THE NEW GLOBAL LAW

The dislocations of the worldwide economic crisis, the necessity of a system of
global justice to address crimes against humanity, and the notorious “democratic
deficit” of international institutions highlight the need for an innovative and truly
global legal system — one that permits humanity to reorder itself according to
acknowledged global needs and evolving consciousness.

A new global law will constitute, by itself, a genuine legal order and will not be
limited to a handful of moral principles that attempt to guide the conduct of the
world’s peoples. If the law of nations served the hegemonic interests of ancient
Rome and international law served those of the European nation-state, then a new
global law will contribute to the common good of all humanity and, ideally, to
the development of durable world peace. This volume offers a historical–juridical
foundation for the development of this new global law.

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The purpose of the ASIL Studies in International Legal Theory series is to clarify and improve the theoretical foundations of international law. Too often the progressive development and implementation of international law has foundered on confusion about first principles. This series will raise the level of public and scholarly discussion about the structure and purposes of the world legal order and how best to achieve global justice through law.

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The New Global Law

RAFAEL DOMINGO
In memory of Emilio Nadal
Contents

Preface xiii
Acknowledgments xxv

PART ONE: FROM THE IUS GENTIUM TO INTERNATIONAL LAW

1 The Ius Gentium, a Roman Concept ............................... 3
   1. A Law for Every Age 3
   2. A Word about Dike 5
   3. Cicero, Father of the Ius Gentium 6
   4. The Ius Gentium in Other Roman Writings 8

2 The Ius Commune, a Medieval Concept .......................... 12
   1. The Ius Gentium in the Middle Ages 12
   2. European Common Law 14
   3. English Common Law Contrasted with Civil Law 16
   4. Ius Canonicum 18
   5. Islamic Sharia and Siyar 19

3 International Law, a Modern Concept ........................... 22
   1. From Ius Gentium to Ius Inter Gentes 22
   2. Ius Gentium Europaeum 25
   3. Kant, between Staatenrecht and Weltbürgerrecht 28
   4. Bentham and International Law 30
   5. Public and Private International Law 32
   6. New Attempts at Conceptualization 35
      A. Philip C. Jessup’s Transnational Law 37
      B. C. Wilfred Jenks and the Common Law of Mankind 39
      C. John Rawls and The Law of Peoples 41
      D. Álvaro d’Ors and Geodierética 43
   7. Ius Naturale in the Shadow of Ius Gentium 44
PART TWO: TOWARD A GLOBAL LAW

4 The Crisis of International Law ............................................. 53
  1. International Law and the Globalization of Law 55
  2. The Basic Primacy of States as Subjects of International Law 57
  3. The Death Throes of the State
     A. Sovereignty and the Sovereign People 65
     B. The Crisis of Territoriality 73
     C. Jurisdiction: Does It Belong to the State? 77
     D. The Nation-State: A Marriage of Convenience Doomed to Divorce 82
  4. The Future of the United Nations 88

5 Global Law, a Challenge for Our Time ................................ 98
  1. The Need for Global Law 98
  2. International Society versus Global Community 102
  3. Cosmopolitanism and Global Law 104
  4. Crisis of Nationality, Global Citizenship, and Patriotism 106
  5. Global Law and Nonstate Law 109
  6. Arbitration and Globalization 110
  7. The Usus of the Earth 113
  8. Humanity as Anthroparchy 115

6 The Global Legal Order .................................................. 121
  1. The Person, Center of the Global Legal Order 123
     A. Are Persons Legal Persons? 126
     B. Are Animals Persons? 129
  2. Personal Dignity, Liberty, and Equality
     A. Human Dignity 131
     B. Personal Liberty 136
     C. Equality among Persons 139
  3. Human Rights, at the Heart of Global Law 142
     4. Quod Omnes Tangit ab Omnibus Approbetur 144
  5. United Humanity 145
  6. Culmination: The New Pyramid of Law 147
     A. Structure of the Pyramid 147
     B. Legal Three-Dimensionality 149

7 Legal Principles of Global Law ......................................... 154
  1. Rules-Based Principles and Principled Rules 154
  2. Principles Common to International and Global Legal Orders 157
     A. Principle of Justice 158
     B. Principle of Reasonableness 162
     C. Principle of Coercion 166
  3. Specific Principles of the Global Order 170
     A. Principle of Universality 170
## Contents

