



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

The local impact of a global court : assessing the impact of the International Criminal Court in situation countries

Wierda, M.I.

Citation

Wierda, M. I. (2019, January 9). *The local impact of a global court : assessing the impact of the International Criminal Court in situation countries*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/68230>

Version: Not Applicable (or Unknown)

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/68230>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/68230> holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

Author: Wierda, M.I.

Title: The local impact of a global court : assessing the impact of the International Criminal Court in situation countries

Issue Date: 2019-01-09

ANNEX: BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. Books and Articles

-A

Ainley, Kirsten. *The International Criminal Court on Trial*. Cambridge Review of International Affairs 24 (3) (2011) pp. 309-333.

Alai, Christine and Njonjo Mue, *Complementarity in Kenya*, in *The International Criminal Court and Complementarity: From Theory to Practice*, Vol. I (ed. by Carsten Stahn and Mohamed M. El-Zeidy) (2011) p. 1228.

Allen, Tim. *War in Northern Uganda: An Assessment of the International Criminal Court's Intervention*, Special Report. London, UK: Crisis Status Research Center (2005) 100 pp.

Allen, Tim. *Bitter roots: the "invention" of Acholi traditional justice*. In *The Lord's Resistance Army: Myth and Reality*. (ed. Tim Allen and Koen Vlassenroot), Zed Books, London and New York (2010) p. 242-243.

Allen, Tim. *Ritual (Ab)use? Problems with Traditional Justice in Northern Uganda. Courting Conflict? Justice, Peace and the ICC in Africa* (ed. Nicholas Waddell and Phil Clark), Royal African Society (2008) p. 52.

Allen, Tim, Frederick Laker, Holly Porter, and Mareike Schomerus, *Postscript: A Kind of Peace and an Exported War*, in Tim Allen and Koen Vlassenroot, *The Lord's Resistance Army: Myth and Reality*, Zed Books (2010) p. 288.

Allen, Tim. *The International Criminal Court and the Invention of Traditional Justice in Northern Uganda*, *Politique Africaine* 3 No. 107 (2007), pp. 147-166.

Allen, Tim. *Trial Justice: The International Criminal Court and the Lord's Resistance Army*, African Arguments (2006).

Aloisi, Rosa and James Meernik. *Judgement Day: Judicial Decision Making at the International Criminal Tribunals*, Cambridge University Press (2017).

Alvarez, Jose E. *Multilateralism and its Discontents*, 11 Eur. J. Int'l L, 393(2000) p. 218, quoting Martti Koskenniemi, *International Law in a Post-Realist Era*, 16 Australian Yearbook Int'l L, 1 (1995).

Ambos, Kai, *Expanding the Focus of the "African Criminal Court"*, *Ashgate Research Companion to International Criminal Law: Critical Perspectives* (ed. Mc Dermott, N. Hayes and W. A. Schabas) Aldershot, Ashgate (2012) p. 4.

Ambos, Kai. International Criminal Court and the Traditional Principles of International Cooperation in Criminal Matters, *The*, 9 Finnish Y.B. Int'l L. (1998) p. 413.

Anghie, Antony. *LatCrit and Twail*, 42 Cal. W. Int'l L. J. 311 (2012).

An-Naim, Abdullah Ahmed. *The Blackwell Companion to Sociology* (ed. by Judith Blau), Blackwell publishers (2002) pp. 90-91.

Akhavan, Payam. *Beyond Impunity: Can International Criminal Justice Prevent Future Atrocities?* *The American Journal of International Law* 95 (1) (2001) pp. 7-31.

Appel, Benjamin. *In the Shadow of the International Criminal Court: Does the ICC Deter Human Rights Violations?* *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (2016), p. 1-26.

Arendt, Hanna. *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil*. Penguin NY (2006) p. 253.

Atkinson, Ron. *Land issues in Acholi in the Transition from War to Peace* *The Examiner Issue* 4(Dec. 2008), pp. 3-9, 17-25.

Atkinson, Ronald R. & Arthur Owor. *"Land Grabbing": The Ugandan Government, Madhvani, and Others versus the Community of Lakang, Amuru District*. *Journal of Peace and Security Studies*. Vol. 1. Special Issue: Unfolding Land Conflicts in Northern Uganda (December 2013).

-B-

Baines, Erin. *Spirits and social reconstruction after mass violence: Rethinking transitional justice*. *African Affairs* 109/ 436 (2010) pp. 409-430.

Bensouda, Fatou. *Reflections from the ICC Prosecutor*. 45 *Case Western Reserve Journal of International Law* (2012), pp. 505-511.

Bergsmo, Morten (ed), *Criteria for Selecting and Prioritizing Core International Crimes Cases*, *Forum of International Criminal and Humanitarian Law*, Torkal Opshal Academic Publisher (2010).

Branch, Adam. *Uganda's Civil War and the Politics of ICC Intervention* 21 *Ethics and International Affairs* (2007) p. 179.

Branch, Adam. *International Justice, Local Justice: The International Criminal Court in Northern Uganda*. *Dissent* (Summer 2004) p. 22.

Branch, Adam. *Displacing Human Rights: War and Intervention in Northern Uganda*, Oxford University Press (2011) p. 187.

Bosco, David. *Rough Justice: The International Criminal Court in a World of Power Politics*, Oxford University Press (2014).

Broomhall, Bruce. *International Justice and the International Criminal Court: Between Sovereignty and the Rule of Law*. Oxford: Oxford University Press (2003).

Brubacher, Matthew. *The ICC investigation of the Lord's Resistance Army*, in Tim Allen and Koen Vlassenroot, *The Lord's Resistance Army: Myth and Reality*, Zed Books (2010) p. 263.

Burchard, Christoph. *The Nuremberg Trial and its Impact on Germany*. Journal of International Criminal Justice 4 (2006), p. 824.

Burke-White, William W. *Proactive Complementarity: The International Criminal Court and National courts in the Rome System of Justice*, Harvard International Law Journal, Vol. 49 (2008) p. 53.

-C-

Cassese, Antonio. *Is the ICC Still Having Teething Problems?* Journal of International Criminal Justice, Volume 4, Issue 3 (1 July 2006) pp. 434-441.

Cassese, Antonio. *The Legitimacy of International Criminal Tribunals and the Current Prospects of International Criminal Justice*. Leiden Journal of International Law (2012).

Clark, Phil. *Law, Politics and Pragmatism: The ICC and Case Selection in the Democratic Republic of Congo and Uganda*, in *Courting Conflict? Justice, Peace and the ICC in Africa* (ed. Nicholas Waddell and Phil Clark) Royal African Society (March 2008), pp. 37-44.

Cote, Luc. *Independence and Impartiality*, in *International Prosecutors* (ed. L. Reydam, J. Wouters and C. Ryngaert), Oxford University Press (2012) at pp. 319-415.

Cronin-Furman, Kate. *Managing Expectations: International Criminal Trials and the Prospects for Deterrence of Mass Atrocity*, International Journal of Transitional Justice, Vol. 7 (2013) pp. 434 -454.

Cruvellier, Thierry. *Court of Remorse: Inside the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda*. The University of Wisconsin Press (2006).

Cryer, Robert, Hakan Friman, Darryl Robinson, and Elizabeth Wilmshurst, *An Introduction to International Criminal Law and Procedure* (2nd Ed.) Cambridge (2010) p. 26.

Cryer, Robert. *Prosecuting the Leaders: Promises, Politics and Practicalities*.
Gottingen Journal of International Law 1 (2009) 45 p. 68.

-D-

Damaška, Mirjan. *What is the Point of International Criminal Justice?* Chicago-Kent
Law Review, Vol. 83: 239 (2008) p. 330.

Dancy, Geoff and Florencia Montal, *Unintended Positive Complementarity: Why
International Criminal court Investigations May Increase Domestic Human Rights
Prosecutions*, AJIL 2107 (forthcoming).

Davis, Laura. *EU Foreign Policy, Transitional Justice and Mediation: Principles,
Policy and Practice*, Routledge (2014) p. 90 (Chapter on the EU and the ICC).

De Hoon, Marieke. *The Future of the International Criminal Court: On Critique,
Legalism, and Strengthening the ICC's Legitimacy*. ICL Rev. Vol. 17 Issue 4 (2017), pp.
591-614.

De Vos, Christian. *Investigating from Afar: The ICC's Evidence Problem*. Leiden
Journal of International Law, Volume 26, Issue 4 (Dec. 2013) pp. 1009-1024.

Dixon, Peter. *Reparations, Assistance and the Experience of Justice: Lessons from
Colombia and the Democratic Republic of the Congo*. International Journal of
Transitional Justice 10 (2016) pp. 88-107.

Doherty, Joseph and Richard Steinberg. *Punishment and Policy in International
Criminal Sentencing: An Empirical Study*. American Journal of International Law Vol.
110 (2016) pp. 49-81.

Donais, Timothy. *Empowerment or Imposition? Dilemmas of Local Ownership in Post-
Conflict Peacebuilding Processes*, Peace and Change, Vol. 34, No. (2009), p. 12.

Doom, Ruddy and Koen Vlassenroot, *Kony's Message: A New Koine? The Lord's
Resistance Army in Northern Uganda*, African Affairs 98 (1999) p. 22.

Drumbl, Mark. *Atrocity, Punishment and International Law*, Cambridge (2007) at p.
150-169.

Dugard, John. *Dealing With Crimes of a Past Regime. Is Amnesty Still an Option?* 12
Leiden Journal of International Law (1999) pp. 1001-1015.

Dothan, Shai. *How International Courts Enhance Their Legitimacy*. 14 Theoretical
Inq. L. 455 (2013) at p. 473.

-E-

Egeland, Jan. *A Billion Lives*. Simon & Shuster (March 2008).

-F-

Finnstrom, Sverker. *Living With Bad Surroundings: War and Existential Uncertainty in Acholiland in Northern Uganda*, Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Uppsala Studies in Cultural Anthropology no. 35 (2003).

Fletcher, Laurel and Harvey Weinstein, *A world unto itself? The application of international justice in the former Yugoslavia*, in *My Neighbor, My Enemy: Justice and Community in the Aftermath of Mass Atrocity*, (ed. Eric Stover and Harvey Weinstein), Cambridge (2004).

Ford, Stuart, *A Social Psychology Model of the Perceived Legitimacy of International Criminal Courts: Implications for the Success of Transitional Justice Mechanisms*, Vanderbilt Journal of Transnational Law (2012) Vol. 45, p. 408.

Freeland, Valerie. *Rebranding the State: Uganda's Strategic Use of the International Criminal Court*. Development and Change, Institute of Social Studies, The Hague (2015) p. 307.

Freeman, Mark. *Necessary Evils: Amnesties and the Search for Justice*, Cambridge (2009)

Frigaard, Siri, *Introductory Remarks in Bergsmo, Morten (ed), Criteria for Selecting and Prioritizing Core International Crimes Cases*, Forum of International Criminal and Humanitarian Law, Torkal Opshal Academic Publisher (2010) p. 2.

Fulford, Judge Sir Adrian. *The Reflections of a Trial Judge*. Criminal Law Forum (2011) 22 p. 216.

-G-

Glasius, Marlies. *The International Criminal Court: A global civil society achievement*. Routledge, London and New York (2006).

Glasius, Marlies. *What is Global Justice and Who Decides? Civil Society and Victim Responses to the International Criminal Court's First Investigations*, Human Rights Quarterly, Volume 31, No. 2 (2009) pp. 496-520.

Goldston, James. *More Candour About Criteria*, Journal of International Criminal Justice 8 (2010) pp. 383-401.

Goodman, Ryan and Derek Jinks, *Incomplete Internalization and Compliance with Human Rights Law*, EJIL Vol. 19 no. 4 (2008) pp. 725-748.

De Greiff, Pablo. *Justice & Reparations*, in *The Handbook of Reparations* (ed. Pablo de Greiff), Oxford University Press (2006) p. 451.

De Greiff, Pablo. *Articulating the Links Between Transitional Justice and Development: Justice and Social Integration*, in (ed. Roger Duthie and Pablo de Greiff), *Transitional Justice and Development: Making Connections*, Social Science Research Council (2009).

De Greiff, Pablo and Marieke Wierda, *The Trust Fund for Victims of the International Criminal Court: Between Possibilities and Constraints*, in *Out of the Ashes: Reparation for Victims of Gross and Systematic Human Rights Violations* (ed. K. De Feyter, S. Parmentier, M. Bossuyt and P. Lemmens) Intersentia (2005) p. 225-226.

Grono, Nick and Adam O'Brien, *Justice in Conflict? The ICC and Peace Processes*, in *Courting Conflict: Justice, Peace and the ICC in Africa*, (ed. Nicholas Waddell and Phil Clark) Royal African Society (2008) p. 16.

De Guzman, Margaret. *Choosing to Prosecute: Expressive Selection at the International Criminal Court*. 33 Michigan Journal of International Law (2012) p. 265.

-H-

Hansen, Thomas Obel. *The International Criminal Court and Legitimacy of Exercise in Law and Legitimacy* (Per Andersen et al. (eds)), DJOEF Publishers, 2015.

Hartmann, Michael E. *Casualties of Myopia*, in *The Rule of Law in Afghanistan: Missing in Inaction* (ed. Whit Mason) Cambridge University Press (2011) p. 172.

Hartmann, Michael E. and Agnieszka Klonowiecka-Milart, "Lost in translation: Legal Transplants without consensus-based adaption", in *The Rule of Law in Afghanistan: Missing in Inaction* (ed. Whit Mason) Cambridge University Press (2011).

Hansen, Thomas Obel. *Prosecuting International crimes in Kenyan Courts?* Paper presented at *The Nuremberg Principles 70 Years Later: Contemporary Challenges*, 21 November 2016.

Hayner, Priscilla B. *Fifteen Truth Commissions—1974 to 1990: A Comparative Study*. Human Rights Quarterly, v. 16, No. 4. (November 1994) pp. 597-655.

Hayner, Priscilla B. *The Peacemaker's Paradox; Pursuing Justice in the Shadow of the Conflict*. Routledge (2018).

Heller, Kevin Jon. *A Sentence-Based Theory of Complementarity*, 53 Harvard International Law Journal (2012) p. 88.

Heller, Kevin Jon. *The Shadow Side of Complementarity: The Effect of Article 17 of the Rome statute on National Due Process*. Criminal Law Forum (2006).

Herik, v. d., Larissa. *International Criminal Law as a Spotlight and Black Holes as Constituents of Legacy*. 110 AJIL Unbound (2016) p. 212.

