

INDEX

- Abass, Ademola, 169
 Abbott, Tony, 418
 Abductions as law enforcement actions, 113–14
 Abyssinia, Italian conquest of, 29
 Accumulation of events theory, 290–6
 cyber attacks and, 294
 determination of threshold, 295
 ICJ and, 291, 402–3
 lex lata, not deemed, 295
 necessity principle and, 263–312
 non-state actors, self-defence against,
 402–3
 proportionality principle and, 295–6, 321–2
 Soleimani drone strike and, 293–4
 in state practice, 291–4
 temporal frequency and, 295
 Act of Chapultepec, 259
 Afghanistan
 al-Qaida in, 313, 415–16
 collective self-defence and, 336
 consent to intervention and, 474
 drones, use in, 438
 NATO intervention in, 172
 Northern Alliance, 368
 Operation Enduring Freedom, 313, 368, 403,
 407–8
 Soviet intervention in, 73, 346, 470–1, 474
 Taliban, 313, 320–1, 368, 403, 407–8, 411–12,
 415–16
 “unable or unwilling” doctrine and, 415–16
 US and
 air strikes by, 309, 310, 411
 attack on al-Qaida by as self-defence, 266,
 273, 310, 313, 320–1, 368–9, 407–8,
 411–12
 African National Congress, 459
 African Union (AU)
 African Union Transition Mission in Somalia
 (ATMIS), 237–8
 African Union/United Nations Force in
 Somalia (AMISOM), 237–8
 African Union/United Nations Force in Sudan
 (UNAMID), 239–40
 authorisation of use of force by, 169–70
 Burundi, intervention in, 477
 consent to intervention and, 476–7
 Constitutive Act (2000), 169–70, 213, 214,
 476–7
 Darfur, intervention in, 170, 213
 Libya and
 authorisation of force by Security Council,
 191
 Responsibility to Protect, 214
 peacekeeping by, 221
 UN Charter, conflict with, 169–70
 Agenda for Peace, 142–3
 Aggression, crime of
 generally, 5
 defined, 57–8
 Definition of Aggression (1974) (See Definition
 of Aggression (1974))
 historical background, 55–7
 humanitarian intervention versus, 59–60, 61
 ICC and
 defined, 57–8
 humanitarian intervention and, 59–60
 inclusion of, 57
 jurisdiction, impact of, 61–4
 use of force distinguished, 107, 108
 ICJ and, 108
 ILC on, 56–7
 Kellogg–Briand Pact not recognising, 56
 as “manifest” violation of UN Charter, 58–60
mens rea element, 60–1
 mistake of law and, 61
 Security Council and
 generally, 138, 143–4
 determinations by, 70, 147–8
 self-defence versus, 59, 60–1
 specific gravity element, 62
 UN Charter and, 57–8
 use of force distinguished, 107–9

528 Index

- Ago, Robert, 300, 319
 Aided, Mohamed Farrah, 237
 Aircraft
 foreign civil aircraft, law enforcement actions against, 118
 as weapons, 96
 Akande, Dapo, 414, 469
 Akehurst, Michael, 34
 al-Assad, Bashar, 216, 315, 421, 422, 423, 425, 458, 462, 512–13, 515–16
 Albania
 authorisation of force by Security Council in, 159, 178
 Corfu Channel case and (See *Corfu Channel* case (ICJ 1949))
 Albright, Madeleine, 284, 506
 Algeria on pre-emptive self-defence, 367–8
 Alkhatib, Mouaz, 458
 Allen, Jonathan, 115
 al-Liby, Abu Anas, 114–20, 436
 “All necessary means”
 generally, 225
 authorisation of use of force by Security Council and, 158–61, 175
 China and, 42
 Côte d’Ivoire and, 195–6
 Gulf War and, 41, 157–8, 201
 Iraq and, 179, 180, 497–8
 Kosovo and, 501–2
 Libya and, 215
 Mali and, 242–3
 peacekeeping and, 234
 Somalia and, 237–8
 use of force versus, 189
 al Moallem, Walid, 423
 al-Mouhandis, Abu Mahdi, 267–8
 al-Nusrah Front, 465, 466
 al-Qaida
 in Afghanistan, 313, 415–16
 armed attacks by, 264–5
 non-state actors, self-defence against, 2, 403
 self-defence and, 266, 273, 313, 320–1
 targeted killings of, 114–17, 431
 as terrorist group, 466
 US and
 Afghanistan, intervention in, 368, 403
 attack by as self-defence, 266, 273, 310, 313, 320–1, 368–9, 407–8
 US embassies, armed attacks on, 273, 411
 US attack on as self-defence, 411–12
 in Yemen, 469
 al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM), 242
 al-Shabaab, 237–8, 406, 415–16
 al-Wazir, Khalil Ibrahim, 114–17
 Angola
 Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement (1999), 240
 South African aggression against, 147
 Annan, Kofi, 48, 142–3, 374–5
 Anticipatory self-defence
 generally, 360–1, 398
 expansionist approach, 361
 ICJ and, 362–3
 international jurisprudence, 362–3
 restrictionist approach, 361–2
 Six Day War and, 363–4
 Aquinas, Thomas, 24–5
 Arab League
 Iraq, opposition to intervention in, 198–9
 Libya, authorisation of force by Security Council and, 191
 Security Council, relation to, 169
 Syria and, 217
 Arab Spring (2011), 37
 Argentina
 abductions in, 113–20
 Falkland Islands, seizure of, 35, 147, 302, 353–4 (See also Falklands War (1982))
Armed Activities case (ICJ 2005)
 accumulation of events theory and, 291
 consent to intervention and, 451
 non-state actors, self-defence against, 400, 409–10, 439
 pre-emptive self-defence and, 378–9
 Armed attack
 assassination attempts as, 98, 283–4
 collective self-defence, required for, 339
 determining when begins, 357–8
 ICJ and
 generally, 285
 issues of proof, 272–3
 mens rea element, 274
 military vessels, 268
 non-state actors as perpetrators, 262, 263
 proportional forcible countermeasures, 290
 scale and effects test, 286
 use of force distinguished, 106, 107, 276–81, 290
 interception of, 359–60
 9/11 attacks as, 401–2
 non-state actors, self-defence against distinguished, 403
 self-defence, required for
 generally, 105–6, 261–2
 cyber attacks, 265–6, 271–2

- embassies, 269–71
- hostile intent, 275
- “interests,” 269–70
- issues of proof, 272–3
- mens rea* element, 274–6
- military vessels, 268
- non-state actors as perpetrators, 263–6
- perpetrators of, 262–6
- targets of, 267–72
- use of force in territory of other states, 266
- Soleimani drone strike and, 267–8
- use of force distinguished
 - generally, 105–6
 - accumulation of events theory, 290–6 (See also Accumulation of events theory)
 - assassination attempts, 98, 283–4
 - assisting rebels, 277
 - border incidents, 277, 285
 - criticism of distinction, 278, 279–80
 - cyber attacks and, 285–9
 - de minimis* threshold, 276–7
 - difficulty in drawing distinction, 280–1
 - ICJ and, 278–81, 290
 - proportional forcible countermeasures, 290
 - in state practice, 281–5
 - supply of arms, 279
 - third state involvement, attempts to limit, 278
- Armed force
 - generally, 94
 - actual use of weapons not required, 96–7
 - aircraft as weapons, 96
 - as covered by UN Charter, 93–4
 - cyber attacks as, 96
 - cyber operations as, 98–102
 - effects created, 96–102
 - harm to persons or property not required, 97–8
 - ICJ and, 95–6, 99, 102–4
 - indirect use of, 102–5
 - means used, 95–6
 - non-state actors and, 104–5
 - scale and effects test, 98–9, 286
 - targeted killings as, 96
 - types of weapons used, 95–6
 - UN Charter Article 2(4) and, 93–4, 95
- Armed reprisals
 - generally, 261
 - credibility gap regarding, 313–15
 - defined, 306–7
 - delay, relevance of, 310–14
 - ICJ and, 308
 - ILC on, 308–9
 - necessity principle and, 307
 - non-state actors, self-defence against
 - distinguished, 403
 - prohibition on, 307–8
 - proportionality principle and, 307
 - purpose of, 306–7
 - self-defence distinguished, 291–310, 313–15
 - Special Arbitral Tribunal and, 307
 - UN Charter and, 307–8
- Armenia
 - Bishkek Protocol (1994), 303–4
 - Nagorno-Karabakh, dispute with Azerbaijan regarding, 302–4
- Arms embargoes
 - Iran, 160–1
 - Libya, 190, 192, 458
 - Sierra Leone, 204–5
 - Southern Rhodesia, 156
- Ashburton, Lord (Alexander Baring), 296
- Assassination attempts
 - as armed attack, 98, 283–4
 - armed reprisals in response to, 310
 - necessity principle and, 283–312
 - non-state actors, self-defence against, 405
 - protection of nationals abroad and, 327, 330
- Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)
 - cyber operations and, 84–5
 - on humanitarian intervention, 495–6
- Augustine, 24–5
- Australia
 - Bali bombings (2002), 377
 - on imminence, 384
 - Iraq, air strikes in, 453
 - Iraq War and, 1, 180
 - on pre-emptive self-defence, 372, 377
 - “unable or unwilling” doctrine and, 416, 420–1, 427
- Australia, New Zealand and United States Security Treaty (ANZUS) (1951), 337–8, 350
- Authorisation of use of force by Security Council
 - See also *specific country*
 - generally, 1, 18, 135–7, 175
 - “all necessary means” and, 158–61, 175
 - authorisation model generally, 136, 172–3, 217–18
 - breadth and scope of authorisation
 - generally, 175, 189
 - Côte d’Ivoire, 195–6
 - Libya (See Libya)
 - civilians, protection of, 160

530 Index

- Authorisation of use of force by Security Council.
 (cont.)
- Cold War, during, 153–6
 - concerns regarding authorisation model, 161–5
 - development of authorisation method, 156–8
 - domestic matters, applicability to, 164–5
 - embargoes, 160
 - historical background, 136, 153
 - humanitarian aid, 158–60
 - ICJ and, 162
 - implied authorisation
 - generally, 175, 196
 - Iraq, 197–9
 - Kosovo, 199–201
 - Liberia, 203–4
 - retrospective authorisation or approval, 202–7
 - Sierra Leone, 204–5
 - unilateral enforcement of collective will, 197–202
 - implied powers doctrine and, 162–3
 - internal matters, applicability to, 164–5
 - multilateralism versus unilateralism, 175, 176–9
 - no-fly zones, 160
 - peacekeeping (*See* Peacekeeping)
 - practice in authorisation model, 158–61
 - privatisation of collective security, danger of, 162–3
 - problems with authorisation model, 524
 - proportionality principle and, 316–17
 - recommendation versus authorisation, 166
 - Responsibility to Protect (*See* Responsibility to Protect)
 - revival of past authorisations
 - generally, 175, 179–82
 - authority to determine material breach, 185–7
 - Iraq (*See* Iraq)
 - legacy of revival argument, 187–9
 - material breach, 183–5
 - weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and, 183
 - Autonomous weapons, 526
 - “Axis of evil,” 42–3, 179, 369–70, 371
 - Azerbaijan
 - Bishkek Protocol (1994), 303–4
 - Nagorno-Karabakh, dispute with Armenia regarding, 302–4
 - Bahrain
 - consent to intervention and, 473
 - GCC intervention in, 467
 - Iranian intervention in, 467
 - Bahrain, Islamic State and, 418
 - Baker, James, 183
 - Bali bombings (2002), 377
 - Bangladesh, humanitarian intervention in, 494–5
 - Ban Ki-moon, 142–3
 - Bannelier-Christakis, Karine, 466–7
 - Barbados, intervention in Grenada, 327–8
 - Barrow, Adama, 446, 449–50
 - Basic Principles on the Use of Force and Firearms by Law Enforcement Officials, 99–117
 - Belgium
 - collective self-defence and, 341
 - Congo and, 232
 - extraction of nationals by, 335
 - on humanitarian intervention, 490–1, 504
 - Iraq, air strikes in, 453
 - Libya, intervention in, 190–1
 - Rome Statute and, 63
 - “unable or unwilling” doctrine and, 416
 - Bellum justum*, 24–6
 - Bentwich, Norman, 94
 - Berman, Frank, 354
 - Bethlehem, Daniel, 383, 387, 412
 - Bethlehem Principles
 - imminence and, 383, 384, 397
 - non-state actors, self-defence against, 412
 - “unable or unwilling” doctrine and, 416, 418–21, 424–5, 426
 - Bianchi, Andrea, 6, 7
 - Biden, Joe, 45, 281–2, 294, 295, 342
 - Bingham, Tom (Lord), 57
 - Bin Issa Al-Khalifa, Hamad, 473
 - bin Laden, Osama, 114–17, 313, 368, 403, 411, 412, 429–32, 434–8
 - Bishkek Protocol (1994), 303–4
 - Blair, Tony, 180, 377–8
 - Blockades, 148
 - Blokker, Niels M., 178
 - Bocoum, Marie-Thérèse Keita, 245
 - Border incidents, 277, 285
 - Bosnia and Herzegovina
 - Dayton Peace Agreement (1995), 236
 - NATO intervention in, 236
 - non-state actors in, 249–50
 - Security Council Resolution 807 (1993), 235
 - Security Council Resolution 836 (1993), 235
 - Serbian intransigence in, 235–6
 - Srebrenica massacre (1995), 236
 - United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), 235–6, 247–8
 - Botswana, South African intervention in, 400
 - Boutros-Ghali, Boutros, 142–3

531 Index

- Bowett, Derek, 307–8, 315
 Brahimi Report (2000), 246–7, 254
 Brandis, George, 383
 Brazil
 Security Council, consideration for permanent member status, 138
 on use of force in self-defence in territory of other states, 266
 Breaches of peace
 generally, 138, 143–4
 determinations, 147–8
 Brennan, John, 433
 Brothers to the Rescue, 118
 Brownlie, Ian, 30, 98, 280, 362
 Bryan Treaties (1913–1914), 65
 Buchan, Russell, 99
 Buchwald, Todd, 184
 Budapest Convention (2001), 79
 Burundi, AU intervention in, 477
 Bush, George H.W., 197–8
 Bush, George H.W., assassination attempt (1993)
 as armed attack, 98, 283–4
 armed reprisals in response to, 310
 necessity principle and, 283–312
 non-state actors, self-defence against, 405
 protection of nationals abroad and, 327, 330
 Bush, George W., 42–3, 179–80, 187, 369–70, 371, 376, 407, 433, 524. *See also* Bush Doctrine
 Bush Doctrine
 generally, 179–80
 contradictions in, 371
 international reaction to, 374–8
 Iraq War and, 371–3
 Obama Doctrine compared, 379–81
 pre-emptive self-defence and, 369–71
 in Syria, 373–4
 Butler, Richard, 184–5

