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Nicholas Tsagourias and Nigel D. White

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COLLECTIVE SECURITY

This book provides a systematic analysis and assessment of the institutional, operational and legal parameters of Collective Security and more specifically of the United Nations Collective Security system. The book explains the morphology of Collective Security as a global public order institution and presents its triggers, institutions, actors, components and tools. It then goes on to analyse the legal properties of Collective Security and assesses its mechanisms for political, legal and criminal accountability. The book presents routes to Collective Security and discusses what a Collective Security system should be at the present historical juncture.

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CONTENTS

	<i>Preface</i>	page xi	
	<i>Table of treaties and other international instruments</i>		xiv
	<i>Table of cases</i>	xx	
	<i>List of abbreviations</i>	xxxii	
	I The concept of collective security		1
1	Collective Security: a historical journey		3
	Introduction	3	
	Pre-twentieth-century projects	3	
	From the League of Nations to the United Nations	12	
	The United Nations Collective Security system	18	
	Conclusion	19	
2	The morphology of collective security		20
	Introduction	20	
	The meaning of 'public'	20	
	Globality	21	
	Order	27	
	CS as a constitutional order	32	
	Conclusion	37	
3	Triggers, actors and institutions		39
	Introduction	39	
	Peace	41	

	Threats to the peace	43
	Security	45
	CS actors and institutions	48
	CS routes	54
	Conclusion	56
	II Collective Security components	61
4	States and Collective Security	63
	Introduction	63
	Individual rights or collective powers?	64
	Collective Security or collective defence?	69
	States, the UN and other fora	75
	Collective self-defence as a form of Collective Security	80
	Non-proliferation and nuclear weapons states	84
	Conclusion	89
5	The United Nations	91
	Introduction	91
	Purposes and powers of the UN	92
	The prohibition on the use of force, the UN and peace and security	95
	Breaches of international law, the UN and peace and security	96
	The UN and the responsibility to protect	98
	Division of competence under the Charter	100
	Division of CS competence in practice	105
	'Uniting for Peace'	108
	Conclusion	113
6	Regional organisations	115
	Introduction	115
	Regional organisations and Chapter VIII of the UN Charter	116

CONTENTS

vii

	Changing values and fundamental legal principles	120
	Hierarchies in CS law	125
	Regional organisations and non-forcible measures	127
	Regional organisations and military measures	130
	Conclusion	136
7	Private military and security companies	138
	Introduction	138
	Colonial chartered companies and mercenaries	139
	Sovereignty and the use of force	144
	State responsibility for the misuse of force by PMSCs	150
	Corporate responsibility for the misuse of force	152
	Regulation of PMSCs and the use of force	154
	Conclusion	157
	III Collective Security tools	161
8	The settlement of disputes and preventive security	163
	Introduction	163
	Consultation and diplomacy	164
	Responsibility to prevent	165
	Dispute settlement	169
	Arms control	176
	CS institutions and preventive security	181
	CS actors and preventive security	187
	Conclusion	191
9	State-building	193
	Introduction	193
	A just war and a just peace	194
	Peace agreements	196

	Self-determination as a CS principle	200
	International interventions	205
	Peace operations and peacebuilding	208
	Normative CS framework for post-conflict rebuilding	212
	Conclusion	218
10	Sanctions	219
	Introduction	219
	Nature and purposes of sanctions	219
	The evolution of sanctions	221
	Centralised and decentralised sanctions	223
	CS sanctions in practice: from constitutionality to impact	228
	Late twentieth-century concern for economic rights	235
	Twenty-first century: targeted sanctions and civil and political rights	237
	Conclusion	244
11	Military security	247
	Introduction	247
	Military options	248
	Keeping the peace	250
	Peace enforcement	252
	Peacekeeping forces: law and practice	256
	Peace enforcement: law and practice	263
	The distinction in practice	265
	Protection mandates: achieving peace and justice?	268
	Conclusion	275
	IV Legal management of Collective Security	279
12	Law as internal facilitator, regulator or constraint	281
	Introduction	281

CONTENTS

ix

	Law as constraint	281	
	Law as facilitator	287	
	Conclusion	295	
13	Law as external facilitator, regulator or constraint		297
	Introduction	297	
	International law as collective security activator	297	
	The promotion of international law by CS	302	
	International law as constraint	315	
	Conclusion	317	
14	The management of normative conflicts		319
	Introduction	319	
	Judicial review of CS acts	319	
	The scope of judicial review	325	
	The legal management of normative conflicts	330	
	Article 103 of the UN Charter	334	
	Political management of normative conflicts	338	
	Conclusion	341	
	v Accountability in Collective Security		343
15	Accountability in Collective Security		345
	Introduction	345	
	The principle of good governance	346	
	The principle of constitutionality and institutional balance		352
	Democratic accountability	354	
	Legal accountability	358	
	Conclusion	363	
16	International responsibility and liability		365
	Introduction	365	

	Attribution of wrongful conduct to the UN	365
	Multiple attribution and responsibility	374
	Liability of the UN	380
	Conclusion	382
17	Individual criminal responsibility	385
	Introduction	385
	Jurisdiction	386
	Immunity	390
	International Criminal Court	397
	Immunities and SC referrals	399
	Security Council deferrals	403
	Article 98 ICC Statute and SOFAs	404
	Conclusion	408
18	Conclusion	411
	<i>Bibliography</i>	422
	<i>Index</i>	462

PREFACE

Throughout history there have been a number of collective security projects, with the United Nations being the current and probably most enduring. In brief general terms, collective security (CS) is a lego-political construct to maintain international peace and security by treating all threats as indivisible and by centralising and institutionalising decision-making and action in this respect. As stated by the High Level Panel in *A More Secure World*, a CS system entails commitments, responsibilities, institutions, strategies and resources. More specifically, it entails institutions that will make decisions, take action and generally assume responsibility for peace and security; it entails common strategies for peace as well as political and legal commitments to contribute to the common endeavour. In order for these to materialise, members of a CS system (principally states) need to have a common interest in the aims of that system and share common understandings as to how they should organise themselves in order to achieve that goal. This is the hinterland against which a CS system is built and is expected to function.

