

Adjudicating attacks targeting culture: revisiting the approach under state responsibility and individual criminal responsibility

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### Cover Page



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Author: Abtahi, H.

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# ADJUDICATING ATTACKS TARGETING CULTURE

# REVISITING THE APPROACH UNDER STATE RESPONSIBILITY AND INDIVIDUAL CRIMINAL RESPONSIBILITY

#### Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van

de graad van Doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden,
op gezag van Rector Magnificus prof.dr.ir. H. Bijl,
volgens besluit van het College voor Promoties
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geboren te Teheran, Iran

in 1968

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Galway, Ireland)

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To me all a country really has is its culture. The rest is all infrastructure. Lawyers and doctors and shopkeepers and so on are, in my view, necessary to back up the culture, the things we can create, the things that will last. Music and art and design and writing, the things we are good at.\* Sir Peter Thomas Blake

-

<sup>\*</sup> Tim Adams, "Sir Peter Blake: all a country really has is its culture. The rest is all infrastructure" (The Guardian, 21 May 2017) <a href="https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2017/may/21/lunch-with-sir-peter-blake-mr-chow">https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2017/may/21/lunch-with-sir-peter-blake-mr-chow</a> accessed 14 April 2019. Sir Peter Blake designed the Beatles' Sgt Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band album sleeve.

PREFAC	E	11
	VLEDGEMENTS	_
	OF ABBREVIATIONS	
TABLE C	OF CHARTS	19
GENERA	L INTRODUCTION: MAPPING ATTACKS TARGETING CULTURE	21
I.	Background and primary research question	22
Α.		23
B.		24
II.	Conceptualising attacks targeting culture	
A.		
B.	······································	
III.	Proposed framework and tools	
A.		
	1. Linguistic heterogeneity: inter-language and intra-language variations	
	2. Anthropological heterogeneity: evolutionism, holism or relativism?	
D	3. Common elements: a totalising anthropo-centred concept	
В.	6 6	
	<ol> <li>Introduction: reducing culture's tangible and intangible to law</li></ol>	
	<ol> <li>The tangible-centred approach: culture's tangible sometimes linked to legal persons</li> <li>The heritage-centred approach: linking culture's tangible to heritage</li> </ol>	
	a. Culture's tangible linked to anthropical and natural heritage	
	b. Culture's tangible and intangible as heritage	
	Conclusion: a legal concept defined by anthropical and natural components	
C.		
c.	Modes of international responsibility's adjudicatory mechanisms	
	a. State responsibility	
	b. Individual criminal responsibility	
	2. Culture's locus standi before international adjudicatory bodies	
	a. The anthropo-centred approach: natural persons as victims of attacks targeting cultu	ıre 49
	b. The tangible-centred approach: legal persons' locus standi as victims of attacks targ	
	cultural property	51
	c. Synthesis	
IV.	Roadmap	55
PART I: S	TATE RESPONSIBILITY	57
Introdi	UCTION: ATTACKS TARGETING CULTURE – A WESTPHALIAN FORESIGHT?	58
	R 1: INTER-STATE CLAIM MECHANISMS	
I.	Introduction: the subject-matters of injury and terminological challenges	
II.	Legal persons: actual and prospective tangible-centred approach	
	Direct injury to States	
	1. Introduction	
	Material injury: anthropical and natural property	
	3. Moral injury suffered by the State as a result of injury caused to it directly	
B.		
	1. Introduction	
	2. Material damage – property: loss, damage and expropriation	66
	3. Moral injury	
C.		
III.	Natural persons: a prospective heritage-centred approach?	
A.	J J	
	1. Personal (material and moral) injury	
	2. Material damage: property damage and confiscation	
B.		71
C.		
IV.	Conclusion to Chapter 1	73
Снарте	R 2: REGIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS COURTS	
I.	Introduction: the subject-matters of damage and terminological challenges	
II.	Natural persons: the heritage-centred approach	
A.	1	
	1. Direct victims	
	a. Pecuniary damage: human rights violations not directly related to cultural rights	
	<ul> <li>Non-pecuniary damage: human rights violations directly related to cultural rights</li> </ul>	83