 Cambodia, humanitarian intervention in, 494–5
 Cameron, David, 193, 430–1
 Canada
 foreign vessels, law enforcement actions against, 118
 Iraq, air strikes in, 453
 Libya, intervention in, 190–1
 “unable or unwilling” doctrine and, 416
 Capstone Doctrine, 223
 Caroline incident (1837)
 generally, 400
 anticipatory self-defence and, 360, 361, 362
 necessity principle and, 260–1, 297, 299, 300

 non-state actors as perpetrators, 263, 400
 proportionality principle and, 260–1, 297
 self-defence and, 26, 296–7
 Cassese, Antonio, 307, 507
 Catholic Church, 25
 Central African Republic
 African-led International Support Mission in the Central African Republic (MISCA), 244
 authorisation of force by Security Council in, 178
 consent to intervention and, 448
 EU intervention in, 159
 Operation Bepka, 244
 stabilisation missions in, 248
 United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic (MINUSCA), 243–5, 247
 Chad
 civil war in, 467, 470
 EU intervention in, 159
 French intervention in, 467, 470
 Libyan intervention in, 470
 Chad, consent to intervention and, 448
 Charter Article 2(4). *See* Prohibition on use of force
 Chatham House Principles of International Law on the Use of Force by States in Self-Defence
 imminence and, 278, 381–96
 “unable or unwilling” doctrine and, 416–17
 Chemical weapons
 Novichok poisoning, 114–15
 in Syria, 41–2, 315, 513, 514, 515–17
 Chemical Weapons Convention (1997), 517
 Chesterman, Simon, 163
 Chicago Convention on International Civil Aviation (1944), 118
 China
 “all necessary means” and, 42
 DRC, opposition to intervention in, 241
 India, border incidents with, 277
 Iraq, opposition to intervention in, 198–9
 Kosovo, opposition to intervention in, 199, 200–1
 Libya, authorisation of force by Security Council and, 191
 Manchuria, Japanese invasion of, 29, 49
 on NATO intervention in Yugoslavia, 503–4
 Rome Statute and, 63
 Serbia, NATO bombing of Chinese embassy in, 128
 Taiwan and, 42, 155

- China (cont.)
 threat of force and, 42
 on use of force in self-defence in territory of
 other states, 266
- Churchill, Winston, 29–30
- Cicero, 24–5
- Civilians, protection of
 authorisation of use of force by Security
 Council, 160
 international humanitarian law (IHL), 153, 434–5
 peacekeeping and, 247
 targeted killings and, 434–5
- Civil wars, intervention in
 generally, 447, 461–2
 counterintervention, 469–72
 difficulty in defining civil war, 463
 negative equality principle, 462–5
 generally, 462–5
 defined, 462–5
 identifying authority to consent, 463
 lack of consensus regarding, 464
 non-international armed conflict and, 463–4
 in state practice, 464–5
 status quo, as supporting, 464
 purpose-based approach, 466–9
 consent to intervention and, 466–7
 legitimacy of intervention, 466
- Clinton, Bill, 284
- Clinton, Hillary, 91
- “Coalitions of the willing,” 163–4, 189, 218
- Coercion
 consent to intervention, coercion negating,
 474–5
 cyber operations, coercion versus influence, 83
 use of force, coercion as basis of *mens rea*
 requirement, 125–6
 VCLT and, 475
- Cold War
 authorisation of use of force by Security
 Council during, 153–6
 nuclear weapons and, 46–54
 peacekeeping during, 230–4
- Collective security
 failures of, 75–6
 League of Nations and, 135
 NATO and, 171
 peacekeeping emerging in failures of, 220
 privatisation of, danger of, 162–3
 prohibition on use of force and, 27
 UN Charter and, 135
- Collective self-defence
 generally, 261, 336
 armed attack requirement, 339
 cyber attacks and, 343
 ICJ and, 336, 337, 338–9
 Korean War and, 341–2
 League of Arab States and, 338
 NATO and, 337–8, 342
 nature of, 337–8
 9/11 attacks and, 336, 338
 partial application of ICJ framework, 340–2
 regulation of, 338–43
 request requirement, 339
 in state practice, 340–2
 UN Charter and, 336
- Colombia
 consent to intervention and, 448
 Ecuador, intervention in, 347–8, 412
 Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia
 People’s Army (FARC), 412
- Commissions of inquiry (Col)
 Iraq War, 14, 66, 151–3, 186, 188, 373
 prohibition on use of force and, 65–6
 Security Council and, 14
- Commonwealth, cyber operations and, 84–5
- Complementarity, 62
- Concert of Europe, 27, 135
- Conference on Security and Cooperation in
 Europe, 308
- Congo. *See also* Democratic Republic of the
 Congo (DRC)
 Belgium and, 232
 Katanga province, 232
 peacekeeping in, 221
 stabilisation missions in, 248
 United Nations Operation in the Congo
 (ONUC), 232–3, 248
 Uniting for Peace (UFP) process and, 166–7
- Consent to intervention
 generally, 445–6, 447, 484
 civil wars and, 466–7
 form of consent
 generally, 447, 472
ad hoc versus *ex ante* consent, 476–7
 coercion negating consent, 474–5
 express consent, 473
 implicit consent, 473–4
 informal requests, 472–3
 retrospective consent not recognised, 474
 secret consent, 475–6
 treaty-based consent, 476–7
 ICJ and, 448, 450–2, 479
 identifying authority to consent
 generally, 447–8

- civil wars and, 463
- effective control test, 452–5
- elected officials unable to take office, 449–50, 453
- recognition and, 455–9
- self-determination and, 459–61
- sliding scale of authority, 449
- VCLT and, 449
- ILC on, 472
- invitation versus, 447
- lack of clarity regarding, 525
- limitations on consent
 - generally, 447
 - actions external to consent agreement, 482
 - international humanitarian law (IHL) and, 470–83
 - international human rights law (IHRL) and, 470–83
 - peremptory norms, 483
 - scope or time frame of consent, actions exceeding, 480
 - self-determination, suppression of, 475–84
 - status of forces agreements and, 480–1
 - territorial limits, 483–4
 - withdrawal of consent, 479–80
- no generally recognised right, 450, 451–2
- non-state actors, use of force against, 446
- peacekeeping and
 - generally, 226–7
 - as basic principle, 227
 - evolution of, 249–50
 - non-state actors and, 249–50
 - stabilisation missions and, 250
 - withdrawal of consent, 249
- self-defence and, 450–1
- status of forces agreements and, 480–1
- targeted killings and, 429
- “unable or unwilling” doctrine and, 426–7
- uncertainty regarding entity authorised to consent, 446–7
- Contextual imminence
 - capabilities of potential attacker and, 385
 - evolution from temporal imminence, 381, 384
 - expected timing of attack and, 384–5
 - gravity of threatened attack and, 385–6
 - intent of potential attacker and, 386–7
 - as *lex lata*, 397–8
 - necessity principle and, 381–97
 - previous attacks and, 387–9
 - probative value of previous attacks, 392–3
 - Soleimani drone strike and, 389–95
- Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (1948), 508–10
- Cook, Robin, 512
- Cooperation Council for the Arab States of the Gulf, 454
- Corfu Channel* case (ICJ 1949)
 - de minimis* threshold for use of force and, 110–11
 - humanitarian intervention and, 490
 - mens rea* element of use of force and, 127
 - prohibition on use of force and, 34–5
- Corn, Geoffrey, 393
- Corten, Olivier, 109, 118, 125, 126, 161–2, 163, 276, 469
- Côte d’Ivoire
 - “all necessary means” and, 195–6
 - authorisation of force by Security Council in, 160, 178, 195–6, 459
 - consent to intervention and, 448, 453, 456
 - French intervention in, 160, 195, 196
 - Security Council Resolution 1975 (2011), 195–6
 - uncertainty regarding leadership in, 456, 160, 195–6, 453, 456
 - United Nations Operation in Côte d’Ivoire (UNOCI), 160, 178, 195, 196
- Cotonou Peace Agreement (1993), 203
- Council of Europe, Convention on Cybercrime (Budapest Convention) (2001), 79
- Countermeasures
 - prohibition on use of force and, 51–2
 - proportional forcible countermeasures, 290
 - proportionality principle and, 51
 - sanctions as, 52
- Craft, Kelly, 267–8, 324
- Crawford, James, 452
- Crimea, Russian annexation of, 45, 49, 73, 332
- Crimean War, 27
- Croatia, independence of, 235
- Cruz Report (2017), 255
- Cuba
 - on authorisation of force by Security Council, 176
 - Cuban Missile Crisis (1962) and, 365–6
 - foreign civil aircraft, law enforcement actions against, 118
 - Soviet missiles, removal of, 366
 - “unable or unwilling” doctrine and, 416
- Cummings, Dominic, 74–5
- Customary international law
 - extensive versus restrictive approach, 10
 - ILC on, 9, 10

- Customary international law (cont.)
 interpretation of *jus ad bellum* and, 6
 lack of appetite for changing, 523–4
 non-intervention principle in, 90
 objections of states, 9–10
opinio juris
 humanitarian intervention and, 494, 507, 521
 ICJ Statute Article 38 and, 31
 interpretation of *jus ad bellum* and, 9–10
 non-state actors, self-defence against, 408
 pre-emptive self-defence and, 368
 pre-emptive self-defence and, 370
 prohibition on use of force as, 31–2, 75
 self-defence in, 32, 260–1
 state practice (See State practice)
 UN Charter, relation to, 32
- Cyber attacks
 accumulation of events theory and, 294
 armed attack, use of force distinguished, 285–9
 as armed force, 96
 collective self-defence and, 343
 cyber operations and, 79–80
 hostile intent, 129
 indirect and long-term impacts of, 288
 non-physical effects of, 288–9
 proportionality principle and, 318–19
 self-defence and, 265–6, 271–2, 354–5
- Cyber operations
 generally, 79
 as armed force, 98–102
 coercion versus influence, 83
 cyber attacks and, 79–80
 disagreement regarding, 83–4
 due diligence and, 83–4
 EU and, 84–5
 GGE process and, 81–3, 84, 271
 historical background, 81
 NATO and, 84
 OEWG and, 82–3
 “scholarly interventionism” and, 86
 as self-defence, 82, 84
 sovereignty and, 83
 suitability of existing rules, 80
Tallinn Manual, 84, 86, 98, 101, 102, 286, 294
- Cyprus
 Turkish invasion of, 49
 United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP), 233
- Czechoslovakia
 collective self-defence and, 336
 consent to intervention and, 448
 Soviet intervention in, 73, 342, 470–1
 Warsaw Pact intervention in, 475
- Czech Republic, “unable or unwilling” doctrine and, 416
- D’Amato, Anthony, 34
 Dannenbaum, Tom, 70–1
- Darfur
 African Union intervention in, 170, 213
 Janjaweed militia, 212
 peacekeeping in, 253–4
 Responsibility to Protect and, 212–13
 Security Council Resolution 1706 (2006), 213
 Security Council Resolution 2559 (2020), 239–40
- Dayton Peace Agreement (1995), 236
- Declaration on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States (1970)
 armed force and, 93, 102
 armed reprisals and, 308
 crime of aggression and, 56
 humanitarian intervention and, 491
 non-state actors, self-defence against, 415
 prohibition on use of force and, 31
 self-determination and, 460
- Declaration on the Enhancement of the Effectiveness of the Principle of Refraining from the Threat or Use of Force in International Relations (1987), 126
- Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States (1965), 463
- Declaration on the Non-Use of Force (1987), 93–4
- Deeks, Ashley, 358, 427, 484
- Definition of Aggression (1974)
 armed attack and, 108–9, 262, 267, 278–9, 327
 armed force and, 93, 102, 481
 crime of aggression and, 39–58, 107
 hostile intent and, 274–5
 humanitarian intervention and, 491
 Kampala Amendments, 59–60
 prohibition on use of force and, 31, 39
 Security Council and, 147–8
- Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). *See also* Congo
Armed Activities case (See *Armed Activities* case (ICJ 2005))
 attacks on peacekeepers in, 252–3
 consent to intervention and, 448
 EU intervention in, 240
 French intervention in, 241

535 Index

- Intervention Brigade, 241–2, 252
- Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement (1999), 240
- Movement for the Liberation of the Congo (MLC), 451
- M23 rebel group, 241
- non-state actors in, 249–50
- Operation Artemis, 240
- Security Council Resolution 2277 (2016), 241
- Security Council Resolution 2502 (2019), 241
- stabilisation missions in, 248
- Ugandan intervention in, 409–10, 451, 479
- UK intervention in, 241
- United Nations Observer Mission in the DRC (MONUC), 240–1, 252–3
- United Nations Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO), 241–2, 247, 250, 251, 252
- Denmark
 - humanitarian intervention in Syria and, 514
 - Iraq, air strikes in, 453
 - Libya, intervention in, 190–1
- De Wet, Erika, 449, 452, 453, 460
- Dinniss, Harrison, 286
- Dinstein, Yoram, 30, 44, 151, 201, 278, 284, 315, 345, 359–60, 381, 465
- Distinction principle, 4–5
- Doe, Samuel, 203, 499
- Dogger Bank* inquiry (1904), 65
- Domestic courts, interpretation of *jus ad bellum* and, 14
- Dominican Republic, consent to intervention and, 448
- Drones. *See also specific country*
 - Soleimani drone strike (*See* Soleimani, Qassem, targeted killing of (2020))
 - targeted killings, use in, 429, 433, 438–9
- East Pakistan, humanitarian intervention in, 494–5
- East Timor, authorisation of force by Security Council in, 178
- Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)
 - generally, 203
 - authorisation of use of force by, 169
 - consent to intervention and, 477–8
 - ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG), 203–4, 205, 238–9, 477–8
 - Gambia, intervention in, 449–50, 459, 478
 - Liberia, intervention in, 169, 203–4, 499–500, 520–1
 - peacekeeping by, 221
- Sierra Leone, intervention in, 169, 205, 238–9, 500–1, 520–1
- Ecuador
 - Colombian intervention in, 347–8, 412
 - “unable or unwilling” doctrine and, 416
- Effective control standard of attribution, 404–13
- Egan, Brian, 383
- Egypt
 - Iraq, opposition to intervention in, 198–9
 - Six Day War, 363–4
- United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF I), 224, 226, 230–2, 246, 249, 363–4
- United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF II), 233–4
- Eichmann, Adolf, 113–20
- El Salvador, Nicaragua assisting rebels in, 277, 310–39, 404–5, 409
- Endara, Guillermo, 329, 449
- Entebbe hostage crisis (1976), 334
- Erdogan, Recep Tayyip, 50
- Eritrea–Ethiopia Claims Commission, 51, 55, 277
- Esper, Mark, 270, 335
- Estonia
 - on armed force, 100
 - cyber attacks and, 79, 100–1, 260–343
 - cyber operations and, 85–6
- Ethiopia
 - Eritrea–Ethiopia Claims Commission, 51, 55, 277
 - Italian conquest of, 29
 - Somalia, intervention in, 347–8
- European Convention of Human Rights (ECHR) (1950)
 - jus ad bellum* and, 71
 - right to life and, 437
- European Court of Justice, 151
- European Union
 - Central African Republic, intervention in, 159
 - Chad, intervention in, 159
 - commissions of inquiry (Col) and, 65–6
 - cyber operations and, 84–5
 - DRC, intervention in, 240
 - Guidelines on the Recognition of New States in Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union, 456
 - Independent International Fact-Finding Mission on the Conflict in Georgia, 65–6, 109–10, 129, 378, 462
 - Lisbon Treaty (1999), 169
 - on pre-emptive self-defence, 377–8
 - Security Council, relation to, 169
- Extraction of nationals, 335–6