Whereas the establishment of a CS system is the product of such a common understanding – usually after some devastating, albeit chastening, event – CS is not a static construct but changes in response to internal or external events. To begin with, the concepts of peace and security change in light of normative developments and technological changes. Likewise, the source or the type of threats also changes. Terrorism, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, humanitarian crises, environmental degradation and uses of force by non-state actors are among the most illustrative examples of the changing notions of peace and security, or of the changing sources of insecurity. This has led to the development of broader and deeper understandings of peace and security to enable the CS system to go further than the short-term goal of securing an end to fighting, and to protect human security alongside state security, although the latter remains central to CS and the wider international order. In addition to the above, the interests,

claims and expectations of the CS members may also change, as well as the configurations of power within the CS system. More than that, perceptions about what a CS system is for may change in time as, for example, in the relationship between peace and justice. As a result, not only resources, tools and strategies, but also the CS's lego-political structure, all need to be constantly reviewed, and adapted accordingly.

All of the above reveal the dynamics that fashion a CS system and impact on its constitution: not only its institutional and legal design, the policies it pursues, the tools it uses to attain its objective, the resources it needs and the actors it involves in its operations, but also the degree of allegiance of its members to the system.

This book will study the theoretical, political and legal parameters of CS by focusing on the United Nations Collective Security system (UNCS) and related institutions and actors. Its main contention is that any analysis and assessment of the political, institutional, legal and operational parameters of CS in general, and of the UNCS in particular, needs to take into account and integrate into such an analysis the dynamics referred to above. Thus, the central methodological premise of this book is to study CS, and the UNCS in particular, in the context of: (a) the tension between law and politics; and (b) the tension between the CS ideal and CS in practice. The first relates to the question of the extent to which law is an instrument of CS as a political project. Thus, one of the aims of this study is to examine the role of law in CS as a facilitator, regulator or constraint and assess its impact on the maintenance as well as effectiveness and efficiency of CS. The second relates to the question of the extent to which, and the form in which, the ideals of CS have been made probable or improbable in the real world. Thus, the other aim of this book is to measure CS ideals against CS practice, explain the reasons for any modification or adaptation and assess their impact on the realisation of CS aims. From the above, the third aim of the book ensues, which is to reflect on the current validity of the idea of CS and include assessments of what a CS system is – or should be, at the present historical juncture.

From the above it also transpires that the aim of the book is not to provide a blueprint for a CS system, but instead is to explain and deepen our understanding of CS by linking its theoretical, normative and empirical dimensions. By so doing we aim not only to put CS law in its wider conceptual as well as political contexts, but to help understand how law functions in a system that is dominated by states, politics and power. It will be seen whether, despite the appearance of being infertile

ground in which law (and more broadly justice) can flourish, law can set limits to power as well as providing a means of channelling it and, furthermore, whether securing peace is sought, albeit imperfectly, with reference to justice. Can the *collective* nature of CS, which signifies that its values, principles and norms are a product of collective agreements and common understandings, work even against powerful states using CS laws as instruments of power? Inevitably, in grappling with these questions the co-authors have disagreed at some points and, while we have tried to ensure that the arguments are coherent and consistent, the reader should expect to find debate and controversy as well as answers and conclusions.

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Nicholas Tsagourias and Nigel D. White

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

TREATIES AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL INSTRUMENTS

- African Union Non-Aggression and Common Defence Pact 2005, 120
- Agreement between the Government of the Transitional Islamic State of Afghanistan and the Government of the United States of America regarding the surrender of persons to the International Criminal Court 2002, 406
- Agreement regarding the Status of United States Military and Civilian Personnel of the US Department of Defense in Afghanistan 2003, 406
- Antarctic Treaty 1959, 85
- Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty 1972, 85–6
- Articles on Responsibility of States for Internationally Wrongful Acts 2001 (ILC State Responsibility), 127, 150, 225, 227; Arts. 1, 2, 4: 365; Art. 8: 367; Art. 14: 380; Arts. 41 and 54: 225; Arts. 48 and 54: 339
- Articles on the Responsibility of International Organizations 2011 (ILC Responsibility of International Organizations), 125, 365, 370; Arts. 1, 3, 6: 365; Art. 7: 152, 367; Art. 16: 380; Art. 25: 317; Arts. 51–7: 339, 383; Art. 52: 339; Arts. 64, 67: 372
- Association of Southeast Asian Nations Charter 2007, 52, 115–16, 119
- Cambodian Peace Agreements: Final Act of the Paris Conference on Cambodia 1991, 205
- Charter of the Organization of American States 1948, 44, 55, 115–17, 119, 129, 225, 131; Art. 1: 117; Arts. 124–30: 44; Arts. 2, 24–7, 28, 29: 119; Arts. 24–7: 172; Art. 132: 335
- Charter of the United Nations 1945, 22, 2–28, 31, 33–5, 38, 44, 53, 54, 64, 68–72, 75, 85, 87–9, 91–2, 94–7, 100–1, 104, 113–18, 120–3, 125, 129–31, 134, 137, 172, 174, 177–8, 183–4, 190, 195–6, 201, 206, 224, 226, 231, 236, 248, 250, 259–60, 281, 290, 293, 320, 330, 335, 339, 349, 350, 353, 361–3, 391, 413, 415, 418; Preamble: 22, 27, 94, 294, 354; Chapter 1: 22; Chapter IV: 250; Chapter VI: 18, 91, 95, 100, 102, 170, 173, 181, 250–1, 283, 286; Chapter VII: 18, 35, 44, 70, 76, 91, 95, 100, 102, 118, 134, 170, 173, 175, 179, 181, 183, 207, 214, 217, 229, 250–1, 255, 266, 283, 286; Chapter VIII: 18, 29, 34, 52, 116, 118, 120, 128, 134, 225, 251; Chapter XI: 201; Art. 1: 23, 27, 29, 91–2, 94, 96, 105, 169, 181,

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-01540-1 - Collective Security: Theory, Law and Practice

