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# The Crime of Aggression under the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court

After the crime of aggression was adopted under the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (ICC), Carrie McDougall used her intimate involvement in the crime's negotiations, combined with extensive scholarly reflection, to produce the first and most comprehensive academic study. This updated second edition offers an exhaustive and sophisticated legal analysis of the crime's definition, as well as the provisions governing the ICC's exercise of jurisdiction over the crime. It explores the desirability of holding individuals to account for unlawful uses of inter-State armed force, the geopolitical significance of the crime, and a range of practical issues likely to arise in prosecutions before both the ICC and domestic courts. This book is highly relevant to all academics and practitioners interested in the crime of aggression, as well as broader issues relating to the prohibition of the use of force, international criminal law, and the ICC.

CARRIE MCDOUGALL is a Senior Lecturer at the University of Melbourne. Previously, she worked at the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, serving first as Assistant Director of the International Law Section, then as the Legal Adviser at Australia's Mission to the United Nations.



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# The Crime of Aggression under the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court

Carrie McDougall
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## Foreword

The striking of the gavel of the President of the Assembly of States Parties (ASP), signalling the adoption of the amendments [on the crime of aggression], unleashed a wave of emotion in the Speke Ball Room at the Munyonyo Commonwealth Resort in Kampala, Uganda.

By these words, Dr Carrie McDougall accurately captures the prevailing mood at the moment when the States Parties of the Statute of the International Criminal Court reached consensus on the definition of the crime of aggression and on the conditions for the Court's exercise of jurisdiction over it. The 'wave of emotion' reflected a widespread sense of the historic importance of the decision just taken after almost a century of debate over the project to criminalise the contribution of State leaders to the commission of the most serious forms of use of force in violation of the Charter of the United Nations. Dr McDougall has accompanied the negotiation process leading to the Kampala breakthrough by weighty scholarly contributions, including a thorough and innovative piece on Nuremberg's legacy, and she has participated in a significant part of the negotiations as an adviser to the delegation of Australia, which in turn played an important part in reaching the final compromise. Based on this previous scholarly reflection about the crime and the intimate knowledge of the multilateral negotiations, Dr McDougall was ideally equipped to present and analyse the new legal regime in a comprehensive fashion and this is what she has done. Her book is, to the best of my knowledge, the first monograph on the crime of aggression after Kampala. Herein, Dr McDougall deals with each element of the crime's definition, with its complex jurisdictional regime, and with the legal questions pertaining to the ultimate activation of the compromise package. She also covers the most important legal issues surrounding the new legal landscape including, for



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example, procedural and institutional challenges for the Court and the question of domestic criminal proceedings. Finally, she contributes to the legal policy debate about the subject and in doing so she does not shy away from tackling the hard questions that this subject raises. Throughout the elegantly and lively written book, Dr McDougall formulates powerful arguments and conclusions, each time based on thorough research and rigorous reasoning. In addition, the positions taken reflect excellent judgement. All this taken together will make the book an extremely useful piece of reference for scholars, State representatives, and legal practitioners at the International Criminal Court for many years to come. Throughout her analysis, Dr McDougall does not spare any criticism of the final outcome of the negotiations. Yet, in her overall assessment in law and legal policy she concludes that the aggression amendments are 'both important and remarkable'. I think the same of Dr McDougall's book.

Prof. Dr Claus Kress LLM (Cambridge) Director of the Institute for International Peace and Security Law Cologne University



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# Preface to the Second Edition

I consider myself incredibly fortunate to have now worked on crime of aggression issues for over fifteen years, spanning my time as a PhD student, adviser to successive Australian Delegations to meetings of the Special Working Group on the Crime of Aggression (SWGCA), delegate to the Rome Statute Review Conference in Kampala, author of the first edition of this book, legal specialist at the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) in Canberra, legal adviser at Australia's Mission to the United Nations in New York, and finally as an academic at the University of Melbourne.

I describe myself as fortunate because, after all these years, I remain fascinated by the crime of aggression, which traverses both the *jus ad bellum* and international criminal law, and sits at the heart of the intersection of law and politics. If anything, as I write this preface at the beginning of 2020, with International Criminal Court's (ICC's) jurisdiction over aggression finally a reality at the same time as the international rules-based order faces very real threats, I think that the legal and political issues raised by the crime of aggression are more important than ever.

Many thanks in relation to this second edition of the book are, as always, in order.