- Falklands War (1982)
 breach of peace and, 147, 302
 recovery of territory and, 35
 self-defence and, 302, 353–4
- Findlay, Trevor, 228–9
- Fink, Jonathan, 253
- Finland
 on armed attack by non-state actors, 265–6
 on armed force, 98, 99
 collective self-defence and, 343
 cyber attacks and, 263–88, 318–19
 cyber operations and, 85–6
 NATO and, 343
- First World War, 27
- Fletcher, George, 489
- Focarelli, Carlo, 217
- Foreign civil aircraft, law enforcement actions against, 118
- Foreign individuals or groups, law enforcement actions against, 116–17
- Foreign vessels, law enforcement actions against, 118
- Fox, Gregory, 446, 462, 464, 470
- France
 accumulation of events theory and, 294
 on armed attack by non-state actors, 266
 Chad, intervention in, 467, 470
 consent to intervention and, 448, 453
 Côte d'Ivoire, intervention in, 160, 195, 196
 cyber attacks and, 289
 DRC, intervention in, 241
 extraction of nationals by, 335
 humanitarian intervention in Syria and, 512, 514
 Iraq and
 air strikes in, 453
 intervention in, 197–8
 no-fly zones, 498–9
 on Kosovo intervention, 200
 Libya, intervention in, 190–1
 Mali, intervention in, 242–3, 453, 465, 466, 467–8
 on NATO intervention in Yugoslavia, 503
 Rwanda, intervention in, 177–8
 Suez crisis and, 230–1
 Syria and, 458–9, 512, 514, 516–17
- Franck, Thomas, 72–3, 204, 364, 506
- Gabon, consent to intervention and, 448
- Gaddafi, Muammar, 145, 189–90, 191, 193, 194, 457–8
- Gambia
 authorisation of force by Security Council in, 459
 consent to intervention and, 449–50, 453, 459
 ECOMOG, participation in, 203
 ECOWAS intervention in, 449–50, 459, 478
 Security Council Resolution 2337 (2017), 449–50
 Senegalese intervention in, 449–50
 uncertainty regarding leadership in, 446, 449–50, 453
- Gbagbo, Laurent, 195–6, 456
- Geneva Conventions (1949)
 Common Article 2, 433
 Common Article 3, 433
- Geneva Protocol on the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes (1924), 55
- Genocide
 humanitarian intervention to prevent, 508–10
 ICJ and, 510–11
- Georgia
 Abkhazia region, 331–2
 Chechen rebels in, 412, 417
 cyber attacks and, 100–1, 287
 Independent International Fact-Finding Mission on the Conflict in Georgia, 65–6, 109–10, 129, 378, 462
 Russian intervention in, 65–6, 79–80, 317, 325, 331–2
 South Ossetia region, 325, 331–2
- Germany
 on armed attack by non-state actors, 265
 Security Council, consideration for permanent member status, 138
 Special Arbitral Tribunal and, 307
 “unable or unwilling” doctrine and, 416
- Ghana, participation in ECOMOG, 203
- Ghoutha chemical weapons attack (2013), 41–2, 216, 513
- Glennon, Michael, 72–3, 74, 76
- Global war on terror, 433–6
- Goldsmith, Peter (Lord), 377–8
- Goodman, Ryan, 333–41
- Gravity element of use of force, 105, 123–4
- Gray, Christine, 77, 169, 194, 209, 213, 214, 249, 253, 278, 279, 347, 348, 364, 502
- Green, James A., 275–6, 297, 318, 320
- Greenwood, Christopher, 324–5
- Grenada
 Barbadian intervention in, 327–8
 consent to intervention and, 448
 extraction of nationals from, 336

537 Index

- Jamaican intervention in, 327–8
- US intervention in, 73, 327–30, 449
- Grigsby, Alex, 82
- Grotius, Hugo, 25
- Group of Governmental Experts on Advancing Responsible State Behaviour in Cyberspace in the Context of International Security (GGE), 81–3, 84, 271
- Group of 77, 505
- Guaidó, Juan, 44–56
- Guinea, participation in ECOMOG, 203
- Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), 214, 467, 473
- Gulf War (1991)
 - “all necessary means” and, 41, 157–8, 201
 - authorisation of force by Security Council in, 157–8
 - collective self-defence and, 341–2
 - Operation Desert Storm, 157, 176, 182, 316–17
 - proportionality principle and, 316–17
 - Security Council involvement in, 53–4
 - self-defence and, 349–51, 352
 - threat of force and, 41
 - US and, 41, 53–4, 157
- Guterres, António, 142–3, 173
- Guyana, proxy law enforcement actions and, 122–3

- Hadi, Abdo Rabbo Mansour, 454–5, 468, 470–83
- Hague Convention III Relative to the Opening of Hostilities (1907), 27
- Hague Convention I on the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes (1899), 27, 65
- Haiti
 - authorisation of force by Security Council in, 147, 159–60, 164, 178
 - extraction of nationals from, 335
 - Governors Island Agreement, 159–60
- Hamas, 292, 295
- Hammarskjöld, Dag, 226, 231
- Harbouring standard of attribution, 407–8
- Helsinki Final Act, 31
- Henkin, Louis, 74, 76
- Heyns, Christof, 416, 438
- Hezbollah, 285, 319, 359, 412
- Higgins, Rosalyn (ICJ Judge), 263, 279–80, 337, 496
- High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change, 187–8, 208, 209–10, 375
- Hilpold, Peter, 211–12
- Holy Roman Empire, 25
- Hostile intent, 129, 274–5

- Humanitarian intervention
 - generally, 486–7
 - as circumstance precluding wrongfulness, 487, 492–3
 - crime of aggression versus, 59–60, 61
 - failure of Security Council as justification for, 507–8
 - genocide, to prevent, 508–10
 - ICJ and, 490–1, 492, 493, 496–7, 504
 - interpretation of *jus ad bellum* and, 8–9
 - in Iraq, 497–9, 521
 - jus cogens* and, 493, 494
 - in Kosovo, 501–4
 - generally, 487, 521
 - criticism of, 503–4, 505
 - ICJ and, 504
 - Operation Allied Force, 502–4
 - as *sui generis* case, 506
 - UN Charter and, 490–1
 - as *lex lata*, 519
 - in Liberia, 499–500, 520–1
 - muscular humanitarianism, 505
 - opinio juris* and, 494, 507
 - peremptory norms and, 493
 - Responsibility to Protect and, 487, 520–1, 525–6
 - self-defence versus, 494–5
 - in Sierra Leone, 500–1, 520–1
 - in state practice generally, 487, 494, 511–12
 - in Syria
 - generally, 487, 512–13
 - debate regarding air strikes, 513–14
 - Responsibility to Protect and, 514
 - “thin red line” and, 506–7
 - UN Charter and
 - generally, 487
 - authorisation of use of force by Security Council and, 488–9
 - General Assembly and, 488
 - implied exception to prohibition on use of force, 489–91
 - Kosovo and, 490–1
 - prohibition on use of force and, 487–8
 - restrictive interpretation of, 491–2
 - self-defence and, 489
 - Uniting for Peace (UfP) process and, 508
 - violation of international law, viewed as, 504–5
- Hungary
 - on authorisation of force by Security Council, 177
 - consent to intervention and, 448
 - Soviet intervention in, 73
- Hussein, Saddam, 41, 180, 197, 497

- ICJ. *See* International Court of Justice (ICJ)
- IHL. *See* International humanitarian law (IHL)
- IHRL. *See* International human rights law (IHRL)
- ILC. *See* International Law Commission (ILC)
- Imminence
- anticipatory self-defence and
 - generally, 360–1
 - expansionist approach, 361
 - ICJ and, 362–3
 - international jurisprudence, 362–3
 - restrictionist approach, 361–2
 - Six Day War and, 363–4
 - Bethlehem Principles and, 383, 384, 397
 - Chatham House Principles and, 278, 381–96
 - contextual imminence (*See* Contextual imminence)
 - defining, 381
 - expansion of, 370–1
 - Leiden Policy Recommendations and, 382
 - non-state actors, self-defence against, 403–4
 - permanent imminence, 387–8
 - pre-emptive self-defence (*See* Pre-emptive self-defence)
 - targeted killings and, 383, 388
 - terrorism and, 388
- Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (1972), 460
- Implied powers doctrine, 162–3
- Independent International Commission on Kosovo, 506
- India
- China, border incidents with, 277
 - Goa, invasion of, 35
 - humanitarian intervention by, 494–5
 - Pakistan and, 353
 - Security Council, consideration for permanent member status, 138
- Indonesia, United Nations Security Force (UNSF), 224
- In Larger Freedom, 208, 210, 375–6
- Institut de Droit International, 462–3
- Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance (1947), 169
- Interception of armed attack, 359–60
- International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), 180, 186, 374
- International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS), 207, 209–10
- International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), 435–6
- International Court of Justice (ICJ)
- accumulation of events theory and, 291, 402–3
 - advisory opinions, 11
 - anticipatory self-defence and, 362–3
 - Armed Activities* case (*See* *Armed Activities* case (ICJ 2005))
 - armed attack and (*See* Armed attack)
 - armed force and, 95–6, 99, 102–4
 - armed reprisals and, 308
 - authorisation of use of force by Security Council and, 162
 - collective self-defence and, 336, 337, 338–9
 - consent to intervention and, 448, 450–2, 479
 - Corfu Channel* case (*See* *Corfu Channel* case (ICJ 1949))
 - crime of aggression and, 108
 - Fisheries Jurisdiction* case (1998), 118
 - foreign vessels, law enforcement actions against and, 118
 - General Assembly and, 140–1, 142
 - genocide and, 510–11
 - humanitarian intervention and, 490–1, 492, 493, 496–7, 504
 - ICJ Statute Article 38
 - interpretation of *jus ad bellum* and, 6
 - opinio juris* and, 31
 - state practice and, 31
 - Legality of Use of Force* case (1999), 490–1, 504
 - mens rea* element of use of force and, 103–26
 - necessity principle and, 297, 301–10
 - Nicaragua* case (*See* *Nicaragua* case (ICJ 1986))
 - non-intervention principle and, 91–2
 - non-state actors, self-defence against, 400, 404–5, 409–10, 439
 - Nuclear Weapons* advisory opinion (*See* *Nuclear Weapons* advisory opinion (ICJ 1996))
 - Oil Platforms* case (*See* *Oil Platforms* case (ICJ 2003))
 - peacekeeping and, 225
 - pre-emptive self-defence and, 378–9
 - prohibition on use of force and, 39, 75, 77
 - proportional forcible countermeasures, 290
 - proportionality principle and, 297, 320
 - Reparations for Injuries* advisory opinion (1949), 162
 - reporting requirement for self-defence and, 344–5, 346, 347
 - Security Council and, 139–40, 151
 - self-defence and, 260
 - threat of force and, 40–1, 44, 46–7, 54–5
 - Wall* advisory opinion (2004), 263, 400

- International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) (1966)
 - extraterritoriality and, 437
 - right to life and, 68, 436–7
 - self-determination and, 460–1
- International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966), 460–1
- International Criminal Court (ICC)
 - complementarity and, 62
 - crime of aggression and
 - defined, 57–8
 - humanitarian intervention and, 59–60
 - inclusion of, 57
 - jurisdiction, impact of, 61–4
 - use of force distinguished, 107, 108
 - generally, 5
 - jurisdiction
 - crime of aggression, impact on, 61–4
 - ratione personae*, 61
 - ratione temporis*, 62
 - Kampala Conference (2010), 57, 59–60
 - Libya and, 190, 214
 - prosecutorial policy, 61–2
 - Rome Statute, 31, 48, 57–60, 107, 108
 - states not accepting amendments to Rome Statute, 63
 - threat of force and, 48
- International criminal law, relation to *jus ad bellum*, 5
- International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY)
 - non-state actors, self-defence against, 405–6
 - Security Council compared, 149
 - Tadic* case (1995), 405–6
 - use of force and, 14
- International humanitarian law (IHL)
 - civilians, protection of, 153
 - consent to intervention and, 470–83
 - international human rights law, relation to, 66–7
 - necessity principle in *jus ad bellum* compared, 4–5, 299
 - proportionality principle in *jus ad bellum* compared, 4–5
 - Security Council subject to, 151–3
 - targeted killings and
 - generally, 428, 432
 - civilians, protection of, 434–5
 - continuous combat function, 434–5
 - duty to capture, 435–6
 - intensity requirement, 433–4
 - in non-international armed conflict, 433–4
 - organization requirement, 433–4
- International human rights law (IHRL)
 - armed conflict, applicability to, 436
 - consent to intervention and, 470–83
 - international humanitarian law, relation to, 66–7
 - prohibition on use of force, relation to, 67
 - generally, 5, 24
 - aggression, determinations of, 70
 - implications of, 70–2
 - jurisdiction of human rights bodies and, 71
 - positive obligations of states and, 71–2
 - right to life and, 68–9, 71
 - rightslessness, 70
 - right to life
 - ECHR and, 437
 - HRC and, 68–9, 71, 418–38
 - ICCPR and, 68, 436–7
 - non-arbitrariness standard, 437
 - targeted killings and, 436–7
 - Soleimani drone strike and, 71
 - targeted killings and
 - generally, 71, 428, 436
 - extraterritoriality and, 437–9
 - right to life and, 436–7
- International Law Association, 445
- International Law Commission (ILC)
 - on armed reprisals, 308–9
 - on consent to intervention, 472
 - on countermeasures, 52
 - on crime of aggression, 56–7
 - on customary international law, 9, 10
- Draft Articles on Responsibility of States for Internationally Wrongful Acts (DARSIWA) (2001), 48–9, 52, 53, 299, 308–9, 446, 492
- Draft Articles on the Responsibility of International Organisations, 38, 151, 152–3
- Draft Code of Offences against the Peace and Security of Mankind, 56–7
- on prohibition on use of force, 38–9
- on self-defence, 53
- International Military Tribunal (Nuremberg Tribunal), 55–6, 57, 362
- Interpretation of *jus ad bellum*
 - customary international law and, 6
 - disagreement regarding, 7
 - domestic courts and, 14
 - humanitarian intervention and, 8–9
 - ICJ and
 - advisory opinions, 11
 - decisions, 14–15
 - ICJ Statute Article 38, 6