Nicholas Tsagourias and Nigel D. White

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

TREATIES AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL INSTRUMENTS XV

- 196, 201, 286, 338; Art. 2: 18, 27–8, 33, 50, 53, 57, 89, 92, 94, 95–6, 105, 110, 123, 130, 163, 196, 208, 224, 238, 247–8, 250, 284, 287, 294–5, 298, 308, 314–15, 338, 404; Art. 4: 19, 21, 116, 294, 360; Art. 7: 320, 366; Art. 10: 91, 101–2, 105, 169; Art. 11: 103–5, 109, 169–70, 179, 260, 282, 292; Art. 12: 102–3, 107, 282, 353; Art. 13: 105; Art. 14: 101, 169, 282; Art. 15: 350; Art. 22: 366; Art. 24: 26, 34, 91, 111, 183, 236, 240, 283–4, 295, 338, 352, 354, 356; Art. 25: 18, 183, 224, 284, 336, 338–9; Art. 26: 179; Art. 27: 70, 170, 287; Art. 31: 170, 349; Art. 32: 170, 349; Art. 33: 163; Art. 34: 101; Art. 35: 169; Art. 36: 101, 163, 169, 173; Art. 37: 101, 173; Art. 38: 101, 173; Art. 39: 23, 44, 72, 95, 101, 170, 224, 390, 297–9; Arts. 39–42: 28; Art. 40: 101, 260; Art. 41: 101, 177, 224, 290; Art. 42: 53, 72, 75, 101, 105, 110, 118, 131, 224, 247, 250–1, 255, 260; Art. 43: 71–2, 252; Art. 45: 71; Art. 47: 71, 252; Arts. 43–7: 49, 101; Art. 48: 255, 294, 404, 418; Art. 50: 237; Art. 51: 18, 28, 53, 64, 72, 75, 80, 110, 130, 224, 247, 351; Art. 52: 26, 44, 117, 126, 225, 294; Art. 53: 52, 110, 117–18, 125, 126, 129, 131, 224, 226, 251; Art. 54: 117, 126, 351; Art. 55: 44, 94, 105, 201; Art. 56: 94; Art. 73: 201; Art. 92: 287, 314; Art. 94: 330; Art. 99: 170, Art. 103: 34, 125–6, 131, 184, 222, 239, 330, 334, 336, 338, 404, 407, 420; Art. 104: 391; Art. 105: 391; Arts. 124–30: 44
- Comprehensive Peace Agreement for the Sudan 2005, Parts A. 1: 3 and 2.5: 204
- Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty of 1996, 180
- Congress of Vienna 1 November 1814–18 June 1815, 13, 67
- Consolidated Version of the Treaty on European Union 2010, Art. 4: 294; Art. 13: 353
- Constitution of the World Health Organization 1946, 44, 93
- Constitution of the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) 1945, 44
- Constitutive Act of the African Union 2000, 44, 133; Arts. 3, 4, 23: 120–1; Art. 4: 44, 133; Arts. 14–15: 44
- Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Civil Aviation 1971 (Montreal Convention 1971), 182
- Convention on Cluster Munitions 2008, 180
- Convention on the Law of the Sea 1982, 303; Arts. 100–1, 105: 303
- Convention of the OAU for the Elimination of Mercenarism in Africa 1977, Art. 1: 143
- Convention on Offences and Certain Other Acts committed onboard Aircraft 1963 (Tokyo Convention 1963), 182

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-01540-1 - Collective Security: Theory, Law and Practice

Nicholas Tsagourias and Nigel D. White

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

xvi TREATIES AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL INSTRUMENTS

- Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide 1948, 85, 308; Art. 1: 98
- Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on their Destruction 1972 (Biological Weapons Convention), 84, 86, 88, 179, 180
- Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production, Stockpiling and Use of Chemical Weapons and on their Destruction 1993 (Chemical Weapons Convention), 84, 86–8, 179–80
- Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti-Personnel Mines and on Their Destruction 1997 (Ottawa Treaty; Mine Ban Treaty), 180
- Convention on the Safety of United Nations and Associated Personnel 1994, 251, 316; Arts. 1, 2: 388; Art. 20: 316
- Covenant of the League of Nations 1919, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 200; Preamble: 13; Art. 1: 17; Art. 5: 15, 70; Arts. 12–14; Art. 15: 14; Art. 16: 14–15, Art. 17: 17; Art. 19: 13; Art. 20: 17; Art. 22: 200
- Darfur Peace Agreement (Abuja Agreement) 2006, 305–7; Arts. 1, 3, 5, 6, 17, 31: 204
- Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order 1974, 205
- Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples 1960, 106
- Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States and the Protection of their Sovereignty 1965, 206, 313
- Declaration on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations 1970, 123, 313–14
- Draft Convention on the Criminal Accountability of United Nations Officials and Experts on Mission 2006, 352, 387–9, 421; Arts. 1, 2: 387, 388; Art. 3: 388; Arts. 4–7, 15–17: 389; Art. 10: 390
- Draft of a possible Convention on Private Military and Security Companies (PMSCs) for consideration and action by the Human Rights Council (2011), 154–7; Preamble: 155; Arts. 1, 2: 155; Art. 18: 157; Art. 41: 158
- European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms 1950, 332, 373; Art. 5: 337; Art. 8: 334 (*see also* Index, ECtHR)
- Final Act of the Paris Conference on Cambodia 1991, Art. 12: 205

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-01540-1 - Collective Security: Theory, Law and Practice

Nicholas Tsagourias and Nigel D. White

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

TREATIES AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL INSTRUMENTS xvii

