Contents

Preface vii
Acknowledgements xiii
Table of Cases xv
Table of Treaties, Conventions and Declarations xvii
Introduction xix

1 The Meaning of Regionalism 1

Introduction 1
1.1. Regional Organisations: An Historical Overview 1
1.2. Regions, Regional Organisations and Regionalism: Conceptual Issues 7
1.3. Criteria for Conceptualising a Region 9
1.3.1. Geographical Proximity 9
1.3.2. The Multidimensional Conception 12
1.3.3. The Neofunctionalist Approach 15
1.3.4. The Teleological Approach 16
1.3.5. The Structuralist Perspective 18
1.3.6. The ‘Diversity’ Approach 19
1.4. Regionalism and the Discipline of International Law 20
1.5. The Place of Regionalism in Collective Security 21
1.6. Conclusion 24

2 Regional Organisations and Chapter VIII of the UN Charter 27

Introduction 27
2.1. The Normative Framework of Chapter VIII 28
2.1.1. Pacific Settlement of Disputes 28
2.2. Regional Arrangements or Agencies: Characterisation and Practice 34
2.3. Enforcement Action by Regional Organisations 42
2.3.1. Enforcement Action under Chapter VIII: Analysis of Factors Responsible for the Weakening of the Charter Framework for Regional Arrangements 43
2.4. Do/Should Economic Sanctions Constitute Enforcement Action under Chapter VIII? 46
2.5. The Requirement of ‘Authorisation’ under Chapter VIII and its Effect on the Charter Scheme of Collective Security 52
Contents

2.5.1. Retroactive Authorisation and its Impact on Chapter VIII 54
2.5.2. The Competence of Regional Organisations to Determine the Existence of a Threat to Peace under Chapter VIII and its Effect on Decentralised Enforcement Action 57
2.6. Complementarity between the UN and Regional Organisations under Chapter VIII 59
2.7. The Legal Limits of Regional Organisations when Authorised by the Security Council to Undertake Enforcement Action. 61
2.8. Conclusion 64

3 A Decentralised Enforcement Action: An Evaluation of Surrogate Collective Security under Chapter VII 65

Introduction 65
3.1. Chapter VII of the UN Charter: Centralised Collective Security 66
3.2. Decentralised Military Action: A 'Surrogate' Collective Security System 71
3.3. The Regulatory Framework of Decentralised Enforcement Action 71
3.3.1. The Legal Bases 71
3.3.2. Enforcement Action through the General Assembly: Analysis of its Collective Security Powers under the Charter 79
3.4. The Problems of Decentralised Enforcement Action 83
3.4.1. Command and Control 83
3.4.2. Absence of Obligation to Report 87
3.5. The Factors Militating Against the Centralised Collective Security System 88
3.5.1. The Veto Power: A Critique of Existing Proposals for Reform 88
3.5.2. The Selectivity of Collective Security 91
3.5.3. The Security Council and the Legitimacy Crisis 93
3.5.4. Legitimacy in the Context of the Security Council’s Functioning 95
3.5.5. Proving the Loss of Legitimacy by the Security Council 97
3.6.6. Implications of Loss of Legitimacy for Centralised Collective Security 100
3.6. Conclusion 104

4 Regional Organisations and Residual Responsibility for Collective Security 107

Introduction 107
4.2. The Meaning of 'Collective Security' 110
4.2.1. The 'Collectivity' of a Collective Security Action: The Period before the UN Charter 110
4.2.2. Collective Security and Enforcement Action: A Distinction 112
4.2.3. The Benefit of a Broader Definition of Collective Security to Regional Organisations 114
4.3. States and Collective Security before the UN Charter 115
4.3.1. Collective Security and Bilateral and Multilateral Treaties 115
4.3.2. Regionalisation of Collective Security before the UN Charter 117
4.4. Collective Security and Contemporary International Law 119
4.4.1. The League of Nations and the Kellogg-Briand Pact 119
4.4.2. The UN Charter and Collective Security 122
4.5. Collective Security and Article 24 of the Charter 124
4.5.1. Authority of the Security Council's Collective Security Powers 125
4.5.2. The UN Collective Security and the Protective Mechanism 128
4.5.3. Who Possesses Residual Responsibility for International Peace and Security Under Article 24(1)? 131
4.6. Conclusion 139

5 Regional Intervention after the Cold War 141

Introduction 141
5.1. An Overview of Regional Collective Security after the Cold War 143
5.2. An Assessment of the Debate about the Relationship between the UN and Regional Organisations 153
5.2.1. Subsidiarity, Burden-sharing, Burden-shifting and Subcontracting: Different Concepts, Common Mistakes 153
5.3. Regionally Authorised Enforcement Actions or Decentralised Collective Security 156
5.3.1. ECOWAS' Justifications for Beyond Chapter VIII Action and Third States' Responses 157
5.4. The Rationale for Regionally Authorised Enforcement Action 161
5.4.1. The Emerging Principles in the Law and Practice of Regional Collective Security 161
5.5. The Preference for Decentralised rather than Centralised Collective Security 178
5.6. Conclusion 181

6 Regional Enforcement Action and the Prohibition of the Use of Force 183

Introduction 183
Contents

6.2. Determining the Peremptory Character of Article 2(4) 191
   6.2.1. The Tests of Peremptory Norms under Article 2(4) 192
   6.2.2. What Norms are Exactly Peremptory Under Article 2(4)? 194
6.3. Can Consent Preclude the Operation of Article 2(4) in Respect of Regional Actions not Violating Peremptory Norms? 201
   6.3.1. Consent in the ILC Articles on State Responsibility 205
   6.3.2. State Consent and the ICJ 207
6.4. Conclusion 208

Conclusion 209

Bibliography 217
Index 235