- Interpretation of *jus ad bellum* (cont.)
 justifications for use of force, 10–11
 legal scholars and, 15–18
 NGOs and, 16
opinio juris and, 9–10
 refraining from use of force, 12
 Security Council commissions of inquiry and, 14
 self-defence and, 8
 silence versus acquiescence, 13
 state practice and, 9–10
 subsidiary means, 14–15
 treaties and, 6
 UN Charter, 7
 unilateral statements of states, 11–12
 VCLT and, 7–8
- Iran
 arms embargo, 160–1
 in “axis of evil,” 42–3, 179, 369–70, 377
 Bahrain, intervention in, 467
 Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC), 267–8
 Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action, 43
Oil Platforms case (See *Oil Platforms* case (ICJ 2003))
 on pre-emptive self-defence, 372, 377
 Quds force, 267–8, 293, 389, 391
 sanctions, 160–1
 Security Council Resolution 1929 (2010), 160–1
 Soleimani drone strike (See Soleimani, Qassem, targeted killing of (2020))
 Stuxnet cyber attack, 79–80, 96, 97–8, 100–1, 160–1, 287
 Syria and, 512
 “unable or unwilling” doctrine and, 416
 US and
 armed attack on embassy of, 271
 attempted rescue of hostages by, 333–4
 downing of civil aircraft, 122, 127
 “Eagle Claw” mission, 271
 oil platforms, armed attack on, 274, 301–10, 317–18
 proportionality principle and, 317–18
 threat of force by, 43
 threat to military vessels of, 268, 293
 use of armed force by, 97–112
 Yemen, intervention in, 455, 470, 471
 Iran–Iraq War, 274
 Iraq. See also Iraq War (2003)
 “all necessary means” and, 179, 180, 497–8
 in “axis of evil,” 42–3, 179, 369–70, 371
 collective self-defence and, 336, 338, 340–1
 Compensation Commission, 50–1
 Compensation Fund, 50–1
 consent to intervention and, 473, 474, 479, 481, 482, 483
 drones, use in, 438
 France and
 air strikes in, 453
 intervention in, 197–8
 no-fly zones, 498–9
 humanitarian intervention in, 497–9, 521
 implied authorisation of use of force by
 Security Council, 197–9
 Islamic State in, 406, 418, 421–2, 446, 483
 Israeli missile strike on nuclear plant in (See Osiraq nuclear power plant missile strike (1981))
 Kuwait, invasion of, 35, 41, 50–1, 129, 157, 341–2, 474, 476 (See also Gulf War (1991))
 no-fly zones in, 197–9, 498–9
 Operation Desert Fox, 184–5
 Operation Desert Strike, 198
 Operation Poised Hammer, 198
 Operation Provide Comfort, 198
 Operation Southern Watch, 198
 opposition to intervention in, 198–9
 revival of past authorisations of use of force by
 Security Council
 generally, 179–82, 371–2
 authority to determine material breach, 185–7
 legacy of revival argument, 187–9
 material breach, 183–5
 Resolution 678 (1990), 179, 180–5
 Russia and
 no-fly zones, 498–9
 opposition to intervention in, 198
 safe havens in, 197–8
 sanctions, 156–7, 351–2, 372
 Security Council Resolution 660 (1990), 179, 182
 Security Council Resolution 661 (1990), 351
 Security Council Resolution 678 (1990)
 generally, 175
 breadth and scope of authorisation, 189
 development of authorisation method and, 157
 humanitarian intervention and, 497–8
 mandate of, 182–3
 multilateralism versus unilateralism, 176–9
 proportionality principle and, 316–17
 revival of, 179, 180–5

541 Index

- Security Council Resolution 687 (1991)
 - cease fire under, 187
 - Compensation Fund, 50–1
 - material breach of, 183–5
 - revival of past authorisations and, 179, 180–2
- Security Council Resolution 688 (1991), 145, 197–8, 497–8
- Security Council Resolution 692 (1991), 50–1
- Security Council Resolution 707 (1993), 184
- Security Council Resolution 1441 (2002)
 - material breach and, 180, 185–7
 - poor drafting of, 188
 - revival of authorisations and, 180–2
- Turkish intervention in, 347–8, 400, 412, 479–80
- UK and
 - intervention in, 197–8, 453
 - no-fly zones, 498–9
- United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission (UNMOVIC), 180, 186
- United Nations Special Commission (UNSCOM), 184–5
- US and
 - air strikes by, 309, 330, 453
 - embassy, armed attack on, 269, 281
 - intervention in, 197–8
 - Islamic State, action against, 483–4
 - no-fly zones, 498–9
 - targeted killings by, 334–5
- weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and, 371
- Iraq War (2003)
 - generally, 1
 - Bush Doctrine and, 371–3
 - commissions of inquiry (CoI), 14, 66, 151–3, 186, 188, 373
 - conventional weapons in, 2
 - debate regarding, 49
 - Operation Iraqi Freedom, 180, 185, 187, 194
 - pre-emptive self-defence and, 371–3
 - Secretariat and, 143
 - as violation of prohibition on use of force, 73
- Islamic State
 - collective self-defence and, 336, 338, 340–1
 - imminence and, 388
 - in Iraq, 406, 418, 421–2, 446, 483
 - non-state actors, self-defence against, 406
 - protection of nationals abroad and, 334–5
 - Saudi Arabia and, 418
 - Security Council Resolution 2249 (2015), 388, 421
 - self-defence and, 266
 - in Syria, 406, 416, 417–18, 421–4, 425, 465
 - as terrorist group, 466
 - UK action against, 430–1
 - US action against, 416, 417–18
 - in Yemen, 469
- Israel
 - abductions by, 113–20
 - accumulation of events theory and, 292–3
 - on armed attack by non-state actors, 265
 - on armed force, 100, 101
 - cyber attacks and, 318–19
 - cyber operations and, 85–6
 - drones, use of, 438
 - Gaza, raids in, 292, 319, 321–2, 402–3, 438
 - Hezbollah and, 359
 - interception of armed attack and, 359
 - Iraq, missile strike on nuclear plant in (See Osiraq nuclear power plant missile strike (1981))
 - “Iron Dome,” 359
 - Lebanon, intervention in, 285, 309, 400, 412
 - Operation Cast Lead, 292, 321–2
 - Operation Change Direction, 319
 - Operation Guardian of the Walls, 292, 322
 - Operation Orchard, 373
 - Operation Pillar of Defense, 292
 - Operation Protective Edge, 292, 321, 322
 - protection of nationals abroad and, 333–4
 - Rome Statute and, 63
 - self-defence and, 285
 - Six Day War, 363–4
 - Syria, air strikes in, 292–3, 373–4, 387, 524–5
 - targeted killings by, 114–17, 428
 - Tunisia, intervention in, 147, 400, 410, 411–12
 - Uganda, rescue of hostages in, 334
 - “unable or unwilling” doctrine and, 416
 - United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF I), 224, 226, 230–2, 246
 - United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF II), 233–4
- Italy
 - Abyssinia, conquest of, 29
 - Libya, intervention in, 190–1
 - on protection of nationals abroad, 334
- Jamaica, intervention in Grenada, 327–8
- Jammeh, Yahya, 446, 449–50
- Japan
 - Manchuria, invasion of, 29, 49
 - Security Council, consideration for permanent member status, 138
- Jennings, Robert Yewdall (ICJ Judge), 279, 337, 338–9

542 Index

- Jordan
 air strikes in Iraq, 453
 Islamic State and, 418
 opposition to intervention in Iraq, 198–9
- Joyner, Christopher, 97–8
- Jus ad bellum*
 conceptual approach, 6–17
 ECHR and, 71
 epiphenomenal nature of, 523
 failures of, 3
 goals of, 2–3
 international criminal law, relation to, 5
 interpretation of (See Interpretation of *jus ad bellum*)
jus in bello, relation to, 4–5, 388–9
 as *lex specialis*, 5, 66–7, 69, 71
 necessity principle, international humanitarian law (IHL) compared, 299
 protection of nationals abroad and, 323
 weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and, 2
- Jus cogens*
de minimis threshold for use of force and, 111
 humanitarian intervention and, 493, 494
 prohibition on use of force as, 24, 38–40, 111
 Security Council subject to, 151
 threat of force, prohibition not deemed, 48
- Jus in bello*
jus ad bellum, relation to, 4–5, 388–9
 proportionality principle in, 316
- Justifications for use of force
 interpretation of *jus ad bellum*, 10–11
 prohibition on use of force and, 76–8
 self-defence, 11
- Just war doctrine, 24–6
- Kabbah, Ahmad Tejan, 204, 500–1
- Kabila, Laurent, 240, 409, 479
- Kata'ib Hezbollah, 74–5, 267–8, 281, 293, 327, 334–5
- Kellogg–Briand Pact (1928)
 generally, 1
 adoption of, 28–9
 contracting parties, limitation to, 29
 crime of aggression not recognised, 56
 forcible measures short of war, omission of, 29
 possibility of war as policy, 29
 self-defence, omission of, 29, 259
 weaknesses of, 29
- Kelsen, Hans, 140, 144, 349–50
- Kennedy, John F., 365–6
- Kenya
 al-Shabaab in, 406, 415–16, 422–3
 consent to intervention and, 448
 on humanitarian intervention, 495
 self-defence and, 415–16, 422–3
 Somalia, intervention in, 415–16, 422–3
 “unable or unwilling” doctrine and, 422–3
 US embassy, armed attack on, 270–1, 273, 283–312, 411, 436
- Khan, Reyaad, 96, 114–17, 383, 388, 392–8, 429–38
- Kim Jong-nam, 115
- Koh, Harold, 431, 432
- Kohen, Marcelo, 163
- Korean War (1950–1953)
 generally, 147
 collective self-defence and, 341–2
 General Assembly and, 155–6
 Security Council and, 154–6
 Uniting for Peace (UFP) process and, 155–6
- Kosovo
 “all necessary means” and, 501–2
 humanitarian intervention in, 501–4
 generally, 487, 521
 criticism of, 503–4, 505
 ICJ and, 504
 Operation Allied Force, 502–4
 as *sui generis* case, 506
 UN Charter and, 490–1
 implied authorisation of use of force by Security Council, 199–201
 independence of, 450–1
 Independent International Commission on Kosovo, 506
 Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA), 199, 501
 NATO intervention in, 36, 48, 73, 127, 199–201, 207, 223
 Operation Allied Force, 200
 peacekeeping in, 223
 Security Council Resolution 1160 (1998), 501–2
 Security Council Resolution 1199 (1998), 199–200, 501–2
 Security Council Resolution 1203 (1998), 199–200, 501–2
 Uniting for Peace (UFP) process and, 166–7
- Kretzmer, David, 309–10
- Kritsiotis, Dino, 316, 340, 345, 347, 348, 350, 352
- Kunz, Joseph L., 278, 337
- Kuwait
 consent to intervention and, 474
 Iraqi invasion of, 35, 41, 50–1, 129, 157, 341–2, 474, 476 (See also Gulf War (1991))

543 Index

- Ladsous, Hervé, 243
 Lavrov, Sergei, 192
 Law enforcement actions, use of force
 distinguished, 112–18. *See also* Use of force
- League of Arab States
 collective self-defence and, 337–8
 Libya and, 214
 Yemen and, 454
- League of Nations
 collective security and, 135
 Covenant, 1, 28
 creation of, 28
 League Council, 28
 self-defence, omission of, 259
- Lebanon
 collective self-defence and, 336
 extraction of nationals from, 335
 Israeli intervention in, 285, 309, 400, 412
 Security Council Resolution 467 (1980), 228
 United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL), 228, 233–4, 247
- Lederman, Marty, 393
- Legal scholars, interpretation of *jus ad bellum* and, 15–18
- Leiden Policy Recommendations on Counter-Terrorism and International Law
 imminence and, 382
 terrorism and, 436
 “unable or unwilling” doctrine and, 416, 417, 418–20, 425–6
- Lesaffer, Randall, 27–8, 30
- Lesotho, SADC intervention in, 478
- Lex ferenda*
 generally, 17
 pre-emptive self-defence as, 371
- Lex lata*
 generally, 17
 accumulation of events theory not deemed, 295
 contextual imminence as, 397–8
 humanitarian intervention as, 519
 pre-emptive self-defence as, 371, 374
- Lex specialis, jus ad bellum* as, 5, 66–7, 69, 71
- Liberia
 authorisation of force by Security Council in, 178
 Cotonou Peace Agreement (1993), 203
 ECOWAS intervention in, 169, 203–4, 499–500, 520–1
 extraction of nationals from, 335
 humanitarian intervention in, 499–500, 520–1
- implied authorisation of use of force by
 Security Council, 203–4
- Libya
 abductions in, 114–20
 “all necessary means” and, 215
 arms embargo, 190, 192, 458
 authorisation of force by Security Council in
 generally, 160, 189–91
 disputes regarding, 191
 opposition forces, assisting, 191–3
 regime change and, 194–5
 Chad, intervention in, 470
 drones, use in, 438
 extraction of nationals from, 335–6
 French intervention in, 190–1
 on humanitarian intervention, 495
 Human Rights Council and, 190
 ICC and, 190, 214
 National Transitional Council (NTC), 457–8
 NATO intervention in, 172, 190–2, 193, 194, 213–14, 520
 no-fly zones in, 214
 Responsibility to Protect and, 213–15, 520
 Security Council and, 145
 Security Council Resolution 1970 (2011)
 generally, 190
 arms embargo, 458
 opposition forces, assisting, 192
 Responsibility to Protect and, 213
 threats to peace and, 145
 Security Council Resolution 1973 (2011)
 generally, 190
 opposition forces, assisting, 192, 193
 regime change and, 194–5
 Responsibility to Protect and, 214–15, 520
 threats to peace and, 145
 Security Council Resolution 2016 (2011), 191
 Transitional National Council, 191
 US air strikes in, 309, 310, 330
- Liebllich, Eliav, 69–70
- Lillilich, Richard B., 489
- Lisbon Treaty (1999), 169
- Lobel, Jules, 183
- Lotrionte, Catherine, 97–8
- Lubell, Noam, 359, 376, 386
- Luck, Edward, 211
- Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement (1999), 240
- Maduro, Nicolás, 44–56
- Mali
 African-led International Support Mission to Mali (AFISMA), 242–3