- General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina 1995 (Dayton Peace Agreement), 198
- General Treaty for Renunciation of War as an Instrument of National Policy 1928 (Kellogg–Briand Pact; Pact of Paris), 16
- Geneva Convention (I) for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Wounded and Sick in Armed Forces in the Field 1949, 379; Common Art. 1: 317, 379; Art. 33: 381; Arts. 49, 50, 129: 397
- Geneva Convention (II) for the Amelioration of the Condition of Wounded, Sick and Shipwrecked Members of Armed Forces at Sea 1949, 379 Common Art. 1: 317, 379; Arts. 49, 50, 129: 397
- Geneva Convention (III) Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War 1949, 379; Common Art. 1: 317, 379; Arts. 49, 50, 129: 397
- Geneva Convention (IV) Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War 1949, 303, 379; Common Art. 1: 317, 379; Arts. 23, 59, 61, 63: 304; Arts. 49, 53, 55, 108; 381; Arts. 49, 50, 129: 397
- Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, and Relating to the Protection of Victims of International Armed Conflicts, Protocol Additional to (Additional Protocol I) 1977, Arts. 48, 51, 54, 70–1: 304; Art. 47: 143; Arts. 54, 61: 381; Art. 91: 383
- Geneva Protocol for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes 1924, 16
- Geneva Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or other Gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare 1925, 74
- Hague Convention (IV) respecting the Laws and Customs of War on Land and its annex: Regulations concerning the Laws and Customs of War on Land 1907, Art. 42: 213; Art. 3: 383
- Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance (Rio Treaty) 1947, Art. 8: 119
- International Code of Conduct for Private Security Service Providers 2010, 152, 154, 156; paras. 2–3: 21; para. 14: 154; paras. 28–32, 56: 156
- International Convention against the Recruitment, Use, Financing and Training of Mercenaries 1989, Art. 1: 143
- International Court of Justice 1948, Statute, Art. 36: 168 (*see also* Index, ICJ)
- International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights 1966, Arts. 19, 21, 22: 190, 187, 215; Art. 4: 187, 189, 215; Arts. 6, 9: 188; Arts. 19, 21, 22: 190; Arts. 18, 19, 21, 22, 25, 27: 204; Art. 27: 215 (*see also* Index, HRC)
- International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, Optional Protocol 1976, 239

xviii TREATIES AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL INSTRUMENTS

- International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights 1966, Art. 15: 215
- International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda 1994, Statute, Art. 4: 310
- Montreux Document on Pertinent International Legal Obligations and Good Practices for States related to Operations of Private Military and Security Companies during Armed Conflict 2008, 151; Preface, para. 3: 154, para. 9: 156; Part I, para. 25; Part IA, para. 2: 155, para. 7: 151; Part II, paras. 1, 24, 53: 155
- Moscow Declaration 1943, 68
- North Atlantic Treaty 1949, Art. 4: 143
- OUA Convention for the Elimination of Mercenarism in Africa 1977, 79, 81, 87; Art. 5: 79, 81
- Ouagadougou Political Agreement 2007, 305
- Peace of Westphalia 1648, 144–5
- Protocol Relating to the Establishment of the Peace and Security Council of the African Union 2002, Arts. 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 12: 181
- Relationship Agreement between the United Nations and the International Criminal Court 2004, 398
- Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court 1998, 311, 324, 397–8, 400–4, 407; Preamble: 409; Arts. 5, 12, 17: 397; Art. 12: 399; Art. 13: 311, 324–5, 399; Art. 16: 324–5, 403, 410; Art. 17: 397; Art. 27: 397–8, 400; Art. 87: 311, 401; Art. 98: 399, 401, 404, 421
- Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, Amendments adopted at the Review Conference, Kampala, 2010, 300; Annex I, Amendments on the Crime of Aggression, Art. 1: 299–300; Art. 15: 299, 300, 397
- South Africa National Peace Accord 1991, 199
- Strategic Arms Reduction Treaties 1991 and 1993 (START I and START II), 85, 87
- Treaty of Alliance between the Courts of Prussia, Austria, Great Britain and Russia 1815 (Quadripartite Alliance), 11–12, 66
- Treaty of Chaumont 1814, 67
- Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union 2010, Arts. 347, 351: 330; Art. 296: 359
- Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) 1968, 50, 84–9, 90, 177–80, 412
- Treaty of Paris 1898, 146
- Treaty on Principles Governing Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, Including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies (Outer Space Treaty) 1967, 85

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-01540-1 - Collective Security: Theory, Law and Practice
Nicholas Tsagourias and Nigel D. White
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

TREATIES AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL INSTRUMENTS xix

- Treaty on the Prohibition of the Emplacement of Nuclear Weapons and
Other Weapons of Mass Destruction on the Sea-Bed and the Ocean
Floor and in the Subsoil Thereof 1971, 180
- Treaty of Versailles 1919, 13
- United Nations Declaration 1942, 68
- Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948, 8, 214
- Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations 1961, 308
- Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties 1969, 197; Arts. 2–3: 197; Art.
26: 198; Art. 27: 336; Art. 30: 335, 331; Arts. 34–5: 224; Art. 53: 28
- Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties between States and
International Organizations or between International Organizations
1986, Art. 53: 28, 331

TABLE OF CASES

Permanent Court of Arbitration

- Island of Palmas Case* (1928) 2 RIAA 829; 146, 166
Responsibility of Germany for Damage Caused in the Portuguese Colonies in the South of Africa (Portugal v. Germany) ('Naulilaa'), 31 July 1928, 2 RIAA 1011; 334

Permanent Court of International Justice

- Jurisdiction of European Commission of the Danube between Galatz and Braila*, Advisory Opinion of 8 December 1927, PCIJ Series B, No. 14; 288–9
Mavrommatis Palestine Concessions (Greece v. United Kingdom), Merits, Judgment of 30 August 1924, PCIJ, Series B, No. 3 (*Mavrommatis Palestine Concessions*); 322
Nationality Decrees Issued in Tunis and Morocco, Advisory Opinion of 7 February 1923, PCIJ, Series B No. 4 (*Nationality Decrees*); 285
Status of Eastern Carelia, Advisory Opinion of 23 July 1923, PCIJ Series B, No. 5 (*Eastern Carelia*); 17

International Court of Justice

- Accordance with international law of the unilateral declaration of independence by the Provisional Institutions of Self-Government of Kosovo*, Request for Advisory Opinion of 10 October 2008, ICJ (*Kosovo Advisory Opinion*); 22, 203, 326–7
Aegean Sea Continental Shelf (Greece v. Turkey), Jurisdiction, Judgment, 19 December 1978 (1978) ICJ Rep 1 (*Aegean Sea*); 323

Page numbers for this volume given in italics.

