

D.P. O'Connell

THE  
INTERNATIONAL  
LAW OF  
THE SEA

———— VOLUME I ————

Edited by I.A. Shearer

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# THE INTERNATIONAL LAW OF THE SEA

VOLUME I

by

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*To the memory of  
Magdalen Roche O'Connell*

## EDITOR'S PREFACE

The author of this book died on 8 June 1979. This is not the place to recount the late Professor O'Connell's achievements or to dwell upon the untimeliness of his death at the height of his powers. Readers may wish to refer to the assessment of his contributions to international law by Dr. James Crawford in volume 51 of the *British Yearbook of International Law*.

The editor's task has been in one respect light and in another respect heavy. A complete draft of each chapter had been completed by Professor O'Connell by the end of 1978, and in consequence no substantial parts of the work had to be written by the editor. On the other hand it is obvious that the author would not have left the manuscript untouched had he guided it himself to publication. That task has fallen to an editor who has had to make what changes and additions he thought necessary in the light of developments since 1978. In addition, the editor has had to perform the normal tasks of checking the text, verifying the references, and compiling the tables. In these circumstances it must be said that what merits the book has are the author's, and what faults it may contain are the editor's.

The work is in two volumes, the organization of which will be apparent from the table of contents. The second volume will appear shortly after the first. Consideration is being given to the possibility of a third volume to serve as a continuing commentary on the text of the main body of the work in the light of state practice as it comes to be influenced by the expected new International Convention on the Law of the Sea.

The book went to press before the United Nations Third Conference on the Law of the Sea completed its work. Since the Conference is expected to result in the conclusion of a Convention on the Law of the Sea, to be signed at Caracas, reference is made in the text to the 'Draft Caracas Convention'. The numbering and text of the articles of the Draft Convention are those appearing in the Draft Convention on the Law of the Sea (Informal Text), U.N. Doc. A/CONF.62/W.P.10/Rev. 3 of 27 August, 1980.

In the writing of this book, which had its genesis when the author

was Professor of International Law in the University of Adelaide, the author was assisted, directly and indirectly, by a large number of persons who cannot all be named. But particular mention should be made of the Librarian and staff of the Sir John Salmond Law Library of the University of Adelaide (which now contains the D. P. O'Connell International Law Collection), the Librarian and staff of the Codrington Library, All Souls College, and the Librarian and staff of the Bodleian Law Library at Oxford. In writing certain portions of the book, particularly Chapter 3, the author had the advantage of examining some historical materials, hitherto not known to scholars, which were brought to his attention by Dr. Geoffrey Marston, Fellow of Sidney Sussex College Cambridge. Commander C. D. C. Crowley R.N. read most of the chapters in manuscript, and Dr. D. J. Attard assisted with the bibliography and references to legislation. Mr A. Garcia, Lic. Dcho. (Madrid), LL.M. (Sydney) and Mr. I. T. K. Clarke, B.A., LL.B. (University of New South Wales) assisted the editor in the verification of the text and references. Valuable assistance was given in relation to particular chapters by Captain M. Calder R.A.N., Mrs. Rosemary Allen and H.E. Mr. K. G. Brennan. A devoted band of typists at opposite ends of the earth, led by Mrs. June Barrett, Mrs. June Johnson and Mrs. Marjorie Saul, prepared the many drafts.

Acknowledgement is gratefully recorded of grants made to the author by the British Academy and the Nuffield Foundation, and of the patience and professional skill of the Clarendon Press.

*Sydney*  
*9 December 1981*

*I. A. Shearer*

#### EDITOR'S NOTE TO SECOND IMPRESSION

After the first impression appeared, a decision was taken by the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea to sign the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea in Montego Bay, Jamaica and not, as had been expected throughout the Conference, in Caracas, Venezuela. For technical reasons it has not been possible to replace the references to the 'Draft Caracas Convention' in the present volume with references to the Montego Bay Convention, but in all cases the Article numbers correspond with those of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, signed at Montego Bay on 10 December 1982.

