

# Contents

<b>1 Introduction and Overview</b> .....	1
1.1 Background .....	1
1.2 Objectives .....	4
1.3 Literature Survey .....	5
1.4 Limitation .....	7
1.5 Outline .....	8
References .....	9
<b>2 Historical and Political Background of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict</b> .....	11
2.1 Introductory Remarks .....	12
2.2 The Origins of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict .....	12
2.2.1 Pre-Israel Palestine .....	13
2.2.2 Jewish Persecution and Zionism .....	14
2.2.3 The British, the Jews and the Palestinians .....	16
2.2.4 The Partition .....	19
2.3 Occupation and Resistance .....	21
2.3.1 The Arab-Israeli Wars .....	21
2.3.2 The Resistance: Guerrillas and Stones .....	24
2.4 The Occupied Palestinian Territories .....	28
2.4.1 Gaza .....	28
2.4.2 The West Bank .....	31
2.4.3 East Jerusalem .....	33
2.5 Military Operations and the UN Missions .....	35
2.5.1 Operation Cast Lead .....	35
2.5.2 Operation Protective Edge .....	37
2.6 Peace Negotiations .....	38
2.7 Chapter Summary .....	40
References .....	41

<b>3</b>	<b>The 2009 Palestinian <i>Ad hoc</i> Declaration</b>	49
3.1	Introductory Remarks	50
3.2	The Legal Regime of <i>Ad hoc</i> Declarations	50
3.3	Decision of the Prosecutor on the 2009 Palestinian Declaration	54
3.4	Determination of Statehood for the Purpose of the ICC Jurisdiction	55
3.4.1	‘Kompetenz-Kompetenz’	57
3.4.2	Possible Avenues to Determine the Statehood Issue	58
3.5	The Palestine Statehood Issue	62
3.5.1	The Statehood of Palestine: General Considerations	62
3.5.1.1	Palestine’s Declaration of Statehood	62
3.5.1.2	The Montevideo Convention	64
3.5.1.3	Theories of State Recognition	67
3.5.1.4	Palestine as an Occupied Territory	69
3.5.1.5	Conclusion on the Abstract Statehood of Palestine	69
3.5.2	The Functional Approach: Statehood for the Purposes of <i>Ad hoc</i> Declarations	70
3.6	Subsequent Developments	75
3.7	Chapter Summary	75
	References	76
<b>4</b>	<b>Pre-Investigation Considerations</b>	79
4.1	Introductory Remarks	80
4.2	Preliminary Examination: An Overview	81
4.3	Jurisdiction	84
4.3.1	Ratione temporis	84
4.3.2	Ratione materiae	88
4.3.3	Ratione loci or personae	90
4.4	Admissibility	91
4.4.1	Complementarity	92
4.4.1.1	Israel’s Accountability Mechanism	94
4.4.1.2	Palestine’s Accountability Mechanism	97
4.4.2	Gravity	98
4.5	The ‘Interest of Justice’ Consideration	100
4.6	Governing Principles	103
4.7	Chapter Summary	106
	References	107

<b>5</b>	<b>Case Selection and Crimes Under the Rome Statute</b>	111
5.1	Introductory Remarks	112
5.2	Strategy for Case Selection	112
5.2.1	Legal Criteria	114
5.2.1.1	Determination of the ‘Reasonable Basis to Proceed’ Standard	115
5.2.1.2	Determination of the ‘Sufficient Basis’ Standard	116
5.2.2	Selection of Cases	116
5.2.2.1	Gravity as a Criterion for Case Selection	117
5.2.2.2	Degree of Responsibility of Alleged Perpetrators	118
5.2.2.3	Charges	120
5.3	Potential Cases Under the Rome Statute	121
5.3.1	Cases of War Crime	122
5.3.1.1	Attacks on Civilians and Civilian Objects	133
5.3.1.2	Use of Human Shields	141
5.3.1.3	Settlements	143
5.3.1.4	Wilful killing	146
5.3.2	Cases of Crimes against Humanity	148
5.3.2.1	Forcible Transfer of Population	151
5.3.2.2	The Crime of Apartheid	154
5.3.2.3	Persecution	172
5.4	Chapter Summary	177
	References	178
<b>6</b>	<b>Perspectives on the Intervention of the ICC in Palestine</b>	187
6.1	Introductory Remarks	188
6.2	Possible Impacts of the ICC’s Intervention in the Palestine Situation	190
6.2.1	Combating Impunity	190
6.2.1.1	Individualising Guilt and Challenging Narratives	191
6.2.1.2	Responding to the Needs of Victims	192
6.2.1.3	Deterrence and Retribution	194
6.2.1.4	Promoting National Judicial Reforms	197
6.2.2	Fostering Palestine’s Statehood	199
6.2.3	Peace Negotiations	201
6.2.3.1	Promoting Peace Negotiations	201
6.2.3.2	Hindering Peace Negotiations	203
6.2.4	Stabilising the States	205
6.2.5	Promoting the Credibility of the Court	207

6.3	Alternative and Parallel Options to the ICC . . . . .	210
6.3.1	Prosecutions Through Universal Jurisdiction . . . . .	211
6.3.2	A Special Tribunal . . . . .	213
6.3.3	Non-judicial Measures . . . . .	214
6.4	Chapter Summary . . . . .	215
	References . . . . .	215
<b>7</b>	<b>Conclusions and Recommendations . . . . .</b>	<b>221</b>
7.1	General Remarks . . . . .	221
7.2	Conclusions . . . . .	221
7.3	Recommendations . . . . .	225
<b>Index</b>	. . . . .	<b>227</b>