TABLE OF CASES

xxi

- Applicability of Article VI, Section 22, of the Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations*, Advisory Opinion of 15 December 1989 (1989) ICJ Rep 177 (*Mazilu case*); 392
- Barcelona Traction, Light and Power Company, Limited (Belgium v. Spain)* (New Application: 1962), Oral Proceedings (second phase) CR 1969/1, 1970 ICJ Rep. 4, 11–55 (*Barcelona Traction*); 354
- Border and Transborder Armed Actions (Nicaragua v. Honduras)*, Jurisdiction and Admissibility, Judgment of 20 December 2008 (1988) (*Border and Transborder Armed Actions*); 322
- Case concerning Application of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (Bosnia and Herzegovina v. Serbia and Montenegro)* Judgment of 26 February 2007 (2007) ICJ Rep 43 (*Bosnia Genocide case*); 151, 317, 328, 365–7, 372
- Request for the Indication of Provisional Measures, Order of 8 April 1993; 323, 329
 - Further Requests for the Indication of Provisional Measures, Order of 13 September 1993 (1993) ICJ Rep. 324; 323
 - Provisional Measures, Order of 13 September 1993 (1993) ICJ Rep. 325; 328
 - Preliminary Objections, Judgment of 11 July 1996 (1996) ICJ Rep. 14; 324
- Case concerning Armed Activities on the Territory of the Congo (Democratic Republic of the Congo v. Rwanda)* (New Application: 2002), Provisional Measures, Order of 10 July 2002 (2002) ICJ Rep 219 (*Congo v. Rwanda*); 28
- Jurisdiction and Admissibility, Judgment of 3 February 2006 (2006) ICJ Rep. 6; 397
- Case concerning Armed Activities on the Territory of the Congo (Democratic Republic of the Congo v. Uganda)* Judgment of 19 December 2005 (2005) ICJ Rep. (*Congo v. Uganda*); 315, 323, 365, 379
- Public sitting held on Wednesday 28 June 2000, His Excellency the Honourable Bart M. Katureebe, Agent of the Republic of Uganda, CR2000/23; 322
- Case concerning the Arrest Warrant of 11 April 2000 (Democratic Republic of the Congo v. Belgium)*, Judgment of 14 February 2002 (2002) ICJ Rep. 21 (*Arrest Warrant*); 392, 395–6, 399–400

- Case concerning Certain Questions of Mutual Assistance in Criminal Matters (Djibouti v. France)*, Judgment of 4 June 2008 (2008) ICJ Rep.177; 402
- Case concerning East Timor (Portugal v. Australia)*, Judgment of 30 June 1995 (1995) ICJ Rep. 91 (*East Timor*); 320, 322
- Case concerning Frontier Dispute (Burkina Faso/Republic of Mali)*, Judgment of 22 December 1986 (1986) ICJ Rep. 554 (*Frontier Dispute*); 302
- Case concerning Military and Paramilitary Activities in and against Nicaragua (Nicaragua v. United States of America)*, Judgment of 27 June 1986 [1986] ICJ Rep. 14 (*Nicaragua*); 123, 298, 302, 313–15, 323–4, 367, 379
- Filing of a Counter-Memorial by the United States of America, 17 August 1984, ICJ Pleadings, Vol. II, 02/07/1984–1984/23; 322
 - Provisional Measures, Order of 10 May 1984 (1984) ICJ Rep. 169; 323
 - Jurisdiction and Admissibility, Judgment of 26 November 1984 (1984) ICJ Rep. 395; 323
 - US Dept. of State ‘Statement: US Withdrawal from the Proceedings Initiated by Nicaragua in the International Court of Justice’, ILM, 24 (1985), 246; 322
- Case concerning US Diplomatic and Consular Staff in Tehran (United States of America v. Iran)*, Provisional Measures, Order of 15 December 1979 (1979) ICJ Rep. 7; 323
- Merits, Judgment of 24 May 1980 (1980) ICJ Rep. 3; 323
- Certain Expenses of the United Nations (Article 17, Paragraph 2, of the Charter)*, Advisory Opinion of 20 July 1962 [1962] ICJ Rep. 151. (*Certain Expenses*); 29, 31–2, 91, 93, 104–6, 109, 111, 251, 259–60, 281–3, 287–90, 320, 338, 353, 358, 366
- Competence of the General Assembly for the Admission of a State to the United Nations*, Advisory Opinion of 3 March 1950 [1950] ICJ Rep. (*Competence of the GA*); 29, 31, 281, 289
- Conditions of Admission of a State to Membership in the United Nations (Article 4 of the Charter)*, Advisory Opinion of 28 May 1948 (1948) ICJ Rep. 68 (*Conditions of Admission*); 22, 30, 281, 352, 360–1
- Corfu Channel Case (United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland v. Albania)* Judgment of 9 April 1949 (1949) ICJ Rep. 4 (*Corfu Channel*); 152, 302, 314, 379
- Difference Relating to the Immunity from Legal Process of a Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights*, Advisory Opinion of 29 April 1999 (1999) ICJ Rep. 62 (*Difference Relating to the Immunity from Legal Process*); 392–4