*Sydney*  
*1 August 1984*

*I. A. Shearer*

## AUTHOR'S PREFACE<sup>1</sup>

The Third Law of the Sea Conference, at its successive meetings since 1974 in Caracas, Geneva, and New York has revealed, perhaps more graphically than any other recent international event, the extent of the current incoherence in international law. For the past two hundred years there have been two main streams of doctrine respecting the ultimate nature of the international legal system: there has been the Grotian tradition of moral order, whereby the rules of international law have been elucidated by reference to what the society of mankind requires for its regular development; and there has been the Vattelien tradition of acquiescence and consent, whereby these rules have been promulgated by reference to the practice of States.

The difference between the two has been obscured in practice by the common doctrine of *opinio juris*, that is, the doctrine that supposes that governments act respecting legal conviction and not from motives of power and gain. This supposition enabled jurists to bridge the gap between describing what States do and indicating what they ought to do – so raising the analysis from the level of anecdote to the level of the normative.

The doctrine of *opinio juris* provided international lawyers with a workable methodology which was, in past ages, best observable in the case of maritime law: practice established the freedom of the seas and the nature of the territorial sea, although admittedly it did not establish its geographical extent. But the methodology has now collapsed with the doctrine that prompted it. Governments in the matter of the Law of the Sea no longer act by reference to what they think the law is: they set out deliberately to break with the traditional rules in order to bring about the changes which they seek. How else can one explain the phenomenon of the 200-mile Exclusive Economic Zone? If not yet an established institution of international law it is certainly on the point

<sup>1</sup> The author had not prepared a preface at the time of his death. What appears here are extracts from an address the author gave to the 5th Commonwealth Law Conference at Edinburgh in 1977 which may serve as a summing up of his perspective. These extracts are reprinted with the kind permission of the Secretariat of the Commonwealth Law Conference. The full text of the address is given in *Proceedings and Papers of the Fifth Commonwealth Law Conference, Edinburgh 1977*, 415–423.

of becoming one. It is the product of a State practice that is avowedly based upon power and not upon formal rules. The power may be justified on the basis of moral, sociological or other considerations, but it is not based on deference to *opinio juris*.

This has plunged the theorists into perplexity. The alternative methodology to that of *opinio juris* is 'effectivity': a rule is made or changed simply by making it effective, and the only way to make it effective is by the use of force. That was pointed out by Judge Read in the International Court in the *Anglo-Norwegian Fisheries Case* in 1951, when he said that in maritime law 'the only convincing evidence of State practice is to be found in seizures, where the coastal State asserts its sovereignty over the waters in question'.

That is a disquieting doctrine, because it supposes that the law is the product of force and not the curb of force: it puts a premium upon unilateral action, and it leads to the sorts of struggles which have occurred over the Icelandic fisheries and causes one gloomily to infer that, whatever changes are made at the Law of the Sea Conference to underpin the unilateral actions which are occurring daily, resistance can only be intensified and disputes thereby magnified and provoked. Since 1945 there have been over 100 instances of the coercive uses of navies, involving around 50 different navies, and, of these, around four-fifths have been of a supposedly law-enforcement character, or have been related to legal disputes over resources.

It would be rash to suppose that the Law of the Sea Conference will settle claims to rights in all of the existing or potential disputes concerning the many subjects which it is attempting to encompass. There are limits to what can be expected of international law. It cannot solve all of the problems of the world, as many developing countries appear to think, and it cannot reconcile interests that are directly opposed unless claims, demands, and aspirations are moderated. And of that disposition there is little indication.

International Law is to be regarded not only from the point of view of curbing violence, but also in some circumstances as a provocation to violence. When its rules are so indeterminate that they give rise to disputes, the only resolution it offers for settlement is to endorse whatever comes to prevail in practice. The need to secure widespread agreement upon rules that are definite, clear, and comprehensive, so that the influence of power upon the outcome of contests can be minimised, is the only thing to which all delegations at the Law of the Sea Conference pay lip service at least. Apart from that, they are concerned mainly with the promotion of narrow national interests, and since these are many and mutually inconsistent, compromise is essential for progress to be made. Reconciliation of competing claims between countries is not the only aspect of the matter: a similar



reconciliation is required of government departments concerned with national policies of the Law of the Sea. For countries like Senegal national policy is a simple matter: for countries like the United States or United Kingdom it is complicated by the many interests that have to be taken into account.

Some countries seek to press claims of national jurisdiction into the ocean because they need to protect the local fishing industry; others oppose these claims because they have distant water fishing industries; others yet are hindered by indecision because they have both sorts of industry. Some countries are content with continental shelf rights because they have broad shelves and offshore oil is more important than fisheries: they are less concerned with pollution than are fishing countries or tourist resort countries.

