

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<i>Editors' Preface</i> .....	<i>i</i>
<i>Foreword by Judge Madan B. Lokur</i> .....	<i>v</i>
<i>Foreword by Gregory S. Gordon</i> .....	<i>xi</i>
1. Setting a Discourse Space: Correlational Analysis, Foundational Concepts, and Legally Protected Interests in International Criminal Law .....	1
<i>By Morten Bergsmo, Emiliano J. Buis and Nora Helene Bergsmo</i>	
1.1. The Philosophical Foundations of International Criminal Law Project and its Purpose .....	1
1.2. International Law and Philosophy: Why and How? .....	7
1.3. From Plato to Foucault: A Sample of Philosophical Dialogues ...	11
1.4. The Contents of This Volume .....	17
2. Restraint over Revenge: Emotional Bias, Reformatory Punishment, and Plato's Contribution to Modern International Criminal Law .....	27
<i>By Emiliano J. Buis</i>	
2.1. Introduction .....	27
2.2. Emotions, Crimes and International Law .....	32
2.3. Learning from Punishment in Plato: Suppressing Anger? .....	40
2.4. Suffering Universal Punishment in War? <i>Páthos</i> in Interstate <i>Nómos</i> .....	50
2.5. Concluding Remarks .....	55
3. Cicero: <i>Bellum Iustum</i> and the Enemy Criminal Law .....	57
<i>By Pedro López Barja de Quiroga</i>	
3.1. Introduction .....	57
3.2. The Just and Righteous War .....	60
3.3. States of Exception .....	65
3.3.1. Carl Schmitt and Walter Benjamin .....	65
3.3.2. States of Exception in Rome .....	67
3.3.3. Cicero on the State of Exception .....	72
3.4. <i>Feindstrafrecht</i> .....	77

3.5.	Conclusions .....	81
4.	Roman Jurists and the Idea of International Criminal Responsibility: Ulpian and the Cosmopolis .....	85
	<i>By Kaius Tuori</i>	
4.1.	Introduction .....	85
4.2.	Ulpian, a Roman Jurist from the Severan Period.....	89
4.3.	Sovereignty .....	94
4.4.	Responsibility .....	97
4.5.	Universal Jurisdiction and Authority .....	104
4.6.	Conclusion .....	110
5.	<i>Inter Homines Esse: The Foundations of International Criminal Law and the Writings of Ambrose, Augustine, Aquinas, Vitoria and Suárez.....</i>	111
	<i>By Hanne Sophie Greve</i>	
5.1.	Enlightened Thinkers of the Catholic Faith.....	114
5.1.1.	Introduction.....	114
5.1.2.	Ambrose of Milan (~339–397) .....	115
5.1.3.	Aurelius Augustine (354–430).....	117
5.1.4.	Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274).....	118
5.1.5.	Francisco de Vitoria (1486–1546) .....	120
5.1.6.	Francisco Suárez (1548–1617) .....	121
5.2.	The Actors.....	123
5.2.1.	God .....	123
5.2.1.1.	Genesis 1:27 .....	123
5.2.1.2.	Jesus Christ the Redeemer.....	124
5.2.1.3.	A Comprehensive Understanding of the Universe as Created by God and Inhabited by Human Beings .....	124
5.2.2.	The Individual Human Being .....	125
5.2.2.1.	The Essence and Existence of Finite Beings.....	125
5.2.2.2.	‘ <i>Imago Dei</i> ’ – Dignity and Worth.....	126
5.2.2.3.	The Human Condition .....	128
5.2.2.4.	Who is the Individual Human Being? .....	129
5.2.2.5.	The Different Human Faculties .....	129
5.2.2.6.	Moral Choice and Free Will .....	131
5.2.3.	The Plurality – Humankind.....	134
5.2.3.1.	Created ‘Them’ – The Social Dimension .....	134