TABLE OF CASES

xxiii

- Gabčíkovo–Nagymaros Project (Hungary/Slovakia)*, Judgment of 25 September 1997 (1997) ICJ Rep. 7 (*Hungary/Slovakia*); 339
- Interpretation of the Agreement of 25 March 1951 between the WHO and Egypt*, Advisory Opinion of 20 December 1980 (1980) ICJ Rep. 67 (*WHO/Egypt*); 125, 288, 315, 323, 338
- Jurisdictional Immunities of the State (Germany v. Italy: Greece intervening)* Judgment of 3 February 2012, ICJ; 396
- Legal Consequences of the Construction of a Wall in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including in and around East Jerusalem*, Advisory Opinion of 9 July 2004 (2004) ICJ Rep. 136 (*Palestinian Wall Opinion*); 103, 107, 113, 175, 283, 288, 303, 315, 323, 326, 353, 379
- Legality of the Threat or Use of Nuclear Weapons*, Advisory Opinion of 8 July 1996 (1996) ICJ Rep. 227 (*Nuclear Weapons*); 31, 282, 313, 315, 358
- Legal Consequences for States of the Continued Presence of South Africa in Namibia (South West Africa) Notwithstanding Security Council Resolution 276 (1970)*, Advisory Opinion of 21 June 1971 [1971] ICJ Rep. 16 (*Namibia*); 286–7, 325, 353, 359
- Legality of the Use by a State of Nuclear Weapons in Armed Conflict*, Advisory Opinion of 8 July 1996 [1996] ICJ Rep. 225 (*Nuclear Weapons in Armed Conflict*); 93, 287, 320–1, 379
- Questions of Interpretation and Application of the 1971 Montreal Convention arising from the Aerial Incident at Lockerbie (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya v. United Kingdom) (Aerial Incident at Lockerbie)*; 283, 334
- Request for the indication of Provisional Measures, Order of 3 March 1992 (1992) ICJ Rep. 3; 323
 - Preliminary Objections, Judgment of 27 February 1998 (1998) ICJ Rep. 9; 35, 328
- Reparation for Injuries Suffered in the Service of the United Nations*, Advisory Opinion of 11 April 1949 (1949) ICJ Rep. 174 (*Reparation for Injuries*); 31, 57, 287–8, 315–16, 353, 366, 408
- Voting Procedures on Questions relating to Reports and Petitions Concerning the Territory of South-West Africa*, Advisory Opinion of 7 June 1955 (1955) ICJ Rep. 188; 314

European Court of Human Rights

- A and others v. United Kingdom*, Application No. 3455/05, Grand Chamber, Judgment of 19 February 2009; 327
- Al-Adsani v. United Kingdom*, Application No. 35763/97, Grand Chamber, Judgment of 21 November 2001; 395, 397

- Al-Jedda v. United Kingdom*, Application No. 27021/08, Judgment of 7 July 2011 (*Al-Jedda*); 184, 270, 333–4, 337–8, 370–1
- Al-Skeini v. United Kingdom*, Application No. 55721/07, Grand Chamber, Judgment of 7 July 2011; 216
- Batasuna and Batasuna v. Spain*, Application No. 25803/04, 25817/04, Decision on Admissibility, 30 June 2009; 190
- Behrami, Agim, and Bekir Behrami v. France*, Application No. 71412/01 and *Ruzhdi Saramati v. France, Germany and Norway*, Application No. 78166/01, Grand Chamber Admissibility Decision, 2 May 2007 45 EHRR (2007) SE10 (*Behrami/Saramati*); 35–6, 290, 331, 366–70, 371, 373, 378, 409
- Bosphorus Hava Yollari Turizm ve Ticaret Anonim Şirketi v. Ireland*, Application No. 45036/98, 30 June 2005 (*Bosphorus case*); 333
- Cyprus v. Turkey*, Application No. 25781/94, Decision, 10 May 2001; 374
- Gajic v. Germany*, Application No. 31446/02, Decision, 28 August 2007; 369
- Ilaşcu and others v. Moldova and Russia*, Application No. 48787/99, Decision, 8 July 2004; 373
- Kalogeropoulou et al. v. Greece and Germany*, Application No. 59021/00, Decision on Admissibility, 12 December 2002; 397
- Kasumaj v. Greece*, Application No. 6974/05, Decision, 5 July 2007; 369
- Matthews v. UK*, Application No. 24833/94 (1999) 28 EHRR 316; 369
- Nada v. Switzerland*, Application No. 10593/08, Judgment, 12 September 2012; 184, 333–4
- Osman v. UK*, Application No. 23452/94 (1998) 29 EHRR 245; 184
- Refah Partisi (the Welfare Party) and others v. Turkey (No 2)* Application Nos. 41340/98, 41342/98, 41343/98, 41344/98 (2003) 37 EHRR 1; 190
- Sunday Times v. UK*, (1979) 2 EHRR 245; 190
- Waite and Kennedy v. Federal Republic of Germany*, Application No. 26083/94, Grand Chamber Decision, 18 February 1999; 408

European Union courts

- Cofradía de pescadores ‘San Pedro’ de Bermeo and others v. Council*, Case T-415/03, Judgment, 19 October 2005, ECR II-4355 (*Cofradía de Pescadores*); 326
- Commission v. Council*, Case C-110/02 [2004] ECR I-6333; 326
- Commission v. Council*, Case C-27/04 [2004] ECR I-6649; 325

TABLE OF CASES

XXV

- European Parliament v. Council*, Case C-70/88 [1990] ECR-I-2041; 353
- Fediol v. Commission*, Case 192/82 [1983] ECR 2913; 325
- Gutmann v. Commission*, Cases 18, 35/65 [1966] ECR 103; 361
- José María Sison v. Council*, Case C-266/05 P [2007] ECR I-1233; 348
- Kadi, Yassin Abdullah v. Council of the EU and the Commission of the EC*, Case T-315/01 (OJ 2005 C 281) Judgment of the CFI, 21 September 2005 (*Kadi CFI*); 294, 317, 322, 329–30, 336, 338
- Kadi, Yassin Abdullah and Al Barakaat International Foundation v. Council and Commission*, Joined Cases. C-402/05 P and C-415/05 P, Judgment, 3 September 2008 (*Kadi ECJ*); 190, 240–1, 294, 331, 336, 340
- Kadi, Yassin Abdullah v. European Commission*, Case T-85/09, General Court of the European Union, 30 September 2010 (*Kadi II*); 241, 327–8, 337–8
- Maclaine Watson and Co Ltd v. Council and Commission of the European Communities*, Case C-241/87 [1990] ECR I-1797; 321
- Meroni & Co., Industrie Metallurgiche: and SpA v. High Authority of the European Coal and Steel Community*, Case 9/56 [1958] ECR 133, 152; 290–1
- Organisation des Modjahedines du peuple d'Iran v. Council of the European Union*, Case T-228/02, Judgment of the Court of First Instance (Second Chamber), 12 December 2006 [2006] ECR II-4665 (*OMPI*); 332, 348
- Organisation des Modjahedines du peuple d'Iran v. Council of the European Union (II)*, Case T-284/08, Judgment of the Court of First Instance (Seventh Chamber), 4 December 2008 (*OMPI II*); 328
- Pfizer Animal Health v. Council*, Case T-13/99 [2002] ECR II-3305; 325
- Segi v. Council*, Case C-355/04 [2007] ECR I-01657; 322
- Timex v. Council and Commission*, Case 264/82 [1985] ECR 849; 325
- Yusuf, Ahmed Ali, and Al Barakaat International Foundation v. Council of the EU and Commission of the EC*, Case T-306/01 R [2002] ECR II-2387, Judgment of the CFI, 21 September 2005 (*Yusuf and Al Barakaat CFI*); 294, 322, 329–31, 333–4, 338