Other countries have narrow continental shelves and seek to appropriate mineral resources by linking seabed claims with fishery claims. Yet others have both seabed and fishing interests and seek to accommodate both. Some countries are insular and claim jurisdictional zones around islands, while others are not and oppose these claims. The very question whether every island is to have a 200 mile limit, or has a continental shelf appurtenant to it, is controversial because of the disproportionate effects of these features on the enclosure of the sea and the deprivation of others' use of it.

Some countries are concerned by the growing scarcity of resources and the fact they are non-renewable, while others are concerned to redress the balance of economic history by immediate diversion of these resources to the needs of their development. Some countries have security problems arising out of espionage, subversion, smuggling, and piracy, and are impelled towards control of waters, particularly those enclosed by islands, for reasons of police rather than for reasons of economics, and their claims are opposed by shipping countries whose concern is to magnify the liberty of movement.

National policies on the Law of the Sea are a compound of interests which often are basically irreconcilable, and the projecting of these policies by 140 countries at the same time and in a single forum can only lead, if not actually to incoherence, then, at least, to disillusionment. Even when the new treaty on the Law of the Sea is signed at the Conference, it will be many years before it becomes widely accepted through ratification. In many governments some internal interests will be mobilised to promote and others to resist ratification. The scientific community, largely organized in technologically advanced countries, will be hostile towards the restraints which developing countries can be expected to promote with respect to research vessels operating in their waters. Treasuries may be dismayed at the costs both of supporting international control of deep seabed mining and of providing the

resources for policing large areas of jurisdictional waters. The operations are likely not to prove cost-effective, and fisheries will languish in many regions because of underfishing.

Boundaries in the sea are becoming ever more difficult to draw. This is partly because what is appropriate for division of seabed resources may be quite inappropriate for allocation of fishing resources among communities dependent upon them; partly because of the disproportionate gains and losses resulting from geographical locations, which give rise to questions of equitable distribution; and partly because of technical problems, which in some latitudes, and over 200 mile distances, can become serious. If great circle lines are used they become difficult to identify by navigators; if rhumb lines are used they displace locations by significant margins. Policing of jurisdictional zones will require definite boundaries, but even then will give rise to difficulties of evidence as to location of the offence when Loran or Omega are not available, or sets are not carried on board, and where the land is beyond the radar's horizon.

For practising lawyers it is clear that these new trends in the Law of the Sea are of the greatest practical importance. Prosecutions for violations of the law applicable to the maritime domain will increase and defence counsel will become more expert in the evidentiary problems raised by proof of the location of the offence as well as its nature. The interaction of international law and municipal law is today one of the main issues of legal action.

## VOLUME II

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- Chapter 18* Delimitation of the Continental Shelf and Exclusive Economic Zone
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- Chapter 29* The Law of Belligerency at Sea
- Chapter 30* Economic Warfare at Sea

## ABBREVIATIONS

A.C.	Appeal Cases, 1891—
A.des V.	Archiv des Völkerrechts
AJIL	American Journal of International Law
ALJ	Australian Law Journal
All E.R.	All England Law Reports
ALR	Australian Law Reports
Am.St.Pap.	American State Papers and Public Documents of the United States, 1789—1815, 8 vols (1815)
Ann. Dig.	Annual Digest of Public International Law Cases (1919—49)
Annuaire	Annuaire de l'Institut de droit international
Annuaire, <i>Abridgement</i>	Annuaire de l'Institut de droit international, Edition nouvelle abrégée, 7 vols (1875—1913)
Annuaire français	Annuaire français de droit international
App. Cas.	Appeal Cases, 1875—90
ASIL Proc.	Proceedings of the American Society of International Law
ASW	Anti-submarine warfare
Aust. YBIL	Australian Yearbook of International Law
B. & C.	Barnewall and Cresswell's Reports, 1822—30
B. & S.	Best and Smith's Reports, 1861—5
Baldwin's C.C. Rep.	Reports, Circuit Court, United States, Third Circuit, 1827—33, by H. Baldwin (1837)
Barn. & Ald.	Barnewall and Alderson's Reports, 1817—22
BCLR	British Columbia Law Reports, 1977—(Canada)
BCR	British Columbia Law Reports, 1867—1947 (Canada)
Bell App. Cas.	Bell's Appeal Cases, 1842—50
Bell C.C.	Bell's Reports of Crown Cases, 1858—60
BFSP	British and Foreign State Papers (1806—1970)
BGBI.	Bundesgesetzblatt (F. R. Germany)
Bibliotheca Visseriana	Bibliotheca Visseriana dissertationum jus internationale illustrantium, Vols 1—20 (1923—63)
Bing.	Bingham's Reports, 1822—34
Bligh (N.S.)	Bligh's Reports (New Series), 1827—37
Burr.	Burrow's Reports, King's Bench, 1757—71
Burrell	Burrell's Reports, Eccl. & Adm., 1584—1774

