

Contents

<i>Preface</i>	x
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xv
Introduction	1
1 Prelude to the criminalisation of aggression: the bygone era (1776–1917)	4
1 <i>Introduction</i>	4
2 <i>Declaration of Independence, neutrality doctrine and self-defence: a common natural-law ground</i>	5
3 <i>Time for international conferences</i>	12
4 <i>The search for justifications</i>	20
5 <i>The First World War</i>	26
6 <i>Conclusion</i>	32
<i>Bibliography</i>	32
2 The international delict of aggression (1918–1944)	35
1 <i>Introduction</i>	35
2 <i>The Paris Peace Conference</i>	36
2.1 <i>The US and the 1919 Commission on the Responsibility of the Authors of the War and on Enforcement of Penalties</i>	36
2.2 <i>The Covenant of the League of Nations</i>	42
3 <i>Conferences and multilateral agreements in the 1920s</i>	44
4 <i>The legal grounds for interpositions of a temporary character: US practice during the 1920s</i>	47
5 <i>The Pact of Paris</i>	48

viii *Contents*

6	<i>Conferences and multilateral agreements in the 1930s</i>	53
6.1	<i>Aggression and the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of an American state</i>	53
6.2	<i>Disarmament and aggression</i>	57
7	<i>The Pact of Paris in the 1930s</i>	59
8	<i>Neutrality and self-defence</i>	66
9	<i>Aggression during the Second World War</i>	73
9.1	<i>A new international organisation for the maintenance of peace</i>	73
9.2	<i>The United Nations War Crimes Commission</i>	74
10	<i>Conclusion</i>	80
	<i>Bibliography</i>	81
3	The international crime of aggression (1945–1952)	85
1	<i>Introduction</i>	85
2	<i>A new year's change</i>	86
3	<i>Regional vs universal aggression</i>	89
3.1 (a)	<i>Article 2(4) of the Charter of the United Nations</i>	90
3.1 (b)	<i>Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations</i>	91
3.1 (c)	<i>Collective security under the Charter of the United Nations</i>	93
3.2	<i>Informal negotiations dealing with the treatment of war criminals</i>	94
4	<i>London</i>	95
5	<i>Nuremberg</i>	104
6	<i>Tokyo</i>	117
7	<i>Subsequent Nuremberg Trials</i>	125
8	<i>The Nuremberg principles blowing in the wind</i>	129
9	<i>Individual and collective defence in the second half of the 1940s</i>	136
10	<i>Conclusion</i>	141
	<i>Bibliography</i>	142
4	An indefinable aggression (1952–2002)	146
1	<i>Introduction</i>	146
2	<i>US practice during the Cold War: interventions in Latin America</i>	146
3	<i>US practice during the Cold War: self-defence</i>	151
4	<i>US practice during the Cold War: aggression as an instrument of propaganda</i>	161
5	<i>Resolution 2625 (1970)</i>	163

6	<i>Resolution 3314 (1974)</i>	164
7	<i>The US and the outer space</i>	172
8	<i>1990 Persian Gulf War</i>	176
8.1	<i>Iraq: the first Gulf War and the debate at the UN level</i>	176
8.2	<i>Iraq: the debate on the idea of an international tribunal</i>	179
9	<i>Towards the adoption of the ICC Statute</i>	181
10	<i>Conclusion</i>	185
	<i>Bibliography</i>	186
5	A treaty-based crime of aggression (2003–2020)	191
1	<i>Introduction</i>	191
2	<i>The Kampala Review Conference</i>	192
2.1	<i>The US position in Kampala</i>	192
2.2	<i>The rationale behind the US position: customary law and universal jurisdiction</i>	197
2.3	<i>The Kampala amendment</i>	201
2.4	<i>The ‘character’ factor in the threshold clause</i>	207
2.4.1	<i>Humanitarian intervention</i>	208
2.4.2	<i>Self-defence</i>	220
2.4.2 (a)	<i>The notions of ‘armed attack’ and pre-emptive self-defence</i>	222
2.4.2 (b)	<i>The 2003 Iraqi War</i>	231
2.4.2 (c)	<i>(Self-)defences in Syria</i>	243
2.4.2 (d)	<i>The US, the UN Charter and the notion of ‘attack’ in the cyberspace</i>	248
2.4.2 (e)	<i>The US, the UN Charter and the notion of ‘attack’ in the outer space</i>	252
3	<i>The US and the crime of aggression after the Kampala Review Conference</i>	256
4	<i>Conclusion</i>	260
	<i>Bibliography</i>	261
	Conclusion	267
	<i>Index</i>	270