Inter-American Court of Human Rights

- Velásquez Rodríguez v. Honduras*, Judgment, 19 July 1988 (Ser. C) No. 4 (1988); 152, 187, 215, 379

Human Rights Committee

Delgado Páez v. Colombia, Communication No. 195/1985, 12 July 1990; 188
Nabil Sayadi and Patricia Vinck v. Belgium, Communication No. 1472/
 2006, 29 December 2008, 16 IHRR 427; 190, 239–40, 334

International Criminal Court

Prosecutor v. Omar Hassan Ahmad Al-Bashir, Decision on the Prosecution's Application for a Warrant of Arrest against Omar Al-Bashir, ICC-02/05-01/09, Pre-Trial Chamber 1, 4 March 2009 (*Al-Bashir*, Decision on the Prosecution's Application for a Warrant of Arrest against Omar Al-Bashir 2009); 311, 399

- Judgment on the appeal of the Prosecutor against the Decision on the Prosecution's Application for a Warrant of Arrest against Omar Hassan Ahmad Al-Bashir, ICC-02/05-01/09-73, Appeals Chamber, 3 Feb 2010 (*Al-Bashir*, Prosecutor's Appeal against Decision on Application for a Warrant of Arrest 2010); 399
- Second Warrant of Arrest, ICC-02/05-01/09–95, Pre-Trial Chamber 1, 12 July 2010 (*Al-Bashir*, Second Warrant of Arrest 2010); 311
- Decision informing the United Nations Security Council and the Assembly of States Parties to the Rome Statute about Omar Al-Bashir's presence in the territory of the Republic of Kenya, ICC-02/05-01/09, Pre-Trial Chamber 1, 27 August 2010 (*Al-Bashir*, Decision re visit to Kenya, 2010); 401
- Decision informing the United Nations Security Council and the Assembly of States Parties to the Rome Statute about Omar Al-Bashir's recent visit to the Republic of Chad, ICC-02/05-01/09–109, Pre-Trial Chamber 1, 27 August 2010 (*Al-Bashir*, Decision re visit to Chad, 2011); 401
- Decision Pursuant to Article 87(7) of the Rome Statute on the Failure by the Republic of Malawi to Comply with the Cooperation Requests Issued by the Court with Respect to the Arrest and Surrender of Omar Hassan Ahmad Al-Bashir, ICC-02/05-01/09, Pre-Trial Chamber 1, 12 December 2011 (*Al-Bashir*, Decision re cooperation of Malawi, 2011); 398, 400–1

Warrant of Arrest for Muammar Mohammed Abu Minyar Gaddafi, ICC-01/11-13, Pre-Trial Chamber I, 27 June 2011 [the case closed] (*Warrant of Arrest for Gaddafi* 2011); 311, 399–400

International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia

- Prosecutor v. Duško Tadić aka 'Dule'* (Decision on the Defence Motion on Jurisdiction), ICTY Case No. IT-94-1, 10 August 1995; 322, 324, 326, 328
- Decision on the Defence Motion for Interlocutory Appeal on Jurisdiction, ICTY Case No. IT-94-1-AR72, 2 October 1995 (*Tadić*, Decision on the Defence Motion of Interlocutory Appeal on Jurisdiction 1995); 23, 281, 284, 288, 290, 310–11, 317, 352–4
 - Appeal Judgment, ICTY Case No. IT-94-1-A, 15 July 1999 (*Tadić*, Appeal Judgment 1999); 96, 352–6
- Prosecutor v. Enver Hadžihasanović and Amir Kubura*, ICTY Case No. IT-01-47-T, Judgment, 15 March 2006 (*Hadžihasanović and Kubura*); 367, 377
- Prosecutor v. Milutinović*, Decision on Motion Challenging Jurisdiction, ICTY Case No. IT-99-37-PT, 6 May 2003 (*Milutinović* case); 22
- Prosecutor v. Sefer Halilović*, Judgment ICTY Case No. IT-01-48-T, Judgment, 16 November 2005 (*Halilović*); 377
- Prosecutor v. Tihomir Blaškić*, ICTY Case No. IT-95-14, Trial Chamber, Decision on the Objection of the Republic of Croatia to the Issuance of Subpoena *Duces Tecum*, 18 July 1997 (*Blaškić*, Decision on the Objection of Croatia to the Issuance of Subpoena *Duces Tecum*, 1997); 401
- Appeals Chamber, Judgment on the request of the Republic of Croatia for Review of the Decision of Trial Chamber II of 18 July 1997, 29 October 1997 (*Blaškić*, Judgment on the request of Croatia for Review of the Decision of Trial Chamber II, 1997); 401
- Prosecutor v. Zejnil Delalić, Zdravko Mucić (aka 'Pavo'), Hazim Delić, Esad Landžo (aka 'Zenga')* Appeal Judgment, ICTY Case No. IT-96-21-A, 20 February 2001 (*Celebici* case); 316, 367

International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda

- Prosecutor v. Alfred Musema*, Judgement and Sentence, Trial Chamber I, 27 January 2000 (*Musema Judgment*, 2000); 311
- Prosecutor v. Ferdinand Nahimana, Jean-Bosco Barayagwiza, Hassan Ngeze*, Judgment and Sentence, ICTR-99-52-T, 3 December 2003; 311
- Prosecutor v. Ignace Bagilishema*, Appeal Judgment: Reasons, ICTR-95-1A-A, 3 July 2002 (*Bagilishema* Appeal); 310