Hillebrecht, Courtney. *The Deterrent Effects of the International Criminal Court: Evidence from Libya*. International Interventions (2016).

Hola, Barbara, Alette Smeulers, and Catrien Bijleveld. *Is ICTY Sentencing Predictable? An Empirical Analysis of ICTY Sentencing Practice*, Leiden Journal of International Law 22 (2009) pp. 79-97.

Holmes, J. T. *The Principle of Complementarity, in the International Criminal Court: the making of the Rome Statute* (ed. R. Lee) Kluwer Law International, The Hague, (1999) p. 50.

Hovil, Lucy. *Challenging International Justice: The Initial years of the International Criminal Court's Intervention in Uganda*, Stability, 2 (1) (2013) pp. 1-11.

-I-

Igreja, Victor. *Justice and Reconciliation in the Aftermath of the Civil War in Gorongosa, Mozambique Central*, in *Building a Future on Peace and Justice*, (ed. Kai Ambos, Judith Large, Marieke Wierda) Springer (2009) pp. 423-438.

-J-

Jalloh, Charles. *Regionalizing International Criminal Law*, International Criminal Law Review 9 (2009), p. 224.

Jallow, Hassan. *Special Court for Sierra Leone: Achieving Justice?* Michigan Journal for International Law Vol. 32, Issue 3 (2011) pp.395-456.

Jessberger, Florian and Julia Geneuss, *The Many Faces of the International Criminal Court*, 10 J. Int'l Crim. Just. 1081 (2012) pp. 1081-1094.

-K-

Kastner, Philipp. *Armed Conflicts and Referrals to the ICC: From Measuring Impact to Emerging Legal Obligations*, 12 JICL (2014), pp.471-490.

Kendall, Sara and Sarah Nouwen, *Representational Practices at the ICC: The Gap Between Juridified and Abstract Victimhood*, University of Cambridge Faculty of Law, Research paper No. 24 (2013).

Kendall, Sarah and Sarah Nouwen. *Speaking of Legacy: Towards an Ethos of Modesty at the ICTR*. 110 AJIL (2016) 212.

Kersten, Mark, *Justice in Conflict: the Effects of the International Criminal Court's Interventions on Ending Wars and Building Peace*, Oxford University Press (2016).

Kersten, Mark, *Justice After the War: The ICC and Post-Gaddafi Libya*, at https://www.academia.edu/1947980/Justice_After_the_War_The_ICC_and_Post-Gaddafi_Libya.

Kersten, Mark. *Between Justice and Politics: The International Criminal Court's Intervention in Libya*, available online at https://www.academia.edu/1558775/Between_Justice_and_Politics_The_International_Criminal_Courts_Intervention_in_Libya.

Kerr, Rachel and Jessica Lincoln. *The Special Court for Sierra Leone: Outreach, Legacy and Input*, War Crimes Research Group and King's College London (February 2008).

Kim, Hun Joon and Kathryn Skinkink, *How do Human Rights Prosecutions Improve Human Rights After Transition?* Interdisciplinary Journal of Human Rights Law, Vol. 7: 1 (2012-2013).

Klarin, Mirko, *The Tribunal's Four Battles*, Journal of International Criminal Justice 2 (2004), pp. 546-557.

Klarin, Mirko. *The Impact of ICTY Trials on the Public Opinion of the Former Yugoslavia*. Oxford Journal of International Criminal Law, Vol. 7 March (2009) pp. 89-96.

Kleffner, Jan. *Complementarity in the Rome Statute and National Criminal Jurisdictions*, Oxford University Press (2008).

Koller, David. *The Faith of the International Criminal Lawyer*. International Law and Politics, Vol. 40 (2008) 1019 p. 1050.

Koh, Harold Hongju. *Internalization through socialization*. 54 Duke Law Journal (2005) p. 981.

Koh, Harold. *Transnational Legal Process*, 75 Neb. L. Rev. 181 (1996) p. 204.

Koh, Harold Hongju. *Why Do Nations Obey International Law?* 106 Yale L. J. 2599 (1997) pp. 2615-34.

Kotecha, Birju. *The ICC's Office of the Prosecutor and the Limits of Performance Indicators*, JICL Vol. 15 issue 3 (1July 2007) pp. 543-565.

Ku, Julian and Jide Nzelibe. *Do International Criminal Tribunals Deter or Exacerbate Humanitarian Atrocities?* Hofstra University School of Law Legal Studies Research papers, Research Paper No. 06-27 (2006).

-L-

Labuda, Patrick. *The Special Criminal Court in the Central African Republic: Failure or Vindication of Complementarity?* Journal of International Criminal Justice, Vol. 15 Issue 1 (2007) pp. 175-206.

Lanz, David. *The ICC's Intervention in Northern Uganda: Beyond the Simplicity of Peace versus Justice*, The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy (May 2007).

Lingsma, Tjitske, *All Rise: The High Ambitions of the ICC and the Harsh Reality*. Ipso Facto, Utrecht (2017).

Luban, David. *After the Honeymoon: Reflections on the Current State of International Criminal Justice*, Journal of International Criminal Justice 11 (2013), p. 511.

-M-

Madoka, Futamura, *Japanese Societal Attitudes Towards the Tokyo Trial: A Contemporary Perspective*, The Asia-Pacific Journal Vol. 9, Issue 29 No 5 (July 18, 2011).

Maga, Tim. *Judgement at Tokyo: The Japanese War Crimes Trials*. University Press of Kentucky (2001)

Mahony, Chris. *If You're Not at the Table, You're on the Menu: Complementarity and Self-Interest in Domestic Processes for Core International Crimes*. In Morten Bergsmo and Song Tianying (eds.), *Military Self-Interest in Accountability for Core International Crimes* Brussels: Torkel Opsahl Academic EPublisher, Brussels (2015) pp. 625-629.

Maldonado, Silvia Delgado. *Political Participation: An Implied Condition for Enduring Peace in Colombia*, International Law: Rev. Colomb. Derecho Int. Bogota (Colombia) No. 23: pp. 267-318 (July-December 2013) p. 308.

Mallinder, Louise, *Amnesty, Human Rights and Political Transitions: Bridging the Peace and Justice Divide*, Oxford and Portland: Hart Publishing 1st ed. (2008) p. 404.

Mallinder, Louise. *Uganda at a Crossroads: Narrowing the Amnesty?* Working Paper no.1 from *Beyond Legalism: Amnesties, Transition and Conflict Transformation*, Institute of Criminology and Criminal Justice, Queen's University Belfast (March 2009) p. 18.

Mutua, Makau. *The International Criminal Court: Promise and Politics*, 109 Am. Soc. Int'l Law Proc. 269 (2015).

Makau, Matua, *Savages, Victims, and Saviors: The Metaphor of Human Rights*, Harvard International Law Journal, Vol. 42, No. 1 Winter 2001 at p. 204.

Marquez, Gabriel Garcia. *News of a Kidnapping*. Vintage International (1997).

McCargo, Duncan. *Transitional Justice and its Discontents*. Journal of Democracy, Vol. 26 (April 2015).

Mégret, Frederic and Marika Giles Samson, *Holding the Line on Complementarity in Libya: The Case for Tolerating Flawed Domestic Trials*, 11 Journal of International Criminal Justice 11 (2013) p. 3.

Mégret, Frederic, *Too much of a good thing? Implementation and the Use of Complementarity*, in *The International Criminal Court and Complementarity: From Theory to Practice*, Vol. I (ed. Carsten Stahn and Mohamed M. El-Zeid), Cambridge University Press (2011) p.385.

Van de Merwe, Hugo, Victoria Baxter and Audrey R. Chapman. *Assessing the Impact of Transitional Justice: Challenges for Empirical Research*, United States Institute for Peace Press (2002), p. 5.

Milanović, Marko. *The Impact of the ICTY in the former Yugoslavia: An Anticipatory Postmortem*. 110 AJIL (20116) p. 223

Moffet, Luke. *Realising Justice for Victims Before the International Criminal Court*. International Crimes Database (September 2014) p. 8.

Moffet, Luke. *Reparative Complementarity: Ensuring an Effective Remedy for Victims in the Reparation Regime of the ICC*, International Journal for Human Rights, Vol. 17 Issue 3 (2013) pp. 368-390. (LOOK UP)

Moghalu, Kingsley Chiedu. *Image and Reality of War Crimes Justice: External Perceptions of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda*, The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs, Vol. 26, 2 (Summer / Fall 2002).

Morris, Madeline, *The Democratic Dilemma of the International Criminal Court*, Buffalo Criminal Law Review, Vol. 5 (2002) p. 591

-N-

Nadery, Ahmad Nader . *Peace or Justice? Transitional Justice in Afghanistan*, The International Journal of Transitional Justice Vol. 1 (2007) p. 173-179

Nesiah, Vasuki. *Local Ownership of Global Governance*. Journal of International Criminal Justice, Volume 14, Issue 4 (1 Sept. 2016) pp. 985-1009,

Nkansah, Lydia. *International Criminal Court in the Trenches of Africa*. African Journal of International Criminal Justice (1) (2014) p. 1.

Nino, Carlos. *The Duty to Punish Past Abuses of Human Rights Put into Context: The Case of Argentina*. 100 Yale Law Journal (1991) p. 2619.

Nino, Carlos. *Radical Evil on Trial*, Yale University (1996) p. 131.

Nouwen, Sarah. *Complementarity in the Line of Fire. The Catalysing Effect of the International Criminal Court in Uganda and Sudan*. Cambridge (2013).

Nouwen, Sarah. *Complementarity in Uganda*. In *The International Criminal Court and Complementarity: From Theory to Practice*, Vol. I (Ed. by Carsten Stahn and Mohamed M. El-Zeid), Cambridge University Press (2011) p. 1145.

Nouwen, Sara and Wouter Werner, *Doing Justice to the Political: The International Criminal Court in Uganda and Sudan*, EJIL Vol. 21 No. 4.

-O-

Ocampo, Luis Moreno. *A Positive Approach to Complementarity: The Impact of the Office of the Prosecutor*, in *The International Criminal Court and Complementarity: From Theory to Practice* Vol. I (ed. Carsten Stahn and Mohamed El-Zeid), Cambridge University Press (2011) p. 24.

Ocampo, Luis Moreno. *The International Criminal Court: Seeking Global Justice*. 40 Case Western Res. J. International Law 2007-2008, p. 217.

Odinkalu, Chidi Anselm. *African Realities: Human Rights and Democracy in Africa*, Senior Legal Officer, Interights, International Politics (15 February 2000).

Olasolo, Hector and Joel M. F. Ramirez Mendoza, *The Colombian Integrated System of Truth, Justice, Reparation and Non-repetition*, JICL Vol. 15, Issue 5, 1 Dec. 2017 at pp. 1011-1047.

Otim, Michael and Marieke Wierda, *Justice at Juba: International Obligations and Local Demands in Northern Uganda*, in *Courting Conflict? Justice, Peace and the ICC in Africa*, Royal African Society (March 2008).

Orentlicher, Diane. *Settling Accounts: The Duty to Prosecute Human Rights Violations of a Prior Regime*. The Yale Law Journal, Vol. 100, No. 8 (1991) p.2542.

-P-

Padhamabhan, Vijay. *Norm Internalization Through Trials for Violation of International Law: Four Conditions for Success and Their Application to Trials of Detainees at Guantanamo Bay*. 31 U. Pa. J. Int'l L. (2009) p. 438.

Payne, Leigh, Andy Reiter, Chris Mahony, and Laura Bernal –Bermudez, *Conflict Prevention and Guarantees of Non-Recurrence* (12 April 2017) (on file with author).

Pena, Mariana and Gaelle Carayon, *Is the ICC Making the Most of Victim Participation?* International Journal of Transitional Justice Vol. 7 (2013) p. 522.

Porter, Holly, *After Rape: Justice and Social Harmony in Northern Uganda*, London School of Economics and Political Science, 2013 at <http://etheses.lse.ac.uk/717/>.

-R-

Rabkin, Jeremy. *Global Criminal Justice: An idea Whose Time Has Passed*, 38 Cornell International Law Journal 753 (2005), p. 775.

Robinson, Daryl. *Serving the Interests of Justice: Amnesties, Truth Commissions and the International Criminal Court*, European Journal of International Law (June 2003) p. 483.

Robinson, Daryl. *Inescapable Dyads: Why the ICC cannot win*. Leiden Journal of International Law 2015 Vol. 28 (2) pp. 323-347.

Rolling, B.V.A and Antonio Cassese, *The Tokyo Trial and Beyond*, Polity Press (1993) at pp. 85-89.

Rosga, AnnJanette and Margaret Satterthwaite, *The Trust in Indicators: Measuring Human Rights*, Berkeley Journal of International Law Vol. 27 Issue 2 (2009).

Rosenberg, Sophie. *The ICC in Cote d'Ivoire- Impartiality at Stake?* JICL Vol. 15 Issue 3 pp. 471-490.

Rubin, Barnett, *Transitional Justice and human rights in Afghanistan*, International Affairs 79, 2 (2003) p. 574.

Sadat, Leila Nadya. *The International Criminal court and the Transformation for International Law: Justice for the New Millennium*. New York: Transnational (2002).

Saffon, Maria Paula and Rodrigo Uprimny. *Uses and Abuses of Transitional Justice Discourse in Colombia*. PRIO Policy Brief, 6. Oslo (2007).

Schaack, Beth van. *The Building Blocks of Hybrid Justice*, 44 *Denver Journal of International Law and Policy* (2016), p. 169.

Schabas, William. *Complementarity in Practice: Some Uncomplimentary Thoughts*, *Criminal Law Forum* (2008) 19, pp. 5-33.

Schabas, William A. *The Banality of International Justice*, *Journal of International Criminal Justice* Vol. 11 Issue 3 (July 2013) pp. 545-551.

Schabas, William. *The International Criminal Court: A Commentary on the Rome Statute*, Oxford University Press (2010) pp. 326-327.

Schabas, William. *The Rise and Fall of Complementarity*, in *The International Criminal Court and Complementarity: From Theory to Practice*, Vol. I (Ed. by Carsten Stahn and Mohamed M. El-Zeidy) Cambridge University Press (2011) p.158

Schabas, William, *Unimaginable Atrocities: Justice, Politics and Rights at the War Crimes Tribunals*, Oxford University Press (2012) p. 194.

Schomerus, Mareike. *A terrorist is not a person like me”: an interview with Joseph Kony*, in *The Lord's Resistance Army: Myth and Reality* (ed. Tim Allen and Koen Vlassenroot), Zed Books (2010) p. 127.