B. Principle of Solidarity 173
C. Principle of Subsidiarity 176
D. Principle of Horizontality or Democratization 181
4. Rules of Global Law (*Iuris Universalis Regulae*) 185

Conclusion: The Third Time Is the Charm 195
Index 201
Preface

We live in a world of profound change. The implementation of new technologies; the growing impact of mass media communications; the unprecedented development of a market economy on a global scale; the ubiquitous role of a civil society progressively consolidating, vertically and horizontally; the shared desire to address the problems afflicting humanity, such as international terrorism, arms trafficking, hunger and poverty, sexual exploitation, political and economic corruption, abuse of power, and increasing environmental challenges that threaten the configuration and peace of the planet – these are some of the issues that characterize our unique and never-recurring historical moment.

We are propelled through life at a dizzying speed. Perhaps this is the most salient difference from the past: the hectic pace of our social relations, which at times makes it difficult to adapt to the demands of justice. Our society is the product of a complex mosaic of political, economic, and cultural relationships, the intricacies of which are hardly recognizable merely by applying the social norms of yesteryear.

Faced with this reality, which is as certain as our own existence, we jurists cannot and should not turn a blind eye, thereby allowing the law of the jungle to take over in this age of globalization because of lack of foresight, consistency, or imagination. We cannot acquiesce to world domination by economic imperialism or political cryptocracy as if it were some kind of private estate. The science of law has become obsolete in many respects; it has been overwhelmed by new facts and circumstances. The increasingly opaque distinction between public and private spheres, the intrinsic complexity of facts to be ordered by law, and poor planning in the face of a rapidly changing future have eviscerated many legal principles that once might have seemed permanent and unchanging and now seem, at best, mercurial. At times, the
weight of cultural idiosyncrasies and circumstance is so great that we think of them as part of nature. Nature itself, however, also changes – at least in part.

I am reminded of the famous words in Gaius’ Institutes (2.73), where the second-century jurist states that “what a man builds on my land becomes mine by natural law, although he built on his own account, because a superstructure goes with the land” (superficies solo cedit).¹ I doubt that the same jurist would repeat this precept, accepted by courts throughout the ages, if he had taken a stroll along Manhattan’s Fifth Avenue. Today, this principle has been overturned in many cases, with “structure prevailing over land.” Thus, natural law, in the modern sense of the term, does not embrace this tenet. In Ancient Rome, however, the inherent nature of things (rerum natura) prevailed as the standard of legal interpretation that led Gaius to formulate this principle. To be sure, though, for a long time, the stricture was observed.

In his classical essay Revitalizing International Law, Richard Falk complained that jurists – especially American jurists – are averse to paradigm shifts in response to the complexities of society and political phenomena.² Globalization commands a reformulation of the law, an appropriate legal response to changing times to avoid becoming hostage to outmoded, transient paragons. It is a moral obligation.³ The time has come for a global law just as earlier, the time was ripe for the law of nations and what later became “international law.” Without the ius gentium, international law cannot be understood. Moreover, absent the development of international law, nascent global law would not come into being. These three legal domains (the law of nations, international law, and global law) are like grandfather, father, and grandson, respectively. They are part of one and the same family. Therefore, they have common traits that bind them even though they are based on different legal principles and were applied at completely different times in history. That they have coexisted and overlapped bespeaks this commonality and difference.

² Richard Falk, Revitalizing International Law (Iowa State University Press, Ames, 1989), p. 10: “Paradigm changes are especially uncongenial to the American lawyers who tend to view constructive social change as necessarily incremental and who distrust overall explanations of complex social and political phenomena.”
³ See Allen Buchanan, Justice, Legitimacy, and Self-Determination: Moral Foundations for International Law (Oxford University Press, Oxford, New York, 2007), p. 432: “The task of international legal reform is no longer merely a morally permissible option, something to be pursued only so far as it promotes the ‘national interest’; it is a moral necessity.”
I do not, therefore, entirely agree with the great legal scholar Lassa Oppenheim (1858–1919) – nor with his followers – when he suggests that international law in the term’s current sense is “a product of Christian civilization” that gradually began to develop in the Late Middle Ages, especially with Grotius, who was the originator of a later conceptualization of the law of nations. Such a point of departure is somewhat artificial. Is it possible to understand Grotius without at least Gentili or Vitoria, Vitoria without Thomas Aquinas, or Aquinas without Isidore of Seville? Can we understand St. Isidore without first knowing Ulpian, Ulpian without Gaius, Gaius without Cicero, the great Roman orator without the Stoics, and stoicism without Socrates? The litany of epistemological “moments” of development leads to a simple and succinct response: Of course not. Certainly, this penchant in favor of fragmentation has occurred within the history of international law, notable for platitudes that, like a family heirloom, have been passed down for generations.