I am grateful to DFAT colleagues Richard Rowe, Greg French, Andrew Rose, Stacey Nation, Katrina Cooper, Gillian Bird, and David Yardley for the opportunity to work on ICC issues including aggression, and for the trust they always demonstrated in my judgement. I am also grateful to have been offered a position at Melbourne Law School on leaving DFAT, which has provided the opportunity to work on a second edition of this book. I am particularly grateful to Bruce Oswald for his mentorship as I contemplated leaving government to return to academia. And of

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XIV PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

course I am very grateful that Cambridge University Press supported my proposal for a second edition of this book, and in this regard wish to express my thanks to Finola O'Sullivan and Tom Randall for all of their support.

My understanding of the ICC and international criminal justice would not be what it is without the wonderful engagement and collaboration over the years with colleagues at the Court (including Fatou Bensouda, Judge Sang-Hyun Song, Matias Hellman, Antonia Pereira De Sousa, Miia Aro-Sanchez, and Hirad Abtahi), and colleagues in the Assembly of States Parties (including Sina Alavi, Pablo Arrocha, Petra Benesova, Catherine Boucher, Konrad Bühler, Yolannie Cerrato Corrales, Shehzad Charania, Juan Cuellar Torres, Richard Dicker, Gérard Dive, Shara Duncan-Villalobos, Jose Luis Fernandez Valoni, Nicolas Fierens Gevaert, Gina Guillén Grillo, Javier Gorostegui, René Holbach, Angel Horna, Kristina Hornakova, Thembile Joyini, Nadia Kalb, Christian Karstensen, Vasiliki Krasa, Andreas Kravik, Babara Kremzar, Carlo Krieger, Stephen Lamony, Matthias Lanz, Jürg Lindenmann, Patrick Luna, Sandra Lyngdorf, Mamadou Racine Ly, Isaias Medina, Antonine Missone, Helen Mulvein, Kate Neilsen, Nkoloi Nkoloi, Bill Pace, Jelena Pia-Comella, Carlos Garcia Reyes, Ana Christina Rodriguez Pineda, Sebastian Rogac, Deborah Ruiz-Verduzco, Maria Alejandrina Sande Maite, Haruka Sawada, Sesselja Siguröardóttir, Ahila Sornarajah, May-Elin Stener, Zoltán Turbék, Renan Villacis, James Ndirangu Waweru, and Salvatore Zappala).

Heartfelt thanks are again reserved for that special group of people who have dedicated an overwhelming amount of time, energy, and intellect to make the crime of aggression a reality, alongside whom I have had the honour of working for many years and who never cease to inspire me: Ben Ferencz, Don Ferencz, Christian Wenaweser, Stefan Barriga, Claus Kress, Roger Clark, Noah Weisbord, Astrid Reisinger Coracini, Jennifer Trahan, Jutta Bertram-Nothnagel, Jörn Eiermann, and Damaris Carnal.

I would like to say that I am particularly grateful for the sensitivity colleagues demonstrated to the fact that in 2017 a space opened up between my personal views as an academic on the proper interpretation of the jurisdictional provisions (which were well know given they were set out in the first edition of this book), and the position on this issue adopted by Australia, which it was my job to represent as Legal Adviser at Australia's Mission to the United Nations in New York, and for the support of the Australian Mission in this regard.



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#### PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

Taking a deep dive into writing is not always easy. In this regard I am grateful as ever for the unflagging love and support of my family, especially my parents, Cam and Linda McDougall, and my husband, Fred Johnson.

A disclaimer is no longer technically required given all of the updates to this book were written after I left DFAT and I was employed as an academic by the University of Melbourne. However, given I was in government employ during the majority of events described in the updates, for the avoidance of doubt, I wish to state that this book reflects my personal views only and should not be taken to reflect the views of the Australian Government or of any other organisation or entity.



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# Preface to the First Edition

This book grew out of my PhD and thus is the result of some seven years of endeavour. In that context I wish to express great thanks to my PhD supervisors, Professors Tim McCormack, Stuart Kaye, and Gerry Simpson. Tim convinced me to stay in Melbourne and work with him when fancy scholarships overseas beckoned. Had I not remained in Australia it is unlikely that I would have become a member of Australia's delegation to the SWGCA, which was one of the most wonderful things that has ever happened to me. Stuart first exposed me to international law as an undergraduate student at the University of Tasmania, so working with him was a special thing. Gerry is, or at least was, a naysayer when it comes to the crime of aggression: this book is all the better for having had someone of his fierce intellect constantly challenging my arguments.