Seils, Paul. *Making Complementarity Work: Maximizing the Limited Role of the Prosecutor*, in *The International Criminal Court and Complementarity: From Theory to Practice*, Vol. II (eds. Carsten Stahn and Mohamed M. El-Zeidy) Cambridge University Press (2011) p. 1004.

Seils, Paul. *The Impact of the ICC on Peace Negotiations*, Expert paper Workshop 7- *The Impact of the International Criminal Court, Conference on Building a Future on Peace and Justice*, Nuremberg (25-27 June 2007).

Seils, Paul. *Putting Complementarity in its Place*, in *Law and Practice of the International Criminal Court* (ed. by Carsten Stahn) Oxford University Press (2015) pp. 305-327.

Seils, Paul. *The Selection and Prioritization of Cases by the Office of the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court*, in *Case Selection and Prioritization* (ed. Morten Bergsmo) FICHL, Publication Series No. 4 (2010) p. 69.

Sellars, Kristen. *Imperfect Justice at Nuremberg and Tokyo*. EJIL Vol. 21 Issue 4 (2010) at pp. 1085-1102.

Sen, Amartya. *The Idea of Justice*, Penguin Books (2009).

Seflja, Izabela. *(In)Humanity on Trial: On the Ground Perceptions of International Criminal Tribunals*, PhD thesis submitted at University of Toronto (unpublished, available online 2015).

Shany, Yuval. *Assessing the Effectiveness of International Courts*, Oxford University Press (2014).

Shany, Yuval. *Assessing the Effectiveness of International Courts: A Goal-Based Approach*. American Journal of International Law 26 (2012) p. 231.

Scharf, Micheal, *The Amnesty Exception to the Jurisdiction of the International Criminal Court*, Cornell International Law Journal Vol. 31 (1999), p. 507.

Sharp, Dustin, *Beyond the "Toolbox": Addressing Dilemmas of the Global and Local in Transitional Justice*, Emory Int'l Law Review (4 July 2013).

Shklar, Judith. *Legalism: Law, Morals and Political Trials*. Harvard University Press, (1964).

Sikkink, Kathryn. *The Justice Cascade*, W.W. Norton & Company (2011).

Simmons, Beth and Hyeron Jo, *Can the International Criminal Court Deter Atrocity?* Draft 18 Dec. 2014 at https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2552820.

Simpson, Gerry. *Law, War and Crime: War Crimes Trials and the Reinvention of International Law*, Polity Press (2007) p. 132.

Sissons, Miranda and Marieke Wierda. *Political Pedagogy Baghdad Style: The Dujail Trial of Saddam Hussein*, in *Prosecuting Heads of State* (ed. Ellen Lutz and Caitlin Reiger) Cambridge University Press (2009).

Sloane, Robert. *The Expressive Capacity of International Punishment: The Limits of the National Law Analogy and the Potential of International Criminal Law*, 43 Stan. J. Int'l L. 39 (2007).

Smeulers, Alette. *Perpetrators of International Crimes: Towards a Typology*. Intersentia (22 Jan. 2014).
http://alettesmeulers.org/website2/images/Smeulers_2008_Typology.pdf.

Snyder, Jack and Leslie Vinjamuri, *Principle and Pragmatism in Strategies of International Justice*, *International Security*, Vol. 28 No. 3 (Winter 2003/04), p. 10.

Stahn, Carsten. *Complementarity, Amnesties and Alternative Forms of Justice: Some Interpretative Guidelines for the International Criminal Court*. 3 *Journal of International Criminal Justice* (2005) at p. 718.

Stahn, Carsten. *Introduction: bridge over troubled waters? Complementarity themes and debates in context*. *The International Criminal Court and Complementarity: From Theory to Practice*, Volume I, Cambridge University Press (2010) p. 1.

Stahn, Carsten, *Between "Faith" and "Facts": By What Standards Should We Assess International Criminal Justice?"* *Leiden Journal of International Law*, Volume 5, issue 2 (2012) pp. 257-258.

Stahn, Carsten. *Libya, the International Criminal Court and Complementarity: A Test for "Shared Responsibility"*, *Journal of International Criminal Justice* Vol. 10 Issue 2 (1 May 2012), pp. 325-349.

Stahn, Carsten. *One Step forward, Two Steps Back? Second thoughts on a "Sentence-Based" Theory of Complementarity*, *Harvard International Law Journal*, Vol. 53 (April 2012) p. 185.

Stahn, Carsten. *Taking Complementarity Seriously*, in *The International Criminal Court and Complementarity: From Theory to Practice* Vol. I (ed. by Carsten Stahn and Mohamed El-Zeid) Cambridge University Press (2011) p. 234.

Stahn, Carsten. *How is the Water? Light and Shadow in the First Years of the Court*, *Criminal Law Forum* 22 pp. 175-197 (2011) p. 187.

Stover, Eric and Harvey Weinstein, *Conclusion: a Common Objective, a Universe of Alternatives*, in *My Neighbor, My Enemy: Justice and Community in the Aftermath of Mass Atrocity*, (ed. Eric Stover and Harvey Weinstein), Cambridge (2004).

Stromseth, Jane. *Justice on the Ground: Can International Criminal Courts Strengthen Domestic Rule of Law in Post-Conflict Societies?* Georgetown University Law Center, (2009) p. 89 (available online).

Summers, Nicole. *Colombia's Victims' Law: Transitional Justice in a Time of Violent Conflict?* 25 *Harvard Human Rights Journal* (2012) p. 223.

De Temmerman, Els. *Aboke Girls: Children Abducted in Northern Uganda*, Fountain Publishers (2001).

Terracino, Julio Bacio. *National Implementation of ICC Crimes: Impact on National Jurisdictions and the ICC*. 5 JICL (2007) pp. 421-440.

Tiemessen, Alana. *The International Criminal Court and the politics of prosecutions*, International Journal of Human Rights Volume 18, Issue 4-5 (2014) pp. 444-461.

Titeca, Kristof. *The Spiritual Order of the LRA*, in Tim Allen and Koen Vlassenroot, *The Lord's Resistance Army: Myth and Reality*, Zed Books (2010).

Tomuschat, Christian. *The Legacy of Nuremberg*. 4 JICJ (2006) p. 830.

Totani, Yuma. *The Tokyo War Crimes Trial: The Pursuit of Justice in the Wake of World War II*, Harvard University Press (2008).

Triponel, A. and Pearson, S. *What Do You Think Should Happen? Public Participation in Transitional Justice*, Pace International Law Review 22 (1) (2010).

-V-

Van den Herik, Larissa. *International Criminal Law as a Spotlight and Black Holes as Constituents of Legacy*. 110 AJIL Unbound (2016) p. 212.

Varaki, Maria. *Revising the "Interests of Justice" Policy Paper*, Journal of International Criminal Law, Vol. 15 Issue 3, pp. 455-470.

Voeten, Erik. *Public Opinion and the Legitimacy of International Courts*, 14 Theoretical Inquiries in Law (2013).

Vinjamuri, Leslie and Jack Snyder. *Advocacy and Scholarship in the Study of International War Crime Tribunals and Transitional Justice*. Annu. Rev. Polit. Sci. 7 (2004) pp. 345-62.

Vinjamuri, Leslie. *Deterrence, Democracy, and the Pursuit of International Justice*. Carnegie Council for Ethics and International Affairs, 24 no. 2 (2010), p. 191.

-W-

De Waal, Alex. *African Roles in the Libyan conflict of 2011*, Chatham House (March 2013).

Waters, Timothy. *Let Tripoli Try Saif Al-Islam. Why the Qaddafi trial is the wrong case for the ICC*, Foreign Affairs (9 Dec. 2011).

Weisburd, Mark. *International Law and the Problem of Evil*, 34 Vanderbilt Journal of Transnational Law (March 2001) p. 279.

Wemmers, Jo-Anne. *Victims' Rights and the International Criminal Court: Perceptions within the Court Regarding the Victims' Rights to Participate*, Leiden Journal of International Law 23 (2010) 629 p. 637.

Whiting, Alex. *In International Criminal Prosecutions, Justice Delayed Can Be Justice Delivered*. Harvard International Law Journal, Volume 50, Number 2 (Summer 2009) p. 326.

Whiting, Alex. *An Investigative Mechanism for Syria: The General Assembly Steps into the Breach*, Journal of International Criminal Justice Vol. 15, Issue 2, 1 May 2017 pp. 231-237.

Wiesburd, A. Mark, *International Law and the Problem of Evil*, 34 Vand. J. Transnational Law, Vol. 34 no. 2 (March 2001) p. 230.

Wierda, M., H. Nassar, and L. Maalouf, *Early Reflections on Local perceptions, Legitimacy and Legacy of the Special Tribunal for Lebanon*, 5 JICJ (2007) p. 1065.

Wierda, Marieke. *Confronting Qadhafi's Legacy: Transitional Justice in Libya*", in *The Libyan Revolution and its Aftermath* (ed. Peter Cole and Brian Quinn) Hurst Publishers (2014).

Williams, Sarah. *The Extraordinary African Chambers in the Senegalese Courts: An African Solution to an African Problem*. 11 Journal International Criminal Justice (2013) p. 1139.

Williams, Sharon A. and William A. Schabas, *Commentary on the Rome Statute of the ICC*, Ed. Otto Triffterer, 2nd ed. Beck/ Hart (2008) p. 608.

Wippman, David. *Exaggerating the ICC*. Cornell Law School Research Paper No. 04-018, available online.

Wrange, Pal. *The Agreement and the Annexure on Accountability and Reconciliation between the Government of Uganda and the Lord's Resistance Army-a Legal and Pragmatic Commentary*. Uganda Living Law Journal (2008) pp. 42-128.

Van den Wyngaert, Christine. *Victims before International Criminal Courts: Some Views and Concerns of an ICC Trial Judge*, 44 Case Western Res. J. Int'l L. (2011) p. 476

-Z-

Zacklin, Ralph. *The Failings of Ad Hoc International Tribunals*. Journal of International Criminal Justice 2 (2004), 541 p. 544.

Zalaquett, Jose. *Balancing Ethical Imperatives and Political Constraints: The Dilemma of New Democracies Confronting Past Human Rights Violations*, Hastings Law Journal, Vol. 43 (1992) p. 1425-1438.

Zegveld, L. *Victims' Reparations Claims and International criminal Courts: Incompatible Values?* Journal of International Criminal Justice 8 (2010) p. 79-111.

II. ICC Documents

Policy Documents

Informal expert paper: The principle of complementarity in practice, OTP 2003

Paper on some policy issues before the Office of the Prosecutor (2003)

OTP Report on Prosecutorial Strategy (14 September 2006).

OTP Policy Paper on the Interests of Justice, September 2007

Policy Paper on Preliminary Examinations, 4 Oct. 2010.

OTP, Policy Paper on Case Selection and Prioritisation, 15 Sept. 2016.

OTP Strategic Plan June 2012-2015.

OTP Strategic Plan 2016-2018, para.104.

ICC Integrated Strategy for External Relations, Public Information, and Outreach

OTP Report on Preliminary Examination Activities, 2013.

OTP Report on Preliminary Examinations Activities, 2014

OTP report on Preliminary Examinations Activities, 2015

OTP Report on Preliminary Examination Activities, 2016

OTP Report on Preliminary Examination Activities, 2017

Assembly of States Parties and Review Conference

Informal Summary of the retreat: ICC- the challenges and opportunities in light of the upcoming November Assembly of States Parties, ICC-ASP/12/INF.2. 12 Nov. 2008.

Report of the Court on the Strategy in Relation to Victims, ICC- ASP/8/45, 10 Nov. 2009.

Assembly of States Parties: Report of the Bureau on Stock-taking: Complementarity, Resumed eighth session, ICC-ASP/8/51 18 March 2010 p. 16.

Assembly of States Parties Resolution RC/ Res. 1 on Complementarity, adopted on 8 June 2010.

Luis Moreno Ocampo, Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court, Review Conference General Debate. Statement, Kampala, 31 May 2010.

Moderator's Summary of Stocktaking of international criminal justice, Peace and Justice, Review Conference/11 (2010).

Report on activities and programme performance of the International Court for the year 2012, ICC-ASP/12/9, 4 June 2013.

Report of the Bureau on victims and affected communities and the Trust Fund for Victims, including reparations and intermediaries, Twelfth Session, The Hague 20-28 November 2013, ICC-ASP/12/38 para. 10.

Report of the Court on the implementation in 2013 of the revised strategy in relation to victims, 11 Oct. 2013, ICC-ASP/12/41.

External Evaluation of the Trust Fund for Victims Programmes in Northern Uganda and the Democratic Republic of Congo: Towards a Perspective of Upcoming Interventions, ICRW and the TFV, November 2013.

Assembly of State Parties Resolution ICC-ASP/13/Res.5 on Strengthening the ICC and the Assembly of States Parties, 17 December 2014, Annex I, para. 7(b).

OTP Policy Paper on Case Selection and Prioritisation, 15 Sept. 2016.

Second Court's report on the development of performance indicators for the International Criminal Court, 11 November 2016.

ICC ASP, Proposed Programme Budget for 2017 of the International Criminal Court, ICC-ASP/15/10.

Speech by Silvia Fernandez de Gurmendi at Nuremberg Forum 17, *10 Years after the Nuremberg Declaration on Peace and Justice "The Fight Against Impunity at a Crossroad"*, 20-21 October 2017.

Situation specific statements

Statement by the Chief Prosecutor on the Uganda Arrest Warrants, The Hague, 14 Oct. 2005.

Statement by Luis Moreno Ocampo, Press Conference in relation with the surrender to the Court of Mr. Thomas Lubanga Dyilo. 18 March 2006.

Chief Prosecutor's Address to the Assembly of State Parties, 23 November 2006.

Prosecutor of the ICC, Statement to the United Nations Security Council on the situation in Libya, pursuant to UNSCR 1970 (2011), 2 Nov. 2011 at para. 14

Situation in Palestine, ICC-OTP, 3 April 2012.

ICC OTP Interim Report, Situation in Colombia, Nov. 2012.

Statement by ICC Prosecutor on the Notice to withdraw charges against Mr Muthaura, 11 March 2013.

Statement of the Prosecutor of the International Criminal court, Fatou Bensouda, to the United Nations Security Council on the situation in Libya pursuant to UNSCR 1970 (2011), New York 14 Nov. 2013.