I do accept, however, the happy turn of phrase with which Jean Monnet (1888–1979) closes his fascinating memoirs: “les nations souveraines du passé ne sont plus le cadre où peuvent se résoudre les problèmes du présent.” It represents an outdated notion and pointless nostalgia, but it also underscores the need to acknowledge that tools useful at certain times in history, such as the concept of the sovereign nation itself, may lose their relevance in another era. The time has come for imagination and creativity. Humanity has common problems that must be addressed by the justice system and, therefore, by law – a law that, to use the well-known expression of the “Father of Europe,” must unite mankind, not merely nation-states.

Better yet, the time has come for a law that integrates the highest values of different legal traditions while acknowledging the living synthesis of diverse and often disparate cultures. In this sense, it seems that global law calls for a “pure theory of Law,” although not in a Kelsian paradigm, because nothing can be farther from a pristine construct than “hyper-conceptualization.” The approach to global law must employ new legal instruments, concepts, and rubrics to order, in accordance with law, new social realities. There is an attendant need to “refine” once again those legal tenets that have been misconstrued as instruments of economic and political power.

We must recover the notion of populus in its most authentic sense, that is, as a grouping of mature adult citizens, and apply it to humanity. “The people” is

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inclusive, whereas the enlightened nation never was. Humanity will never be a global nation in a revolutionary sense. It will come closer to the concept of a people, a sort of populus populorum, organized into an anthroparchy. People as most “popular” and “commonly accepted” is “we”; whereas it is the “they” who chart the course of any nation. Humanity refers to itself as “we” but not as “they.” In this respect, I agree with John Rawls. We should not forget that the American Revolution was carried out by the people, the French Revolution by the nation, and the Russian Revolution by the party. This is one reason why the American Revolution has, conceptually speaking, best withstood the passage of time. It is this proposition that most likely will contribute to the system of global law.

The ancient Roman concept of maestas, which was replaced by sovereignty in the sixteenth century, must be subjected to sustained analysis. In the formation and transformation of a new global law designed to coexist with its domestic and international counterparts, we must restore to the law the notion of person, which has been lost in analytical jurisprudence. The human person, and not the state, should constitute the cornerstone of global law. Humanity is the global amalgamation of persons, not states. Consequently, a global law must find its normative foundation in the person, that is, the individual in space and time who ultimately is responsible for and is the reason for being of all jurisprudence and positive law. Uniquely situated as spectator, spectacle, legislator, and target of all normative precepts, it is the concept of person in all its richness that constitutes the first principle of the global law. Indeed, contrary to Kelsen’s assertions, all law stems from the person (ius ex persona oritur). It is the very “personification of the state” that has caused the dehumanization of the person, its objectification and stripping of the special properties of human dignity. This proposition constitutes the lodestar for securing a comprehensive understanding of the effort that this text embodies.

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This modest effort offers the academic community a historical–juridical foundation that may constitute the basis for this ius commune totius orbis, whose

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9 For more on the analogy of the person and the state in international law, see Charles R. Beitz, Political Theory and International Relations (with a new afterword by the author) (Princeton University Press, Princeton, Oxford, 1999), p. 70: “Perceptions of international relations have been more thoroughly influenced by the analogy of states and persons than by any other device.”
coming into being is inevitable. It is the aspiration of this text to explain ideas and ideals but not ideology. I understand global law to be a world legal order that governs the ambit of justice as it affects humanity as a whole. Global law, compatible with the existing legal systems and traditions within the framework of international economics and politics, would gradually abandon the corset of the nation-states and employ a legal metalanguage in response to the new challenges of globalization in all its permutations.