Warm thanks also to my wonderful former Asia Pacific Centre for Military Law colleagues, particularly Cathy Hutton, Alison Duxbury, Helen Durham, David Blumenthal, Kevin Heller, and the amazing and inspiring Bruce 'Oz' Oswald. Thanks also to my Melbourne Law School teaching and research colleagues, Ian Malkin, Martin Vranken, Maureen Tehan, Jenny Morgan, and Carolyn Evans. Special thanks to PhD colleagues and sounding boards, Dominique Allen, Michelle Lesh, Sarah Finnen, Sasha Radin, Anita Foerester, and Kym Sheehan.

The Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade enabled my participation in successive Australian Delegations to the SWGCA. I am thankful for the support of the other members of those Delegations, particularly Andrew Rose, alongside whom I now have the pleasure of working in Canberra. I am also grateful to all my other DFAT colleagues, particularly Greg French and Richard Rowe, who have been incredibly supportive as I have finished this book on my weekends.

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#### XVIII PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

An enormous debt of gratitude is owed to Don Ferencz and the Planethood Foundation. The Foundation's financial support was of great assistance in making trips to SWGCA meetings in New York; Don's personal support was, moreover, overwhelming. Special thanks too to the delightful Ben Ferencz, whose lifelong commitment to the criminalisation of State acts of aggression has been an enormous inspiration. Ben – it is a privilege and an honour to have worked alongside you. A very warm thank you also to all my colleagues in the SWGCA and the Review Conference for their willingness to discuss issues 'in the corridors' with me. Special thanks to Claus Kress (who not only wrote a fabulous foreword to this book but was also one of my PhD examiners), Stefan Barriga, Pal Wrange, Astrid Reisinger Coracini, Bill Pace, Robbie Manson, Jutta Bertram Nothnagel, Jennifer Trahan, Noah Weisbord, Osvaldo Zavala, and Elizabeth Lees.

Finally, an extra special thanks is reserved for my family, particularly my parents, Cam and Linda McDougall. This book is dedicated to them. No one could ask for more loving or supportive parents. There is literally no way that either my PhD or this book could have been written without them. Thank you too to Nelson who provided devoted company throughout the writing of both my PhD and this book and who somehow always seemed to know when cartwheels were in order.

This book was written in my personal capacity and should not be taken to reflect the views of the Australian Government or any other organisation or entity.



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# The Crime of Aggression Amendments

# International Criminal Court Assembly of States Parties Resolution RC/RES.6 (11 June 2010)

The crime of aggression

The Review Conference,

Recalling paragraph 1 of article 12 of the Rome Statute,

Recalling paragraph 2 of article 5 of the Rome Statute,

Recalling also paragraph 7 of resolution F, adopted by the United Nations Diplomatic Conference of Plenipotentiaries on the Establishment of an International Criminal Court on 17 July 1998,

Recalling further resolution ICC-ASP/1/Res.1 on the continuity of work in respect of the crime of aggression, and *expressing its appreciation* to the Special Working Group on the Crime of Aggression for having elaborated proposals on a provision on the crime of aggression,

*Taking note* of resolution ICC-ASP/8/Res.6, by which the Assembly of States Parties forwarded proposals on a provision on the crime of aggression to the Review Conference for its consideration,

*Resolved* to activate the Court's jurisdiction over the crime of aggression as early as possible,

- 1. Decides to adopt, in accordance with article 5, paragraph 2, of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (hereinafter: "the Statute") the amendments to the Statute contained in annex I of the present resolution, which are subject to ratification or acceptance and shall enter into force in accordance with article 121, paragraph 5; and notes that any State Party may lodge a declaration referred to in article 15 bis prior to ratification or acceptance;
- 2. *Also decides* to adopt the amendments to the Elements of Crimes contained in annex II of the present resolution;

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#### XX THE CRIME OF AGGRESSION AMENDMENTS

- 3. Also decides to adopt the understandings regarding the interpretation of the abovementioned amendments contained in annex III of the present resolution:
- 4. Further decides to review the amendments on the crime of aggression seven years after the beginning of the Court's exercise of jurisdiction;
- 5. *Calls upon* all States Parties to ratify or accept the amendments contained in annex I.