Statement of the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court, Fatou Bensouda, to the United Nations Security Council on the situation in Libya, pursuant to UNSCR 1970 (2011) Mrs. Fatou Bensouda, Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court, New York, 14 November 2013.

Case information sheet, <https://www.icc-cpi.int/uganda/ongwen/documents/ongweneng.pdf>.

Statement of the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court, Fatou Bensouda: "The Public Deserves to know the Truth about the ICC's Jurisdiction over Palestine", 2 September 2014

Statement of the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court, Fatou Bensouda, on the conclusion of her visit to Colombia, 10-13 September 2017.

ICC Statement, *The Prosecutor of the ICC Fatou Bensouda Requests Judicial Authorization to Commence an Investigation into the Situation in the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan*, 20 Nov. 2017.

Final Report of the VPRS on Afghanistan, February 2018, https://www.icc-cpi.int/RelatedRecords/CR2018_01452.PDF, Annex I para. 46 (f).

Referral by the State of Palestine Pursuant to Articles 13(a) and 14 of the Rome Statute, https://www.icc-cpi.int/itemsDocuments/2018-05-22_ref-palestine.pdf.

Prosecution's Request for a Ruling on Jurisdiction under Article 19(3) of the Statute, 9 April 2018, ICC-RoC 44 (3)-01/18-1 (Rohingya refugee crisis)

III. UN Documents

General documents

UN Security Council Resolution 857 (1993) (establishment of ICTY)

UN Security Resolution 1315 (2000) (establishment of Special Court for Sierra Leone)

Nuremberg Declaration on Peace and Justice, UN Doc. A/62/885, 19 June 2008.

Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations UN Doc. A/55/305-S/2000/809, 21 August 2000 (Brahimi report).

Report by the Secretary-General. The rule of Law and Transitional Justice in Conflict and Post-Conflict Societies, UN Doc. S/2004/616, 23 August 2004 para. 8

Basic Principles and Guidelines on the Right to a Remedy and Reparation for Victims of Gross Violations of International Human Rights Law and Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law Adopted and proclaimed by General Assembly resolution 60/147 of 16 December 2005.

UN Updated Set of principles for the protection and promotion of human rights through action to combat impunity, UN Doc. E/CN.4/2005.102/Add. 1 , 8 Feb. 2005

OHCHR, Rule of Law Tools for Post-Conflict States, Prosecutions Initiatives (2005) (authored by Paul Seils and Marieke Wierda)

OHCHR Rule of Law Tools, Maximizing the Legacy of Hybrid Tribunals (2008) (authored by Marieke Wierda and Caitlin Reiger)

OHCHR, Rule of Law Tools for Post-Conflict States: Reparations Programs (2008) (authored by Pablo de Greiff)

OHCHR, Rule of Law Tools for Post-Conflict States: National Consultations on Transitional Justice (2009) (authored by Michael O'Flaherty)

UNODC, Handbook of basic principles and promising practices on Alternatives to Punishment, New York 2007

Report of the Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions, Philip Alston, UN Doc. A/HRC/14/24/Add.2, 31 March 2010

United Nations Guidance for Effective Mediation, Sept. 2012

Report of the Secretary-General on Conflict-Related Sexual Violence, UN Doc. A/66/657- S/2012/33, 13 January 2012 pp. 11- 12

Report of the Special Rapporteur on the promotion of truth, justice, reparation and guarantees of non-recurrence, Pablo de Greiff, Human Rights Council 21st session, UN Doc. A/HRC/21/46, 9 August 2012

Report of the Special Rapporteur on the promotion of truth, justice , reparation and guarantees of non-recurrence, Pablo de Greiff, to the General Assembly 67th Session, UN Doc. A/67/368, 13 Sept. 2012

Report of the Special Rapporteur on the Promotion of Truth, Justice, Reparations, and Guarantees of Non-Repetition, Pablo de Greiff, presented at the 27th General Session of the Human Rights Council, UN Doc. A_HRC_27_56_ENG.pdf, 27 August 2014,

United Nations: World Bank. Pathways for Peace: Inclusive Approaches to Preventing Violent Conflict (2017).

Report of the International, Impartial and Independent Mechanism to Assist in the Investigation and Prosecution of Persons Responsible for the Most Serious Crimes under International Law Committed in the Syrian Arab Republic since March 2011, A/72/764, 28 Feb. 2018.

Situation-specific UN Documents

Afghanistan

Conflict Mapping Report by the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights (<http://www.flagrancy.net/salvage/UNMappingReportAfghanistan.pdf>).

UNAMA and OHCHR, Treatment of Conflict-Related Detainees in Afghan Custody One Year On, January 2013, Kabul, Afghanistan p. 64.

<https://unama.unmissions.org/civilian-casualties-hit-new-high-2015>.

UNAMA, Treatment of Conflict-Related Detainees: Implementation of Afghanistan's National Plan on Elimination of Torture, April 2017.

Libya

Consideration of Reports Submitted by State Parties under Art. 40 of the Covenant, Concluding Observations of the HRC, Libya. CCPR/C/LBY/CO/4, 15 Oct- 2 Nov. 2007 para. 14

Report of the International Commission of Inquiry to investigate all alleged violations of international law in the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya UN. Doc A/HRC/17/44 (2011)

Report of the International Commission of Inquiry to investigate all alleged violations of international law in the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya UN Doc. A/HRC/19/68, (2012)

UNSMIL and OHCHR, Torture and Deaths in Detention in Libya, October 2013

UNSMIL/ OHCHR Report on the trial of 37 former members of the Qadhafi regime (Case 630/ 2012), 21 February 2017 at p. 19.

Palestine

Report of the United Nations Fact Finding Mission on the Gaza Conflict (“Goldstone Report”), A/HRC/12/48, 25 September 2009.

Uganda

Letter dated 5 January 2006 from the Permanent Representative of Canada to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council, 9 January 2006, S/2006/13.

See also OHCHR, “Making Peace Their Own”: Victims Perceptions of Accountability, Reconciliation and Transitional Justice in Uganda, 14 August 2008.

OHCHR, “The Dust Has Not Yet Settled”: Victims’ Views on the Right to Remedy and Reparation: A Report from the Greater North of Uganda (2011)

IV. AU Documents

African Union, “Decision on the Implementation of the Assembly Decisions on the International Criminal Court, Doc. EX.CL/670 (XIX)”, Assembly/ AU/ Doc. 366(XVII), 1 July 2011, para. 6.

Decision Ext/ Assembly/AU/Dec. 1 (Oct. 2013).

V. Treaties and Legislation

Rome Statute of the ICC

AU Constitutive Act Article 4.

Afghanistan

Afghanistan Constitution 1964

Afghanistan Constitution 2004

Afghan Penal Code 2017

The National Reconciliation, General Amnesty and National Stability Law,
Afghanistan 2007

Colombia

Colombia Justice and Peace Law (Law 975, 2005)

Colombia Final Agreement to End the Conflict and Build a Stable and Long-Lasting
Peace 2017

<http://www.altocomisionadoparalapaz.gov.co/Prensa/Paginas/2017/Mayo/El-Acuerdo-de-paz-en-ingles.aspx>

Colombia Penal Code Law 599/2000.

Colombia Victims and Land Restitution Law 1448 (2011)

Directive 001 (2012) of the Colombian Attorney General

English Summary of the September 23 Government-FARC Communiqué on the
Transitional Justice Accord.

Libya

Libya NTC Law 35 on Granting Amnesties for some Crimes (2012)

Libya NTC Law 38 on Transitional Measures (2012)

Libyan Peace Agreement (2014)

Uganda

Ugandan Constitution (1995)

Uganda International Crimes Bill (unpublished)

Uganda ICC Act 2010

Uganda: Report of the Committee on Legal and Parliamentary Affairs on the International Criminal Court Bill 2006.

Uganda Geneva Conventions Act 1964

Ugandan Penal Code

Uganda Amnesty Act (2000)

Uganda National Reconciliation Bill Draft, 2008.

Draft Rules of Procedure and Evidence of the International Crimes Division of the High Court of Uganda, 2013.

The High Court (International Crimes Division), Practice Directions (“ICD Practice Directions”), Legal Notice no. 10 of 2011, Legal Notice Supplement, Uganda Gazette, no. 38, vol. CIV, May 31, 2011.

Juba Agreement on Implementing and Monitoring Mechanisms (Uganda) (2008)

Juba Agreement on Accountability and Reconciliation (Uganda) (2007)

Annexure to the Juba Agreement

Kenya

Kenya Criminal Procedure Code

Kenya Witness Protection Act, 2006

Policy documents

National War Crimes Strategy, Bosnia and Herzegovina

VI. Jurisprudence

-Historical-

Judgement of the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg (1946) p. 41.

-ICTY-

Prosecutor versus Aleksovski, Appeals Chamber Judgement, IT-95-14/1-A, 24 March 2000, para. 185.

Prosecutor versus Erdemovic, Trial Chamber Sentencing Judgement, IT-96-22-Tbis, 5 March 1998 para. 16.

Prosecutor v. Nikolic, Trial Chamber I Sentencing Judgement, IT-94-2-S, 18 December 2003, paras. 89-90.

-ICC-

Uganda

Prosecutor v. Kony et al., Decision on the Admissibility of the Case under Article 19(1) of the Statute, ICC-02/04-01/05-377, 10 March 2009.

-DRC-

Prosecutor versus Thomas Lubanga Dyilo, Appeals Chamber, Judgement on the Appeal of Mr. Thomas Lubanga Dyilo against the Decision on the Defence Challenge to the Jurisdiction of the Court pursuant to Art. 19 (2) (a) of the Statute of 3 Oct. 2006, ICC-01-04-01/06-772, 14 Dec. 2006, para. 37.

Prosecutor versus Thomas Lubanga Dyilo, Situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Judgment on Victim Participation in the Investigative Stage of the Proceedings in the Appeal of the OPCD against the Decision of Pre-Trial Chamber I of 7 December 2007 in the Appeals of the OPCD and the Prosecutor against the Decision of Pre-Trial Chamber I of 24 December 2007, ICC-01-04-556, 19 Dec. 2008 para. 56.

Prosecutor versus Thomas Lubanga Dyilo, Decision on Victims' Participation, ICC-01/04-01/06-1119, 18 January 2008.

Prosecutor versus Thomas Lubanga Dyilo, Decision establishing the principles and procedures to be applied to reparations, Trial Chamber I, ICC_01/04-01/06, 7 August 2012.

Prosecutor versus Katanga and Ngudjolo, Decision on the Set of Procedural Rights Attached to the Procedural Status of Victims at the Pre-Trial Stage of a Case, Doc. No. ICC-01/04-01/07-474, 13 May 2008, paras. 31-36

Prosecutor versus Thomas Lubanga Dyilo, Redacted Decision on the Defence Application Seeking a Permanent Stay of the Proceedings”, ICC-01/04-01/06, 7 March 2011.

Prosecutor versus Thomas Lubanga Dyilo, Decision establishing the principles and procedures to be applied to reparations, Trial Chamber I, ICC_01/04-01/06, 7 August 2012, at para. 179.

Prosecutor versus Germain Katanga, Judgement, Minority Opinion of Judge Christine van den Wyngaert, ICC-01/04-01/07-3436-AnxI , 7 March 2014, at paras. 138-139, 140.

Procureur v. Germain Katanga, Decision relative a la peine (article 76 du Statut), 23 Mai 2014, ICC-01/04-01-07, para. 38.

Prosecutor v. Germain Katanga, Ordonnance de reparation en vertu de l’article 75 du Statut, ICC-01/04-01/07-3728, 24 March 2017.

Prosecutor versus Thomas Lubanga Dyilo, Appeals Chamber Judgment on the appeals against the “Decision establishing the principles and procedures to be applied to reparations” of 7 August 2012 with AMENDED order for reparations (Annex A) and public annexes 1 and 2, ICC-01/04-01/06-3129, 3 March 2015.

Prosecutor v. Germain Katanga, ICC-01/04-01/07 A3 A4 A5, Judgement on the appeals against the order of Trial Chamber II of 24 March entitled “Order for Reparation Pursuant to Article 75 of the Statute”, 8 March 2018.

-Libya-

Situation in the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Public Warrant of Arrest for Muammar Mohammed Abu Minyar Gaddafi, 27 June 2011.

Prosecutor versus Saif Al-Islam Gaddafi and Abdullah Al-Senussi, “Decision on the admissibility of the case against Saif Al-Islam Gaddafi”, ICC-01/11-01/11, 31 May 2013 para. 85.

Prosecutor versus Saif Al-Islam Gaddafi and Abdullah Al-Senussi, Public redacted Decision on the admissibility of the case against Abdullah Al-Senussi, ICC-01/11-01/11, 11 Oct. 2013 para. 235.

The Prosecutor v. Saif Al-Islam Gaddafi and Abdullah Al-Senussi, Public Redacted Decision on the Admissibility of the case against Saif Al-Islam, ICC-01/11-01/11, 31 May 2013.

Prosecutor versus Saif Al-Islam Gaddafi and Abdullah Al-Senussi, Dissenting Opinion of Judge Anita Usacka, Appeals Chamber Judgement on the appeal of Libya against the decision of Pre-Trial Chamber I of 31 May 2013 entitled “Decision on the admissibility of the case against Saif Al-Islam Gaddafi”, ICC-01/11-01/11 OA4, 21 May 2014, para. 16.

Prosecutor v. Saif Al-Islam Gaddafi and Abdullah Al-Senussi, Judgement on the appeal of Mr. Abdullah Al-Senussi against the decision of the Pre-Trial Chamber I of 11 October 2013 entitled “Decision on the admissibility of the case against Abdullah Al-Senussi 24 July 2014, para. 219, 230.

Prosecutor v. Mahmoud Mustafa Busayf Al-Werfalli, ICC-01/11-01/17.

-Cote d'Ivoire-

Prosecutor versus Laurent Gbagbo, Second Decision on Issues Related to the Victims' Application Process, ICC-02/11-01/11-86, 5 April 2012.

Prosecutor versus Laurent Gbagbo, Decision adjourning the hearing on the confirmation of charges pursuant to article 61(7)(c)(i) of the Rome Statute, ICC-02-11-01/11, 3 June 2013 para 36.

-Kenya -

Kenya Situation, Dissenting Opinion of Judge Hans-Peter Kaul in Pre-Trial Chamber II, “Decision Pursuant to Article 15 of the Rome Statute on the Authorization of an Investigation into the Situation in the Republic of Kenya, ICC-01/09-19-Corr 01-04-2010, 31 March 2010.