544 Index

- Mali (cont.)
 Agreement for Peace and Reconciliation in Mali, 243
 “all necessary means” and, 242–3
 civil war in, 465, 466, 467–8
 consent to intervention and, 448, 453
 French intervention in, 242–3, 453, 465, 466, 467–8
 Le Mouvement national de libération de l’Azawad (MLNA), 467–8
 Security Council Resolution 2085 (2012), 242
 Security Council Resolution 2100 (2013), 242
 Security Council Resolution 2584 (2021), 243
 stabilisation missions in, 248
 United Nations Peacekeeping Mission in Mali (MINUSMA), 242–3, 247, 250
- Martin, Andrew, 94
- Material breach
 authority to determine, 185–7
 revival of past authorisations and, 183–5
- McCain, John, 513
- Menezes, Jean Charles da Silva e de, 113–29
- Mens rea*
 armed attack
 ICJ and, 274
 self-defence, required for, 274–6
 crime of aggression, 60–1
 use of force
 generally, 125–6
 coercion as basis of requirement, 125–6
 hostile intent, 128–9
 ICJ and, 103–26
 intention versus general motives for action, 126–7
 mistake and, 127–8
- Mexico on use of force in self-defence in territory of other states, 266
- Milanovic, Marko, 509
- Milley, Mark A., 390
- Milošević, Slobodan, 200, 501, 502
- Multilateralism, 175, 176–9
- Murphy, Sean D., 378, 473
- Nagorno-Karabakh dispute, 302–4
- Namibia
 Kosovo, opposition to intervention in, 200–1
 Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement (1999), 240
- Napoleon, 27
- Nasser, Gamel Abdel, 363–4
- Nationals abroad, protection of
 generally, 261, 322–4
 armed attack, attacks on nationals as, 324–7
 assassination attempts and, 327, 330
 extraction of nationals, 335–6
 foreign governments
 attacks or threats to nationals by, 327–33
 “unable or unwilling” doctrine and, 333–5
 future harm, prevention of, 330–3
 Islamic State and, 334–5
 limitations on, 327
 proportionality principle and, 329
 as self-defence, 325
 Soleimani drone strike and, 323–6, 330–1, 334–5
 targeted killings as, 323–6, 330–1, 334–5
 UN Charter Article 51, 324–5
- NATO. *See* North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)
- Natural disasters, 212
- Naulilaa* case (1928), 27
- Navalny, Alexei, 45
- Necessity principle
 accumulation of events theory and, 263–312
 armed reprisals and, 307
 assassination attempts and, 283–312
 border disputes and, 305
 contextual imminence and, 381–97
 delay in response, effect of, 301–2
 dual role of, 298
 as enabling actions in self-defence, 261–98
 further attacks, prevention of, 286–312
 ICJ and, 297, 301–10
 identity of perpetrator, relevance of, 312–13
 immediacy requirement, 301–2, 304
 imminent threat of further attacks, 286–312
 international humanitarian law (IHL)
 compared, 4–5, 299
 lack of alternatives required, 299–300
 lack of direct references to, 316
 merger with proportionality principle, 320
 nature of weapons used, relevance of, 313
 9/11 attacks and, 283–312
 non-state actors, self-defence against, 312–13, 402
 reasonableness requirement, 300–2
 recovery of territory and, 302–5
 Security Council and, 151
 self-defence generally, 260–1
 in state practice, 297–8
 targeted killings and, 430–1
- Negative equality principle, 462–5. *See also* Civil wars, intervention in
- Negroponte, John, 369
- Netanyahu, Benjamin, 292–3

545 Index

- Netherlands
 armed attack, use of force distinguished, 285–6
 on armed attack by non-state actors, 265
 on armed force, 93–101, 102
 commissions of inquiry (CoI) and, 66
 cyber attacks and, 288, 289
 Iraq, air strikes in, 453
 on NATO intervention in Yugoslavia, 503
 Rome Statute and, 63
 “unable or unwilling” doctrine and, 416
- New Zealand
 on armed force, 99–100, 101
 cyber attacks and, 286
 cyber operations and, 85–6
- Nicaragua
contras in, 55, 102–26, 451, 496–7
 El Salvador, assisting rebels in, 277, 310–39, 404–5, 409
 US intervention in, 55, 91–2, 102–3, 344–5, 451, 496–7
- Nicaragua* case (ICJ 1986)
 accumulation of events theory and, 291
 anticipatory self-defence and, 362–3
 armed force and, 99, 102–4
 armed reprisals and, 308
 collective self-defence and, 336, 337, 338–9
 consent to intervention and, 448, 451
 crime of aggression and, 108
 humanitarian intervention and, 492, 493, 496–7
mens rea element of use of force and, 103–26
 necessity principle and, 297
 non-intervention principle and, 91–2
 non-state actors, self-defence against, 400, 404–5, 409, 439
 pre-emptive self-defence and, 378–9
 prohibition on use of force and, 39, 75, 77
 proportional forcible countermeasures, 290
 proportionality principle and, 297
 reporting requirement for self-defence and, 344–5, 346, 347
 self-defence and, 260
 threat of force and, 55
- Nigeria, participation in ECOMOG, 203
- 9/11 attacks
 generally, 368
 as armed attack, 401–2
 collective self-defence and, 336, 338
 emotional response to, 408
 NATO and, 264
 necessity principle and, 283–312
 non-state actors, self-defence against, 2, 400, 401
 pre-emptive self-defence and, 369
 preventative self-defence and, 357
 Security Council Resolution 1368 (2001), 264–5, 407
 Security Council Resolution 1373 (2001), 264–5, 351
 self-defence and, 96, 264–5, 266, 283–312, 398, 403
- Nkurunziza, Pierre, 477
- No-fly zones, 160, 197–9, 214, 498–9
- Non-Aligned Movement on pre-emptive self-defence, 376–7
- Non-governmental organisations (NGOs), Interpretation of *jus ad bellum* and, 16
- Non-international armed conflict
 negative equality principle and, 463–4
 targeted killings in, 433–4
- Non-intervention principle
 in customary international law, 90
 ICJ and, 91–2
 interference distinguished, 90–1
 UN Charter and, 90
- Non-recognition of governments, 49, 456
- Non-state actors, self-defence against
 generally, 2, 18, 261, 398, 400–1
 accumulation of events theory and, 402–3
 armed reprisals distinguished, 403
 assassination attempts and, 405
 Bethlehem Principles and, 412
 calls for reform, 439–40
 consent to intervention and, 446
 effective control standard of attribution, 404–13
 harbouring standard of attribution, 407–8
 host states and non-state actors
 generally, 401
 effective control standard of attribution, 404–7
 harbouring standard of attribution, 407–8
 overall control test, 405–6
 ICJ and, 400, 404–5, 409–10, 439
 imminence and, 403–4
 lack of clarity regarding, 525
 necessity principle and, 312–13, 402
 9/11 attacks and, 2, 400, 401
 non-state actors only
 generally, 401
 effective control standard, 408–13
 lower standard of attribution, 413–14
opinio juris and, 408
 overall control test, 405–6
 proportionality principle and, 402

- Non-state actors, self-defence against (cont.)
 state sovereignty barrier, 401
 targeted killings (See Targeted killings)
 “unable or unwilling” doctrine (See “Unable or unwilling” doctrine)
- Noriega, Manuel, 328–9, 449
- North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)
 Afghanistan, intervention in, 172
 authorisation of use of force by, 171–2
 Bosnia and Herzegovina, intervention in, 236
 collective security and, 171
 collective self-defence and, 337–8, 342
 Cooperative Cyber Defence Centre of Excellence, 84
 cyber operations and, 84
 drones, use of, 438
 emergence of, 153
 Finland and, 343
 internal crisis management, expansion of mandate to include, 171–2
 International Group of Experts, 84, 86
 Kosovo, intervention in, 36, 48, 73, 127, 199–201, 207, 223
 Libya, intervention in, 172, 190–2, 193, 194, 213–14, 520
 9/11 attacks and, 264
 Operation Allied Force, 502–4
 Security Council, relation to, 171–2
 self-defence and, 171, 264, 350
 Serbia, bombing of Chinese embassy in, 128
 Serbia and Montenegro, humanitarian intervention in, 490–1
 Strategic Concept (2010), 171–2
 Sweden and, 343
 Syria and, 216
Tallinn Manual, 84, 86, 98, 101, 102, 286, 294
 Ukraine and, 43–6, 343
 Washington Treaty (1949), 337
 Yugoslavia, attacks in, 200, 502–4
- North Korea
 in “axis of evil,” 42–3, 179, 369–70, 377
 nuclear program in, 147, 188
 on pre-emptive self-defence, 377
 Rome Statute and, 63
 sanctions, 147
 Security Council and, 147, 188
 Security Council Resolution 1718 (2006), 188
 South Korea, invasion of, 147, 154–6, 341–2
 (See also Korean War (1950–1953))
 threat of force and, 45, 47
- Norway, intervention in Libya, 190–1
- Novichok poisoning, 114–15
- Nuclear weapons
 Cold War and, 46–54
 North Korea and, 147, 188
 Osiraq nuclear power plant missile strike (1981)
 (See Osiraq nuclear power plant missile strike (1981))
 pre-emptive self-defence and, 365
 proportionality principle and, 320
 threat of force and, 47
 Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (1968), 46
 Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (2017), 46
- Nuclear Weapons* advisory opinion (ICJ 1996)
 armed force and, 95–6
 armed reprisals and, 308
 proportionality principle and, 320
 threat of force and, 40–1, 44, 47
- Nuremberg Military Tribunal. See International Military Tribunal (Nuremberg Tribunal)
- Obama, Barack, 43, 299–300, 379–81, 417, 421, 424, 433–6, 513, 514
- Obama Doctrine, 379–81
- O’Brien, Robert C., 390
- O’Connell, Mary Ellen, 109
- Ohlin, Jens David, 489
- Oil Platforms* case (ICJ 2003)
 armed attack and, 106, 268, 272–3, 274, 280–1, 290, 291
 necessity principle and, 301–10
 proportionality principle and, 317–18
- Open-Ended Working Group on Developments in the field of Information and Telecommunications in the Context of International Security (OEWG), 82–3
- Opinio juris*
 humanitarian intervention and, 494, 507, 521
 ICJ Statute Article 38 and, 31
 interpretation of *jus ad bellum* and, 9–10
 non-state actors, self-defence against, 408
 pre-emptive self-defence and, 368
- Opinio necessitatis*, 507, 521
- Orakdelashvili, Alexander, 162, 171
- Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons, 114–15
- Organization of African Unity (OAU)
 on consent to intervention, 476–7
 on humanitarian intervention, 495
- Organization of American States (OAS)
 collective self-defence and, 337–8
 Cuban Missile Crisis (1962) and, 365–6

547 Index

- cyber operations and, 84–5
- 9/11 attacks and, 264
- Security Council, relation to, 169
- self-defence and, 264
- Organization of Eastern Caribbean States, 328
- Organization of the Islamic Conference, 214
- Osiraq nuclear power plant missile strike (1981)
 - necessity principle and, 312, 313–34
 - pre-emptive self-defence and, 367–8
 - Security Council and, 53
 - Security Council Resolution 487 (1981), 367
 - as use of force, 34
- Ouattara, Alassane, 195, 196, 456
- Overall control test, 405–6

- Pakistan
 - bin Laden, killing of, 412
 - consent to intervention and, 475–6
 - drones, use in, 429, 438
 - India and, 353
 - on pre-emptive self-defence, 376
 - self-defence and, 353
 - US intervention in, 412, 475–6
- Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), 114–17, 309, 410, 459
- Panama
 - consent to intervention and, 448, 449–50
 - extraction of nationals from, 336
 - Panama Canal Treaty (1977), 328–9, 449
 - US intervention in, 73, 328–30, 449–50, 459
- Peacekeeping. *See also specific country or mission*
 - generally, 18, 222
 - by African Union (AU), 221
 - “all necessary means” and, 234
 - Brahimi Report (2000), 246–7, 254
 - Capstone Doctrine, 223
 - civilians, protection of, 247
 - Cold War, during, 230–4
 - collective security, origins in failures of, 220
 - consent of parties
 - generally, 226–7
 - as basic principle, 227
 - evolution of, 249–50
 - non-state actors and, 249–50
 - stabilisation missions and, 250
 - withdrawal of consent, 249
 - Cruz Report (2017), 255
 - defining, 222–4
 - early challenges, 220–1
 - effective equipping of peacekeepers, 254
 - evolution of
 - generally, 245–6
 - consent of parties, 249–50
 - impartiality, 250–1
 - self-defence, use of force limited to, 246–9
 - General Assembly and, 224
 - ICJ and, 225
 - impartiality
 - generally, 226–7
 - as basic principle, 227–8
 - deviations from, 253
 - evolution of, 250–1
 - stabilisation missions and, 251
 - increased risks to peacekeepers, 253
 - legal basis for
 - UN Charter Article 1, 224
 - UN Charter Chapter VI, 225
 - UN Charter Chapter VII, 225–6
 - muscular peacekeeping, 136–7, 160, 221, 248, 249
 - parties to conflict, peacekeepers becoming, 252–3
 - peace enforcement distinguished, 221, 254–5
 - peace observation distinguished, 223
 - Secretariat and, 222–3
 - Security Council, origins in failures of, 220
 - self-defence, use of force limited to
 - generally, 226–7
 - as basic principle, 228–30
 - civilians, protection of, 247
 - deviations from, 253
 - evolution of, 246–9
 - expansion of use of force, 246–7
 - individuals, right to self-defence, 228–9
 - lack of clarity, 247–8, 254
 - narrow interpretation of, 229–30
 - resistance to attempts to prevent
 - implementation of peacekeeping, 246
 - stabilisation missions, 248
 - states, right to self-defence, 228–9
 - UN, right to self-defence, 229
 - UN Charter Chapter VII mandates, 248–9, 254
 - stabilisation missions
 - consent of parties and, 250
 - impartiality and, 251
 - self-defence, use of force limited to, 248
 - Uniting our Strengths for Peace Report (2015), 246–7, 254–5
 - use of force in, 221–4
 - war fighting versus, 252, 253
- Peace of Westphalia (1648), 25