#### **ANNEX I**

# Amendments to the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court on the crime of aggression

- 1. Article 5, paragraph 2, of the Statute is deleted.
- 2. The following text is inserted after article 8 of the Statute:

#### Article 8 bis

### Crime of aggression

- 1. For the purpose of this Statute, "crime of aggression" means the planning, preparation, initiation or execution, by a person in a position effectively to exercise control over or to direct the political or military action of a State, of an act of aggression which, by its character, gravity and scale, constitutes a manifest violation of the Charter of the United Nations.
- 2. For the purpose of paragraph 1, "act of aggression" means the use of armed force by a State against the sovereignty, territorial integrity or political independence of another State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Charter of the United Nations. Any of the following acts, regardless of a declaration of war, shall, in accordance with United Nations General Assembly resolution 3314 (XXIX) of 14 December 1974, qualify as an act of aggression:
  - (a) The invasion or attack by the armed forces of a State of the territory of another State, or any military occupation, however temporary, resulting from such invasion or attack, or any annexation by the use of force of the territory of another State or part thereof;
  - (b) Bombardment by the armed forces of a State against the territory of another State or the use of any weapons by a State against the territory of another State;
  - (c) The blockade of the ports or coasts of a State by the armed forces of another State;
  - (d) An attack by the armed forces of a State on the land, sea or air forces, or marine and air fleets of another State;



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#### THE CRIME OF AGGRESSION AMENDMENTS

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- (e) The use of armed forces of one State which are within the territory of another State with the agreement of the receiving State, in contravention of the conditions provided for in the agreement or any extension of their presence in such territory beyond the termination of the agreement;
- (f) The action of a State in allowing its territory, which it has placed at the disposal of another State, to be used by that other State for perpetrating an act of aggression against a third State;
- (g) The sending by or on behalf of a State of armed bands, groups, irregulars or mercenaries, which carry out acts of armed force against another State of such gravity as to amount to the acts listed above, or its substantial involvement therein.
- 3. The following text is inserted after article 15 of the Statute:

#### Article 15 bis

Exercise of jurisdiction over the crime of aggression (State referral, *proprio motu*)

- 1. The Court may exercise jurisdiction over the crime of aggression in accordance with article 13, paragraphs (a) and (c), subject to the provisions of this article.
- 2. The Court may exercise jurisdiction only with respect to crimes of aggression committed one year after the ratification or acceptance of the amendments by thirty States Parties.
- 3. The Court shall exercise jurisdiction over the crime of aggression in accordance with this article, subject to a decision to be taken after 1 January 2017 by the same majority of States Parties as is required for the adoption of an amendment to the Statute.
- 4. The Court may, in accordance with article 12, exercise jurisdiction over a crime of aggression, arising from an act of aggression committed by a State Party, unless that State Party has previously declared that it does not accept such jurisdiction by lodging a declaration with the Registrar. The withdrawal of such a declaration may be effected at any time and shall be considered by the State Party within three years.
- 5. In respect of a State that is not a party to this Statute, the Court shall not exercise its jurisdiction over the crime of aggression when committed by that State's nationals or on its territory.
- 6. Where the Prosecutor concludes that there is a reasonable basis to proceed with an investigation in respect of a crime of aggression, he or she shall first ascertain whether the Security Council has made a determination of an act of aggression committed by the State concerned. The Prosecutor shall notify the Secretary-General of the



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- United Nations of the situation before the Court, including any relevant information and documents.
- 7. Where the Security Council has made such a determination, the Prosecutor may proceed with the investigation in respect of a crime of aggression.
- 8. Where no such determination is made within six months after the date of notification, the Prosecutor may proceed with the investigation in respect of a crime of aggression, provided that the Pre-Trial Division has authorised the commencement of the investigation in respect of a crime of aggression in accordance with the procedure contained in article 15, and the Security Council has not decided otherwise in accordance with article 16.
- 9. A determination of an act of aggression by an organ outside the Court shall be without prejudice to the Court's own findings under this Statute.
- 10. This article is without prejudice to the provisions relating to the exercise of jurisdiction with respect to other crimes referred to in article 5.
- 4. The following text is inserted after article 15 bis of the Statute:

#### Article 15 ter

Exercise of jurisdiction over the crime of aggression (Security Council referral)