Prosecutor versus Francis Kirimi Muthaura, Uhuru Muigai Kenyatta and Mohammed Hussein Ali, Judgement on the appeal of the Republic of Kenya against the decision of Pre-Trial Chamber II of 30 May 2011, entitled “Decision on the Application of the Government of Kenya Challenging the Admissibility of the Case Pursuant to Art. 19 (2) (b) of the Statute”, ICC-01-09-02/11-274, 30 May 2011.

Prosecutor v. William Samoei Ruto and Joshua Arap Sang, Decision of the Plenary of Judges on the Joint Defence Application for a Change of Place where the Court Shall Sit for Trial in the case of, ICC, ICC-01/09-01/11-875, 26 August 2013.

Prosecutor versus Uhuru Muigai Kenyatta, Notification of the removal of a witness from the Prosecution's witness list and application for an adjournment of the provisional trial date, ICC-01/09-02/11, 19 Dec. 2013.

Prosecutor v. William Samoei Ruto and Joshua Arap Sang, Trial Chamber, Public redacted version of Decision on Defence Applications for Judgments of Acquittal, ICC-01/09-01/11-2027-Red-Corr, 16 June 2016.

-Mali-

Prosecutor v. Ahmad Al Faqi Al Mahdi, ICC-01/12-01/15-1 Red.

Prosecutor vs. Ahmad Al Faqi Al Mahdi, ICC-01/12-01/15-236, Reparations Order, 17 August 2017.

Prosecutor vs. Ahmad Al Faqi Al Mahdi, ICC-01/12-01/15-A, Appeals Chamber, Public Redacted Judgement on the Appeal of Victims Against the “Reparations Order”, 8 March 2018.

-Other-

International Court of Justice, *Case Concerning Armed Activities on the Territory of Congo, DRC vs. Uganda*, Judgement 19 Dec. 2005 No. 2005/26.

Inter-American Court of Human Rights, *Case of the Massacres of El Mozote and Nearby Places v. El-Salvador*, Judgement of October 25, 2012 (Merits, reparations and costs) paras 287-300.

National Courts

- Colombia-

Constitutional Court for Colombia Decision C-578 of 2002.

Constitutional Court for Colombia Decision T-025, 2004.

Colombia Supreme Court, Criminal Cassation Chamber, Appeal Motion (Manuel Enrique Torregosa Castro), Dec. 29472, 10 April 2008, translation in Bertoni et al., Digest of Latin American Jurisprudence on International crimes, p. 110.

Constitutional Court for Colombia Decision C-370 de 2006, available on the Constitutional Court website.

Constitutional Court for Colombia Dec. C-579/13.

-South Africa-

Azanian Peoples Organization (AZAPO) and Others v President of the Republic of South Africa and Others (CCT17/96) [1996] ZACC 16; 1996 (8) BCLR 1015; 1996 (4) SA 672 (25 July 1996).

-Uganda-

Uganda vs. Kwoyelo Thomas alias Latoni, Amended Indictment, International Crimes Division of the High Court of Uganda at Kampala, 5 July 2011.

Uganda Constitutional Petition No. 036/11 (Reference) arising out of HCT-00-ICD-Case No. 02/10 between *Thomas Kwoyelo Alias Latoni (Applicant) and Uganda (Respondent)*, Constitutional Court of Uganda, 22 Sept. 2011.

VII. Statements and Speeches

Afghanistan Analyst Network representative statement at International Seminar on Peace, Reconciliation and Transitional Justice, Kabul University, 16-18 November 2013.

Arbour, Louise. President and CEO of International Crisis Group, *Are freedom, peace and justice incompatible agendas?* The Inaugural Berge Lecture, 3 March 2014 Oxford University.

Afako, Barney. Moderator's Summary of Stocktaking of international criminal justice, Peace and Justice, RC/11 at para. 2.

Bensouda, Fatou, Seminar Institute for Security Studies (ISS): *Setting the record straight: the ICC's new Prosecutor responds to African concerns: Reconciling the independent role of the ICC Prosecutor with conflict resolution initiatives*, Key note address Pretoria 10 Oct. 2102.

Behrmann, Christian. Statement. 15th EU / NGO Human Rights Forum (5-6 December 2013) Brussels on Accountability.

Expert conference, *In the Shadow of the ICC: Colombia and International Criminal Justice*, Convened by the Human Rights Consortium, the Institute of Commonwealth Studies and the Institute for the Study of the Americas at the School of Advanced Study, University of London, 26-27 May 2011 – remarks by Mr. Juan Pablo Cadona, Ms. Catalina Diaz, Mr. Reinaldo Villalba, Professor Eduardo Pizarro.

De Greiff, Pablo. Director, ICTJ, *Strategic Challenges of the Justice and Peace Law*, 23 August 2011 at the conference in Sweden on "Selection or Prioritization as a Strategy for Prosecuting International Crimes."

Comments by Marcy Mersky, Program Director, ICTJ Remarks at 15th EU/ NGO Human Rights Forum (5-6 December 2013) Brussels, on Accountability.

Medina, Claudia. *Remarks at Consultations on Transitional Justice: A View from the Regions*, hosted by the Ministry of Justice, 7-9 November, Bogota.

Jaramillo, Sergio. Speech by the High Commissioner for Peace of Colombia, at Externado University on 9 May 2013, published in El Tiempo.

Ocampo, Luis Moreno. Statement at Inauguration of Prosecutor and Judges of the ICC, 16 June 2003.

Ocampo, Luis Moreno. Statement of the Prosecutor to Diplomatic Corps in The Hague, Netherlands, 12 Feb. 2004.

Ocampo, Luis Moreno. Statement of the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court, The Hague 14 Oct. 2005.

Ocampo, Luis Moreno. Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court, 25 June 2007, Address at International Conference *Building a future on Peace and Justice*, Nuremberg.

Ocampo, Luis Moreno. Gruber Distinguished Lecture in Global Justice, at Yale (2013 unpublished, on file with author).

Ocampo, Luis Moreno. The Gaddafi case, NYU School of Law's Hauser Colloquium on International Law, September 2013.

OTP representative, Remarks, International conference Concerning International Humanitarian Law and International Criminal law in Domestic Law, and Organized Crime, 20-21 June 2013, Pontificia Universidad Javeriana.

Palacio, Ruth Stella Correa. Minister of Justice and Law, Statement at International conference Concerning International Humanitarian Law and International Criminal law in Domestic Law, and Organized Crime, 20-21 June 2013, Pontificia Universidad Javeriana.

Robinson, Patrick, ICTY President's address to the General Assembly, October 2009, cited in Pena, Mariana and Gaelle Carayon, "Is the ICC Making the Most of Victim Participation?" *International Journal of Transitional Justice* Vol. 7, 2013, p. 522.

Prince Zeid Raad Zeid Al-Hussein, H.R.H. of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, speaking also on behalf of H.E. Christian Wenaweser, Ambassador of the Principality of Liechtenstein, to the twelfth session of the Assembly of States Parties, 20 Nov. 2013.

Stewart, James. Transitional Justice in Colombia and the role of the International Criminal Court, 13 May 2015, <https://www.icc-cpi.int/iccdocs/otp/otp-stat-13-05-2015-ENG.pdf>.

ICC President's Remarks at Coalition for the ICC Launch Forum Commemorating the 20th Anniversary of the Adoption of the Rome Statute, dated 15 January 2018.

ICC Registrar's Remarks at Coalition for the ICC Launch Forum Commemorating the 20th Anniversary of the Adoption of the Rome Statute, dated 15 January 2018.

Secretary General, Message for the Event Marking the 20th Year Anniversary of the International Criminal Court, 15 Feb. 2018.

Statement by H.E. Mahmoud Saikal, Permanent Representative of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan to the United Nations, delivered at the 16th Session of the Assembly of States Parties to the Rome Statute of the ICC, 7 Dec. 2017.

VIII. NGOs and Policy Institutes

-A-

Afghanistan Analysts Network, Patricia Gossman and Sari Kuovo, *Tell Us How This Ends: Transitional Justice and Prospects for Peace in Afghanistan*, February 2013 p. 29.

Afghan Independent Human Rights Commission and International Center for Transitional Justice, Discussion paper on the Legality of Amnesties, 21 Feb. 2010.

Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission, *A Call for Justice: A National Consultation on past Human Rights Violations in Afghanistan*, 2005 p. 43.

Afghanistan Justice Project, *Casting Shadows: War Crimes and Crimes against Humanity*, 1978-2001 at <http://afghanistanjusticeproject.org>.

Afghanistan Justice Organization and the Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict, *Transitional Justice in Afghanistan: "We should not repeat old issues?"* Oct. 2013.

Government of Afghanistan Action Plan on Peace, Justice and Reconciliation http://www.aihrc.org.af/media/files/Reports/Thematic%20reports/Action_Pln_Gov_Af.pdf

AfricaPortal research paper, Tenove, Chris. *International Justice for Victims? Assessing the International Criminal Court from the Perspective of Victims in Kenya and Uganda*, September 2013, p. 20.

African Rights, *Broken Bodies, Torn Spirits: living with Genocide, Rape and HIV/ AIDS*, 2004.

Amnesty International Checklist for Effective Implementation (of the Rome Statute)

Amnesty International, *'The Battle for Libya': Killings, Disappearances and Torture*, 13 Sept. 2011, p. 44.

Amnesty International, Kenya: *State Parties run dangerously close to interfering with the ICC's independence*, 15 November 2015 at <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2015/11/kenya-state-parties-run-dangerously-close-to-interfering-with-the-iccs-independence/>

Asia Foundation: *Afghanistan in 2013: A Survey of the Afghan People* (2013).

Avocats Sans Frontiers, *Africa and the International Criminal Court: Mending Fences*, July 2012 at p. 8.

Avocats Sans Frontiers, *Evaluation of Knowledge and Expertise in International Criminal Justice in Uganda, Baseline Survey Report*, November 2011.

Avocats sans Frontiers, *The Principle of Complementarity in the Rome Statute and the Colombian Situation: A Case that Demands More than a "Positive" Approach*, Lawyers Without Borders Canada, (2009).

-B-

The Belfast Guidelines on Amnesty and Accountability, General Principles.

BBC World Service Trust and ICTJ, *Transitional justice survey in Sierra Leone*, 9 Oct. 2007.

Belgrade Center for Human Rights and Strategic Marketing Survey, *Public Opinion in Serbia: Attitudes towards the ICTY*, August 2004.

Bergsmo, Morten, Wolfgang Kaleck, Sam Muller and William Wiley. *A Prosecutor Falls, Time for the Court to Rise*. Torkel Opsahl Academic E-Publisher, FICHL Policy Brief Series No. 86, 2017.

Brody, Reed. *Victims bring a Dictator to Justice: The Case of Hissene Habre*, Bread of the World, 2017.

-C-

Center for Strategic and International Studies: Downie, Richard. *The Lord's Resistance Army*, 18 Oct. 2011, csis.org/publication/lords-resistance-army.

Civil Society for Organizations in Northern Uganda, *Nowhere to Hide: Humanitarian Protection in Northern Uganda*, 2004 p. 63.

Coalition for the International Criminal Court, Global Advocacy Campaign for the International Criminal Court, *Summary Chart on the Status of Ratification and Implementation of the Rome Statute and the Agreement on Privileges and Immunities*.

Communique of traditional and religious leaders, civil society and other organisations, 23 May 2012, Fairway, Kampala. See also Note Accompanying Fairway Communiqué.

Conciliation Resources: Barney Afako, *Reconciliation and Justice: Mato Oput and the Amnesty Act*(2002) at <http://www.c-r.org/our-work/accord/northern-uganda/reconciliation-justice.php>.

Conciliation Resources: Chris Dolan, *Which Children Count? The Politics of Children's Rights in Northern Uganda*, 2002.

Conciliation Resources and Quaker Peace and Social Witness, *Coming Home: Understanding why commanders of the Lord's resistance Army choose to return to a civilian life*" (May 2006), p.10.

-D-

De Justicia: Monograph, www.dejusticia.com, 2013.

Democratic Center for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces: Scherrer, Vincenza. *Measuring the Impact of Peacebuilding Interventions on Rule of Law and Security Institutions*. 2012.

DFID: Isabel Vogel, *Review of the use of "Theory of Change" in International Development*, 2012:
http://r4d.dfid.gov.uk/pdf/outputs/mis_spc/DFID_ToC_Review_VogelV7.pdf.

DFID, Caroline Roseveare, *The rule of law and International Development*, DFID Literature Review, 2013, London UK at para. 23.

DOMAC: Chetman, Alejandro, *The Impact of the ICC in Colombia: Positive Complementarity on Trial*, 17 Oct. 2011 p. 19.

-E-

Enough Project: Ledio Cakaj, *The Lord's Resistance Army of Today*, November 2010

Enough Project, *The End of Amnesty in Uganda: Implications for LRA Defections*, Kasper Agger, August 2012.

European Center for Constitutional and Human Rights/ Public Interest Lawyers, *The Responsibility of UK Officials for War Crimes Involving Systematic Detainee Abuse in Iraq from 2003-2008*, p. 6.

European Council on Foreign Relations, Dworkin, Anthony. *Case Study: Goldstone and After- Judicial Intervention and the Quest for Peace in the Middle East*, 5 Nov. 2013.

European Council for Foreign Relations. *Hayner, Priscilla, International Justice and the Prevention of Atrocities: Case Study Libya: The ICC enters During War*, November 2013.

-F-

FIDH, *Colombia: The War is Measured in Litres of Blood: False positives, crimes against humanity: those most responsible enjoy impunity*, May 2012 p. 10.

FIDH, *Enhancing Victims' Rights Before the ICC: A View from Situation Countries on Victims' Rights at the International Criminal Court*, November 2013.

-H-

Handbook for Military Support to Rule of Law and Security Sector Reform, US Joint Forces Command, Unified Action Handbook Series, Book Five, 13 June 2011, Chapter on "Assessment and Metrics: Measuring Progress."

Historical Memory Center, *Basta Ya! Colombia: Memorias de Guerra y dignidad* (Enough Already! Colombia: Memories of War and Dignity, July 2013.

Historical Memory Center, *Organizacion Internacional Para Las Migraciones, Unidad de Atencion y Reparacion Integral a Victimas y Universidad de Los Andes, ¿Que piensan los colombianos despues de siete anos de Justicia y Paz?* Encuesta Nacional, Bogota, 2012. www.centrodememoriahistorica.gov.co/descargas/informes2012/encuesta.pdf

Human Rights Center, UC Berkeley, *The Victims Court? A Study of 622 Victim Participants at the ICC: Uganda, DRC, Keny, Cote d'Ivoire*, 2015.