	5.2.3.2.	The Fundamental Equality of the Members of Humanity .....	135
	5.2.3.3.	The State.....	135
	5.2.3.4.	The International Community .....	137
5.3.		The Rules.....	138
	5.3.1.	Morality .....	138
	5.3.1.1.	The Concept of Morality .....	138
	5.3.1.2.	Law in Contradistinction to Morality.....	139
	5.3.2.	Natural Law .....	141
	5.3.2.1.	The Eternal Law .....	141
	5.3.2.2.	The Precepts of Natural Law Are Universally Identifiable by Nature .....	144
	5.3.2.3.	Intrinsic Goods – Aspects of Human Flourishing .....	146
	5.3.2.4.	Universal – Common to Humankind.....	151
	5.3.2.5.	Immutable – In Principio, Nunc et Semper ...	153
	5.3.3.	Civil Law .....	155
	5.3.3.1.	Must Conform to the Eternal and Natural Law.....	155
	5.3.3.2.	Agreed upon by Human Beings for their Entity .....	156
	5.3.3.3.	Interpretation, Equity and Mutability.....	158
	5.3.3.4.	Territorial Jurisdiction .....	160
	5.3.4.	<i>Ius Gentium</i> .....	160
	5.3.4.1.	Character and Rationale .....	160
	5.3.4.2.	Sources .....	162
	5.3.4.3.	Jurisdiction in Relation to Transnational and International Wrongs.....	163
5.4.		Concluding Remarks .....	164
6.		Buddhist Philosophy and International Criminal Law: Towards a Buddhist Approach to Reckoning with Mass Atrocity .....	165
		<i>By Tallyn Gray</i>	
	6.1.	Introduction .....	165
	6.2.	Existing Work .....	168
	6.3.	Points of Comparison .....	171
	6.4.	Some Basics of Buddhism.....	172
	6.5.	Cyclic Time and Timelessness.....	175
	6.6.	Buddhism and War .....	177

6.6.1.	Leave It to <i>Karma</i> ? .....	178
6.6.2.	Breaking the Cycle: <i>The Lady and the Ogress</i> (The Story of Kalayakkhini) .....	181
6.6.3.	Angulimala .....	183
6.6.4.	Philosophy in Action: Breaking the Cycle in the Modern World .....	186
6.7.	Conclusion – A Beginning .....	190
7.	Hugo Grotius on War, Punishment, and the Difference Sovereignty Makes .....	193
	<i>By Pablo Kalmanovitz</i>	
7.1.	Just War .....	195
7.2.	Solemn War .....	198
7.3.	Why Solemn Wars .....	203
7.4.	Grotius and the Criminalisation of Aggression .....	209
8.	Hobbes et la Cour pénale internationale : la fiction du contrat social global .....	213
	<i>By Juan Branco</i>	
8.1.	La Notion de Contrat Social et les Violences de Masse .....	218
8.1.1.	Les Conditions des Violences de Masse .....	218
8.1.2.	Le Rapport Paradoxal à la Souveraineté .....	224
8.2.	Sur l'interprétation Hobbesienne de l'école Réaliste des Relations Internationales .....	228
8.2.1.	La Notion de Contrat Social chez Hobbes .....	228
8.2.2.	Le Pouvoir Faussement <i>Illimité</i> du Souverain .....	230
8.2.3.	La Transposabilité de la Théorie Hobbesienne .....	235
8.2.4.	De la Possibilité Théorique d'un État Mondial chez Hobbes .....	238
8.3.	Hobbes pour Penser la CPI .....	240
8.3.1.	La Théorie de la Souveraineté chez Hobbes .....	240
8.3.2.	Fiction de la Fiction chez Hobbes .....	243
8.3.3.	Réinterpréter Hobbes pour y Rester Fidèle : la Nécessaire Limitation de la Souveraineté .....	248
8.3.4.	La Cour Pénale International aux Frontières de la Théorie Hobbesienne .....	251
8.3.4.1.	L'inconnue Procédurale : Faire Parler les Silences de Hobbes .....	252
8.3.4.2.	Le Respect des Modalités d'établissement du Contrat Social .....	254

8.3.5.	La Spécificité du Droit Pénal, Clef de l’ancrage de la CPI dans la Théorie Hobbesienne.....	256
8.3.5.1.	L’origine du Pouvoir Absolu du Souverain ...	257
8.3.5.2.	L’Idée Face aux Ruptures du Réel : du Coût en Vie Humaines des Limites d’une Abstraction .....	261
8.3.5.3.	La Condition d’exercice du Pouvoir Devenue Aporie.....	269
8.4.	Conclusion.....	276
9.	An Analysis of Lockean Philosophy in the Historical and Modern Context of the Development of, and the Jurisdictional Restraints Imposed by, the ICC Statute .....	281
	<i>By Daniel N. Clay</i>	
9.1.	Introduction .....	282
9.2.	The Three Primary Philosophical Foundations of the International Criminal Court and Related Obstacles .....	283
9.2.1.	The ‘State of Nature’ .....	283
9.2.2.	Escaping the ‘State of Nature’ through Hobbesian State Sovereignty .....	285
9.2.3.	Escaping the ‘State of Nature’ through Kant’s Treaty Law of Liberal Republics .....	288
9.2.4.	Escaping the ‘State of Nature’ through a Lockean Recognition of a Common Judge .....	290
9.3.	All Roads Lead to Rome: The Development of International Law Prior to the Rome Statute .....	294
9.3.1.	The First Attempt to Establish an International Criminal Court.....	294
9.3.2.	The Second Attempt to Establish an International Criminal Court.....	299
9.3.3.	The Third, and Successful, Attempt to Establish an International Criminal Court.....	302
9.4.	The Conflict between Lockean Philosophy and the Jurisdictional Restraints Imposed by the Rome Statute.....	308
9.5.	Conclusion Regarding the Philosophical Future of the International Criminal Court .....	313
10.	“The friend of all nations”: Punishment and Universal Jurisdiction in Emer de Vattel’s <i>Law of Nations</i> .....	315
	<i>By Elisabetta Fiocchi Malaspina</i>	
10.1.	Introduction .....	315

