact that the law itself is in a state of transition. (See Chapter 10.)

The validity of the accepted rules of international law is not affected, of course, by the absence of universally shared standards and values in a heterogeneous congeries of sovereign states or by the limited scope of that law imposed by the unwillingness of those same states to subordinate their "vital" interests to an international legal order. The obvious danger is that a tendency toward the creation of regional (or particular) law may continue until all legal rules governing the actions of states across the borders of the various systems have disappeared. Such an atomistic division of the law, however, is not anticipated by even the most critical analysts. Within the preceding limits, there is, nonetheless, a community of nations whose international relations are subject to the application of rules that are accepted as binding by those states, out of whose needs the law grew through custom and treaty.

The contemporary applicability of the rules of international law may be divided into two related and partially overlapping spheres. Certain rules have been accepted *generally* or *universally* and represent general law in effect on a worldwide

²Brierly, 1.

³Hall, A Treatise on International Law (8th ed., Higgins, ed.) (1924), 1.

⁴Stephen Budiansky, USNWR, Sept. 20, 1993, 8.