The reader must not confuse global law with a closed legal system or juridical order, let alone a mere collection of more or less binding and sterile rules. Rather, it would be a system of systems, a *iuris ordorum ordo*, which necessarily would develop into an *ordo orbis* as it is gradually accepted by all communities and citizens of the world. Its purpose would be similar to that of the sun in the solar system that is mostly composed of planets but also of billions of smaller bodies: asteroids, meteorites, comets, and so on. In my example, each of the planets would correspond to a legal tradition on which various legal systems would depend. The principles of global law would be like the sun’s nucleus, which radiates energy by thermonuclear reactions, whereas the gravitational force that attracts them, namely, global jurisdiction, would be different from what we now call universal jurisdiction.

To continue with the solar metaphor – just as there are varying intensities in the gravitational field as a function of acceleration – various jurisdictions must also coexist, principally as a function of subject matter. The urgency of a global criminal jurisdiction to combat international terrorism is not comparable to the need to harmonize the world’s legal systems in matters concerning the registration of intellectual property, however important this need may be, or to approve new common rules for the recognition and perfunctory enforcement of international arbitral awards.

Global law is born, then, with a cosmopolitan destiny, although this characteristic does not suggest that it would immediately achieve its destiny. The *ius* needs force – coercion – to prevail, and force is, in the final analysis, more political than juridical. If there is no political will to order, jurists cannot regulate society pursuant to law. This proposition explains how law is often subject

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10 In this vein, see J. H. H. Weiler, “Fine-de-siècle Europe: Do the New Clothes Have an Emperor?," in J. H. H. Weiler, The Constitution of Europe: "Do the New Clothes Have an Emperor?" and Other Essays on European Integration (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, New York, 1999), pp. 239–240: “We should not confuse ideals with ideology or morality. Ideals are usually part of an ideology. Morality is usually part of ideals. But the terms do not confute [. . .] Ideology is part of an epistemology, a way of knowing and understanding reality; and in part a program for changing that reality to achieve certain goals. Ideals, in and of themselves, constitute neither an epistemology nor a program for realization, and are often the least explained elements of any given ideology.”
to and conditioned by the science of the polis. Law is a check on injustice and can prevail (the rule of law) only by the free submission and acceptance of the political community, particularly that of its governing circles and ruling elites. On this act of acquiescence rest its greatness and its poverty, its controlling function and its subsidiary position, its all-encompassing calling and its limitations in practice.

Global law does not presuppose a break with earlier legal traditions, much less a revolution. Just as the law of nations coexisted with international law for a long time, global law has to work with international law, at least for a time. “Cosmopolitan right can supplement – but not replace – sovereignty-based public international law,” states Jean L. Cohen.11 This issue is not, as that writer forcefully suggests, a question of an updated international law or a cosmetic makeover, but rather the transcending of the notion of international law in the face of economic and cultural globalization. International law and global law are two different species of the same genus. Whereas international law is destined for extinction, or at least complete transformation, the future of global law is development and evolution.

This notion of the coexistence of laws is present in the history of the West and has been a benefactor in the development of juridical systems. In Ancient Roman law, Praetorian law (ius praetorium) coexisted for a time with the ius civile until the late classical period ushered in the birth of a ius novum, transcending both and founded basically on rescripts and the orationes Principis. A similar development was witnessed centuries later during the Middle Ages with the common law, which made possible an entirely independent and parallel equity jurisdiction. Here, law and equity were simultaneously applied in the administration of justice, but they never intersected. This waning jurisdictional duality found its way into Anglo-American law. It remains there, despite its diminished influence in the tradition stemming from the common law.

The new world legal order must above all be a jurisdictional law and not an interstate jurisdictional model: consensual, not bureaucratic, positive, or official. It should be proposed and not imposed – based more on mutual agreement than on laws and codes and led by a civil society protected by global institutions and not by hierarchical and technocratic state entities. From this perspective, the common law system – because of its proximity to the quotidian and its own methodology and system of sources – is better suited to globalization than European civil law, which is one reason why common law finds itself at such ease in the world of international business.

and transnational arbitration. With the new global law, the public would be identified more with social issues than with matters of state, which certainly is not now the case in European and Latin American contexts.12

* * *

This book comprises two parts of a coherent whole. The first section, historical in focus, addresses the conceptual continuity of the notion of the law of nations as the solitary source of global law as well as its relationship with the *ius commune*, the importance of which should be kept in mind throughout this entire effort because *ius commune latet, ius gentium patet*.