BYIL	British Yearbook of International Law
C., Cd., Cmd., Cmd.	Papers presented to Parliament by Command of His (Her) Majesty:
	C. 1-9550 (1870-1899)
	Cd. 1-9239 (1900-1918)
	Cmd. 1-9889 (1919-1956)
	Cmd. 1- (1956- )
Cal.	California Reports, 1850-
Camb. LJ.	Cambridge Law Journal
Can. YBIL	Canadian Yearbook of International Law
Ch.	Chancery Reports, 1891-
Cl. & F.	Clark and Finnelly's Reports, House of Lords, 1831-46
Clunet	Journal du droit international
CLR	Commonwealth Law Reports (Australia)
CMLR	Common Market Law Reports
CML Rev.	Common Market Law Review
C.O.	Colonial Office Papers
Co.Lit.	Coke, Sir Edward. The First Part of the Institute of the Laws of England (1794); 19th ed. (1832)
Con.T.S.	Parry, C. (Ed.) Consolidated Treaty Series, 1648-1910, 210 vols (1969-80)
Co. Rep.	Coke's Reports, 1572-1616
Cowp.	Cowper's Reports, 1774-8
C.P.D.	Common Pleas Division Reports, 1875-80
Cranch	U.S. Supreme Court Reports, Cranch, 1801-15
CREST	Crown Estate Office
C.Rob.	C. Robinson's Admiralty Reports, 1799-1808
Ct. Cl.	Court of Claims Reports (USA)
D.	Dalloz, Recueil périodique et critique de jurisprudence, de législation et de doctrine (France)
Dav.	Davis's Reports (Ireland), 1604-12
De G.F. & J.	De Gex, Fisher and Jones' Reports, Chancery, 1860-62
De G.M. & G.	De Gex, Macnaghten and Gordon's Reports, Chancery, 1851-7
Dept. of State Bull.	Department of State Bulletin (USA)
DLR	Dominion Law Reports (Canada)
Dods.	Dodson's Admiralty Reports, 1811-22
Draft Convention (1980)	United Nations Third Conference on the Law of the Sea. Draft Convention on the Law of the Sea (Informal Text), U.N.Doc.A/CONF. 62/W.P.10/Rev.3, 27 August 1980
ECR	European Court Reports, 1962-
EEC	European Economic Community
EEZ	Exclusive Economic Zone
E.R.	English Reports Reprint, 1220-1865

