Contents

Introduction to the fifth edition
From the introduction to the first edition
Table of cases
Table of treaties
Table of Security Council resolutions
Table of General Assembly resolutions
List of abbreviations

Part I The legal nature of war

1 What is war? 3
   I. The definition of war 3
      A. The numerous meanings of war 3
      B. An analysis of Oppenheim's definition of war 5
         (a) Inter-State and intra-State wars 5
         (b) War in the technical sense and in the material sense 9
         (c) Total wars, limited wars and incidents 'short of war' 11
         (d) War as an asymmetrical phenomenon 13
      C. A proposed definition of war 15
   II. Status mixtus 15
      A. Peacetime status mixtus 16
      B. Wartime status mixtus 17
   III. The region of war 19
      A. The territories of the Belligerent Parties 19
         (a) The general rule 19
         (b) The exception: neutralized zones 20
      B. The high seas and the exclusive economic zone 22
      C. Outer space 24
   IV. Neutrality 25
      A. The basic principles 25
      B. Some concrete rules 26
         (a) Passage of belligerent military units and war materials 26
         (b) Enrollment in belligerent armed forces 27
         (c) Military supplies to Belligerent Parties 27
Contents

2 The course of war 30
   I. The beginning of war 30
      A. War in the technical sense 30
      B. War in the material sense 33
   II. The termination of war 34
      A. Treaties of peace 34
         (a) The significance of a treaty of peace 34
         (b) Peace preliminaries 38
         (c) The legal validity of a treaty of peace 39
      B. Armistice agreements 41
         (a) The transformation in the meaning of armistice 41
         (b) An analysis of the Israeli armistice agreements 45
         (c) The disparity and similarity between an armistice and a treaty of peace 47
      C. Other modes of terminating war 48
         (a) Implied mutual consent 48
         (b) Debellatio 49
         (c) Unilateral declaration 51
   III. The suspension of hostilities 51
      A. Different types of suspension of hostilities 51
         (a) Local cease-fire agreements 52
         (b) General cease-fire agreements 53
         (c) Cease-fire ordained by the Security Council 54
      B. The nature of cease-fire 56
      C. Denunciation and breach of cease-fire 58
         (a) The fragility of cease-fire 58
         (b) ‘Material breach’ of cease-fire agreements 59

Part II The illegality of war 63

3 A historical perspective of the legal status of war 65
   I. The ‘just war’ doctrine in the past 65
      A. The Roman origins 65
      B. Christian theology 66
      C. The ‘fathers’ of international law 67
   II. Recent concepts of ‘just war’ 69
      A. Kelsen’s theory 69
      B. ‘Wars of national liberation’ 70
      C. ‘Humanitarian intervention’ 73
   III. The extra-legality of war 75
   IV. The legality of war 78
   V. Exceptions to the general liberty to go to war 79
      A. Special arrangements 79
      B. The Hague Conventions 81
      C. The Covenant of the League of Nations 82
4 The contemporary prohibition of the use of inter-State force 85
   I. The Kellogg-Briand Pact 85
   II. The Charter of the United Nations 87
      A. The prohibition of the use or threat of inter-State force 87
         (a) Use of force 87
         (b) Threats of force 88
      B. The non-restrictive scope of the prohibition 89
      C. Attempts to limit the range of the prohibition 91
   III. Customary international law 94
      A. The interaction between custom and treaty 94
      B. The Charter and customary international law on the use of inter-State force 95
         (a) Article 2(4) 95
         (b) Article 2(6) 98
      C. Are the norms of the Charter and customary international law on the use of inter-State force identical? 99
   IV. Treaties other than the Pact and the Charter 101
      A. General treaties 101
      B. Regional treaties 102
      C. Bilateral treaties 103
   V. The prohibition of the use of inter-State force as jus cogens 104
      A. The significance of jus cogens 104
         (a) A clash between a treaty and peremptory norms 104
         (b) The peremptory nature of the prohibition of the use of inter-State force 105
         (c) The consequences of the peremptory nature of the prohibition 105
      B. How can jus cogens be modified? 107
   VI. State responsibility 109
      A. Application of general rules of State responsibility 109
      B. State responsibility for international crimes 114
         (a) The criminal responsibility of States 114
         (b) Erga omnes obligations 116
         (c) Punitive damages 118
   VII. Consent 118
      A. Ad hoc consent 118
         (a) Consent to foreign military assistance against local insurgents 119
         (b) Consent to other foreign uses of force in the local territory 120
         (c) The limits of consent and its withdrawal 121
      B. Consent by treaty 122