- 1. The Court may exercise jurisdiction over the crime of aggression in accordance with article 13, paragraph (b), subject to the provisions of this article.
- 2. The Court may exercise jurisdiction only with respect to crimes of aggression committed one year after the ratification or acceptance of the amendments by thirty States Parties.
- 3. The Court shall exercise jurisdiction over the crime of aggression in accordance with this article, subject to a decision to be taken after 1 January 2017 by the same majority of States Parties as is required for the adoption of an amendment to the Statute.
- 4. A determination of an act of aggression by an organ outside the Court shall be without prejudice to the Court's own findings under this Statute.
- 5. This article is without prejudice to the provisions relating to the exercise of jurisdiction with respect to other crimes referred to in article 5.
- 5. The following text is inserted after article 25, paragraph 3, of the Statute:

3 *bis.* In respect of the crime of aggression, the provisions of this article shall apply only to persons in a position effectively to exercise control over or to direct the political or military action of a State.



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- 6. The first sentence of article 9, paragraph 1, of the Statute is replaced by the following sentence:
- 1. Elements of Crimes shall assist the Court in the interpretation and application of articles 6, 7, 8 and 8 *bis*.
  - 7. The chapeau of article 20, paragraph 3, of the Statute is replaced by the following paragraph; the rest of the paragraph remains unchanged:
- 3. No person who has been tried by another court for conduct also proscribed under article 6, 7, 8 or 8 *bis* shall be tried by the Court with respect to the same conduct unless the proceedings in the other court:

#### ANNEX II

## **Amendments to the Elements of Crimes**

Article 8 bis

Crime of aggression

#### Introduction

- 1. It is understood that any of the acts referred to in article 8 *bis*, paragraph 2, qualify as an act of aggression.
- 2. There is no requirement to prove that the perpetrator has made a legal evaluation as to whether the use of armed force was inconsistent with the Charter of the United Nations.
- 3. The term "manifest" is an objective qualification.
- 4. There is no requirement to prove that the perpetrator has made a legal evaluation as to the "manifest" nature of the violation of the Charter of the United Nations.

#### Elements

- The perpetrator planned, prepared, initiated or executed an act of aggression.
- 2. The perpetrator was a person<sup>1</sup> in a position effectively to exercise control over or to direct the political or military action of the State which committed the act of aggression.
- 3. The act of aggression the use of armed force by a State against the sovereignty, territorial integrity or political independence of another State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Charter of the United Nations was committed.

With respect to an act of aggression, more than one person may be in a position that meets these criteria.



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- 4. The perpetrator was aware of the factual circumstances that established that such a use of armed force was inconsistent with the Charter of the United Nations.
- 5. The act of aggression, by its character, gravity and scale, constituted a manifest violation of the Charter of the United Nations.
- 6. The perpetrator was aware of the factual circumstances that established such a manifest violation of the Charter of the United Nations.

#### ANNEX III

# Understandings regarding the amendments to the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court on the crime of aggression

## Referrals by the Security Council

- 1. It is understood that the Court may exercise jurisdiction on the basis of a Security Council referral in accordance with article 13, paragraph (b), of the Statute only with respect to crimes of aggression committed after a decision in accordance with article 15 *ter*, paragraph 3, is taken, and one year after the ratification or acceptance of the amendments by thirty States Parties, whichever is later.
- 2. It is understood that the Court shall exercise jurisdiction over the crime of aggression on the basis of a Security Council referral in accordance with article 13, paragraph (b), of the Statute irrespective of whether the State concerned has accepted the Court's jurisdiction in this regard.

## Jurisdiction ratione temporis

3. It is understood that in case of article 13, paragraph (a) or (c), the Court may exercise its jurisdiction only with respect to crimes of aggression committed after a decision in accordance with article 15 *bis*, paragraph 3, is taken, and one year after the ratification or acceptance of the amendments by thirty States Parties, whichever is later.

## Domestic jurisdiction over the crime of aggression

4. It is understood that the amendments that address the definition of the act of aggression and the crime of aggression do so for the purpose of this Statute only. The amendments shall, in accordance with article 10 of the Rome Statute, not be interpreted as limiting or prejudicing in any way existing or developing rules of international law for purposes other than this Statute.



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5. It is understood that the amendments shall not be interpreted as creating the right or obligation to exercise domestic jurisdiction with respect to an act of aggression committed by another State.

## Other understandings

- 6. It is understood that aggression is the most serious and dangerous form of the illegal use of force; and that a determination whether an act of aggression has been committed requires consideration of all the circumstances of each particular case, including the gravity of the acts concerned and their consequences, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.
- 7. It is understood that in establishing whether an act of aggression constitutes a manifest violation of the Charter of the United Nations, the three components of character, gravity and scale must be sufficient to justify a "manifest" determination. No one component can be significant enough to satisfy the manifest standard by itself.