Ex.D.	Exchequer Division Reports, 1875–80
F. 2d.	Federal Reporter, Second Series (USA)
Fed.	Federal Reporter, First Series (USA)
Fed. Cas.	Federal Cases, 1789–1800 (USA)
Fed. L. Rev.	Federal Law Review (Australia)
F.O.	Foreign Office Papers
Fontes Juris Gentium	Fontes Juris Gentium, ed. by Viktor Bruns (1931–38)
For. Rel.	Foreign Relations of the United States, 1861–
F. Supp.	Federal Supplement (USA)
Gray	Gray's Reports, Massachusetts, 1854–60
Grot. Trans.	Transactions of the Grotius Society, 1916–59
Hackworth	Hackworth, G. H. Digest of International Law, 8 vols (1940–44)
Hagg.	Haggard's Admiralty Reports, 1822–38
Hague Recueil	Académie de droit international, <i>Recueil des cours</i>
H. C. Deb.	See Parl. Deb.
H.C.R.	See Scott
H.C. Sess. Pap.	House of Commons Session Papers
Hertslet	Hertslet, L. (Ed.) Treaties and Conventions . . . between Great Britain and Foreign Powers, 31 vols (1840–1925)
H.L.C.	House of Lords Cases, 1847–66
How.St.Tr.	State Trials, 1163–1820, compiled by T. B. Howell and T. J. Howell, 34 vols (1809–28)
Hudson	Hudson, M. O. International Legislation, 9 vols (1932–50)
IBS	U.S. Dept. of State, Office of the Geographer, International Boundary Studies (cont. series)
I.C.J. Rep.	International Court of Justice, Reports of Judgments, Advisory Opinions and Orders
ICLQ	International and Comparative Law Quarterly
ICNT	United Nations Third Conference on the Law of the Sea. Informal Composite Negotiating Text, U.N.Doc.A/CONF.62/W.P. 10, 15 July 1977; Rev. 1, 28 April 1979; Rev. 2, 11 April 1980
IHO	International Hydrographic Organisation
ILA	International Law Association
ILC	International Law Commission
ILC Ybk.	Yearbook of the International Law Commission
ILM	International Legal Materials (American Society of International Law)
ILQ	International Law Quarterly, 1947–51
ILR	International Law Reports 1950– (Successor to Ann.Dig.)
IMCO	Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organisation (since 1982 IMO).

Indian JIL	Indian Journal of International Law
I.R.	Irish Reports
Ital. YBIL	Italian Yearbook of International Law
J. & H.	Johnson and Hemming's Reports, Chancery, 1860–62
Jahrb. Int. R.	Jahrbuch für internationales Recht
J.Mar.L. & Com.	Journal of Maritime Law and Commerce
JO	Journal Officiel (France)
Jur.(N.S.)	The Jurist (New Series), 1856–66
K.B.	King's Bench Reports, 1901–51
Knapp.	Knapp's Reports, 1829–36
Law Mag. & Rev.	Law Magazine and Review, 37 vols (1872–1908)
Lev.	Levinz's Reports, 1660–97
Limits in the Sea	U.S. Dept. of State, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, Limits in the Sea (Cont. series)
L.J.	Law Journal Reports
Ll.L.R.	Lloyd's List Reports
LNTS	League of Nations Treaty Series
LoN Doc.	League of Nations, Documents
L.R.	Law Reports
L.R. Ind. App.	Law Reports, Indian Appeals, Privy Council, 1873–1950
L.R.P.C.	Law Reports, Privy Council, 1865–75
L.T.	Law Times, 1843–
Lush.	Lushington's Admiralty Reports, 1859–62
M. & W.	Meeson and Welsby's Reports, 1836–47
Macq.	Macqueen's House of Lords Appeals, 1849–65 (Scotland)
Malloy	Malloy, W.M., Treaties, Conventions, International Acts, Protocols and Agreements between the United States of America and Other Powers, 1776–1923, 3 vols (1910–23)
Martens, <i>Recueil de traités</i>	Martens, G. F. de –
M.R.	Recueil des principaux traités . . . , 7 vols (2nd ed. 1791–1801)
M.R. Suppl.	Supplément au recueil des principaux traités . . . , 4 vols (1802–08)
M.R.	Recueil des traités de l'Europe . . . depuis 1761, 8 vols (rev. ed. 1817–35)
M.N.R.	Nouveau recueil de traités . . . de l'Europe . . . depuis 1808, 17 vols (1817–41)
M.N.R. Suppl.	Nouveaux suppléments au recueil de traités . . . depuis 1761, 4 vols (1839–42)
M.N.R.G.	Nouveau recueil général de traités, 20 vols (1843–75); Nouveau recueil général de traités, 2e sér., 35 vols (1876–1910); Nouveau recueil général de traités, 3e sér., 41 vols (1909–44)