548 Index

- Pence, Mike, 44–56
- Peremptory norms
 consent to intervention and, 483
 humanitarian intervention and, 493
 prohibition on use of force as, 38–40
 Security Council subject to, 151
 VCLT, under, 38
- Permanent imminence, 387–8
- Poland, Rome Statute and, 63
- Pompeo, Mike, 326, 331, 392, 393–4
- Portugal, Special Arbitral Tribunal and, 307
- Power, Samantha, 417–18
- Precautionary principle, 4–5
- Pre-emptive self-defence
 generally, 364–5
 Bush Doctrine and, 369–71
 Cuban Missile Crisis (1962) and, 365–6
 customary international law and, 370
 ICJ and, 378–9
 imminence, expansion of, 370–1
 international reaction to, 374–8
 Iraq War and, 371–3
 as *lex ferenda*, 371
 as *lex lata*, 371, 374
 “necessary force” and, 379–81
 9/11 attacks and, 369
 nuclear weapons and, 365
 Obama Doctrine, 379–81
opinio juris and, 368
 problems of implementation, 373
 in Syria, 373–4
 weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and, 369
- Preventative self-defence
 generally, 18, 261, 355, 357
 anticipatory self-defence
 generally, 360–1
 expansionist approach, 361
 ICJ and, 362–3
 international jurisprudence, 362–3
 restrictionist approach, 361–2
 Six Day War and, 363–4
 armed attack, determining when begins, 357–8
 confusion regarding, 358
 delay in responding distinguished, 358–9
 interception of armed attack, 359–60
 9/11 attacks and, 357
 pre-emptive self-defence (See Pre-emptive self-defence)
 use of term, 358
- Prohibition on use of force
 generally, 1, 18, 23–4, 86–7
 accountability
 generally, 24, 48–50
 commissions of inquiry (Col), 65–6
 countermeasures, 51–2
 crime of aggression (See Aggression, crime of)
 regional organisations, involvement of, 53–4
 reparations, 50–1
 Security Council, involvement of, 53–4
 self-defence, 52–3
 collective security and, 27
 commissions of inquiry (Col) and, 65–6
 continued relevance of
 generally, 24
 collective security failures and, 75–6
 cyber operations and (See Cyber operations)
 international law, role of, 74–5
 justifications for use of force and, 76–8
 other causes for decline in war, 74–5
 purported demise of, 72–3
 countermeasures and, 51–2
 crime of aggression (See Aggression, crime of)
 as customary international law, 31–2, 75
 cyber operations and (See Cyber operations)
 force versus war, 30
 historical background, 24–30
 generally, 23–4
 collective security and, 27
 formal rules of war, 26–7
 just war doctrine, 24–6
 legal institution, war as, 26–7
 ICJ and, 39, 75, 77
 ILC on, 38–9
 international human rights law, relation to, 67
 generally, 5, 24
 aggression, determinations of, 70
 implications of, 70–2
 jurisdiction of human rights bodies and, 71
 positive obligations of states and, 71–2
 right to life and, 68–9, 71
 as *jus cogens*, 24, 38–40, 111
 as peremptory norm, 38–40
 reaffirmation of, 78–9
 recovery of territory and, 35
 sources of generally, 24
 targeted killings and, 429
 threat of force (See Threat of force)
 Ukraine War as violation of, 73
 UN Charter Article 2(4)
 generally, 30
 “against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state,” 33–5

- armed force as covered by, 93–4, 95
- as “cornerstone,” 3–4, 31
- domestic situations, exclusion of, 37
- exceptions, lack of express mention of, 33
- “in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations,” 35–6
- international relations, limitation to, 36–8
- regional organisations, applicability to, 37–8
- Security Council, applicability to, 38
- text of, 31, 32–3
- travaux préparatoires*, 34, 92–3, 94
- types of force covered by, 92–4
- violations of, 73
- Proportional forcible countermeasures, 290
- Proportionality principle
 - accumulation of events theory and, 295–6, 321–2
 - armed reprisals and, 307
 - authorisation of use of force by Security Council versus self-defence, 316–17
 - contextual nature of, 321
 - countermeasures and, 51
 - cyber attacks and, 318–19
 - dual role of, 298
 - further attacks, prevention of, 320–1
 - ICJ and, 297, 317–18, 320
 - international humanitarian law (IHL) compared, 4–5
 - jus in bello* compared, 316
 - merger with necessity principle, 320
 - non-state actors, self-defence against, 402
 - nuclear weapons and, 320
 - protection of nationals abroad and, 329
 - qualitative proportionality, 318–19
 - quantitative proportionality, 317–18
 - Security Council and, 151
 - self-defence and
 - generally, 260–1
 - as enabling actions in, 261–98
 - specific objective of defence and, 319–21
 - in state practice, 297–8, 319
 - targeted killings and, 430–1
- Proxy, threat of force by, 41
- Psaki, Jen, 396
- Putin, Vladimir, 45–6, 50, 91, 275, 332, 333, 342–3, 468, 509–10
- Qatar
 - humanitarian intervention in Syria and, 512
 - Islamic State and, 418
- Qualitative proportionality, 318–19
- Quantitative proportionality, 317–18
- Quigley, John, 176
- Rambouillet Agreement (1999), 502
- Rasmussen, Anders Fogh, 213–14
- Ratner, Michael, 183
- Ratner, Steven, 270
- Rebus sic stantibus*, 75–6
- Recognition
 - consent to intervention and, 455–9
 - non-recognition of governments, 49, 456
- Regional organisations. *See also specific organisation*
 - accountability for use of force, involvement as, 53–4
 - authorisation of use of force by
 - generally, 136
 - competence allocation, 167–9
 - concurrent competences, 168
 - exclusive competence of Security Council, 168–9
 - Security Council, relation to, 138, 153–4, 168–9
 - UN Charter Article 2(4), applicability of, 38
- Reisman, Michael, 507–8
- Reparations, 50–1
- Reporting requirement for self-defence, 344–9. *See also* Self-defence
- Reprisals. *See* Armed reprisals
- Responsibility to Protect
 - generally, 175–6
 - Darfur and, 212–13
 - enforcement of secondary responsibility, 208–11
 - General Assembly and, 209
 - High-Level Panel and, 208, 209–10
 - humanitarian intervention and, 487, 520–1, 525–6
 - ICISS and, 207, 209–10
 - Kosovo situation as impetus for, 207
 - Libya and, 213–15, 520
 - natural disasters and, 212
 - normative legal status of, 211–12
 - Rwanda situation as impetus for, 207
 - Secretariat and, 208, 210
 - Security Council and, 208–9, 212
 - Somalia situation as impetus for, 207
 - sovereignty, relation to, 207–8
 - Syria and, 216–17
 - World Summit Outcome Document and, 208, 210–11
- Rightslessness, 70
- Right to life
 - ECHR and, 437
 - HRC and, 68–9, 71, 418–38

550 Index

- Right to life (cont.)
 ICCPR and, 68, 436–7
 non-arbitrariness standard, 437
 prohibition on use of force and, 68–9, 71
 targeted killings and, 436–7
- Rio de Janeiro Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance (1947), 31
- Roberts, Anthea, 507
- Roosevelt, Franklin D., 29–30
- Roscini, Marco, 126
- Rose, Michael, 237
- Rouhani, Hassan, 43
- R2P. *See* Responsibility to Protect
- Russia. *See also* Soviet Union
 on air strikes in Syria, 515
 Chechen rebels and, 412, 417
 commissions of inquiry (Col) and, 65
 consent to intervention and, 448, 453–4
 Crimea, annexation of, 45, 49, 73, 332
 cyber attacks and, 79
 cyber operations and, 81, 82
 DRC, opposition to intervention in, 241
 genocide, allegations against Ukraine, 509–11
 Georgia, intervention in, 65–6, 79–80, 317, 325, 331–2
 Iraq and
 no-fly zones, 498–9
 opposition to intervention in, 198
 Kosovo, opposition to intervention in, 199, 200–1
 Libya, authorisation of force by Security Council and, 191
 Mali, opposition to intervention in, 243
 Nagorno-Karabakh dispute and, 303
 on NATO intervention in Yugoslavia, 503–4
 Novichok poisoning by, 114–15
 protection of nationals abroad and, 325, 326–7, 331–3
 Rome Statute and, 63
 sanctions against, 52
 self-defence and, 284–5
 status of forces agreements and, 480–1
 Syria and, 216, 465, 468, 480, 512, 514
 threat of force and, 45–6
 Turkish downing of Russian fighter jet, 50
 Ukraine War and (*See* Ukraine War)
 “unable or unwilling” doctrine and, 416
 US elections, interference in, 91
 use of armed force in Ukraine, 97–103
- Russia–Ukraine Partition Treaty on the Status and Conditions of the Black Sea Fleet (1997), 480
- Ruys, Tom, 109, 110, 129, 290, 300, 315, 345, 346, 350
- Rwanda
 authorisation of force by Security Council in, 177–8
 extraction of nationals from, 335
 French intervention in, 177–8
 Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement (1999), 240
 Organization of African Unity and, 476–7
 Security Council Resolution 918 (1994), 228
 Security Council Resolution 929 (1994), 177–8
 Senegalese intervention in, 177–8
 United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), 228, 237
- Sana’a funeral bombing (2016), 483
- Sanctions
 as countermeasures, 52
 Iran, 160–1
 Iraq, 156–7, 351–2, 372
 as non-forcible measures, 53–4
 North Korea, 147
 Sierra Leone, 205, 500–1
 Southern Rhodesia, 156
 Syria, 216
- San Francisco Conference (1945), 29–30, 361
- Saudi Arabia
 consent to intervention and, 448
 humanitarian intervention in Syria and, 512
 Iraq, opposition to intervention in, 198–9
 Islamic State and, 418
 Operation Decisive Storm, 454–5, 468–9
 Operation Renewal of Hope, 454–5
 UK arms sales to, 483
 Yemen, intervention in, 454–5, 468–83
- Scale and effects test, 98–9, 286, 401–2
- Schabas, William A., 66–7, 71
- Schachter, Oscar, 34, 496
- Schmitt, Michael N., 271–2, 289
- Schwarzenberger, Georg, 307
- Schwebel, Stephen M. (ICJ Judge), 278–9, 347, 363
- Second World War, 29
- Self-defence
 generally, 18, 259, 261, 354
 accountability for use of force and, 52–3
 anticipatory self-defence
 generally, 360–1, 398
 expansionist approach, 361
 ICJ and, 362–3
 international jurisprudence, 362–3
 restrictionist approach, 361–2
 Six Day War and, 363–4

- armed attack required for (See Armed attack)
- armed reprisals distinguished, 291–310, 313–15
- collective self-defence (See Collective self-defence)
- consent to intervention and, 450–1
- crime of aggression versus, 59, 60–1
- in customary international law, 32, 260–1
- cyber attacks and, 265–6, 271–2, 354–5
- cyber operations as, 82, 84
- de minimis* threshold for use of force and, 111–12
- extinguishment of right
 - demand for cessation by Security Council, 353–4
 - forcible measures by Security Council, 352
 - sanctions and, 351–2
 - seizing of issue by Security Council, 350–1
 - “until clause,” 349–54
- humanitarian intervention versus, 494–5
- ICJ and, 260
- ILC on, 53
- imminence (See Imminence)
- interpretation of *jus ad bellum* and, 8
- justifications for use of force, 11
- Kellogg–Briand Pact, omission in, 29
- lack of clarity regarding, 524–5
- League of Nations, omission by, 259
- NATO and, 171, 264, 350
- necessity principle and (See Necessity principle)
- 9/11 attacks and, 96, 264–5, 266, 283–312, 398, 403
- non-state actors, against (See Non-state actors, self-defence against)
- novel right versus pre-existing right, 259–60
- peacekeeping, use of force limited to self-defence (See Peacekeeping)
- pre-emptive self-defence (See Pre-emptive self-defence)
- preventative self-defence (See Preventative self-defence)
- proportionality principle and (See Proportionality principle)
- protection of nationals abroad (See Nationals abroad, protection of)
- reporting requirement, 344–9
 - generally, 10–11
 - frequency of, 348
 - ICJ and, 344–5, 346, 347
 - as precondition to acts in self-defence, 345
 - probative value of, 347
 - as separate procedural obligation, 345–6
 - Soleimani drone strike and, 346–7
 - in state practice, 346–8
 - transparency of, 349
- Security Council, role of
 - generally, 135–6, 343
 - reporting requirement, 344–9
 - “until clause,” 349–54
- targeted killings as, 267–8, 283, 293–4, 429–30, 433
- temporal restrictions on right of, 355
- textual source of right, 259–60
- threat of force and, 40
- UN Charter Article 51
 - armed attack under, 261–2
 - perpetrators of armed attack, 262–3
 - protection of nationals abroad, 324–5
 - targets of armed attack, 267
 - text of, 259–60
- weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and, 313, 398
- Webster formula, 296, 307, 360, 364–5
- Self-determination, consent to intervention and, 459–61, 475–84
- Senegal
 - Gambia, intervention in, 449–50
 - Rwanda, intervention in, 177–8
- Serbia, NATO bombing of Chinese embassy in, 128
- Serbia and Montenegro, humanitarian intervention in, 490–1
- Shalev, Gabriela, 292
- Sharp, Walter, 99
- Sheeran, Scott, 229
- Siad Barre, Mohamed, 158
- Sierra Leone
 - Armed Force Revolutionary Council (AFRC), 204–5
 - arms embargo, 204–5
 - attacks on peacekeepers in, 252–3
 - consent to intervention and, 448
 - ECOMOG, participation in, 203
 - ECOWAS intervention in, 169, 205, 238–9, 500–1, 520–1
 - humanitarian intervention in, 500–1, 520–1
 - implied authorisation of use of force by Security Council, 204–5
 - Organization of African Unity and, 476–7
 - sanctions, 205, 500–1
 - UK intervention in, 238–9
 - United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL), 238–9, 247
 - United Nations Observer Mission in Sierra Leone (UNOMSIL), 238