Human Rights Center: *Forgotten Voices: A Population-Based Survey on Attitudes about Peace, Justice and Social Reconstruction in Northern Uganda*, July 2005, Human Rights Center, University of California at Berkeley, and the International Center for Transitional Justice.

Human Rights Center: *When the War Ends: A Population-Based Survey on Attitudes about Peace, Justice and Social Reconstruction in Northern Uganda*, Dec. 2007,

University of California at Berkeley, Payson Center for International Development, Tulane University; International Center for Transitional Justice.

Human Rights Center: *Living with Fear: A Population-Based Survey on Attitudes about Peace, Justice and Social Reconstruction in Eastern Republic of Congo*, August 2008, Human Rights Center, University of California at Berkeley, Payson Center for International Development, Tulane University; International Center for Transitional Justice.

Human Rights Center: Phuong Pham, Patrick Vinck, Mychelle Balthazard, Sokhom Hean and Eric Stover, *So We Will Never Forget”: A Population-Based Survey on Attitudes about Social Reconstruction and the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia*, University of California, Berkeley, January 2009.

Human Rights Center: *Building Peace Seeking Justice: A Population-Based Survey on Attitudes about Peace, Justice and Social Reconstruction in Central African Republic*, August 2010, Human Rights Center, University of California at Berkeley.

Human Rights Center: *Transitioning to Peace: A Population-Based Survey on Attitudes about Peace, Justice and Social Reconstruction in Northern Uganda*, December 2010, Human Rights Center, University of California at Berkeley.

Human Rights Watch (HRW), *Making the International Criminal Court Work: A Handbook for Implementing the Rome Statute* (2001).

Human Rights Watch, *Concerns Regarding Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment in Uganda*, May 2005.

Human Rights Watch Policy Paper: *the Meaning of “the Interests of Justice” in Article 53 of the Rome Statute*, June 2005.

Human Rights Watch, *Afghanistan: Justice for War Criminals Essential for Peace: Karzai Must Hold Officials Accountable for War crimes*, Dec. 13, 2006.

Human Rights Watch Briefing Paper, *The June 29 Agreement on Accountability and Reconciliation and the Need for Adequate Penalties for the Most Serious Crimes*, July 2007.

Human Rights Watch, *Courting History: The Landmark International Criminal Court’s First Years*, 2008 at p. 41.

Human Rights Watch, *The Christmas Massacres: LRA attacks on Civilians in Northern Congo*, February 2009.

Human Rights Watch, *Courting History: The Landmark International Criminal Court’s First Years* (2010)

Human Rights Watch, *Seductions of "Sequencing": The Risks of Putting Justice Aside for Peace*, December 2010

Human Rights Watch, *Unfinished Business: Closing Gaps in the Selection of ICC Cases*, Sept. 2011, p. 26.

Human Rights Watch, *Justice for Serious Crimes Before National Courts: Uganda's International Crimes Division* 2012.

Human Rights Watch, *Libya: Letter to the ICC Prosecutor on Libyan Amnesty Laws*, 25 May 2012

Human Rights Watch, *Death of a Dictator: Bloody Vengeance in Sirte*, October 2012.

Human Rights Watch, *Justice for Serious Crimes Before National Courts: Uganda's International Crimes Division*, 2012.

Human Rights Watch, *Letter to Misrata Councils Regarding Serious Crimes by Armed Groups*, 9 April 2012.

Human Rights Watch, *No Justice for April 2011 Killings*, 2013.

Human Rights Watch, *Afghanistan: ICC Prosecutor Finds Grave Crimes*, 1 Dec. 2013.

Human Rights Watch, *On Their Watch: of Senior Evidence of Army Officers Responsibility for False Positives Killings in Colombia*, 24 June 2015.

Human Rights Watch *Analysis of the Colombia-FARC Agreement*, 21 December 2015.

-I-

ICTJ series on impact of the Court in Colombia, DRC, Uganda, Sudan and Kenya (2010).

ICTJ Side Event During ICC ASP Ninth Session *Making Complementarity Work: The Way Forward*, 9 December 2010.

ICTJ Briefing, *Reparations for Northern Uganda: Addressing the Needs of Victims and Affected Communities*, September 2012.

ICTJ: Hopwood, Julian, *"We Can't Be Sure Who Killed Us", Memory and Memorialization in Post-Conflict Northern Uganda*, ICTJ and Justice and Reconciliation Project, February 2011.

ICTJ - Michael Otim and Marieke Wierda, *Uganda: Impact of the Rome Statute and the International Criminal Court*, May 2010, Briefing for the Rome Statute Review Conference.

ICTJ, Perriello, Tom and Marieke Wierda. *The Special Court for Sierra Leone under Scrutiny*, March 2006.

ICTJ, Reports of the Greentree meetings are at <http://ictj.org/sites/default/files/ICTJ-Global-Complementarity-Greentree-2010-English.pdf>.

ICTJ- Reed-Hurtado, Michael and Amanda Lyons, *Colombia: Impact of the Rome Statute and the International Criminal Court*, May 2010, paper presented to the Rome Statute Review Conference in June 2010, Kampala, FN 24.

ICTJ, Seils, Paul. *Handbook on Complementarity: An Introduction to the Role of National Courts and the ICC in Prosecuting International Crimes*, 2016 at p. 64

ICTJ Briefing: Seils, Paul. *Squaring Colombia's Circle: The Objectives of Punishment and the Pursuit of peace*. June 2015.

Impunity Watch Policy Brief: *The Expanding Societal Impact of International Criminal Justice – Exploring the links with Memory Initiatives*, February 2014.

International Bar Association, *Judicial Independence Undermined: A Report on Uganda*, Sept. 2007.

International Bar Association. Ellis, Dr. Mark. *Trial of the Libyan regime: An investigation into international fair trial standards*. Nov. 2015.

International Crisis Group, *Northern Uganda: Understanding and Solving the Conflict*, 14 April 2004.

International Crisis Group, *Reforming Afghanistan's Broken Judiciary*, 17 Nov. 2010.

International Crisis Group, *Uganda: No Resolution to Growing Tensions*, April 2012.

International Crisis Group, *Transitional Justice and Colombia's Peace Talks*, Latin America Report No. 49, 29 August 2013 p. 5.

International Crisis Group, Arbour, Louise. *Doctrines Derailed? Internationalism's Uncertain Future*, International Crisis Group's Global Briefing, 28 Oct. 2013.

Institute of Security Studies, Max du Plessis, *Universalising International Criminal Law: The ICC, Africa and the Problem of Political Perceptions*, 6 Dec. 2013.

Institute for Security Studies: Wanyeki, L. Muthoni. *The International Criminal Court's cases in Kenya: origin and impact*, Paper 237 August 2012 at p. 17.

-J-

Justice, Law and Order Sector / PILPG National Consultations on the International Crimes Bill, 6th – 7th August 2009, Entebbe.

Justice, Law and Order Sector, *“Study report on Traditional Justice, Truth-telling and National Reconciliation Uganda (2012).*

Judicial Service Commission, *Report of the Committee of the Judicial Service Commission on the establishment of an International Crimes Division in The High Court of Kenya*, Oct. 2012.

Justice and Reconciliation Project Field Note 7, *Complicating Victims and Perpetrators in Uganda: On Dominic Ongwen*, July 2008.

Justice and Reconciliation Project, *To Pardon or Punish? Current Perceptions and Opinions on Uganda's Amnesty in Acholi-land*. 15 Dec. 2011.

Justice and Reconciliation Project, *The Dog That Barks But Doesn't Bite: Victims' Perspectives on the International Criminal Court in Uganda*, Policy Brief No. 6, February 2013 p. 5.

-K-

Kenyan Human Rights Commission and Kenyan Section of International Commission of Jurists, *Elusive Justice: A Status Report on Victims of 2007-2008 Post-Election Violence in Kenya*, 2012.

Kenyans for Peace with Truth and Justice, *Securing Justice: Establishing a domestic mechanism for the 2007/8 post-election violence in Kenya*, May 2013.

Hon. Rev. Dr. Samuel Kobia, Commissioner JSC/ Chair ICD Committee, *Complementarity in Practice: Examples from Kenya”: A Paper presented at the German-Kenyan Side Event at the ASP*, 23 Nov. 2013 p. 8.

-L-

Liu Institute for Global Studies, *The Hidden War, the Forgotten People: War in Acholiland and its Ramifications for Peace and Security in Uganda*, 20 Oct. 2003.

Liu Institute Global Justice Program and ICTJ, *Conference report: Vancouver Dialogue on the Impunity Gap*, 4 April 2004.

-M-

MacArthur Foundation: Erin Baines, Eric Stover and Marieke Wierda., War-Affected Children and Youth in Northern Uganda: An Assessment Report, 1 May 2006.

Mo Ibrahim Foundation: <http://www.moibrahimfoundation.org/iiag/>.

-N-

Norwegian Peace-building Resource Centre, Felipe Gomez Isa, *Justice, truth and reparation in the Colombian peace process*, Report April 2013 p. 2.

-O-

Open Society Justice Initiative: Orentlicher, Diane. *Shrinking the Space for Denial: The Impact of the ICTY in Serbia*, 2008.

Open Society Justice Initiative: Orentlicher, Diane. *That Someone Guilty be Punished: The Impact of the ICTY in Bosnia*. 2008.

Open Society Justice Initiative, *Putting Complementarity into Practice: Domestic Justice for International crimes in DRC, Uganda, and Kenya*, 2011.

Open Society Justice Initiative Briefing Paper, *Establishing Performance Indicators for the International Criminal Court*, Nov. 2015.

OSCE and Belgrade Center for Human Rights, *Attitudes towards war crimes issues, ICTY and the national judiciary*, Oct. 2011

University of Ottawa Centre for International Policy Studies Working Paper, *The Effects of Transitional Justice Mechanisms: A Summary of Empirical Research Findings and Implications for Analysts and Practitioners*, by Oskar Thomas, James Ron and Ronald Paris, April 2008

-P-

Parliamentarians for Global Action, *A Deterrent Court, The Ultimate Objective* (no date).

Pax Christi, Joost van Puijenbroek en Nico Plooijer, *"How Enlightening is the Thunder?" Study on the Lord's Resistance Army in the Border Region of DR Congo, Sudan, and Uganda*, February 2009, section 12.

Physicians for Human Rights, *32nd Brigade Massacre: Evidence of war crimes and the need to ensure justice and accountability in Libya*, Dec. 2011.

-S-

Special Court for Sierra Leone, Sierra Leone Institute for International Law, Manifesto 99, No Peace Without Justice, Liberian NGOs Network, and Coalition for Justice and Accountability, *Making Justice Count: Addressing the impact and legacy of the Special Court for Sierra Leone and Liberia*, September 2012 pp. 26-28.

-R-

Redress, *Independent Panel of Experts report on victim participation at the International Criminal Court*, July 2013.

Refugee Law Project: Lucy Hovil and Joanna Quinn, *Peace First, Justice Later: Traditional Justice in Northern Uganda*, Working Paper No. 17, July 2005 p. 3.

Refugee Law Project, *Whose Justice? Perceptions of Uganda's Amnesty Act 2000: The Potential for Conflict Resolution and Long-Term Reconciliation* Working Paper 15, February 2005.

Refugee Law Project, *Ongwen's Justice Dilemma*, 16 Jan. 2015.

Refugee Law Project, *Ambiguous Impacts: The Effects of the International Criminal Court in Investigations in Northern Uganda*, Working Paper No. 22, October 2012 at p. 14.

Report of the Judicial Services Commission on the Establishment of an International Crimes Division in the High Court of Kenya, 30 October 2012, pp. 88-95.

Report of the Workshop on Accountability and Reconciliation in Uganda held in the Fairway Hotel on 6-7 May 2008.

Reports of the Working Groups on Consultations on Transitional Justice: A View from the Regions, hosted by the Ministry of Justice, 7-9 November, Bogota.

-T-

Transparency International: cpi.transparency.org/cpi2013/results/

-U-

Republic of Uganda Ministry of Health, Health and Mortality Survey among Internally Displaced Persons in Gulu, Kitgum, and Pader Districts in Northern Uganda, July 2005, WHO, UNICEF, WFP, UNFPA and IRC.

United States Institute for Peace: Mohammed Masoom Stanekzai, *Thwarting Afghanistan's Insurgency: A Pragmatic Approach toward Peace and Reconciliation*, Special Report, September 2008.

Uppsala University, http://www.pcr.uu.se/research/ucdp/datasets/ucdp_onesided-violence-dataset.

United Nations Research Institute for Social Development. Nowrojee, Binaifer. *Your Justice is Too Slow" Will The ICTR Fail Rwanda's Rape Victims?* November 2005.

United Nations/ World Bank, *Pathways for Peace: Inclusive Approaches to Preventing Violent Conflict* (2017).

-W-

War Crimes Research Office (2009), Victim Participation at the Case Stage of Proceedings. Washington: Washington College of Law, American University.

World Development Report, *Conflict, Security and Development* (2011), Table 2.1.

World Justice Project: <http://worldjusticeproject.org/rule-of-law-index>.

IX. Newspaper Articles, Media Statements, YouTube Clips and Blogs

-A-

Acholi Times, David Livingston Okumu, Akena Moses & Sam Lawino, *Kony 2012 screening in Gulu leaves one dead and many injured*, 16 April 2012.

Acuna, Phillip, Colombia Reports, *Ten 'false positives' cases, 232 extrajudicial killings in 2013: human rights organization*, , 15 May 2014.

Afako, Barney, Conciliation Resources. *Undermining the LRA: Role of Uganda's Amnesty Act*, August 2012.

Afghan People's Dialogue on Peace, *Laying the Foundations for an Inclusive Peace Process*, December 2011.

Afghan Independent Human Rights Commission, *Death Lists to End Uncertainty of Relatives*, Rotterdam, September 2013 at [//www.aihrc.org.af/en/daily-reports/1730/afghanistan-death-lists-to-end-uncertainty-of-relatives.html](http://www.aihrc.org.af/en/daily-reports/1730/afghanistan-death-lists-to-end-uncertainty-of-relatives.html).

Afghanistan Ministry of Justice website: <http://moj.gov.af/en/page/1670>.

Ahmetasevic, Nidzara. International Justice Tribune. *Sarajevo's model under threat*, 15 February 2012.