Mass.	Massachusetts Reports, 1868–
McNair, <i>Opinions</i>	International Law Opinions, Selected and Annotated by Lord McNair, 3 vols (1956)
Mod.	Modern Reports, 1669–1732
Moo. P.C.	Moore's Privy Council Cases, 1836–62
Moore, <i>Dig.</i>	Moore, J. B., A Digest of International Law, 8 vols (1906)
Moore, <i>Foreshore</i>	Moore, S. A., History and Law of the Foreshore and Sea Shore and the Law Relating Thereto (1888)
Moore, <i>IA</i>	Moore, J. B., History and Digest of International Arbitrations to which the United States has been a Party, 5 vols (1898)
MSA	Merchant Shipping Act (UK)
Naval Miscellany	Navy Records Society, The Naval Miscellany, Vol. 3, ed. by W. G. Perrin (1928)
Ned. Tijd.	Nederlands Tijdschrift voor Internationaal Recht
New Directions	New Directions in the Law of the Sea – Vols I–II by Lay, S. H., Churchill, R. and Nordquist, M. (1973) Vol. III by Churchill, Simmonds, K. R. and Welch, J. (1973) Vol. IV by Churchill and Nordquist (1975) Vols V–VI by Churchill, Nordquist and Lay (1977) Vols VII–VIII by Nordquist, Lay and Simmonds (1980) Vols IX–X by Nordquist and Simmonds (1980)
N.I.	Northern Ireland Law Reports
NJW	Neue Juristische Wochenschrift (Germany)
North Atlantic Coast Fisheries Arbitration: <i>Documents</i>	Documents relating to the North Atlantic coast fisheries arbitration, the United Kingdom and the United States, 18 vols (H.M.S.O., London, 1909–10)
North Atlantic Coast Fisheries Arbitration: <i>Proceedings</i>	Proceedings in the North Atlantic Coast Fisheries Arbitration, 12 vols (Government Printing Office, Washington, 1912)
N.Y.	New York Reports
N.Y. Supp.	New York Supplement
NZLR	New Zealand Law Reports
N.Z.T.S.	New Zealand Treaty Series
OLR	Ontario Law Reports
OR	Ontario Reports, 1882–1900
P.	Probate Reports, 1891–1971
P. 2d.	Pacific Reporter, Second Series (USA)
Pac.	Pacific Reporter, First Series (USA)
Pacem in Maribus	Royal University of Malta Press, 7 vols (1971)



Parl. Deb.	Parliamentary Debates (Hansard), House of Commons (H.C.); House of Lords (H.L.)
Parl. Pap.	Parliamentary Papers. See also C., <i>supra</i>
Parry, <i>Opinions</i>	Parry, C. (Ed.) Law Officers' Opinions to the Foreign Office, 1793–1860, 97 vols (1970)
P.C.	Privy Council (Canada /UK)
PCIJ	Permanent Court of International Justice Reports, 1923–1940
Pet.	U.S. Supreme Court Reports, Peters, 1828–42
P.R.O.	Public Record Office (UK)
Q.B.	Queen's Bench Reports, 1891–1900; 1952–
QLR	Quebec Law Reports (Canada)
QSR	Queensland State Reports (Australia)
Raym.	Lord Raymond's Reports, 1694–1732
RDILC	Revue de droit international et de législation comparé (Belgium)
Reichsgerichtfestgabe	Schreiber, O. (Ed.) Die Reichsgerichtspraxis im deutschen Rechtsleben: Festgabe zum 50-jährigen Bestehen des Reichsgerichts (1929)
Rev. belge	Revue belge de droit international
Rev.crit.de droit int.	Revue critique de droit international privé, 1933– continuing Revue de droit international privé, 1905–1933 (France)
Rev. droit int.	Revue de droit international, de sciences diplomatiques et politiques (Switzerland)
Rev. égypt.	Revue égyptienne de droit international
Rev. hellén.	Revue hellénique de droit international
RGDIP	Revue générale de droit international public (France)
Riv.D.I.	Rivista Di Diritto Internazionale
Rome Symposium	Sztucki, J. (Ed.) Symposium on the International Regime of the Seabed, held at Rome on 30 June–5 July 1969, Proceedings (1970)
Rot. Parl.	Rotuli Parliamentorum . . . 1279–1373, 6 vols (1767–77)
R.S.C.	Revised Statutes of Canada
RSNT	United Nations Third Conference on the Law of the Sea. Revised Single Negotiating Text, U.N.Doc.A /CONF.62 /W.P.8 /Rev.1, 6 May 1976
S.	Sirey, Recueil général des lois et des arrêts, 1801– (France)
SALR	South African Law Reports
SASR	South Australian State Reports
S.C.	Session Cases (Scotland)
S.	1821–62 (Shaw)
M.	1862–73 (MacPherson)