

CONSENTING TO INTERNATIONAL LAW

The obligations stemming from international law are still predominantly considered, despite important normative and descriptive critiques, as being 'based' on (State) consent. To that extent, international law differs from domestic law where consent to the law has long been considered irrelevant to law-making, whether as a criterion of validity or as a ground of legitimacy. In addition to a renewed historical and philosophical interest in (State) consent to international law, including from a democratic theory perspective, the issue has also recently regained importance in practice. Various specialists of international law and the philosophy of international law have been invited to explore the different questions this raises in what is the first edited volume on consent to international law in the English language. The collection addresses three groups of issues: the notions and roles of consent in contemporary international law; its objects and types; and its subjects and institutions.

SAMANTHA BESSON holds the Chair of *International Law of Institutions* at the Collège de France, Paris, and is Professor of Public International Law and European Law at the University of Fribourg (Switzerland). She is an associate member of the Institute of International Law and Co-chair of the ILA Study Group on the International Law of Regional Organizations.



ASIL Studies in International Legal Theory

Series Editors

Mark Agrast, ASIL Mortimer Sellers, University of Baltimore

Editorial Board

Samantha Besson, Collège de France & University of Fribourg
Allen Buchanan, Duke University
David Kennedy, Harvard University
Jan Klabbers, University of Helsinki
David Luban, Georgetown University
Larry May, Vanderbilt University
Mary Ellen O'Connell, University of Notre Dame
Helen Stacy, Stanford University
John Tasioulas, University of Oxford
Fernando Tesón, Florida State University

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 raises 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.

This series grows out of the International Legal Theory project of the American Society of International Law. The ASIL Studies in International Legal Theory series deepens this conversation by publishing scholarly monographs and edited volumes of essays considering subjects in international legal theory.

Books in the series

The Death Penalty's Denial of Fundamental Human Rights John Bessler

Theories of International Responsibility Law Edited by Samantha Besson

Human Dignity in International Law Ginevra Le Moli

Tipping Points in International Law: Commitment and Critique Edited by Jean d'Aspremont and John D. Haskell

Ethical Leadership in International Organizations: Concepts, Narratives, Judgment, and Assessment Edited by Maria Varaki and Guilherme Vasconcelos Vilaca

Whither the West?: Concepts on International Law in Europe and the United States Edited by Chiara Giorgetti and Guglielmo Verdirame

International Law as Behavior Edited by Harlan Grant Cohen and Timothy Meyer

Space and Fates of International Law: Between Leibniz and Hobbes Ekaterina Yahyaoui Krivenko



Why Punish Perpetrators of Mass Atrocities?: Purposes of Punishment in International Criminal Law Edited by Florian Jeßberger and Julia Geneuss

The Challenge of Inter-Legality Edited by Jan Klabbers and Gianluigi Palombella

The Nature of International Law Miodrag A. Jovanović

Reexamining Customary International Law Edited by Brian D. Lepard

Theoretical Boundaries of Armed Conflict and Human Rights Edited by Jens David Ohlin

Human Rights in Emergencies Edited by Evan J. Criddle

The Theory of Self-Determination Edited by Fernando R. Tesón

Negotiating State and Non-State Law: Global and Local Legal Pluralism Edited by Michael A. Helfand

Jus Post Bellum and Transitional Justice Edited by Larry May and Elizabeth Edenberg

Normative Pluralism and International Law: Exploring Global Governance Edited by Jan Klabbers and Touko Piipaerinen

The Future of International Law: Global Government Joel P. Trachtman

Morality, Jus Post Bellum, and International Law Edited by Larry May and Andrew T. Forcehimes

Global Justice and International Economic Law: Opportunities and Prospects Edited by Chios Carmody, Frank J. Garcia, and John Linarelli

Parochialism, Cosmopolitanism, and the Foundations of International Law Edited by M. N. S. Sellers

The Role of Ethics in International Law Edited by Donald Earl ChildressIII

The New Global Law Rafael Domingo

Customary International Law: A New Theory with Practical Applications Brian D. Lepard

International Criminal Law and Philosophy Edited by Larry May and Zachary Hoskins



Consenting to International Law

Edited by

SAMANTHA BESSON

Collège de France & University of Fribourg

With the assistance of LOUIS HILL







Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8EA, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314-321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi - 110025, India

103 Penang Road, #05-06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of Cambridge University Press & Assessment, a department of the University of Cambridge.