552 Index

- Simma, Bruno (ICJ Judge), 290, 506
- Six Day War (1967), 231
- Skripal, Sergei, 112–16
- Skripal, Yulia, 112–16
- Sloan, James, 225, 252
- Slovenia
 independence of, 235
 on Kosovo intervention, 200
 on regional organisations, 172
- Smith, Ian, 156
- Solana, Javier, 502
- SolarWinds cyber attack, 79–80
- Soleimani, Qassem, targeted killing of (2020)
 accumulation of events theory and, 293–4
 armed attack and, 267–8
 contextual imminence and, 389–95
 criticism of, 283
 international human rights law and, 71
 as law enforcement action, 114–17
 protection of nationals abroad and, 323–6,
 330–1, 334–5
 reporting requirement for self-defence and,
 346–7
- Somalia
 African Union Transition Mission in Somalia
 (ATMIS), 237–8
 African Union/United Nations Force in
 Somalia (AMISOM), 237–8
 “all necessary means” and, 237–8
 attacks on peacekeepers in, 252–3
 authorisation of force by Security Council in,
 158–9, 176–7, 178
 drones, use in, 429, 438
 Ethiopian intervention in, 347–8
 Kenyan intervention in, 415–16, 422–3
 “Mogadishu line,” 237
 Security Council Resolution 794 (1992), 158,
 176–7, 189, 508
 Transitional Federal Government, 422–3
 “unable or unwilling” doctrine and, 415–16
 Unified Task Force (UNITAF), 158–9, 189
 United Nations Operation in Somalia
 (UNOSOM I), 158–9, 251
 United Nations Operation in Somalia
 (UNOSOM II), 158–9, 236–7
 UNOSOM I, 158
 US intervention in, 158–9, 207, 237
- Somoza, Anastasio, 55
- Sony Pictures malware, 79–80
- South Africa
 African National Congress, 459
 Angola, aggression against, 147
 Botswana, intervention in, 400
 “unable or unwilling” doctrine and, 416
 South East Asia Collective Defence Treaty (1945),
 337–8
 Southern African Development Community
 (SADC), 478
 Southern Arab Federation (SAF), 291–2
 Southern Rhodesia. *See also* Zimbabwe
 arms embargo, 156
 sanctions, 156
 Security Council and, 156
 Zambia, aggression against, 147
- South Korea, North Korean invasion of, 147,
 154–6, 341–2. *See also* Korean War
 (1950–1953)
- South Sudan
 United Nations Interim Security Force for
 Abyei (UNISFA), 247
 United Nations Mission in South Sudan
 (UNMISS), 247
- Sovereignty
 cyber operations and, 83
 Responsibility to Protect, relation to, 207–8
- Soviet Union. *See also* Russia
 Afghanistan, intervention in, 73, 346, 470–1,
 474
 breakup of, 456
 collective self-defence and, 336
 consent to intervention and, 448, 474
 Cuba, removal of missiles from, 366
 Cuban Missile Crisis (1962) and, 365–6
 Czechoslovakia, intervention in, 73, 342,
 470–1
 Hungary, intervention in, 73
- Spain
 commissions of inquiry (CoI) and, 65
 foreign vessels, law enforcement actions
 against, 118
 Libya, intervention in, 190–1
 Rome Statute and, 63
- Sri Lanka on use of force in self-defence in
 territory of other states, 266
- Stabilisation missions
 consent of parties and, 250
 impartiality and, 251
 self-defence, use of force limited to, 248
- Stahn, Carsten, 209
- Stalin, Joseph, 29–30
- State practice
 accumulation of events theory in, 291–4
 armed attack, use of force distinguished, 281–5
 collective self-defence in, 340–2

- humanitarian intervention generally, 487, 494, 511–12
- ICJ Statute Article 38 and, 31
- interpretation of *jus ad bellum* and, 9–10
- necessity principle in, 297–8
- negative equality principle in, 464–5
- proportionality principle in, 297–8, 319
- reporting requirement for self-defence in, 346–8
- Status of forces agreements, 480–1
- Stevenson, Adlai, 366
- Stoeger, Eran, 165
- Stimson Doctrine, 49
- Stoltenberg, Jens, 343
- Stuxnet cyber attack, 79–80, 96, 97–8, 100–1, 160–1, 287
- Sudan
 - African Union/United Nations Force in Sudan (UNAMID), 239–40, 247
 - Darfur
 - African Union intervention in, 170, 213
 - Janjaweed militia, 212
 - peacekeeping in, 253–4
 - Responsibility to Protect and, 212–13
 - Security Council Resolution 1706 (2006), 213
 - Security Council Resolution 2559 (2020), 239–40
 - Janjaweed militia, 212
 - United Nations Interim Security Force for Abyei (UNISFA), 247
 - United Nations Mission in Sudan (UNMIS), 239
 - US air strikes in, 309, 310, 411
 - Suez crisis (1956)
 - United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF I), 230–2, 246
 - Uniting for Peace (UfP) process and, 166–7
 - Suicide bombers, 2
 - Suriname
 - oil rig dispute (2000), 122–3
 - proxy law enforcement actions and, 122–3
 - Sweden
 - NATO and, 343
 - on pre-emptive self-defence, 367–8
 - Syria
 - Arab League and, 217
 - Bush Doctrine in, 373–4
 - chemical weapons in, 41–2, 315, 513, 514, 515–17
 - civil war in, 446, 462, 465, 468
 - collective self-defence and, 340–1
 - drones, use in, 438
 - France and, 458–9, 512, 514, 516–17
 - General Assembly and, 150–1, 165–6
 - humanitarian intervention in
 - generally, 487, 512–13
 - debate regarding air strikes, 513–14
 - Responsibility to Protect and, 514
 - Iran and, 512
 - Islamic State in, 406, 416, 417–18, 421–4, 425, 465
 - Israeli air strikes in, 292–3, 373–4, 387, 524–5
 - NATO and, 216
 - pre-emptive self-defence in, 373–4
 - Responsibility to Protect and, 216–17
 - Russia and, 216, 465, 468, 480, 512, 514
 - sanctions, 216
 - Security Council and, 216
 - supply of arms by, 279
 - Syrian National Council (SNC), 458–9
 - UK air strikes on, 516–19
 - “unable or unwilling” doctrine and, 416
 - Uniting for Peace (UfP) process and, 166–7
 - US and
 - air strikes by, 315, 396, 515–17
 - consent to intervention and, 473–4
 - humanitarian intervention by, 512
 - Responsibility to Protect and, 216
 - Syrian National Council (SNC), 458–9
- Taft, William, 184
- Taiwan, China and, 42, 155
- Tallinn Manual on the International Law Applicable to Cyber Warfare*, 84, 86, 98, 101, 102, 286, 294
- Talmon, Stefan, 394
- Tams, Christian, 413, 414
- Tanganyika, consent to intervention and, 448
- Tanzania
 - humanitarian intervention by, 494–5
 - Tanganyika, consent to intervention and, 448
 - US embassy, armed attack on, 270–1, 273, 283–312, 411, 436
- Targeted killings
 - generally, 401, 428
 - of al-Qaida, 114–17, 431
 - as armed force, 96
 - consent to intervention and, 429
 - de minimis* threshold for use of force and, 112–16
 - drones, use of, 429, 433, 438–9
 - imminence and, 383, 388
 - international humanitarian law (IHL) and
 - generally, 428, 432

- Targeted killings (cont.)
- civilians, protection of, 434–5
 - continuous combat function, 434–5
 - duty to capture, 435–6
 - intensity requirement, 433–4
 - in non-international armed conflict, 433–4
 - organization requirement, 433–4
 - international human rights law (IHRL) and
 - generally, 71, 428, 436
 - extraterritoriality and, 437–9
 - right to life and, 436–7
 - as law enforcement actions, 114–17
 - necessity principle and, 430–1
 - prohibition on use of force and, 429
 - proportionality principle and, 430–1
 - as protection of nationals abroad, 323–6, 330–1, 334–5
 - as self-defence, 267–8, 283, 293–4, 346–7, 429–30, 433
 - Soleimani drone strike (See Soleimani, Qassem, targeted killing of (2020))
- Targeted killings generally, 440
- Taylor, Charles, 203–4, 499–500
- Terrorism. *See also specific group or person*
- generally, 2
 - global war on terror, 433–6
 - imminence and, 388
 - Leiden Policy Recommendations and, 436
 - scale and effects test and, 401–2
 - self-defence and (See Non-state actors, self-defence against)
 - suicide bombers, 2
- Thakur, Ramesh, 137–8
- “Thin red line,” 506–7
- Thirty Years War, 25
- Threat of force
- generally, 24, 40–1
 - aggression, crime of (See Aggression, crime of)
 - communicative nature of, 42–4
 - credibility of, 47
 - demand or ultimatum requirement, 41–2
 - ICC and, 48
 - ICJ and, 40–1, 44, 46–7, 54–5
 - jus cogens*, prohibition not deemed, 48
 - non-verbal or written threats, 44–7
 - nuclear weapons and, 47
 - by proxy, 41
 - self-defence and, 40
 - use of force versus, 48
- Threats to peace
- generally, 138, 143–4
 - cyber attacks as, 145–6
 - determinations, 144–7
 - discretion regarding determinations, 144–5
 - forcible measures in response to, 146–7
 - threat of use of force and, 146
- Tinoco Concessions* arbitration (1923), 452
- Tokyo Military Tribunal, 362
- Torrey Canyon* shipwreck bombing (1967), 118
- Trapp, Kimberley, 410–11, 414
- Treaties. *See also specific treaty*
- consent to intervention and, 476–7
 - interpretation of *jus ad bellum* and, 6
- Treaty of Amity, Economic Relations and Consular Rights between the United States and Iran (1955), 274
- Treaty of Versailles (1919), 50
- Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (1968), 46
- Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (2017), 46
- Trump, Donald, 43–4, 47, 74–5, 267–70, 281, 282, 293–4, 295, 317, 323–6, 342, 346–7, 381–6, 389–95, 515–16
- Tsagourias, Nicholas, 152–3, 161, 249, 287
- Tunisia, Israeli intervention in, 147, 400, 410, 411–12
- Turkey
- Cyprus, invasion of, 49
 - Iraq, intervention in, 347–8, 400, 412, 479–80
 - Russian fighter jet, downing of, 50
 - “unable or unwilling” doctrine and, 416
 - US missiles, removal of, 366
- Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, non-recognition of, 49
- Uganda
- Armed Activities* case (See *Armed Activities* case (ICJ 2005))
 - consent to intervention and, 448
 - DRC, intervention in, 409–10, 451, 479
 - Entebbe hostage crisis (1976), 334
 - humanitarian intervention in, 494–5
 - Israeli rescue of hostages in, 334
 - Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement (1999), 240
 - pre-emptive self-defence and, 378–9
- Ukraine. *See also Ukraine War*
- consent to intervention and, 448, 453–4
 - Constitution, 453
 - Crimea, Russian annexation of, 45, 49, 73, 332
 - Donetsk People’s Republic, 49, 342–3, 448, 509
 - genocide, allegations by Russia, 509–11
 - Lugansk People’s Republic, 49, 342–3, 448, 509
 - NATO and, 43–6, 343

- status of forces agreements and, 480–1
- use of armed force by Russia in, 97–103
- Ukraine War
 - generally, 1–2
 - collective self-defence and, 342–3
 - conventional weapons in, 2
 - nuclear power plants and, 343
 - protection of nationals abroad and, 326–7, 332–3
 - Secretariat and, 143
 - Security Council involvement in, 53, 173
 - self-defence and, 275
 - threat of force and, 45–6
 - Uniting for Peace (UfP) process and, 167
 - as violation of prohibition on use of force, 73
 - “Unable or unwilling” doctrine
 - generally, 414–19
 - able but unwilling states and, 424–5
 - Bethlehem Principles and, 416, 418–21, 424–5, 426
 - Chatham House Principles and, 416–17
 - consent and, 426–7
 - failed states and, 422–3
 - lack of clarity regarding, 525
 - legal status of, 427–8
 - Leiden Policy Recommendations and, 416, 417, 418–20, 425–6
 - problems with, 420–8
 - protection of nationals abroad and, 333–5
 - unable and unwilling states and, 418–21
 - unable but willing states and, 423–4
- Unilateralism, 175, 176–9
- United Arab Emirates, Islamic State and, 418
- United Kingdom
 - accumulation of events theory and, 291–2
 - on armed attack by non-state actors, 265
 - Brexit, 79–80
 - Caroline* incident (1837) (*See Caroline* incident (1837))
 - collective self-defence and, 343
 - commissions of inquiry (CoI) and, 65, 66
 - on consent to intervention, 446
 - consent to intervention and, 448
 - Corfu Channel* case and (*See Corfu Channel* case (ICJ 1949))
 - on counterintervention, 470–6
 - cyber attacks and, 79–80, 286–7
 - cyber operations and, 83
 - DRC, intervention in, 241
 - drones, use of, 438
 - extraction of nationals by, 333, 335–6
 - Falkland Islands, response to seizure of, 302, 348, 353–4 (*See also* Falklands War (1982))
 - Foreign Affairs Committee, 506–7
 - foreign vessels, law enforcement actions
 - against, 118
 - on humanitarian intervention, 496, 504, 512
 - humanitarian intervention in Syria and, 512, 513–14
 - on imminence, 381–2, 384
 - Iraq and
 - intervention in, 197–8, 453
 - no-fly zones, 498–9
 - Iraq Inquiry, 186, 188, 373
 - Iraq War and, 1, 53, 180
 - Islamic State, action against, 430–1
 - Joint Parliamentary Committee on Human Rights, 384, 387–8, 431–2
 - law enforcement actions in, 113–29
 - Libya, intervention in, 190–1
 - Manual of the Law of Armed Conflict (2004), 333
 - on NATO intervention in Yugoslavia, 503, 506–7
 - on negative equality principle, 465
 - on pre-emptive self-defence, 372, 377–8
 - Saudi Arabia, arms sales to, 483
 - Sierra Leone, intervention in, 238–9
 - Southern Arab Federation (SAF) and, 291–2
 - Suez crisis and, 230–1
 - Syria, air strikes on, 516–19
 - targeted killings by, 114–17, 383, 388, 428, 429–38
 - threat of force and, 41–2
 - “unable or unwilling” doctrine and, 416, 420–1, 427
 - Yemen, air strikes in, 291–2, 308, 309, 310
- United Nations Charter
 - absence of states withdrawing from, 76
 - adoption of, 1, 29–30
 - armed reprisals and, 307–8
 - Article 1, 224
 - Article 2(4) (*See* Prohibition on use of force)
 - Article 39 (*See also* United Nations Security Council) acts of aggression, 147–8
 - breaches of peace, 147–8
 - threats to peace, 144–7
 - Article 41, 148
 - Article 42, 148 (*See also* United Nations Security Council)
 - Article 43, 148–9
 - Article 51 (*See* Self-defence)
 - Article 52, 167 (*See also* Regional organisations)
 - Article 53, 168 (*See also* Regional organisations)

