

### International Law

Written by one of the world's leading international lawyers, this is the new and updated edition of Jan Klabbers' landmark textbook. International law can be defined as 'the rules governing the legal relationship between nations and states', but in reality it is much more complex, with political, diplomatic, and socio-economic factors shaping the law and its application. This refreshingly clear, concise textbook encourages students to view international law as a dynamic system of organizing the world. Bringing international law back to its first principles, the book is organized around four questions: Where does it come from? To whom does it apply? How does it resolve conflict? And what does it say? Building on these questions with both academic rigour and clarity of expression, Professor Klabbers breathes life and energy into the subject. Footnotes point students to the wider academic debate while chapter introductions and final remarks reinforce learning. This third edition includes references to new case-law and literature, and features brief discussions on recent topics of general interest, including Brexit and the worldwide outbreak of the Coronavirus.

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# **International Law**

Third Edition
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## Preface to the Third Edition

This third edition is prepared when the world is the grip of the Covid-19 (corona) crisis, killing people in large numbers, turning entire cities into ghost towns, and threatening to cripple the global economy. The crisis presents in a nutshell much of what characterizes international law. On the one hand, the global economy being a strongly interdependent whole, based on a sophisticated legal framework, has made it ever so easy for the virus to spread. On the other hand, the only meaningful and sustainable way to combat the crisis is by concerted action, through agreements between states or through international organizations, in other words, through international law.

This third edition has left the structure of the first two editions intact, and consists mostly of an update of the relevant materials: court decisions, treaties, newly published literature. There is some attention for headline grabbing events such as Brexit, but no detailed discussion: the Brexit saga creates much more complications under EU law and the constitutional law of the United Kingdom than it does under international law. And generally, as in the previous editions, I have tried to resist the temptation to comment on current events. Such comments might be helpful but are equally often a distraction, and run the risk of painting a distorted picture. After all, there is far more to diplomatic and consular law than the murder of Saudi Arabian author Jamal Khashoggi in the Saudi consulate in Istanbul in 2018. There is far more to armed conflict law than the targeted killing of Iranian General Soleimani by an American air strike in 2020. And there is far more to international economic law than the imposition of a single tariff on a single product by a single state. This is not to belittle any of these incidents; but it is to say that the choice of possible current events to discuss is sheer inexhaustible.

I am indebted to Guilherme Vasconcelos Vilaça for sharing with me his experiences teaching from this book and for pointing out one or two infelicities; to my students for telling me when things do not make sense (or inadvertently making this clear during exams); to Marianne Nield and Caitlin Lisle at Cambridge University Press, and to Margareta, Johan, and Gilda for bringing joy to my life on an everyday basis. I dedicate this edition to my teachers, past, present, and future.

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## Preface to the Second Edition

One of the perks of writing a textbook is that one may get the chance to correct errors, clarify things that have remained obscure, and present the reader with new materials and understandings. The current edition has corrected a few errors and typos and has hopefully clarified a few things that were obscure. It has also been updated in a general way by including recent materials (such as court cases), updating information about the status of treaties, and adding some references to recent (and not so recent) literature as well as recent events, from the annexation of Crimea by Russia to the curious phenomenon of Brexit. In addition, I have added a few pages on topics that were not, or insufficiently, covered in the previous edition, including sovereign debt restructuring, environmental protection in the Antarctic, and prompt release of vessels under the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea. Finally, each chapter except the final one ends with a short list of suggestions for further reading – this too is new.

I owe a great deal of thanks to all of those who have provided comments and feedback. Quite a few colleagues expressed their appreciation of the book's approach, and urged me to keep it in place in future editions. Some anonymous reviewers have made suggestions on the basis of a request by the publisher – these invariably proved helpful, and those reviewers will notice that quite a few of their suggestions have found their way into the text. Some readers (Oliver Diggelman, Nikolaos Ioannides, John Palmer, and Winston Parker) took the trouble to contact me to tell me about typos, inaccuracies, and infelicities. The comments from students, in classrooms in Helsinki and elsewhere, proved extremely useful: if students don't get it, then it's time to rewrite. My wife Margareta read big chunks, and prevented me from making more errors than I would care to admit, while Gilda and Johan just make me happy. At the Press, I am indebted to my editors, in particular Marta Walkowiak and Valerie Appleby.