We share the University's mission to contribute to society through the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781009406451

DOI: 10.1017/9781009406444

© Cambridge University Press & Assessment 2024

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press & Assessment.

First published 2024

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

NAMES: Besson, Samantha, 1973- editor.

TITLE: Consenting to international law / edited by Samantha Besson, Collège de France, Paris. DESCRIPTION: Cambridge, United Kingdom; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2023. | SERIES: ASIL Studies in International Legal Theory | Includes index.

IDENTIFIERS: LCCN 2023029299 (print) | LCCN 2023029300 (ebook) | ISBN 9781009406451 (hardback) | ISBN 9781009406475 (paperback) | ISBN 9781009406444 (ebook)

SUBJECTS: LCSH: International law. | International and municipal law. | Consent (Law) |
State, The. | Effectiveness and validity of law. | Legitimacy of governments. | Court of Justice of the European Union.

CLASSIFICATION: LCC KZ3410 .C6675 2023 (print) | LCC KZ3410 (ebook) | DDC 341-dc23/eng/20230710

LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2023029299

LC ebook record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2023029300

ISBN 978-1-009-40645-1 Hardback

Cambridge University Press & Assessment has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



Contents

List	of Contributors	page ix
Pref	ace	xi
	nsenting to International Law: An Introduction	1
PAR	T I NOTIONS AND ROLES OF CONSENT	
1	Consenting Is Not Willing Alain Pellet	31
2	State Consent and the Legitimacy of International Law David Lefkowitz	49
3	Controlling Consent: Insights from Binding Dispute Settlement Christian J. Tams	72
4	International Organizations and the Disaggregation of Consent Catherine Brölmann	100
5	Consenting to International Law in Five Moves Jean d'Aspremont	117
PAR	T II OBJECTS AND TYPES OF CONSENT	
6	Do International Agreements Have a Consent Problem? Duncan B. Hollis	137



viii	Contents	
7	Consenting to Treaty Commitments: Endorsing Rules or Endorsing a Regime of Discursive Commitments? Fuad Zarbiyev	163
8	State Consent in the Evolving Climate Regime: Individual and Collective Aspects Jutta Brunnée	180
9	Consent and Sources: The European Court of Human Rights and the International Law Commission Georg Nolte	204
10	Variations around the Notion of Consent in Investment Arbitration Laurence Boisson de Chazournes	223
PAR	T III SUBJECTS AND INSTITUTIONS OF CONSENT	
11	The Consent of International Organizations in the Making of General and Conventional Rules of International Law Fernando Lusa Bordin	251
12	Consent and Informal Law-Making: The View from the Court of Justice of the European Union Eva Kassoti	274
13	Consent as a Guarantee of the Democratic Legitimacy of International Law Monique Chemillier-Gendreau	296
14	From Equal State Consent to Equal Public Participation in International Organizations: Institutionalizing Multiple International Representation Samantha Besson and José Luis Martí	314
15	Autonomy in International Law: About the Legal and Societal Limits to the Exercise of Consent Yannick Radi	347

Index

369



Contributors

Jean d'Aspremont is Professor of International Law at Sciences Po Law School, Paris, France, and at the University of Manchester, United Kingdom.

Samantha Besson is Professor at the Collège de France, Paris, where she holds the Chair of International Law of Institutions, and Professor of Public International Law and European Law at the University of Fribourg, Switzerland.

Laurence Boisson de Chazournes is Professor of International Law at the University of Geneva, Switzerland, and Director of the Geneva Centre for International Dispute Settlement (CIDS).

Fernando Lusa Bordin is Assistant Professor of International Law at the University of Cambridge, United Kingdom, John Thornely Fellow in Law at Sidney Sussex College, and Fellow of the Lauterpacht Centre for International Law.

Catherine Brölmann is Associate Professor of International Law and Research Fellow at the University of Amsterdam, Netherlands.

Jutta Brunnée is Dean, University Professor and James M. Tory Professor of Law at the University of Toronto, Canada.

Monique Chemillier-Gendreau is Emeritus Professor of Public Law and Political Science at the University of Paris Cité, France.