- United Nations Charter (cont.)
 Chapter VI, 225
 Chapter VII (*See specific topic*)
 collective security and, 135
 collective self-defence and, 336
 crime of aggression and, 57–8
 customary international law, relation to, 32
 force versus war, 30
 humanitarian intervention and (*See*
 Humanitarian intervention)
 interpretation of *jus ad bellum* and, 7
 lack of appetite for changing, 523–4
 maintenance of peace and security, 135
 non-intervention principle and, 90
 prohibition on use of force (*See* Prohibition on
 use of force)
 Security Council, forcible measures in
 accordance with, 150
 self-defence (*See* Self-defence)
travaux préparatoires, 491
 VCLT and, 7–8
- United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea
 (UNCLOS) (1982), 31, 118
- United Nations Department of Peacekeeping
 (DPK), 222
- United Nations General Assembly
 generally, 136
 authorisation of use of force by, 165–7
 commissions of inquiry (Col), 65
 Declaration on Friendly Relations (*See*
 Declaration on Principles of International
 Law Concerning Friendly Relations and
 Co-operation among States (1970))
 Declaration on the Inadmissibility of
 Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of
 States (1965), 463
 Declaration on the Non-Use of Force (1987), 93–4
 Definition of Aggression (1974) (*See* Definition
 of Aggression (1974))
 ICJ and, 140–1, 142
 Implementation of the Declaration on the
 Granting of Independence to Colonial
 Countries and Peoples (1972), 460
 Interpretation of *jus ad bellum* and, 16
 Korean War and, 155–6
 limitations on, 141–2
 peacekeeping and, 224
 powers of, 141
 recommendations, 141
 recommendation versus authorisation, 166
 Responsibility to Protect and, 209
 Security Council, relation to, 141–2, 150–1, 165
- United Nations Human Rights Committee
 objections to approach, 69–70
 rightslessness and, 70
 right to life and, 68–9, 71, 418–38
- United Nations Human Rights Council, 65
- United Nations Office of Legal Affairs, 229
- United Nations Secretariat
 generally, 136
 Agenda for Peace, 142–3
 High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and
 Change, 187–8, 208, 209–10, 375
 In Larger Freedom, 208, 210, 375–6
 peacekeeping and, 222–3
 powers of, 142–3
 Responsibility to Protect and, 208, 210
 Security Council, relation to, 142–3
- United Nations Security Council
 generally, 136
 abductions and, 113–20
 accountability for use of force, involvement as,
 53–4
 acts of aggression and
 generally, 138, 143–4
 determinations, 70, 147–8
 authorisation of use of force by (*See*
 Authorisation of use of force by Security
 Council)
 breaches of peace
 generally, 138, 143–4
 determinations, 147–8
 commissions of inquiry (Col), 14, 65
 debates regarding membership, 137–8
 failures of, 75–6
 peacekeeping emerging from, 220
 forcible measures
 generally, 138, 143, 148
 inadequacy of non-forcible measures, 300
 international humanitarian law, subject to,
 151–3
jus cogens, subject to, 151
legibus solutus not applicable, 149
 limitations on, 149–53
 necessity principle and, 151
 peremptory norms, subject to, 151
 proportionality principle and, 151
 threats to peace, in response to, 146–7
 UN Charter, acts in accordance with, 150
 foreign civil aircraft, law enforcement actions
 against and, 118
 General Assembly, relation to, 141–2, 150–1, 165
 humanitarian intervention justified by failure
 of, 507–8

557 Index

- ICJ and, 139–40, 151
- ICTY compared, 149
- Interpretation of *jus ad bellum* and, 16
- Korean War and, 154–6
- legally binding nature of decisions, 139–40
- limited membership, 137
- maintenance of peace and security, 137
- Military Staff Committee, 149, 153
- non-forcible measures, 138, 148
- peaceful settlement of disputes, 138, 225, 492
- peacekeeping and (See Peacekeeping)
- permanent members, 3, 137
- powers of, 138
- primacy of decisions, 139
- regional organisations, relation to, 138, 153–4, 168–9
- Resolutions (See *specific country*)
- Responsibility to Protect and, 208–9, 212
- Secretariat, relation to, 142–3
- self-defence, role in
 - generally, 135–6, 343
 - reporting requirement, 344–9
 - “until clause,” 349–54
- threats to peace
 - generally, 138, 143–4
 - cyber attacks as, 145–6
 - determinations, 144–7
 - discretion regarding determinations, 144–5
 - forcible measures in response to, 146–7
 - threat of use of force and, 146
- troops supplied by member states, 148–9
- UN Charter Article 2(4), applicability of, 38
- Uniting for Peace (UfP) Resolution, 155–6, 166–7, 173, 209, 508
- veto power, 3, 137–8
- United States
 - abductions by, 114–20
 - accumulation of events theory and, 293–4
 - Afghanistan and
 - air strikes by, 309, 310, 411
 - attack on al-Qaida in as self-defence, 266, 273, 310, 313, 320–1, 368–9, 407–8, 411–12
 - al-Qaida and
 - Afghanistan, intervention in, 368, 403
 - attack by as self-defence, 266, 273, 310, 313, 320–1, 368–9, 407–8
 - US embassies, armed attacks on, 273, 411
 - Authorization for Use of Military Force (2001), 429–32
 - Caroline incident (1837) (See *Caroline incident* (1837))
 - collective self-defence and, 336, 338, 341
 - commissions of inquiry (Col) and, 65
 - consent to intervention and, 448, 449–50, 473, 475–6, 479, 481, 482
 - Cuban Missile Crisis (1962) and, 365–6
 - cyber attacks and, 79–80, 318, 319
 - cyber operations and, 81, 85–6
 - drones, use of, 438
 - extraction of nationals by, 335, 336
 - Grenada, intervention in, 73, 327–30, 449
 - Gulf War and, 41, 53–4, 157
 - on imminence, 384, 388
 - Iran and
 - armed attack on embassy by, 271
 - attempted rescue of hostages in, 333–4
 - downing of civil aircraft, 122, 127
 - “Eagle Claw” mission, 271
 - oil platforms, armed attack on, 274, 301–10, 317–18
 - proportionality principle and, 317–18
 - threat of force against, 43
 - threat to military vessels by, 268, 293
 - use of armed force in, 97–112
 - Iraq and
 - air strikes in, 309, 330, 453
 - embassy, armed attack on, 269, 281
 - intervention in, 197–8
 - Islamic State, action against, 483–4
 - no-fly zones, 498–9
 - targeted killings in, 334–5
 - Iraq War and, 1, 53, 73, 180, 185, 187
 - Islamic State, action against, 416, 417–18
 - Kenya, armed attack on US embassy in, 270–1, 273, 283–312, 411, 436
 - on Kosovo intervention, 199
 - Libya, intervention in, 190–1
 - National Security Strategy (NSS) (2002), 370, 376, 385
 - National Security Strategy (NSS) (2006), 373
 - National Security Strategy (NSS) (2010), 379
 - on NATO intervention in Yugoslavia, 503
 - Nicaragua, intervention in, 55, 91–2, 102–3, 344–5, 451, 496–7
 - 9/11 attacks (See 9/11 attacks)
 - Oil Platforms* case (See *Oil Platforms* case (ICJ 2003))
 - Operation Desert Fox, 184–5
 - Pakistan, intervention in, 412, 475–6
 - Panama, intervention in, 73, 328–30, 449–50, 459
 - on pre-emptive self-defence, 368

- United States (cont.)
 protection of nationals abroad and, 324, 325–31, 333–5
 on Responsibility to Protect and, 215
 Rome Statute and, 63
 Russian interference in elections, 91
 self-defence and
 Afghanistan, attack on al-Qaida in as, 266, 273, 310, 313, 320–1, 368–9, 407–8, 411–12
 9/11 attacks and, 96, 264–5, 266, 283–312, 320–1, 398, 403, 407–8
 state practice regarding, 281–4
 targeted killings as, 267–8, 283, 293–4, 346–7, 433
 Soleimani drone strike (See Soleimani, Qassem, targeted killing of (2020))
 Somalia, intervention in, 158–9, 207, 237
 Sudan, air strikes in, 309, 310, 411
 Syria and
 air strikes on, 315, 396, 515–17
 consent to intervention and, 473–4
 humanitarian intervention in, 512, 514
 Responsibility to Protect and, 216
 Syrian National Council (SNC), 458–9
 Tanzania, armed attack on US embassy in, 270–1, 273, 283–312, 411, 436
 targeted killings by, 96, 114–17, 267–8, 283, 293–4, 324, 325–6, 330–1, 334–5, 346–7, 428, 429–31 (See also Soleimani, Qassem, targeted killing of (2020))
 threat of force and, 41, 43–4
 Turkey, removal of missiles from, 366
 “unable or unwilling” doctrine and, 416, 418–22, 427
 Venezuela and, 44–56
 Uniting for Peace (UFP) process, 155–6, 166–7, 173, 209, 508
 Uniting our Strengths for Peace Report (2015), 246–7, 254–5
 Urquhart, Brian, 252
 Use of force
 generally, 18, 89, 130
 accumulation of events theory, 290–6 (See also Accumulation of events theory)
 aggression distinguished, 107–9
 “all necessary means” versus, 189
 armed attack distinguished (See Armed attack)
 armed force (See Armed force)
de minimis threshold
 generally, 109
 acts falling below, 110
 importance of establishing, 111–12
ius cogens and, 111
 law enforcement actions distinguished, 112–18
 self-defence and, 111–12
 targeted killings and, 112–16
 General Assembly, authorisation by, 165–7
 gravity element generally, 105, 123–4
 law enforcement actions distinguished, 112–18
 generally, 112–13
 abductions, 113–14
 foreign civil aircraft, against, 118
 foreign individuals or groups, against, 116–17
 foreign vessels, against, 118
 proxy actions, 121–3
 Soleimani drone strike and, 114–17
 targeted killings, 114–17
mens rea element
 generally, 125–6
 coercion as basis of requirement, 125–6
 hostile intent, 128–9
 ICJ and, 103–26
 intention versus general motives for action, 126–7
 mistake and, 127–8
 non-intervention principle
 in customary international law, 90
 ICJ and, 91–2
 interference distinguished, 90–1
 UN Charter and, 90
 non-state actors, self-defence against (See Non-state actors, self-defence against)
 in peacekeeping, 221–4
 prohibition on (See Prohibition on use of force)
 regional organisations, authorisation by
 generally, 136
 competence allocation, 167–9
 concurrent competences, 168
 exclusive competence of Security Council, 168–9
 Security Council, authorisation by (See Authorisation of use of force by Security Council)
 self-defence (See Self-defence)
 threat of force versus, 48
 types of force covered by UN Charter, 92–4
 VanLandingham, Rachel, 393
 Vattel, Emer de, 25
 Venezuela
 “unable or unwilling” doctrine and, 416
 United States and, 44–56

559 Index

- Vermeer, Zachary, 469
- Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations (1961), 128
- Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties (VCLT) (1969)
- coercion and, 475
 - consent to intervention and, 449
 - interpretation of *jus ad bellum* and, 7–8
 - peremptory norms under, 38
 - UN Charter and, 7–8
- Vietnam
- collective self-defence and, 336, 338
 - humanitarian intervention by, 494–5
 - on pre-emptive self-defence, 376
- Waldheim, Kurt, 233–4, 246
- Waldock, Humphrey, 322–3, 333, 353, 360
- WannaCry ransomware, 79–80
- Warsaw Pact
- collective self-defence and, 337–8, 342
 - Czechoslovakia, intervention in, 475
 - emergence of, 153
 - self-defence and, 350
- Weapons
- aircraft as, 96
 - armed force, types of weapons used in, 95–6
 - autonomous weapons, 526
 - cyber attacks and, 96
 - defined, 96
 - evolution of, 2
 - kinetic force, 95
 - necessity principle, relevance of nature of weapons used to, 313
 - WMD (See Weapons of mass destruction (WMD))
- Weapons of mass destruction (WMD)
- authorisation of use of force by Security Council and, 183
 - chemical weapons
 - Novichok poisoning, 114–15
 - in Syria, 41–2, 315, 513, 514, 515–17
 - Cuban Missile Crisis (1962) and, 366
 - Iraq and, 371
 - jus ad bellum* and, 2
 - nuclear weapons (See Nuclear weapons)
 - pre-emptive self-defence and, 369
 - self-defence and, 313, 398
- Webster, Daniel, 296
- Webster formula, 296, 307, 360, 364–5
- Weightman, M.A., 337
- West Irian, United Nations Security Force (UNSF), 224
- Weston, Berns, 176
- White, Nigel D., 146, 150, 152–3, 156–7, 165, 166, 229, 247
- Wilson, Woodrow, 27–8
- Wippman, David, 205
- WMD. See Weapons of mass destruction (WMD)
- Wood, Michael, 165, 202
- World Summit Outcome Document (2005), 78, 208, 210–11
- Wright, Jeremy, 381–2, 383, 384, 385, 397
- Wright, Quincy, 464
- Xi Jinping, 42
- Yanukovych, Viktor, 332, 448, 453–4, 455
- Yemen
- al-Qaida in, 469
 - armed attacks by, 291–2
 - on authorisation of force by Security Council, 176
 - civil war in, 468–9
 - consent to intervention and, 448, 454–5, 473
 - drones, use in, 429, 438
 - Houthis in, 454–5, 468–83
 - Iranian intervention in, 455, 470, 471
 - Islamic State in, 469
 - Sana'a funeral bombing (2016), 483
 - Saudi intervention in, 454–5, 468–83
 - Security Council Resolution 2216 (2015), 455
 - UK air strikes in, 291–2, 308, 309, 310
- Yugoslavia. See also *specific country*
- attacks on peacekeepers in, 252–3
 - breakup of, 456
 - Kosovo Albanians, repression of, 501
 - NATO attacks in, 200, 502–4
 - United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), 235–6, 247–8
- Zambia, Southern Rhodesian aggression against, 147
- Zimbabwe. See also Southern Rhodesia
- on authorisation of force by Security Council, 176–7
 - Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement (1999), 240