In the first chapter, I establish the view that each historical era begets a unique juridical system embedded with its own idiosyncrasies. The aim of developing this proposition is to highlight and underscore the inextricable link between globalization and the birth of global law. I raise this assertion without prejudice to the premise that enduring juridical strictures that provide continuity to the development of the law need to be identified, studied, and understood as contributing forces, that is, rectors in the development of a new law. Perhaps it is the very tension inherent in incorporating the past into the developing present and future that is emblematic of the most important contribution of Ancient Greek philosophy to the science of law. A legal system requires balance, moderation, and the stability provided by both. The *ius gentium* comprises the centerpiece of this chapter: a Roman construct but one pervaded by Greek thought. It is here that we inevitably come across the origins of our global law. Cicero was the first to use the term *ius gentium*, which would later be replaced by the Roman jurists and medieval theologians, scholars, and canonical writers, the Renaissance humanists, and rationalists of the Enlightenment, ultimately becoming interstate law in the strictest sense of this term.

In the second chapter, the *ius commune*, the most salient contribution arising from the Middle Ages to juridical culture, is analyzed. This task seeks to illustrate the compatibility between what is commonly shared and the idiosyncrasies of sovereign states. Both “sameness” and “particularity” can be harmonized among all states and cultures. This chapter details a legal system having “general” legitimacy and normativity harmoniously applied together with local law (*iura propria*). The European Union as a juridical entity is indebted to the principle of a common unified law that for centuries accomplished the daunting task of unifying Europe while ensuring that the

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12 Moreover, this corresponds to the etymological sense because the adjective *publicus* is a hybrid of *pubes* and *populus*, the result of a linguistic conflation. Cf. Álvaro d’Ors, *Derecho privado romano* (10th ed., edited by Xavier d’Ors, Eunsa, Pamplona, 2004), §16, p. 53, note 2.
individual sovereigns comprising the union retained their cultural and political identities.

In the third chapter, the birth of the “modern” concept of “international law” is explored by taking its contours from the *ius gentium*, or the *inter nationes*. Here, both Bentham and Kant are distinguished and set apart as the fathers of contemporary concepts of international law and *Weltbürgerrecht*, respectively, which were centerpieces for the consolidation of international law. I also analyze some of the more recent efforts to conceptualize international law, such as those of Philip C. Jessup (1897–1986), C. Wilfred Jenks (1909–1973), John Rawls (1921–2002), and Álvaro d’Ors (1915–2004). Other authors could have been selected, but, in my opinion, these addressed this *vexata quaestio* from different perspectives from those presented here. Currently, Benedict Kingsbury, Richard Stewart, and other distinguished scholars at New York University School of Law are making significant contributions to our understanding of global administrative law.

In the second section, I attempt to detail from a person-based perspective the first principles and normative foundation of the new juridical global order, a legal system for *humanity* and not merely for the interrelationships between and among states. I selected as a logical point of departure the crisis that now plagues “modern international law,” which is inextricably bound to the failings of the current concepts of “state” and “sovereignty.” Doubtless, the “nation-state” was a marriage of convenience that may be justified and certainly had its reason for being. Modernity, however, has witnessed this marriage’s plight end in divorce. Habermas is on point in highlighting that “a world dominated by nation-states is indeed in transition toward the post-national constellation of a global society.” The crisis afflicting international law has its genesis in the once helpful concept of territoriality. The ostensibly attractive principle of

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territoriality diverted attention and importance from the less visible but much more fundamental concept of “person” as the rudimentary precept on which a global law construct for humanity must rest.

It is my contention that the principle of “territoriality” mostly serves a pragmatic organizational and administrative purpose and function. Therefore, it cannot help but be secondary in nature and subordinate at best. Put simply, territoriality cannot play the role of a conceptual protagonist in forming and transforming international law, contrary to modernity’s foolish belief. I tend to compare its mission and function with that of a handbrake that provides greater safety but at the expense of progress. The extent to which a society can be deemed postmodern is best measured by the degree to which it views, employs, and conceives of territoriality as a means and not an end that must have for its goal the furtherance of the concept of person.