10.2.	Vattel’s Life: The Historical and Intellectual Context .....	322
10.3.	The <i>Law of Nations</i> : National and International Order to Achieve Security and Peace.....	325
10.4.	Vattel’s <i>Law of Nations</i> and his Concepts of International Crimes: Universal Jurisdiction .....	338
10.5.	The Law of Nations Now .....	347
11.	The Statute of the International Criminal Court as a Kantian Constitution.....	351
	<i>By Alexander Heinze</i>	
11.1.	Introduction .....	351
11.2.	Waves of Internationalism .....	354
11.3.	Methodology.....	356
11.4.	Punishment: Kantian Freedom and its Hindrance .....	359
11.5.	Human Rights Violations and Criminal Law on the International Level.....	365
11.5.1.	The Concept of ‘Right’ on the International Level.....	365
11.5.2.	Protection of Human Rights on the International Level .....	375
11.5.2.1.	A “Violation of Rights in <i>One Part of the World is Felt Everywhere</i> ” .....	375
11.5.2.2.	Human Rights Violations and the Global Public Sphere.....	378
11.6.	The Institutional Justification of the ICC .....	381
11.6.1.	The <i>Ius Puniendi</i> of the ICC .....	381
11.6.2.	Can States Be Coerced?.....	385
11.7.	Can the ICC Statute Live up to the Institutional Justification of the ICC?.....	388
11.7.1.	Constitution and Constitutionalism .....	389
11.7.2.	Other Concepts of a Constitution on the Global Scale .....	391
11.7.3.	The ICC Statute as a Constitution?.....	395
11.7.3.1.	Human Rights as a Mainstay of the Statute and Blueprint for the Common Good .....	395
11.7.3.2.	A Public Sphere and a Constitutional Moment: Humanity as a Political Community.....	399
11.7.3.3.	Solidarist Exceptions of the Statutes’ Cosmopolitan and Constitutional Dimension .....	403
11.7.3.4.	The Complementarity Principle .....	405
11.7.3.5.	The ICC and the Purposes of Punishment.....	413

11.7.3.6. The ICC Statute as a Mix of Natural and Positive Law .....	420
11.7.3.7. The ICC Statute as ‘Higher Law’ .....	422
11.8. Conclusion .....	424
12. Jeremy Bentham’s Legacy: A Vision of an International Law for the Greatest Happiness of All Nations .....	429
<i>By Gunnar M. Ekelove-Slydal</i>	
12.1. Introduction .....	430
12.1.1. The Principle of Utility .....	433
12.1.2. The Relevancy of Bentham’s Philosophy .....	439
12.2. Bentham’s Intellectual Profile .....	443
12.2.1. The Misery of Bad Legislation and its Healing .....	445
12.2.2. Bentham’s Concept of Law .....	447
12.2.3. Bentham’s Attack on Natural Rights .....	450
12.2.4. Punishment and Criminal Responsibility .....	454
12.2.5. Extending the Principle of Utility to International Law .....	458
12.3. Utilitarianism Refined .....	465
12.3.1. John Stuart Mill .....	467
12.3.2. John Austin .....	468
12.3.3. H.L.A. Hart .....	470
12.3.4. Hart’s Concept of International Law .....	475
12.4. Benthamite Perspectives on International Law .....	480
12.5. Philosophical Foundations of International Criminal Law .....	484
13. Reconciliation v. Retribution, and Co-operation v. Substitution: Hegel’s Suggestions for a Philosophy of International Criminal Law .....	487
<i>By Sergio Dellavalle</i>	
13.1. Hegel and International Criminal Law: A Field with Unexpected and Inspiring Discoveries .....	487
13.2. Crime, Punishment and Reconciliation in Hegel’s Philosophy .....	490
13.3. A Hegelian Understanding of International Criminal Law .....	507
13.4. Towards a Multi-Layered Idea of International Criminal Law ..	516