	2. Indirect victims: pecuniary and non-pecuniary damage	
	3. Outcome	
В.	The collective as the sum of natural persons	
	1. The collective regardless of its juridical personality	86
	<ul><li>a. Scope: injured party and beneficiary of collective reparations</li><li>b. Non-pecuniary damage: the disruption of heritage</li></ul>	
	b. Non-pecuniary damage: the disruption of heritage	89 00
	ii. Knowledge: indigenous/tribal elders and women	
	iii. Ethnicity/nationality: religion and language	
	The collective with express juridical personality.	
	a. A narrow scope: the collective as injured party and beneficiary of reparations	94
	b. Non-pecuniary damage: disruption of heritage – the collective-land symbiosis breakers	
	97 3. Outcome	99
C.		
III.	Legal Persons: the tangible-centred approach	
A.		
11.	Private entities: from pecuniary to non-pecuniary damage	
	Institutions dedicated to religion: pecuniary and non-pecuniary damage	
В.	Tangible-centred approach: damage – Legal persons' natural person members	
C.		
IV.	Conclusion to Chapter 2	
	SION TO PART I: STATE RESPONSIBILITY'S GROUNDWORK FOR INDIVIDUAL CRIMINAL	110
	SBILITYSTATE RESIGNSBIETT S GROONDWORK FOR INDIVIDUAL CRIMINAL	112
PART II. 1	INDIVIDUAL CRIMINAL RESPONSIBILITY	115
	JCTION: ATTACKS TARGETING CULTURE – A TRIPARTITE CRIME MATTER?	
	R 1: WAR CRIMES	
I.	Introduction: crimes concerned with culture's tangible only?	
II.	The tangible-centred approach: IHL and ICL instruments	
A.		
В.		120
	1. IHL-ICL instruments listing culture's tangible	
	a. Culture's anthropical components	
	b. Towards culture's natural components?	
	2. IHL-ICL instruments naming cultural property	125
	a. Direct reference: the 1954 Hague Convention and the 1954 Hague Convention 1999	125
	Protocolb. Indirect reference: the 1977 Additional Protocols and the ECCC Law	
	b. Indirect reference: the 1977 Additional Protocols and the ECCC Law	
C	Indirect protection of culture' tangible as movable and immovable of a civilian character	
C.	Attack, bombardment, destruction, and devastation	120
	a. Culture' tangible as part of the collective: urban ensemblesb. Culture's tangible as such: property and objects	
	Culture's tanglore as such, property and objects.      Seizure-appropriation and pillage-plunder	
	a. Seizure and appropriation	
	b. Pillage and plunder	
	3. Outcome	
D.	Synthesis: direct protection as lex specialis to indirect protection	
III.	Towards a heritage-centred approach: Dubrovnik and Timbuktu	
111. A.	Introduction	
В.	IHL-ICL intersecting with peacetime instruments	
ъ.	The sites and the 1972 World Heritage Convention	
	a. Dubrovnik: culture's secular and religious tangibles	
	b. Timbuktu: culture's religious tangible	
	Choice of charges against the accused	
	a. Within war crimes provisions	
	b. Beyond war crimes provisions	
C.	The collective and its anthropical environment	
c.	Introduction	
	2. The local population.	
	a. Victims	
	b. Harm and reparations	
	i. Material harm: individual and collective reparations	
	ii. Moral harm: disruption of culture	
	3. The national population and the international community	
	* *	