Amnesty International, *Ugandan Agreement and Annex on Accountability and Reconciliation Fall Short of a Comprehensive Plan to End Impunity*, March 2008.

Africa News: <http://www.africanews.com/2017/02/09/the-gambia-will-remain-in-the-icc-president-barrow-confirms/>.

Ambos, Kai. *ICC OTP Report on the Situation in Colombia- A critical analysis*. www.ejiltalk.org, 1 Feb. 2013.

Alsema, Adriaan. Colombia report. *Prosecutor warns ICC will try military commanders if Colombia transitional justice fails*. 26 Jan. 2017: colombiareports.com.

Al-Jazeera International, *UN Accuses Rwanda of Leading DR Congo rebels*, 17 Oct. 2012.

Al-Jazeera, *Libya Commander Wanted by ICC hands himself in*, 8 February 2018.

Associated Press, *Critics of Peace Deal Dominate Colombia Election*, Bogota, 11 March 2018.

-B-

BBC, *Colombia's victims join FARC peace talks in Cuba*, 17 August 2014, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-28822683>

BBC World News, *Ocampo: Saif Al-Islam case is huge responsibility for Libya*, 23 Nov. 2011. <http://www.bbc.com/news/av/world-africa-15866040/ocampo-saif-al-islam-case-is-huge-responsibility-for-libya>

BBC News Africa, *Lawyers appointed for Saif Al-Islam Gaddafi*, 2 May 2013.

BBC, Kenya, *ICC defence witness" in Ruto trial killed*, 6 Jan. 2015, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-30703876>.

BBC News Africa website, *Libya rejects ICC arrest warrant for Muammar Gaddafi*, 27 June 2011, statement by Mohammed Al-Qamoodi.

Bensouda, Fatou. *The truth about the ICC and Gaza*, The Guardian, 29 August 2014.

Bensouda, Fatou. *International Justice and Diplomacy*, 19 March 2013, New York Times Op Ed.

Berger, Julian. *Hague Court under Western Pressure not to Open Gaza War Crimes Inquiry*. The Guardian, 18 August 2014.

Berger, Julian and Richard Norton-Taylor, *Diplomats discuss Libya's future as Italy plots Gaddafi's escape route*, The Guardian, 29 March 2011.

Black, I. *Gaddafi urges violent showdown and tells Libya I'll die a martyr*, The Guardian, 22 February 2011.

Booth, William *France: Gaddafi could possibly stay in Libya*, Washington Post, 20 July 2011

Bosco, David. *US Options for Responding to ICC Scrutiny in Afghanistan*. Lawfare Blog, 23 Feb. 2017.

Bowcott, Owen. *Libya mass rape claims: using Viagra would be a horrific first*, The Guardian, Thursday 9 June 2011.

Bowcott, Owen. *Libya ordered to hand over Lockerbie mastermind*, The Guardian, 7 February 2013.

Bosco, David. Foreign Policy. *Exclusive: ICC Poised to open investigation into war crimes in Afghanistan*, 31 Oct. 2016.

Branch, Adam. *Dangerous ignorance: The hysteria of Kony 2012*, Al Jazeera Opinion, 12 Mar. 2012.

Business and Human Rights Resource Centre, "*Case profile: Chiquita lawsuits.*"

-C-

CICC website: see <https://ciccglobaljustice.wordpress.com/2016/04/07/rutosang-icc-case-thrown-out-explanation-and-reaction/>.

CCTV, *Libya rebels welcome Gaddafi arrest warrants*, 28 June 2011.

<http://chimpreports.com/index.php/news/politics/16415-full-speech-museveni-accounts-for-28-years-in-power.html>.

Charbonneau, Louis. *ICC Prosecutor eyes possible Afghanistan War Crimes*, 9 Sept. 2009 in <http://www.reuters.com/article/2009/09/09/us-afghanistan-warcrimes-idUSTRE58871K20090909>.

Clark , Kate and Ehsan Qaane, AAN, *One Step Closer to War Crimes Trials (2): ICC Prosecutor requests authorization to investigate*, 5 Nov. 2017

Cockburn, Patrick. *Amnesty questions claims that Gaddafi ordered rape as a weapon of war*. The Independent, 24 June 2011.

Colombiapeace.org, *Prison of Deprivation of Liberty for Human Rights Violations*, 015.

-D-

Daily Mail: www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3678568/Colonel-Gaddafi-s-son-Saif-al-Islam-walks-free-prison-just-one-year-sentenced-death-Tripoli-court.html.

Daily Monitor (Uganda), *Lawmakers Agree to Extend Amnesty Act*, 16 May 2013.

Davenport, David. *International Criminal Court: 12 Years, \$1 Billion, 2 Convictions*. Forbes, 21 March 2014

Dearden, Lizzie. *Russia to Withdraw from ICC amid calls for Syrian air strikes investigation*, Independent, 16 Nov. 2016.

Deutsche Welle, *Bonn Court Reviews 2009 Kunduz Air Strike*, 30 Oct. 2013 at <http://www.dw.de/bonn-court-reviews-2009-kunduz-air-strike/a-17194997>.

Deutsche Welle, *Afghan President Ashraf Ghani offers Taliban peace Talks and Political Recognition*, 28 Feb. 2018.

-E-

Eding, Zach, Colombia Reports. *Colombia's military justice reform could lead to ICC intervention*, 19 Nov. 2012.

Escritt, Thomas and Fatos Bytyci, *Kosovar Ex-Premier Haradinaj acquitted of war crimes again*, Reuters 29 Nov. 2012.

-F-

Fabricuis, Peter. *South Africa confirms withdrawal from the ICC*, Daily Maverick, 7 Dec. 2017

FIDH: See <http://www.fidh.org/spip.php?article5256>.

Fisher, Kirsten. *Is the ICC Losing the Perceptions Game?* International Law and Justice Log, 23 May 2013.

Freeman, Daniel. "Colombia's Constitutional court knocks down controversial military justice reform law", 24 Oct. 2013.

Frencken, Niki. *The International Criminal Court and Deterrence- The Lubanga Syndrome*. Justice in Conflict, 6 April 2012.

-G-

The Guardian, *African Union members back Kenya's plan to leave the ICC*, 1 Feb. 2016. www.theguardian.com/world/2016/feb/01/african-union-kenyan-plan-leave-international-criminal-court.

The Guardian, *South Africa to quit the ICC*, 21 Oct. 2016.

The Guardian, *Walkout at Ugandan President's Inauguration over ICC remarks*, 12 May 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/may/12/walkout-at-ugandan-presidents-inauguration-over-icc-remarks>.

The Guardian, *Rodrigo Duterte to pull Philippines out of the International Criminal Court*, 14 March 2018.

Global post, *A Massacre Explored: Murder in the Jungle*, 16 March 2010.

Giligan, Andrew and Bruno Watersfeld, *Libya: arrest warrant sought for Col. Gaddafi, son and intelligence chief*, 16 May 2011 in The Telegraph, UK.

Goldstone, Richard, in *Pieces of the Puzzle: Key words on Transitional Justice and Reconciliation*, (Compress, <http://www.oneworldbooks.com>, South Africa) 2004.

Guernica, *The Genocide Myth: Joel Whitney interviews Mahmood Mamdani*, 12 May 2009.

Graham-Harrison, Emma. *Names of 5000 Afghans killed in purges published 35 years on*, 20 Sept. 2013 at <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/sep/20/names-afghans-killed-purges-published>.

-H-

Harding, Andrew. *Libya rape claims: Seeking the Truth*, 10 June 2011 [Http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-13725149](http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-13725149).

Heller, Kevin. *The ICC Commits Cooperation Seppuku*, Opinio Juris, week roundup, June 16-22, 2012.

Heller, Kevin. *Britain to Support Palestine's GA Resolution?* 12 Nov. 2012, <http://opiniojuris.org/2012/11/26/britain-to-support-palestines-unga-resolution/#comments>.

The Hindu, *Mullah Baradar to be released*, 11 Sept. 2013, [tp://www.thehindu.com/news/international/south-asia/mullah-baradar-to-be-released/article5113418.ece](http://www.thehindu.com/news/international/south-asia/mullah-baradar-to-be-released/article5113418.ece).

Hirondelle news agency, *Africa: Victims Want Ongwen to be tried for Crimes in Central African Republic*, 25 Feb 2015.

-J-

Hodžić, Refik. *Accepting a Difficult Truth: ICTY is Not Our Court*. Balkan Insight 6 March 2013.

Honouring Geneva Conventions, Secretary-General says debate is no longer between peace and justice but between peace and what kind of justice," SG/ SM/12494, Sept. 26, 2009. <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2009/sgsm12494.doc.htm>

HRW, *Colombia: Amend "Legal Framework for Peace" Bill*, 31 May 2012.

-I-

International Bar Association, *Webcat Interview with ICC's Former Prosecutor, Luis Moreno Ocampo*, October 2012.

International Bar Association, Expert Roundtable, *Fair Trials and Complementarity*, The Hague 6 July 2017.

International Justice Monitor, Tom Maliti, *Ugandan President Attacks ICC During Kenyatta Inauguration*, 9 April 2013.

Ibrahim, Niamatullah. *The Vacant Seat of Afghanistan at the ICC: A Short Report on the ICC Assembly of States Parties (ASP)*, The Hague, Netherlands, November 2009, available at: <http://www.watchafghanistan.org/article017.htm>

ICC Press Release, *ICC Office of the Prosecutor concludes visit to Colombia*, 19 April 2013.

Interview with Luis Moreno Ocampo on the Kenya Situation, published 6 Feb. 2014: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tHBwQwUzgYo>.

IRIN Africa, Analysis: *Jury Still out on ICC trials in DRC*, Bunia, 19 Jan. 2011.

IRIN, *Uganda: ICC to Investigate Allegations of Army Atrocities*, 3 June 2010.

IRIN News (Kenya). *Uganda: ICC Could Suspend Northern Investigations- Spokesman*, 18 April 2005.

See <http://www.irinnews.org/report/58646/uganda-interview-with-jan-egeland-un-under-secretary-general-for-humanitarian-affairs>.

Irwin, Rachel, *Do Overturned Convictions Undermine Hague Tribunal*, 20 Mar. 2013, IWPR, International Justice, ICTY, Issue 780.

-J-

Jerusalem Post: <http://www.jpost.com/Arab-Israeli-Conflict/Liberman-We-will-lobby-Canada-Australia-and-Germany-to-cut-ICC-funding-388099>.

-K-

Kagumire, Rosebell in Lira and David Smith in Johannesburg, *Kony 2012 video screening met with anger in Northern Uganda*, The Guardian, 14 March 2012.

Kenney, Emily, *What next for the victims of Kenya's post-election violence?* International Justice Monitor, 26 May 2016.
<http://www.ijmonitor.org/2016/05/what-next-for-the-victims-of-kenyas-post-election-violence/>.

Koech, Bernard. *French Doubts About Mandate of Kenya's Special Court*, IWPR 21 Feb. 2014.

Kenyans for Peace, Truth and Justice, *Open Letter to the President of the International Criminal court (ICC) on the Decision on William Ruto's Excusal from Continuous Presence at his Trial and the Forthcoming Decision on In Situ Hearings*, 9 July 2013.

Kersten, Mark. *Plus Ca Change: Museveni and the ICC*, Justice in Conflict, 12 June 2013.

-L-

Lacey, Mark. *Atrocity victims in Uganda choose to forgive*. NYT, 18 April 2005.

Ledio Cakaj, *The Lord's Resistance Army of Today*, Enough, November 2010

Leathhead, Alistair. *Dismissal of case against Kenya's Ruto huge blow against the ICC*, 5 April 2016 at <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-35974172>.

The Libya Observer. *ICC wanted kiler Al-Werfalli defies arrest warrant and executes 5 prisoners*. 7 Sept. 2017.

-M-

Maliti, Tom. *Two Opinion Polls Show Support for the ICC Drops In Kenya*, The ICC Kenya Monitor, 31 July 2013.

Mamdani, Mahmood. *Beware Human Rights Fundamentalism*, 20 March 2009, Mail and Guardian Opinion.

Mamdani, Mahmood, *What Jason didn't tell Gavin and his Army of Invisible Children*, Daily Monitor, 13 March 2012.

Mazoori, Dallas. *Conference Paper, "Justice for All (Afghanistan)"*, February 2012 (unpublished).

Marquez, Ivan. Colombia Reports. *FARC guerillas will neither go to prison nor surrender weapons: Rebel negotiator*, Rebecca Florey, 23 Feb. 2015.

McCormack, Pete. *Details and Reminders: An Interview with Mahmood Mamdani*, 17 Oct. 2005.

Mbeki, Thabo and Mahmood Mamdani, *Courts Can't end Civil Wars*, Op-Ed, International New York Times, 4 Feb. 2014.

McGreal, Chris. *Museveni Refuses to Hand Over Rebel Leaders to a War Crimes Court*, The Guardian, 13 March 2008.

Milanović, Marko. *Danish Judge Blasts ICTY President*, <https://www.ejiltalk.org/danish-judge-blasts-icty-president/>, 13 June 2013.

The Monitor, *Acholi King in Trouble over Sh230m donor fund*, 2 Dec. 2013.

Moreno Ocampo, Luis. *The ICC's Afghanistan Investigation: The Missing Option*. Lawfare blog, 24 April 2017.

Murphy, Helen and Luis Jaime Acosta, *Colombia's FARC may face alternative justice, not impunity*, Reuters, Bogota 5 Sept. 2013.

-N-

NATO Spokesperson Oana Lungescu and with Wing Commander Mike Bracken, the Operation Unified Protector Spokesperson, *Press briefing on Libya*, 17 May 2011.

Nakandha, Sharon. *Supreme Court of Uganda Rules on the Application of the Amnesty Act*, International Justice Monitor 16 April 2015. <http://www.ijmonitor.org>.

Nakandha, Sharon. *The Kwoyelo Case at the ICD: The Realities of Complementary in Practice*. International Justice Monitor, 5 May 2016.

News Ghana, *IOCD is a local solution to a national problem*, Chief Justice Mutunga, 29 April 2015 at <http://www.newsghana.com.gh/iocd-is-kenyan-solution-to-local-problem-cj-mutunga/>.

-O-

Ocampo, Luis Moreno. *Ocampo speaks out on leaked emails*. Journalists for Justice, 4 Dec. 2017.

O'Donohue, Jonathan. *Libya's defining moment: Justice or Revenge?* Gaddafi-regime officials must be tried in the International Criminal Court to Ensure a Fair Trial. Al Jazeera, 22 Sept. 2013.