5 The crime of aggression 124
   I. The meaning of aggression 124
   II. Aggression as a crime 125
      A. The Nuremberg legacy 125
         (a) The background 125
         (b) The London Charter 126
         (c) The Nuremberg Judgment 127
      B. Post-Nuremberg developments 129
      C. The Rome Statute and the Kampala Amendments 131
Contents

III. The definition of the crime of aggression 134
   A. Aggression versus war of aggression as a crime 134
   B. The criminal impact of the General Assembly Definition of Aggression 136

IV. Individual accountability for the crime of Aggression 140
   A. The actus reus 141
      (a) Ratione materiae 141
      (b) Ratione personae 142
      (c) Ratione temporis 144
   B. The mens rea 145
      (a) Mistake of fact 147
      (b) Mistake of law 148
      (c) Duress 148
      (d) Insanity 149
   C. Inadmissible defence pleas 150
      (a) Obedience to domestic law 150
      (b) Obedience to superior orders 150
      (c) Acts of State 153
   D. The penal proceedings 154
   E. Immunities from jurisdiction 156
      (a) Foreign domestic courts 156
         (i) Diplomatic and consular agents 156
         (ii) Heads of States 157
         (iii) Certain high-ranking office-holders 158
         (iv) The limits of jurisdictional immunities 159
      (b) International criminal proceedings 160

6 Controversial consequences of the change in the legal status of war 163
   I. War in the technical sense 164
   II. Inconclusive ‘police action’ 165
   III. Equal application of the jus in bello 167
      A. Self-defence 167
         (a) The theory 167
         (b) The practice 170
         (c) Some confusing judicial dicta 172
      B. Collective security 174
   IV. Impartial neutrality 175
      A. The survival of neutrality 176
      B. Non-members of the United Nations 177
      C. Qualified neutrality 178
   V. Territorial changes 180
      A. Non-annexation 181
      B. Self-determination 181
      C. Jus cogens 182
      D. Non-recognition 183
Part III  Exceptions to the prohibition of the use of inter-State force  

7  The concept of self-defence  

I.  The right of self-defence  

A.  The meaning of self-defence  

B.  Self-defence as a right  

C.  Self-defence as an 'inherent' right  

II.  Self-defence as a response to an armed attack  

A.  Armed attack as a condition to self-defence  

B.  Armed attack and preemptive self-defence  

(a)  Anticipatory use of force  

(b)  Article 51 and customary international law  

(c)  The insufficiency of exceptional threats  

C.  The beginning of an armed attack and interceptive self-defence  

(a)  The need to look beyond the 'first shot'  

(b)  Interceptive self-defence  

(c)  'Imminence'  