The fifth chapter aims to develop certain novel concepts with respect to the usus of the earth, dealing with the global form of government that must be incident to a new global law. I have labeled this global governmental rubric “anthroparchy,” so that it may comport with the ubiquitous underlying “anthropos.” The connection aspires to be conceptual and hardly limited to a philological play on words. The term “usus” of the earth is of Roman origin and appropriately brings to mind Schmittian connotations, as most of this chapter constitutes an analytical and synthetic critique of the doctrinal exegesis articulated by Carl Schmitt in his work Der nomos der Erde.\(^{16}\) Anthroparchy is the form of government proposed for humanity, which conforms structurally and substantively to Western European models as well as to emerging paradigms of contemporary vintage. Deeply steeped in the principle that “what affects all must be approved by all,” anthroparchy shall gradually flourish and become institutionalized: a United Humanity. Conceptually, this government shall be a global institutional paragon, descended from the United Nations, and charged with the governance of anthroparchy. I underscore anthroparchy and not anthrocracy because at issue is a form of government predicated more on the legitimacy of rule (-archy) than on unbridled power of rule (-cracy).

The sixth chapter is dedicated to exploring the orderly arrangement of a global legal system that is indispensable for providing true and legitimate global justice. Without a global law, “global justice” would be reduced to little more than a chimera. The global order rests on the human being, specifically on the unique dignity of the individual and collective human person, the true spring of liberty and equality among all human beings. Borrowing from

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H. L. A. Hart’s terminology, *the rule of recognition*\(^7\) of the global order is no different from the precept *quod omnes tangit ab omnibus approbetur*, which cannot be severed from the creation of any democratic institution. The fulcrum of the institution of a United Humanity rests with the global parliament, which will be charged with deciding how resources are to be allocated under the governance of a global legal domain. Accordingly, these resources and jurisdictional strictures shall remain within the auspices, at least in part, of national governments and legislatures. At the end of this chapter, I propose a new juridical pyramid that substitutes the pyramidal structure erroneously ascribed to Hans Kelsen. In this juridical pyramid an attempt has been undertaken to synthesize the different levels of the application of law: personal, local, national, supranational or transnational, and, finally, global.

The last chapter explains the seven constituent principles of the new global legal order. Three of these tenets – justice, reasonableness, and coercion – are common to any legal order, including an international legal rubric. The remaining four strictures – universality, solidarity, subsidiarity, and horizontality – are the principles that clearly distinguish global law from international law. Consonant with a millennium-old tradition, the reader is then presented with a handful of juridical rules that succinctly summarize the fundamental doctrines articulated in the entire text. I resorted to Latin as the language with which to express these rules for philological, conceptual, and historical reasons.

These global legal propositions are small and modest steps that aim to initiate an open and inclusive intellectual dialogue, that is, a conversation and exchange of ideas that can best take place within a transcultural and purely academic framework. The aspiration is for this dialogue to serve as a point of departure and fertile ground for the development, formation, and transformation of this embryonic legal discipline. To be sure, these strictures are completely separate from the dangerous and perfidious precepts that seek to eviscerate national identity or international Machiavellianism (twenty-first century *Realpolitik*), a Machiavellianism that has succeeded even the most radical expressions of Marxism. National citizens, cultures, and peoples simply shall not and should not disappear as if by magic. The governing principles of this new global law certainly do not constitute the tools or means to be employed by persons aspiring to create a world government. Here the construct and framework are substantially and materially different. Global law is not amenable to implementing norms that in turn would have as their objective

rendering the world monolithic or homogeneous as a methodology for global governance. Instead, its aim is to organize a system that renders it viable for the challenges and problems afflicting humanity to be addressed universally by citizens of the world, and not states, all acting in concert. This aspiration is the single path that leads to the much-longed-for *pax perpetua*.