a. Victims	145
b. Harm and reparations	
D. Synthesis: blurring the distinction between the peacetime and non-peacetime legal regimes?	147
IV. Conclusion to Chapter 1: tangible-centred means with heritage-centred (intent and)	
consequences	
CHAPTER 2: CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY	153
I. Introduction: crimes coined by the clash of civilisations	153
II. The anthropo-centred approach	
A. Introduction	
B. The chapeau elements: attacks against a collective	
1. A war crimes' by-product turned into a human rights crime	156
2. A path toward genocide	
3. Outcome	
C. The underlying offences: the crime of persecution	
1. Mens rea: a collective identity-based crime	
a. The "lower genocide"	
b. The discriminatory grounds' cultural dimensions: the case of gender	
Actus reus: fundamental (human) rights violations	
i. The IMT: mixed legal and colloquial use of the word "persecution"	
ii. CCL 10: Greiser's mixed use of persecution and genocide	
b. The post-Cold War trials: the scope of fundamental (human) rights	
i. Laying the foundation: the first twenty years' limited scope	
ii. The Case 002/02 and Al Hassan turning points: expanding the scope	
iii. Relationship with other inhumane acts	
3. Outcome	
D. Synthesis: crimes immersed in collective rights violations	
III. The tangible-centred approach: the actus reus of the crime of persecution	
A. Introduction	
B. The post-Second World War trials	
1. Culture's religious tangible	
2. Culture's secular tangible	
Outcome     The post-Cold War international criminal jurisdictions	
C. The post-Cold War international criminal jurisdictions	
a. The means of attacking culture's tangible: relationship with war crimes	
b. The aim of attacking culture's tangible: "memory-cide" and genocide	
2. The ICC	
3. Outcome	
D. Synthesis: heritage-oriented attacks targeting culture's tangible	
IV. Conclusion to Chapter 2: fundamental (cultural) rights violations – between war crim	ıes
and genocide?	192
CHAPTER 3: GENOCIDE	
I. Introduction: an intrinsically anthropological crime	195
II. Drafting the Convention	
A. Introduction	
B. The Chapeau: genocide is cultural	
1. Intent and motive	
a. The Secretariat Draft	200
b. The Ad Hoc Committee Draft	201
c. The Sixth Committee	
2. Protected groups	
a. A cultural interconnection	
i. National, racial and religious groups	
ii. National, ethnical and linguistic groups	
iii. Ethnical and racial groups	
b. A cultural evolution	
ii. Racial groups	
iii. Ethnical groups	
iv. Religious groups	
3. Outcome: genocide's intent, motive and consequences are cultural	
C. The actus rei: heritage-centred or tangible-centred?	
Provisions directly addressing cultural genocide	
a. Proposing both heritage-centred and tangible-centred actus rei	
i. The Secretariat Draft	