14. Understanding the International <i>Ius Puniendi</i> under Durkheim’s Collective Conscience: An Anachronism or a Viable Path? .....	521
<i>By Carlos Augusto Canedo Gonçalves da Silva and Aléxia Alvim Machado Faria</i>	
14.1. Introduction .....	521
14.2. Philosophy of Punishment Between Justification, Purpose and Function .....	524
14.3. The <i>Ius Puniendi</i> in International Law .....	529
14.4. Émile Durkheim and Functionalist Criminology.....	531
14.5. A Potential Cultural Translation .....	538
14.6. Conclusion.....	541
15. Gandhism and International Criminal Law.....	545
<i>By Abraham Joseph</i>	
15.1. Introduction .....	545
15.2. Mahatma Gandhi: The Man and his Ideas .....	548
15.2.1. Formative Years .....	548
15.2.2. Gandhi during the Boer War: Gandhi’s Tryst with Humanitarian Law .....	549
15.2.3. Gandhi on Law .....	550
15.2.4. Gandhi’s Key Concepts .....	551
15.2.4.1. Non-Violence.....	551
15.2.4.2. Satyagraha .....	553
15.2.4.3. The Relationship between <i>Ahimsa</i> and Truth .....	553
15.2.4.4. <i>Advaita</i> (Non-Dualism) .....	554
15.2.4.5. Gandhi’s Ultimate Objective .....	554
15.2.5. Gandhi’s Ideas in Relation to International Criminal Justice .....	555
15.2.5.1. International Criminal Justice as ‘Peace Trusteeship’ .....	555
15.2.5.2. The Crime of Aggression: A Gandhian Perspective .....	557
15.2.5.3. Gandhi on the Use of Force.....	558
15.2.5.4. The Duty to Resist Aggression.....	559
15.2.5.5. Gandhi on Permanent Peace.....	559
15.2.5.6. Gandhi and International Organisations.....	560
15.3. International Criminal Law: Dealing with Criticism the Gandhian Way .....	560
15.4. Conclusion.....	562



16. Hans Kelsen and the Move to Compulsory Criminal Jurisdiction in International Law .....	563
<i>By Jochen von Bernstorff</i>	
16.1. Kelsen and the International Judiciary .....	564
16.2. Compulsory Criminal Jurisdiction.....	570
16.3. Kelsen on the Nuremberg Trials.....	572
16.3.1. Waging Aggressive War as an Individualised Crime ....	573
16.3.2. Kelsen’s Reading of the Nuremberg Trials: A Missed Opportunity for the Advancement of International Law .....	575
16.3.3. ‘Crimes Against Peace’ as Allied Moral Hypocrisy .....	579
17. <i>Mens Rea</i> , Intentionality and Wittgenstein’s Philosophy of Psychology.....	583
<i>By Jaroslav Větrovský</i>	
17.1. Introduction .....	583
17.2. The Paradigm of Intention in International Criminal Law .....	586
17.3. The Cartesian Legacy of the Mind-Body Dualism.....	588
17.4. The Concept of <i>Mens Rea</i> and Wittgenstein’s Philosophical Methods .....	593
17.5. Going Down to the Foundations (Problem of Inference) .....	597
17.6. The Grammar of Intention.....	599
17.7. Conclusion.....	606
18. Genocide: The Choppy Journey to Codification.....	609
<i>By Mark A. Drumbl</i>	
18.1. Introduction .....	609
18.2. Lemkin: ‘Be Cool or Be Cast Out’ .....	611
18.3. Genocide and Crimes Against Humanity as Frenemies .....	617
18.4. Codification: Its Externalities and Discontents .....	621
18.5. Legacy: Passing the Baton to Contemporary Institutions and Judges .....	627
18.6. Conclusion: A Counterfactual.....	635
19. Arendt on Prevention and Guarantees of Non-Recurrence.....	637
<i>By Djordje Djordjević</i>	
19.1. The Challenge of Understanding the Unprecedented.....	641
19.1.1. Nazi Crimes and Downfall of Civic Virtue.....	641
19.1.2. Totalitarianism and the Closing of Civic Space.....	644
19.2. Critique of Legalism.....	647