This text is far from the goal of constructing a normative or conceptual theory of global law that comports with Dworkin’s demands. An attempt is made, however, to take the first steps toward developing the nascent reality of global law. A medieval phrase is helpful for expressing the universal truth that the law comes after the fact: *ius ex facto oritur*. So too does theorizing, or at least the theoretical undertaking that seeks to be both constructive and interpretative. Here the law and language have a common phenomenon. They are both so gradually molded that it becomes difficult to determine when each began by sprouting from a common stem. Global law is starkly “splitting off” – creating a new *ordo* – from international law, as Castilian separated from Latin, English from Old English, or, more recently, American English from British English.

I anticipate the reader’s awareness of my European – although not Euro-centric – training and education. It certainly is not my intent to overlook the roots of our legal tradition or to assume an inflexible Western arrogance. It would be a mistake to purport to create, *ex nihilo*, a new global law as if it were a sculpture to be cast from bronze. It is more feasible to construct a *ius novum* on the solid foundation offered by the most universal legal systems than by creating a *tabula rasa*, which would be tantamount to destroying the fertile *hereditas iuris* constructed over the ages.

Finally, it is the author’s opinion that the science of law should take flight on two wings of theory and experience. I believe what the great internationalist C. Wilfred Jenks reminds us of in his book *A New World of Law*?: “We need the right mix of scholarship and shrewdness, of detachment and experience.” In this delicate but healthy balance between theory and practice, between intuition and cognition, strategy and execution, lies the real development of an enlightened society.

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I would like to thank Sherif Girgis (Oxford University) for a conscientious and intelligent translation of my manuscript into English. Of course, not all the ideas contained therein he embraced.

I am also indebted to my colleague Scott S. Wishart for his brilliant comments on the first English version of my manuscript and for his support throughout the entire process of writing and editing this book. For significant revision of selected sections of the English manuscript, I would like to thank Pedro Martínez-Fraga (Miami, Florida), Patrick O’Malley (Italy), and David R. Oakley (Princeton, New Jersey). Christine Casati (Princeton, New Jersey) was instrumental in the development of new concepts.

Martín Santiváñez Vivanco (Maestas Foundation) offered helpful suggestions and a revision of the whole Spanish manuscript. His encouragement, constructive criticism, and collaboration have never been lacking.

I also appreciate the insightful comments offered by Charles R. Beitz, Stephen Macedo, and Robert P. George (Princeton University) and of J. H. H. Weiler and Mattias Kumm (New York University). I would like to thank George A. Bermann for his support during my research at the European Legal Studies Center at Columbia Law School, where I found an excellent academic environment in which to complete the final version of my manuscript.

My special thanks go to Ángel J. Gómez Montoro, President of the University of Navarra (Spain); José María Bastero, former President of the University of Navarra; Antonio Garrigues, Chairman of Garrigues Law Firm (Madrid); Carlos Cavallé, President of the Social Trends Institute (New York and Barcelona); Eugenio Rodríguez Cepeda, former President of the Association of Spanish Property and Commercial Registrars (Madrid); and Luis E. Tellez, President of the Witherspoon Institute (Princeton, New Jersey) for their constant encouragement during the drafting of my manuscript.
Acknowledgments

I owe a special debt of gratitude to my many colleagues at the University of Navarra, including Dean Pablo Sánchez-Ostiz, Félix María Arocena, Aparicio Caicedo, Luis Echarri, Domingo Ramos-Lissón, Pedro José Izquierdo, Pablo Gómez Blanes, and Nicolás Zambrana.

For various degrees of assistance, I thank David Baquero, James G. Snow, Neil Teller, Angela Girano, Vincent M. DeLuca, Patricia Palomino, Annie Sheng, Eleanor Umali, Pablo Ozcoidi, Xihuai Zhang, Conchita Domingo, and Fuminobu Okabe.

I also would like to thank the staff of Cambridge University Press, especially John Berger, whose skill and patience have been essential to the completion of this book.

I would like to thank the editorial staff of Vanderbilt Journal of Transnational Law for permission to reprint my article “The Crisis of International Law” (vol. 42, 2009) as Chapter 4 of this book.

My heartfelt thanks also goes out to the Spanish General Council of the Judiciary for having awarded the first version of this essay the Rafael Martínez Emperador Prize for 2007.

Finally, for their resourcefulness in providing research materials, I am grateful to the staff of the Firestone Library at Princeton University, the Arthur W. Diamond Law Library at Columbia University, the New York University School of Law Library, and the Library of Humanities and Social Sciences at the University of Navarra.