b. Retaining only one anthropo-centred actus reus: the Sixth Committee	221
b. Retaining only one anthropo-centred actus reus: the Sixth Committee	222
i. Resuscitating the Secretariat Draft article I(II)(3)(a) under article II	
ii. Rejecting the Ad Hoc Committee Draft, article III	
Provisions indirectly covering cultural genocide	
b. Article II(c): physical destruction of the group or slow death of its member	
3. Outcome	
D. Synthesis: confusing genocide's tangible- and heritage-centred means	
III. Practice of international criminal jurisdictions and the ICJ	238
A. Introduction: the group's physical/biological destruction – a questionable mantra	
B. Anthropo-centred violence through the Genocide Convention's actus rei	
1. Physical genocide: article II(b)-(c)'s relationship with ethnic cleansing	
a. Article II(b)	
b. Article II(c)	
2. Cultural genocide provision: article II(e)	
a. CCL 10	
b. The ICTY-ICTR	246
c. The ICJ	247
C. Tangible-centred violence indicative of genocidal intent	248
1. As part of ethnic cleansing: the ICTY's Karadžić & Mladić and Krstić	
2. As part of article II(c) claims: the ICJ practice	
D. Synthesis: ethnic cleansing's heightened mens rea	
IV. Conclusion to Chapter 3: cultural genocide is a tautology	
CONCLUSION TO PART III: INDIVIDUAL CRIMINAL RESPONSIBILITY'S PROMISING POTE	NTIAL258
GENERAL CONCLUSION: EMERGING TRENDS AND FUTURE PROMISES.	2(1
GENERAL CONCLUSION: EMERGING TRENDS AND FUTURE PROMISES.	201
I. Introspection: culture as a heritage-centred and tangible-centred triptych	262
A. Culture as an anthropical and natural concept	
B. Culture as a legacy-oriented concept	
II. Retrospection: State responsibility and individual criminal responsibility's	converging
paths 265	
A. The typology of cultural damage	265
B. The victims of cultural damage	
III. Prospection: State responsibility and individual criminal responsibility's of	
A. Towards a synergetic experience	
B. The three pillars for the right question	269
RIRLIOGRAPHY	273
BIBLIOGRAPHY	273
I. Primary sources	273
I. Primary sources	
I. Primary sources	
I. Primary sources	
I. Primary sources  A. Instruments, Reports and Records  1. Binding Instruments  a. Regional  i. Africa	
I. Primary sources  A. Instruments, Reports and Records	
I. Primary sources  A. Instruments, Reports and Records	
I. Primary sources  A. Instruments, Reports and Records  1. Binding Instruments  a. Regional  i. Africa  ii. Americas  iii. Europe  b. IHL	
I.       Primary sources         A.       Instruments, Reports and Records         1.       Binding Instruments         a.       Regional         i.       Africa         ii.       Americas         iii.       Europe         b.       IHL         i.       General	
I. Primary sources  A. Instruments, Reports and Records  1. Binding Instruments  a. Regional  i. Africa  ii. Americas  iii. Europe  b. IHL	
I.       Primary sources         A.       Instruments, Reports and Records         1.       Binding Instruments         a.       Regional         i.       Africa         ii.       Americas         iii.       Europe         b.       IHL         i.       General         ii.       Geneva Law	
I.       Primary sources         A.       Instruments, Reports and Records         1.       Binding Instruments         a.       Regional         i.       Africa         ii.       Americas         iii.       Europe         b.       IHL         i.       General         ii.       Geneva Law         iii.       Hague Law	
I.       Primary sources         A.       Instruments, Reports and Records         1.       Binding Instruments         a.       Regional         i.       Africa         ii.       Americas         iii.       Europe         b.       IHL         i.       General         ii.       Geneva Law         iii.       Hague Law         c.       ICL (and UNSC)	
I.       Primary sources         A.       Instruments, Reports and Records         1.       Binding Instruments         a.       Regional         i.       Africa         ii.       Americas         iii.       Europe         b.       IHL         i.       General         ii.       Geneva Law         iii.       Hague Law         c.       ICL (and UNSC)         i.       Second World War	
I. Primary sources  A. Instruments, Reports and Records  1. Binding Instruments  a. Regional  i. Africa  ii. Americas  iii. Europe  b. IHL  i. General  ii. Geneva Law  iii. Hague Law  c. ICL (and UNSC)  i. Second World War  iii. Al Instruments  iii. Geneva Law  iii. Ad hoc and hybrid jurisdictions	
I. Primary sources  A. Instruments, Reports and Records  1. Binding Instruments  a. Regional  i. Africa  ii. Americas  iii. Europe  b. IHL  i. General  ii. Geneva Law  iii. Hague Law  c. ICL (and UNSC)  i. Second World War  iii. Ad hoc and hybrid jurisdictions  iii. ICC	