# International Criminal Court Assembly of States Parties Resolution Icc-ASP/16/REs.5 (14 December 2017)

# Activation of the Jurisdiction of the Court Over the Crime of Aggression

The Assembly of States Parties,

*Recognizing* the historic significance of the consensual decision at the Kampala Review Conference to adopt the amendments to the Rome Statute on the crime of aggression, and in this regard *recalling* resolution RC/Res.6,

Reaffirming the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations,

*Recalling* its resolve to activate the Court's jurisdiction over the crime of aggression as early as possible, subject to a decision according to paragraphs 3 of article 15 *bis* and article 15 *ter*,

*Noting with appreciation* the Report on the facilitation on the activation of the jurisdiction of the International Criminal Court over the crime of aggression,<sup>2</sup> which summarizes the views of States Parties,

Recalling paragraph 4 of article 15 bis and paragraph 5 of article 121,

Recalling also that in paragraph 1 of RC/Res.6 the Review Conference decided to adopt, in accordance with paragraph 2 of article 5 the amendments regarding the crime of aggression, which are subject to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> ICC-ASP/16/24.



#### XXVI THE CRIME OF AGGRESSION AMENDMENTS

ratification or acceptance and shall enter into force in accordance with paragraph 5 of article 121; and noted that any State Party may lodge a declaration referred to in article 15 *bis* prior to ratification or acceptance of the amendments,

- 1. *Decides* to activate the Court's jurisdiction over the crime of aggression as of 17 July 2018;
- 2. Confirms that, in accordance with the Rome Statute, the amendment to the Statute regarding the crime of aggression adopted at the Kampala Review Conference enter into force for those States Parties which have accepted the amendments one year after the deposit of their instruments of ratification or acceptance and that in the case of a State referral or proprio motu investigation the Court shall not exercise its jurisdiction regarding a crime of aggression when committed by a national or on the territory of a State Party that has not ratified or accepted these amendments;
- 3. Reaffirms paragraph 1 of article 40 and paragraph 1 of article 119 of the Rome Statute in relation to the judicial independence of the judges of the Court;
- 4. *Renews* its call upon all States Parties which have not yet done so to ratify or accept the amendments to the Rome Statute on the crime of aggression.



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# **Abbreviations**

3314 Definition Definition of Aggression annexed to

General Assembly Resolution 3314 (XXIX)

Activation Resolution Resolution on the Activation of the

jurisdiction of the Court over the crime of

aggression

ASP Assembly of States Parties

CICC Coalition for the International Criminal

Court

Court, the International Criminal Court

Draft Code Draft Code of Offences Against the Peace

and Security of Mankind

Facilitation Facilitation on the activation of the

jurisdiction of the International Criminal Court over the crime of aggression

Facilitation Report Report on the facilitation on the activation

of the jurisdiction of the International Criminal Court over the crime of

aggression

FRY Federal Republic of Yugoslavia

GA General Assembly

ICC International Criminal Court

ICCPR International Covenant on Civil and

Political Rights

ICJ International Court of Justice

ICRC International Committee of the Red Cross

ICTR International Criminal Tribunal for

Rwanda

ICTY International Criminal Tribunal for the

former Yugoslavia

IHL International Humanitarian Law

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xxviii LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

**ILC** International Law Commission International Military Tribunal IMT **IMT Charter** Agreement for the Prosecution and

> Punishment of the Major War Criminals of the European Axis Powers and the Charter of the International Military

Tribunal

International Military Tribunal for the Far **IMTFE** 

NGO Non-governmental organisation

Operative paragraph OP OTP Office of the Prosecutor

Permanent five members of the United P5

Nations Security Council

PP Preambulatory paragraph Preparatory Committee on the **Preparatory Committee** 

Establishment of an International

Criminal Court

**Review Conference** Review Conference of the Rome Statute

Rome Conference United Nations Conference of

Plenipotentiaries on the Establishment of

the International Criminal Court

Rome Statute of the International Criminal Rome Statute

Court

**SWGCA** Special Working Group on the Crime of

Aggression

**UNCIO** United Nations Conference on

International Organization

**VCLT** Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties **WGCA** Working Group on the Crime of Aggression