If there was one point coming out of the reviews commissioned by Cambridge University Press, it was the common observation that the text was not detailed enough. One reviewer felt that human rights remained under-illuminated; someone else thought that the acquisition of territory deserved a chapter of its own, and yet another reviewer thought that I should pay more attention to the work of the United Nations. All are right



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of course, and all will continue to think that the text could use more detail. Sadly, though, adding a lot more detail would turn the book into something it was never meant to be. The trick is to combine the broad brush with an eye for detail; I have aimed to provide detailed information and analysis, but have also been mindful of the desire to keep the book readable.

It should perhaps also be borne in mind that a book such as this inevitably ends up compromising between two demands. On the one hand, it should explain how the law works. On the other hand, it should also state what the law says. The two sometimes come together, but sometimes also pull in opposite directions; at such moments, I have generally prioritized the explanatory dimension. Thus I sometimes provide classic case law if I think it is more illustrative than more recent decisions, and I sometimes devise hypothetical examples if real-life examples are too complicated to serve as useful illustrations.

A challenge faced by most parents of young children is how to combine the demands of work and family life. It is safe to say that this edition would not exist without the contribution made by my parents-in-law, Lea and Markus. It is to them that this edition is dedicated.



## Preface to the First Edition

This book has been a long time in the making. While the actual writing started in 2009 and took place, intermittently, until May 2012, the book reflects more than twenty years of teaching international law. The basic premise underlying it is that international law should not be studied as a vast and ever-increasing collection of rules, but is better approached as a way of thinking about and organizing the world. With that in mind, like all legal systems the international legal order can profitably be studied by asking four questions. First, there is the question of where the law comes from: what are its sources? Second, to what entities or individuals does the law apply or, in other words, what are its subjects? Third, what does the law do in cases of conflict (i.e., settlement), and, finally, what does the law actually say? What is its substance?

This book is organized with those four questions in mind. The first three, together pointing to the basic structure of the system, make up Part I of this book (Chapters 1–9): sources, subjects, and settlement, broadly conceived. This is the stuff all international lawyers (probably even all lawyers, in these days of globalization) will sooner or later be confronted with; all lawyers need to have some idea of how international law is made, in what circumstances states can be held responsible, how international tribunals function, and whether or not specific entities are subject to international law.

The fourth question, asking about the substantive rules, makes up Part II (Chapters 10–15). It will be noticed that Part I is longer and more analytical than Part II. This is only natural: the most Part II can aspire to is to provide a basic description of the various branches of international law, without much detail. After all, international law spans, quite literally, the world, as well as most of the policy issues that one can think of. There is international law on topics as wide and diverse as international crime, international investment, international taxation, the movement of refugees, the protection of the environment and much, much more. Hence, a book such as this, limited in scope, can only cover the basics. Fortunately, though, there are wide bodies of literature available, as the footnotes testify, and for those who want more detailed generalist expositions there are at least three useful larger and more detailed general textbooks on the market.

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The interested reader could do worse than to pick one of these to read alongside the present book.<sup>1</sup>

While Parts I and II cover the four questions set out above (sources, subjects, settlement, and substance), the book does not stop after Part II. It also contains a, fairly brief, Part III (Chapters 16 and 17), addressing the context of international law. This addresses the circumstance that international law does not exist in a vacuum, but is closely related, on the one hand, to national legal systems (discussed in Chapter 16) and, on the other hand, to global governance, politics, and ethics (discussed in Chapter 17). As Joseph Weiler once suggested during a round-table discussion at New York University, presentday textbooks on international law should ideally reflect the circumstance that international law is part of a broader pattern of global governance, and not stick to describing a stilted world where all legally relevant rules are made by duly empowered diplomats, representing sovereign states. In Weiler's words, global governance 'is a coloring agent that suddenly illuminates phenomena that, under the normal spectacle of international law, you didn't see'.2 This book hopes to reflect the two ideas that international law is of relevance to global governance, but sometimes struggles to come to terms with it. However, the format of this book does not allow for an in-depth discussion of the political context of international law: Part III remains necessarily brief. Readers with an interest in these matters may be well advised to read this book alongside a recent collection of articles edited by Crawford and Koskenniemi.3

This is a textbook on international law, and this simple fact has at least two important implications. First, since the aim is to outline the international legal order, the book is not set up as a commentary on current events. I accept that the reader may wish to see how the law is applied to specific events, and where possible this has been done, but without singling out specifically current events. Such comments on current events as there are serve purely illustrative purposes, if only because current events tend to have a limited shelf life; what is current today may be forgotten tomorrow.