Louis Hill is former Research Assistant at the Chair International Law of Institutions, Collège de France, Paris.

Duncan B. Hollis is Laura H. Carnell Professor of Law at Temple Law School, Philadelphia, United States.



List of Contributors

 \mathbf{X}

Eva Kassoti is Senior Researcher in International and European Law at the T.M.C Asser Institute, The Hague, Netherlands.

David Lefkowitz is Professor of Philosophy at the University of Richmond, Virginia, United States.

José Luis Martí is Associate Professor of Philosophy of Law at the University of Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona, Spain.

Georg Nolte is Judge of the International Court of Justice, The Hague, Netherlands, and Professor at the Humboldt University of Berlin, Germany.

Alain Pellet is Emeritus Professor of International Law at the University of Nanterre, France.

Yannick Radi is Professor of International Law at the Catholic University of Louvain, Belgium.

Christian J. Tams is Professor of International Law at the University of Paris, 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, France.

Fuad Zarbiyev is Associate Professor of International Law at the Geneva Graduate Institute, Switzerland.



Preface

The obligations stemming from international treaties, but also from international legal sources in general – together with the jurisdiction of international courts and tribunals – are still predominantly considered, despite important normative as much as descriptive critiques, as being 'based' on (State) consent. To that extent, international law differs from domestic law, where consent to the law has long been considered peripheral or irrelevant to law-making, whether as a criterion of validity or as a ground of legitimacy.

This is, of course, an old chestnut in international legal theory, but one that still puzzles most theorists. In addition to a renewed historical and philosophical interest in (State) consent to international law, including from a democratic theory perspective, the question is still also highly relevant in practice. Thus, the notions of consent and agreement remain difficult to grasp in international treaty law, not to mention their controversial role in the formation of customary international law. Unexpectedly, given some of the original arguments to the contrary, the question of consent has also recently resurfaced, with other private law analogies, in debates pertaining to the normativity of international soft law and other forms of transnational regulation, raising issues as to what consent does and should amount to in those new normative practices. Moreover, after being, maybe too quickly, considered as outdated, the consensual jurisdiction of international courts and tribunals has also been given renewed attention lately. Finally, it has become increasingly common to refer to the 'will' of international organizations, including with respect to the law adopted by and within them, but also to the 'consent' of other private 'stakeholders' of international law-making.

Various specialists of both international law and the philosophy of international law were invited to explore those issues and many others in a conference that took place at the Collège de France in Paris on 23–24 June 2022. This volume gathers those contributions and a few additional



xii Preface

chapters. It addresses (i) the notions and roles of consent in contemporary international law, but also (ii) its objects and types, and (iii) its subjects and institutions. The various chapters also shed light on the increasingly vexed topics of the normativity, authority and legitimacy of what we refer to as international 'law' today.

This volume could not have come into existence without the support of a great number of people and institutions. I would like to express my gratitude to Mr Louis Hill, former research assistant at the Collège de France, for his tremendous and unfailing assistance throughout the editorial process, and to Ms Nadia Signorell and Ms Shpresa Salihu, research assistants at the University of Fribourg, for proofreading the manuscript. Special thanks are also due to my administrative assistant at the Collège de France, Ms Sylvie Sportouch, who helped organize the June 2022 conference. I am also extremely grateful to Dr Sévrine Knuchel for translating one of the volume's contributions.

I would like to thank Ms Marianne Nield at Cambridge University Press for her support and kind forbearance during the process of putting this book together, and to Professor Tim Sellers for his willingness to include this volume in the ASIL International Legal Theory Series. I would also like to thank two anonymous reviewers for their feedback on the book proposal and for making me reflect further about the project. I hope they will be able to find traces of some of their constructive suggestions in the volume. Finally, I would like to express my gratitude to the Fondation du Collège de France for providing vital financial support for the June 2022 conference and for the English translation of one of the contributions.

Last but not least, special thanks are owed to all of the contributors and to the commentators, including Professor Pierre d'Argent and Professor Paolo Palchetti who decided not to publish with us, for making this ambitious project such a stimulating, formative and worthwhile experience, and for their lively and engaging discussions in a memorable conference in Paris.

Samantha Besson, Paris, 2nd March, 2023