- Prosecutor v. Jean-Paul Akayesu*, Trial Judgment, ICTR-96-4-T, 2 September 1998 (*Akayesu* ICTR); 310–11
Prosecutor v. Joseph Kanyabashi, Decision on the Defence Motion on Jurisdiction, ICTR-96-15-T, 18 June 1997; 326

UN Dispute Tribunal

- McKay v. Secretary-General of the United Nations*, Case No.: UNDT/GVA/2010/103, Judgment No.: UNDT/2012/018, 9 February 2012 (*McKay v. Secretary-General of the United Nations*); 382

International Chamber of Commerce, Arbitration Court Arbitral Tribunal

- US/France Air Services Agreement Case* (1978) 54 ILR 303; 227

National courts

Austria

- NK v. Austria*, Decision of 26 February 1979, 77 ILR 470; 380

Belgium

- Manderlier v. United Nations and Belgian State*, Court of First Instance of Brussels, 15 September 1969, 45 ILR 446; 380, 391
Mukeshimana-Ngulinzira and others v. Belgian State and others (Unpublished Judgment), Case No. R. G. No. 04/4807/A and 07/15547/A, 8 December 2010, Oxford Reports on International Law in Domestic Courts, Case No. 1604 BE 2010; 368
Re Sharon and Yaron, 42 ILM (2003) 596, Cour de Cassation; 392

Canada

- Abdelrazik v. Canada (Minister of Foreign Affairs)* [2009] FC 580 [2010] 1 FCR. 267, Supreme Court of Canada; 239, 333–4, 347
Jaffe v. Miller and others (1993), Canada, Ontario Court of Appeal, 95 ILR 446; 396

TABLE OF CASES

xxix

Reference by the Governor-General concerning Certain Questions relating to the Secession of Quebec from Canada [1998] 2 SCR 217, Supreme Court of Canada; 203

Germany

Solange I, Internationale Handelsgesellschaft v. Einfuhr und Vorratsstelle für Getreide und Futtermittel, BVerfGE 37, 271; 1974 2 CMLR 540), 29 May 1974, German Constitutional Court (*Solange I*); 332, 340
Solange II, Re Wuensche Handelsgesellschaft, BVerfG, 265BVerfGE 73, 339 2 BvR (1986) [1987] 3 CMLR 225, 22 October 1986, German Constitutional Court (*Solange II*); 332

Greece

Federal Republic of Germany v. Miltiadis Margellos, Case 6/17-9-2002, Special Highest Court of Greece, Decision of 17 September 2002; 397
Prefecture of Voiotia v. Germany, Supreme Court of Greece, Case No. 11/2000 of 4 May 2000, 129 ILR 513 (*Distomo case*); 396

Israel

Government of Israel v. Papa Ben Dista Saar, Judgment of 10 May 1979, District Court of Haifa, UNJY (1979), 205; 395

Italy

Ferrini v. Federal Republic of Germany, 11 May 2004, No. 5044, RDI, 2004, 539ff, 128 ILR 659; 396
Lozano v. Italy, 24 July 2008, No. 31171, RDI, 2008 Corte suprema di cassazione, Sezione Prima Penale; 396

Netherlands

Bouterse Case, Judgment of 20 November 2000, Netherlands YBIL, vol. XXXII (2001), 276; 395
[HN] v. The State of the Netherlands, Case 265615/HA ZA 06-1671, Hague District Court Judgment, 10 September 2008; 368, 377-8
Mustafić v. the Netherlands, LJN: BR0132, Court of Appeal of The Hague, 5 July 2011; 368, 376-7, 379

- Netherlands v. Short*, 29 ILM 1375, 1990; 406
Nuhanović v. the Netherlands, LJN: BR0133, Court of Appeal of The Hague, 5 July 2011; 368, 376–7
Mothers of Srebrenica v. the Netherlands and the United Nations Srebrenica, Case No. 295247/HA ZA 07-2973, Judgment in the incidental proceedings, 10 July 2008 (*Mothers of Srebrenica*, Judgment); 391–2
 – Appeal Judgment of March 30, 2010, Case No. 200.022.151/01, Court of Appeal of The Hague (*Mothers of Srebrenica* case, Appeal Court); 391

United Kingdom

- A, K, M, Q and G v. HM Treasury*, Court of Appeal – Administrative Court, 24 April 2008 [2008] EWHC 869 (Admin.) [2008] 3 All ER 361; 333, 336
Attorney-General v. Nissan [1969 I] All ER 629; 376
Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament v. The Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and others [2002] EHC 2759 (QB) (*CND v. Prime Minister of the UK and others*); 321
Jones (Appellant) v. Ministry of Interior Al-Mamlaka Al-Arabiya AS. Saudiya (the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia) (Respondents) [2006] UKHL 26; 397
R (on the application of Al-Jedda) (FC) (Appellant) v. Secretary of State for Defence (Respondent). [2007] UKHL 58 [2008] 1 AC 332 [2008] 2 WLR 31 [2008] 3 All ER 28; 335, 337, 370–1
Khurts Bat v. Investigating Judge of the German Federal Court and others [2011] EWHC 2029 (Admin.); 392
R v. Bow Street Metropolitan Stipendiary Magistrate, ex parte Pinochet Ugarte [1998] 4 All ER 897 [1998] 3 WLR 1456 (HL) (*Pinochet I*); 395–6
R v. Bow Street Metropolitan Stipendiary Magistrate, ex parte Pinochet Ugarte (No. 3) [1999] 2 All ER 97 [1999] 2 WLR 827 (HL) (*Pinochet III*); 395
R v. Foreign Secretary, ex parte Everett [1989] 1 QB 811 (CA) 820; 321
R v. Jones (Appellant) (On Appeal from the Court of Appeal (Criminal Division)) (formerly R v. J (Appellant)), Etc., [2006] UKHL 16 on appeal from: [2004] EWCA Crim 1981 and [2005] EWHC 684 (Admin), 29 March 2006; 321