Second, this is a book on international law, and while there is room for the argument that the European Union (EU) is part of international law, it does not address the EU separately, except where the practice of the EU is of relevance. Thus, there are fragments on the treaty practice of the EU, and a few paragraphs on the attitude of the EU

- James Crawford, *Brownlie's Principles of Public International Law*, 8th edn (Oxford University Press, 2012); Malcolm Evans (ed.), *International Law*, 4th edn (Oxford University Press, 2014); and Malcolm Shaw, *International Law*, 7th edn (Cambridge University Press, 2014). Perhaps the most comprehensive single-volume treatise at the moment is in French: Patrick Daillier, Mathias Forteau, and Alain Pellet, *Droit International Public*, 8th edn (Paris: LGDJ, 2009), while a useful methodology and guide on how to do research is also in French: Olivier Corten, *Methodologie du droit international public* (Brussels: Editions URP, 2000)
- <sup>2</sup> Jose E. Alvarez et al., 'The Shape of Global Governance', (2010) NYU Law School Magazine, 22–9, also available at http://blogs.law.nyu.edu/magazine/2010/roundtable-global-governance/ (visited 25 May 2012)
- <sup>3</sup> James Crawford and Martti Koskenniemi (eds.), The Cambridge Companion to International Law (Cambridge University Press, 2012).



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to international law, but no detailed discussion of EU law, if only because others are far better qualified to discuss the EU than I am.<sup>4</sup>

Finally, a note on sources. I have generally refrained from listing the specific places where treaties or other instruments can be found, for the solid reason that these instruments are easier to find these days by a quick Internet search than by going through the volumes of the United Nations Treaty Series (UNTS) or any domestic treaty series. However, most of the important treaties referred to in this book are available in a single collection. With court decisions, I have generally aimed at listing a material source. With International Court of Justice (ICJ) decisions, this has been the ICJ Reports; with other cases, this has often (if not invariably) been the invaluable *International Law Reports* or its predecessor, the *Annual Digest*. Decisions of the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR), moreover, are far more easily accessible on the Court's website than in any published form.

Since this book is the product of more than twenty years of teaching, the number of people to whom I have become indebted is way too large to be listed. Still, a few need to be singled out. The late Bert Vierdag gave me my first official teaching job in 1990, at the University of Amsterdam. Martti Koskenniemi brought me to Helsinki six years later, and has been and remains a close friend and an immense influence. I have benefited from having some extremely good teachers, including Gerd Junne, Pieter Jan Kuijper, and Richard Lauwaars, and my approach to international law and the global order reflects their influences. Not only did they teach me properly about international law and international politics, they also taught by example about good teaching. And then there is the influence of more than twenty generations of students, at Amsterdam, Helsinki, and a variety of other places.

Many colleagues suggested things to read; I owe all of them a big 'thank you'. Antti Kivivuori and Alice Neffe provided me with specific materials. I am heavily indebted to Magda Kmak and Rain Liivoja, who read some of the draft chapters and provided useful comments, as did several anonymous reviewers for Cambridge University Press. Working with the Press has been, as always, a delight, thanks to the wonderful support offered by Finola O'Sullivan and Sinead Moloney. This book is dedicated to my wife Margareta and my children, Johan and Gilda.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The best general overview available is Paul Craig and Grainne de Burca, *EU Law: Text, Cases, and Materials*, 5th edn (Oxford University Press, 2011).

Malcolm D. Evans (ed.), Blackstone's International Law Documents, 10th edn (Oxford University Press, 2011); see also Jan Klabbers (ed.), International Law Documents (Cambridge University Press, 2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> At www.echr.coe.int/echr/.



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