O'Donohue, Jonathan and Sophie Rigney: *The ICC must consider fair trial concerns in determining Libya's application to prosecute Saif Al-Islam Gaddafi nationally*, EJILtalk.org, 8 June 2012.

Ombour, Rael and Paul Schemm, *Kenya Supreme Court Cancels Presidential Election Result for Irregularities, Orders New Election*, Washington Post, 1 Sept. 2017.

Onishi, Norimitsu, New York Times, *South Africa reverses withdrawal from ICC*, 8 March 2017.

-P-

Panapress, Libya: *Parliament passes general amnesty bill*, 28 July 2015.

Pena, Mariana. *ICC Appeals Chamber issues its first judgement on reparations*, International Justice Monitor, 3 March 2015.

Petterson, Olle Ohlsen, Colombia Reports. *We will not go to prison: FARC Secretariat*, 27 Mar. 2013.

Pilling, David, *International Justice has a problem in Africa*, Financial Times, 13 April 2016 at <https://next.ft.com/content/1a33f4a2-fff7-11e5-ac98-3c15a1aa2e62>.

-R-

Reed-Hurtado, Michael and Amanda Lyons, *Colombia: Impact of the Rome Statute and the International Criminal Court*, May 2010, paper presented to the Rome Statute Review Conference in June 2010, Kampala, citing “Revelaciones Explosivas”, *Semana*, Sept. 24, 2004.

Reuters, *Burundi notifies UN of ICC withdrawal*, 26 Oct. 2016.

Reuters, *Libyan Commander Wanted by ICC freed after protest*, 8 February 2018.

Relief Web, *International Criminal Court Prosecutor Tells Security Council Violence in Darfur Will Not End Without Robust Determination to Apprehend Perpetrators*, Security Council, 11 Dec. 2013.

Revista Semana. *Habla Vicente Castano*, June 5, 2005.

Rondeaux, Candice and Nick Grono, *Prosecuting Taliban War Criminals*, New York Times Op-Ed, 23 March 2010.

-S-

Schaack, Beth van. *UN Releases Guidelines for Team Investigating ISIS Crimes in Iraq*, Just Security, 18 Feb. 2018.

Schomerus, Mareike, Tim Allen and Koen Vlassenroot, *Kony 2012 and the Prospects for Change*, Foreign Affairs, March 13, 2012.

Scobbie, Iain. EJIL: Talk! *Operationalising the Law of Armed Conflict for Dissident Forces in Libya*, 31 August 2011.

Semana website, 17 August 2013: <http://www.semana.com/nacion/articulo/una-carta-bomba/354430-3>.

Sidner, Sara and Amir Ahmed, *Psychologist: Proof of hundreds of rape cases during Libya's War*, CNN 23 May 2011.

<http://reliefweb.int/report/uganda/war-northern-uganda-worlds-worst-forgotten-crisis-un>.

Shany, Yuval. *Human Rights and International Criminal Law Forum*: <http://iccforum.com/performance> (2017).

Al-Shibeeb, Dina and Mustapha Al Baili, *Rebels welcome ICC arrest warrants for Qaddafi, as explosions rock Tripoli*, Al Arabiya website, 16 May 2011.

Stahn Carsten. *Human Rights and International Criminal Law*, Forum: <http://iccforum.com/performance> (2017).

Subrahmanyam, David. *Whiting offers views on the International Criminal Court's Impact*, Harvard Law Today, 15 Oct. 2012.

Simmons, Marlies and Jeffrey Gettleman, *International Court Ends Case Against Kenyan President in Election Unrest: Uhuru Kenyatta Faced Allegations of Crimes Against Humanity*, International New York Times, 5 Dec. 2014.

Sherwood, Harriet. *ICC urged to investigate 'commission of crimes' in Palestinian territories*, The Guardian, 4 October 2013.

Smith, D. *Where could Colonel Muammar Qadhafi go if he were exiled*, The Guardian, 21 February 2011.

Spiegel Online, Sven Becker, Marian Blasberg, Dietmar Pieper, *The Ocampo Affair: The Former ICC Chief's Dubious Links*, 5 Oct. 2017.

Spiegel Online, Becker, Sven and Dietmar Pieper, *The Ocampo Affair: Current ICC Chief Prosecutor Weighed Down by Predecessor*, 17 Oct. 2017

Stephen, Christopher *Judicial Performance in the Midst of Chaos*, International Justice Tribune No. 157, 16 April 2014.

Sudan Tribune, *AU Backs Sudan President in ICC Row*, February 3, 2009.

Summers, Nicole. *Colombia's Victims' Law: Transitional Justice in a Time of Violent Conflict?* 25 Harvard Human Rights Journal 2012 at p. 221.

-T-

Tutu, Desmond. *"Unfinished business" of the TRC's healing*, Mail & Guardian, 25 April 2014.

Tolbert, David, 3 March 2015, <http://jamesgstewart.com/the-iccs-credibility-depends-on-much-more-than-just-power-politics/>

-Q-

Qaane, Ehsan. *Nuremberg Academy Afghanistan Complementarity Study*, 2016, on file with author. See also <https://www.nurembergacademy.org/projects/detail/resource-center-on-complementarity-monitoring-13/>

Quni, Shereena, Al-Jazeera, *UN lifts sanctions against Gulbuddin Hekmatyar*, 4 February 2017.

-U-

UNAMA, *Latest UN Update Records Continuing Recorded High Levels of Civilian Casualties in 2018*, 12 April 2018 . <http://unama.unmissions.org/protection-of-civilians-reports>.

Government of Uganda: <http://www.mofa.go.ug/data/dnews/139/Statement-by-the-Government-to-the-public-on-the-Dominic-Ongwen-case-at-the-International-Criminal-Court>.

UN News Center, *Evidence Emerging of Use of Rape as Tool of War in Misrata- ICC Prosecutor*, 8 June 2011

UN News Center, *Russia, China block Security Council referral of Syria to the International Criminal Court*, 22 May 2014.

UN News Center, *Both peace and justice vital to heal wounds of conflict, Colombian leader tells UN*, 24 Sept. 2013.

UN News Centre, *UN Independent experts urge Colombia to reconsider proposed criminal law for the military*, 22 Oct. 2012.

UN News Centre, *UN Human rights office concerned over Colombia's military justice reform bid*, 27 Nov. 2012.

UK Telegraph, *Gaddafi's son: our plan is to "live and die" in Libya*, 25 Feb. 2011.

Usherwood, Theo. *Gaddafi must relinquish power says William Hague*, The Independent, 26 July 2011.

-V-

Van den Berg, Stephanie, *Interview with Ledio Cakaj*, International Justice tribune, 12 January 2017.

Velez, Sheila, *Luis Moreno-Ocampo, Chief Prosecutor of the ICC: "I have the most important mission in the world"*, AEGIS trust website, 22 Feb. 2011.

Verjee, Zain. *Libya has "great evidence" against Gadhafi's son, ICC Prosecutor Says*, CNN, 19 April 2012.

Vieira, Constanza. *Colombia: International Criminal Court Scrutinises Paramilitary Crimes*, IPS News Agency, 27 Aug. 2008.

Voice of America, *South Sudan Inches Closer to Hybrid Tribunal on Conflict's Four Year Anniversary*, 17 Dec. 2017.

-W-

Watt, Nicholas and Richard Norton Taylor, *Muammar Qadhafi could stay in Libya, William Hague concedes*, The Guardian, 25 July 2011.

Wakabi, Wairagala. *Bemba Acquitted of War Crimes at the ICC*. International Justice Monitor, 8 June 2018.

Welt, Vivienne, *Libya's Disaster of Justice: The Case of Saif Al-Islam Gaddafi Reveals a Country in Chaos*, 28 June 2013.

Wikileaks document on the Ugandan peace process:
[//www.wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/06KHARTOUM2701_a.html](http://www.wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/06KHARTOUM2701_a.html).

Whiting, Alex. *Guest Post: ICC Prosecutor Announces Important Changes in New Strategic Plan*, 24 Oct. 2013, Just Security Blog.

Websites

<http://www.coalitionfortheicc.org/fight/global-justice-atrocities>

www.enoughproject.org

www.invisiblechildren.org

www.thehagueinstituteforglobaljustice.org/events/expert-meeting-on-the-impact-and-effectiveness-of-the-international-criminal-court/

<https://hybridjustice.com/>

www.af.undp.org/content/afghanistan/en/home/operations/projects/crisis_prevention_and_recovery/aprp/

www.ssrresourcecentre.org/2015/10/09/police-reform-in-kenya-challenges-and-opportunities/

www.internationalcrimesdatabase.org/Case/814

<http://www.icty.org/en/about/tribunal/achievements>.

<http://www.theoryofchange.org/>

www.utube.com/watch?v=uWCAZrlHw. "ICC Prosecutor Visits Libya's Misrata to Investigate Mass Rapes.

www.unwcc.org: Website on the UN War Crimes Commission.

See <http://unictr.unmict.org/>.

X. List of Interviews

General- ICC

Interview with Luis Moreno Ocampo, New York, November 2013.

Interview with Head of Victim Participation and Reparations Section, May 2014.

Interview with Trust Fund for Victims Director, 7 May 2014.

Afghanistan

Interview with Abdel-Hakim Mujahid, High Peace Council, Kabul, 18 March 2014.

Interview with UK Embassy official, Kabul, 18 March 2014.

Interview with Jamiat-i-Islami Afghan MP from Panjshir, Kabul, 17 March 2014.

Interview with Supreme Court Judge, Head of General Criminal Division, Kabul, 18 March 2014.

Interview with Afghan representative from Afghanistan Justice Sector Support Program, Kabul, 20 Nov. 2013.

Interview with AIHRC Commissioner (now Attorney General), 20 Nov. 2013.

Interview with Head of Criminal Law Department, Ministry of Justice, Kabul 15 March 2014.

Interview with Michael Hartmann, Head of Rule of Law, UNAMA, Kabul, March 2014.

Interview with previous staff member at the Taqnin, Kabul, 15 March 2014.

Interview with High Peace Council Staff member, Kabul, 15 March 2014.

Interview with UK Embassy Advisor, Kabul, 19 March 2014.

Interview with UNAMA Deputy Head of Human Rights, Kabul, 18 March 2014.

Interview with Representative from Global Rights, Kabul, 17 March 2014.

Interview with Director of Afghanistan Human Rights and Democracy Organization, 22 Nov. 2013.

Interview with Director of UNAMA's Human Rights Division, 21 Nov. 2013.

Interview with Researcher 1, Afghanistan Analyst Network, 23 Nov. 2013.

Interview with Researcher 2, Afghanistan Analysts Network, 20 Nov. 2013.

Interview with Director of Afghanistan Watch, 22 Nov. 2013.

Interview with Representative, Afghanistan Forensic Science Organization, 20 Nov. 2013.

Interview with Member of Parliament from Herat, Kabul, 17 March 2014.

Interview with MP from Badghis, Kabul, 16 March 2014.

Interview with female MP from Paktia, 19 March 2014
Interview with Hazara MP, Kabul, 18 March 2014.
Interview with EU official, Kabul, 16 March 2014.

Colombia

Interview with Member of Congress, Bogota, 14 May 2014.
Interview with Member of High Judicial Council, Bogota, 14 May 2014.
Interview with Head of the UNAC, 12 Nov. 2013.
Interview with Director ICTJ Colombia, 12 Nov. 2013
Interview with former Deputy Minister of Justice, Bogota, 14 May 2014.
Interview with OHCHR representative, 9 Nov. 2013.
Interview with OHCHR representative, Bogota, 13 May 2013
Interview with Carlos Holmes Trojillo, Vice Presidential Candidate, Bogota, 17 May 2014.
Interview with Head of OHCHR, Bogota, 13 May 2014.
Interview with Clerk at High Judicial Council, Bogota, 14 May 2014
Interview with Dr. Alejandro Ordonez, Inspector-General for Colombia, Bogota, 15 May 2014.
Interview with Legal Advisor of the Constitutional Court, Bogota, 15 May 2014.
Interview with Director of Dejusticia, Bogota, 16 May 2014.
Interview with Staff Member, Center for Historical Memory, Bogota, 16 May 2014.
Interview with Member of Congress 2, Bogota, 14 May 2014.
Interview with victim representative from Santander, 8 Nov. 2013.
Interview with victim representative from Tolima, 8 Nov. 2013.
Interview with victim representative from Choco, 7 Nov. 2013.
Interview with victim representative from Amazonas, 7 Nov. 2013.
Interview with victim representative from Choco/ Medellin, 8 Nov. 2013.
Interview with victim representative from Riohacha, 8 Nov. 2013.
Interview with victim representative from Neiva, 8 Nov. 2013.
Interview with victim representative from Caldas, 8 Nov. 2013.
Interview with 2nd victim representative from Amazonas, 7 Nov. 2013.
Anonymous, Bogota, 10 Nov. 2013.

Kenya

Interview with Kenyan civil society members, 2 Feb. 2014.
Interview with civil society representative, Nairobi, 3 Feb. 2014.
Interview with civil society representative, Nairobi, 4 Feb. 2014.
Interview with ICC staff, Nairobi, 4 Feb. 2014, Nairobi, 5 Feb. 2014.
Interview with ICC staff member, Nairobi, 4 Feb. 2014.

Uganda

Interview with the late Joan Kaghezi, Kampala, 10 Feb. 2014
Interview with Head of Justice and Reconciliation Project, Gulu, 9 Feb. 2014.
Interview with ICC outreach officer, 6 February 2014.
Interview, Judge from ICD, 6 February 2014.
Interview with ICD Registrar, 10 Feb. 2014
Interview with ASF, Kampala, 10 Feb. 2014.
Interview with Mike Otim, Kampala, 6 Feb. 2014, 12 Feb. 2014, 14 Feb. 2014.
Interview with OHCHR representative, Kampala, 11 February 2014.
Interview with Barney Afako, Barcelona, March 2014.
Interview with religious leader, Gulu, 8- 9 February 2014.
Interview with former JLOS advisor, Kampala, 12 February 2014.
Interview with JLOS, Kampala, 12 February 2014.
Interview with UCICC, Kampala, 11 Feb. 2014.
Information provided in an email by ICC outreach officer, 19 February 2015.
Interview with TFV Head of Office, Kampala, 6 Feb. 2014.
Interview with LSE researcher, Gulu 9 Feb. 2014.
Interview with prominent female civil society activist, 9 February 2014.