(d)  A series of acts  

D.  A small-scale armed attack  

(a)  The gap between Article 2(4) and Article 51  

(b)  Frontier incidents: scale and effects  

(c)  Choice of weapons  

E.  The locale of an armed attack  

(a)  The unauthorized crossing of a frontier  

(b)  Armed attacks commencing subsequent to the crossing of a frontier  

(c)  Armed attacks within the territory of the aggressor State  

(d)  Armed attacks within the territory of a third State  

(e)  Armed attacks outside the territories of all States  

F.  The targets of an armed attack  

(a)  The wide range of possible targets  

(b)  Attacks against nationals abroad  

III.  De facto organs of a State  

A.  The employment by a State of 'auxiliaries'  

B.  The criterion of effective control  

IV.  An armed attack by non-State actors  

A.  The language of the Charter  

B.  The origin of attacks by non-State actors  

C.  Attacks by non-State actors as armed attacks  

V.  Conditions precedent to the exercise of self-defence  

A.  Necessity  

B.  Proportionality  

C.  Immediacy  

VI.  The role of the Security Council  

A.  The two phases rule  

B.  The options before the Security Council  

C.  Failure to report to the Security Council
8 The modalities of individual self-defence 242
   I. Self-defence in response to an armed attack by a State 242
      A. Measures ‘short of war’ 242
         (a) On-the-spot reaction 242
         (b) Defensive armed reprisals 244
            (i) The meaning of defensive armed reprisals 244
            (ii) The interplay between defensive armed reprisals and
                  belligerent reprisals 246
            (iii) The conditions of necessity, proportionality and immediacy 247
            (iv) The legality of defensive armed reprisals 249
         (c) The protection of nationals abroad 255
      B. War 259
         (a) Necessity 262
         (b) Proportionality 262
         (c) Immediacy 267
   II. Self-defence in response to an armed attack from a State 268
      A. Extra-territorial law enforcement 268
      B. The practice of States 272
      C. Webster’s formula 274

9 Collective self-defence 278
   I. The meaning of collective self-defence 278
      A. The four categories of collective self-defence 278
         (a) Individual self-defence individually exercised 278
         (b) Individual self-defence collectively exercised 278
         (c) Collective self-defence individually exercised 280
         (d) Collective self-defence collectively exercised 280
      B. Collective self-defence as the defence of self 280
      C. Is there a need for a treaty? 281
      D. Customary international law 282
   II. Regional arrangements under the Charter of the United Nations 282
      III. Collective self-defence treaties 283
         A. Mutual assistance treaties 284
         B. Military alliances 286
         C. Treaties of guarantee 289
      IV. The legal limitations of collective self-defence 292
         A. The primacy of the Charter of the United Nations 292
         B. The requirement of an armed attack 293
            (a) Armed attack as a condition to collective self-defence 293
            (b) Is a request for assistance necessary? 294
         C. Other conditions for the exercise of collective self-defence 296
      V. The modalities of collective self-defence 297
      VI. The Gulf War and collective self-defence 299

10 Collective security 303
   I. The meaning of collective security 303
      A. Definition 303
      B. The Covenant of the League of Nations 303
      C. The Charter of the United Nations 304
Contents

D. The broad powers of the Security Council 308
  (a) The general discretion of the Security Council 308
  (b) Threat to the peace 309
    (i) The elasticity of the expression 309
    (ii) Threat to the peace, international terrorism and self-defence 311
    (iii) Threat to the peace in domestic situations 313

II. The decision-making process 314
  A. The duties incumbent on United Nations Member States 314
  B. The responsibility of the Security Council 315

III. An overview of the Security Council's record 317
  A. The 'Cold War' era 317
  B. The Gulf War 319
    (a) The invasion and liberation of Kuwait (1990–1) 319
    (b) The cease-fire period (1991–2003) 321
    (c) The occupation of Iraq (2003) 322
  C. The post-'Cold War' era (other than the Gulf War) 325

IV. Article 42 and alternative mechanisms 328
  A. The absence of special agreements under Article 43 328
  B. Peacekeeping forces 330
  C. Enforcement action beyond the purview of Article 42 333
    (a) The use of force by authorization of the Security Council 333
    (b) The role of NATO 336

V. Is there an alternative to the Security Council? 339
  A. The General Assembly 339
  B. The International Court of Justice 342
    (a) Concurrent or consecutive competence of the Council and the Court 342
    (b) Can the Court invalidate binding decisions adopted by the Council? 345
    (c) Binding decisions of the Council and jus cogens 348

Conclusion 351

Index of persons 355
Index of subjects 363