19.2.1.	The Scope and Purpose of War Crimes Trials .....	647
19.2.2.	Eichmann and the Perils of Rule-Following Behaviour.....	653
19.3.	Thinking, Judging and Taking Action Without Rules.....	659
19.3.1.	Critical Thinking and the Silent Dialogue with Oneself.....	660
19.3.2.	Political Judgment and Representative Thinking.....	664
19.4.	Sustaining Peace and Developing Civic Resilience for Prevention.....	669
20.	Transnational Governmentality Networking: A Neo-Foucauldian Account of International Criminal Law .....	675
	<i>By Gregory S. Gordon</i>	
20.1.	Introduction .....	675
20.2.	An Overview of Michel Foucault and His Philosophy.....	677
20.2.1.	Background: Themes of Time, Place and Circumstance .....	677
20.2.2.	Foucault's Childhood and Academic Formation.....	681
20.2.3.	Foucault's Early Career, Doctoral Thesis and Philosophical Foundations.....	683
20.2.4.	The Archaeology Books and Foucault's Rise as a Leading French Intellectual .....	684
20.2.5.	Political Engagement and the Power-Knowledge Books .....	687
20.2.5.1.	The Turn Towards Genealogy .....	688
20.2.5.2.	Surveiller et Punir.....	689
20.2.5.3.	L'Histoire de la Sexualite .....	694
20.3.	Foucault in the International Criminal Law Literature to Date: <i>Discipline and Punish</i> Super-Sized for the Supranational.....	698
20.3.1.	A Dearth of Treatment .....	698
20.3.2.	The Fixation on Disciplinary Power in the Anglosphere .....	699
20.3.3.	The Impact on International Criminal Law Scholarship .....	700
20.3.3.1.	Transplanting Domestic Discipline .....	700
20.3.3.2.	A Supranational Carceral Complex and Notions of Gramscian Cultural Hegemony ...	701
20.4.	Foucault's Turn Towards 'Governmentality'.....	703

20.4.1.	Overview .....	703
20.4.2.	A Review of Bio-Power and an Introduction to the Notion of Security .....	705
20.4.3.	A Focus on Population, Its Well-Being and the Necessary ‘Techniques’ .....	707
20.4.4.	Historicising Governmentality: The Link to ‘Pastoral Power’ .....	709
20.4.5.	The Roles of Police and Diplomacy .....	711
20.4.6.	Putting Governmentality into Perspective .....	713
20.5.	International Criminal Law as an Outgrowth of Transnational Networking .....	715
20.5.1.	Transgovernmental Networking: An Introduction.....	715
20.5.2.	The Historical Origins of Transgovernmental Networking .....	717
20.5.3.	The Red Cross Movement Gives Rise to International Criminal Law Transgovernmental Networking .....	719
20.5.4.	International Criminal Law Transgovernmental Networking Post-World War II.....	721
20.5.4.1.	From the Paris Peace Conference Through the 1920s .....	721
20.5.4.2.	The International Criminal Law Networks and Terrorism in the 1930s.....	725
20.5.4.3.	World War II, Nuremberg, and the Genocide and Geneva Conventions .....	726
20.5.5.	International Criminal Law Transgovernmental Networking Post-Cold War.....	736
20.5.5.1.	Co-ordination and Support Networks .....	737
20.5.5.2.	Joint-Action Networks .....	739
20.6.	The Transnational International Criminal Law Networks and Governmentality .....	740
20.6.1.	Governmentality’s Conceptual Foundations.....	740
20.6.2.	The Internationalisation of Governmentality.....	741
20.6.2.1.	A Focus on Population as Opposed to Territory.....	741
20.6.2.2.	Trans-Border Ambulatory Populations.....	741
20.6.2.3.	Global Governance, International Relations Theory, and Large-Scale Demographic Crisis Management.....	743
20.6.2.4.	A Diplomatic Network and Permanent Inter-State Negotiations.....	744

20.6.3. Governmentality and International Criminal Law .....	745
20.6.3.1. A Response to Phenomena Such as Genocide and Crimes against Humanity .....	745
20.6.3.2. An Outgrowth of a Networked Horizontal Regulatory Scheme.....	745
20.6.3.3. A Diversity of Actors.....	746
20.6.3.4. Security for Vulnerable Populations.....	746
20.6.3.5. An Ensemble Formed by Institutions, Procedures, and Various Techniques .....	748
20.6.3.6. The Role of Police in Conjunction with Diplomacy .....	749
20.7. Conclusion.....	750
 Index .....	 757
TOAEP Team.....	771
Other Volumes in the Publication Series .....	773