I. Primary sources  A. Instruments, Reports and Records  1. Binding Instruments  a. Regional  i. Africa  ii. Americas  iii. Europe  b. IHL  i. General  ii. Geneva Law  iii. Hague Law  c. ICL (and UNSC)  i. Second World War  iii. Ad hoc and hybrid jurisdictions  iii. ICC  d. UN	273 273 273 273 273 273 274 274 274 274 275 275 275 276
I. Primary sources  A. Instruments, Reports and Records  1. Binding Instruments  a. Regional  i. Africa  ii. Americas  iii. Europe  b. IHL  i. General  ii. Geneva Law  iii. Hague Law  c. ICL (and UNSC)  i. Second World War  ii. Ad hoc and hybrid jurisdictions  iii. ICC  d. UN.	273 273 273 273 273 273 274 274 274 274 275 275 275 276 276
I. Primary sources  A. Instruments, Reports and Records  1. Binding Instruments  a. Regional  i. Africa  ii. Americas  iii. Europe  b. IHL  i. General  ii. Geneva Law  iii. Hague Law  c. ICL (and UNSC)  i. Second World War  ii. Ad hoc and hybrid jurisdictions  iii. ICC  d. UN  i. UNESCO  ii. UNESCO	
I. Primary sources  A. Instruments, Reports and Records  1. Binding Instruments  a. Regional  i. Africa  ii. Americas  iii. Europe  b. IHL  i. General  ii. Geneva Law  iii. Hague Law  c. ICL (and UNSC)  i. Second World War  ii. Ad hoc and hybrid jurisdictions  iii. ICC  d. UN.	
I. Primary sources  A. Instruments, Reports and Records  1. Binding Instruments  a. Regional  i. Africa  ii. Americas  iii. Europe  b. IHL  i. General  ii. Geneva Law  iii. Hague Law  c. ICL (and UNSC)  i. Second World War  ii. Ad hoc and hybrid jurisdictions  iii. ICC  d. UN  i. UNESCO  ii. UNESCO	273 273 273 273 273 273 274 274 274 275 275 275 276 276 276 277
I. Primary sources  A. Instruments, Reports and Records  1. Binding Instruments  a. Regional  i. Africa  ii. Americas  iii. Europe  b. IHL  i. General  ii. Geneva Law  iii. Hague Law  c. ICL (and UNSC)  i. Second World War  ii. Ad hoc and hybrid jurisdictions  iii. ICC  d. UN  i. UNESCO  ii. UNGA	273 273 273 273 273 273 274 274 274 275 275 275 276 276 277 277
I. Primary sources  A. Instruments, Reports and Records  1. Binding Instruments  a. Regional  i. Africa  ii. Americas  iii. Europe  b. IHL  i. General  ii. Geneva Law  iii. Hague Law.  c. ICL (and UNSC)  i. Second World War  ii. Ad hoc and hybrid jurisdictions  iii. ICC  d. UN  i. UNESCO  ii. UNGA  iii. UNSC  e. UNIDROIT  f. Bilateral	273 273 273 273 273 273 274 274 274 275 275 276 276 277 277
I. Primary sources  A. Instruments, Reports and Records  1. Binding Instruments  a. Regional  i. Africa  ii. Americas  iii. Europe  b. IHL  i. General  ii. Geneva Law  iii. Hague Law.  c. ICL (and UNSC)  i. Second World War  ii. Ad hoc and hybrid jurisdictions  iii. ICC  d. UN  i. UNESCO  ii. UNGA  iii. UNSC  e. UNIDROIT  f. Bilateral  g. National	
I. Primary sources  A. Instruments, Reports and Records  1. Binding Instruments  a. Regional  i. Africa  ii. Americas  iii. Europe  b. IHL  i. General  iii. Geneva Law  iii. Hague Law  c. ICL (and UNSC)  i. Second World War  ii. Ad hoc and hybrid jurisdictions  iii. ICC  d. UN  i. UNESCO  iii. UNGA  iii. UNSC  e. UNIDROIT  f. Bilateral  g. National  2. Other instruments, reports and records	
I. Primary sources  A. Instruments, Reports and Records  1. Binding Instruments  a. Regional  i. Africa  ii. Americas  iii. Europe  b. IHL  i. General  iii. Geneva Law  iii. Hague Law  c. ICL (and UNSC)  i. Second World War  ii. Ad hoc and hybrid jurisdictions  iii. ICC  d. UN  i. UNESCO  iii. UNGA  iii. UNSC  e. UNIDROIT  f. Bilateral  g. National  2. Other instruments, reports and records  a. UN	273 273 273 273 273 273 274 274 274 274 275 275 276 276 277 277 277 277 278 278
I. Primary sources         A. Instruments, Reports and Records         1. Binding Instruments         a. Regional         i. Africa         ii. Americas         iii. Europe         b. IHL         i. General         ii. Geneva Law         iii. Hague Law         c. ICL (and UNSC)         i. Second World War         ii. Ad hoc and hybrid jurisdictions         iii. ICC         d. UN         i. UNESCO         ii. UNGA         iii. UNSC         e. UNIDROIT         f. Bilateral         g. National         2. Other instruments, reports and records         a. UN	
I. Primary sources  A. Instruments, Reports and Records  1. Binding Instruments  a. Regional  i. Africa  ii. Americas  iii. Europe  b. IHL  i. General  iii. Geneva Law  iii. Hague Law  c. ICL (and UNSC)  i. Second World War  ii. Ad hoc and hybrid jurisdictions  iii. ICC  d. UN  i. UNESCO  iii. UNGA  iii. UNSC  e. UNIDROIT  f. Bilateral  g. National  2. Other instruments, reports and records  a. UN	

CURRICUI	LUM VITAE	315
SUMMARY	Y	312
SAMENVA	TTING	309
G.	Media, including films, newspapers and interviews	
F.	Dictionaries and Encyclopaedic entries	
E.	Dissertations and papers	
D.	Edited books	
C.	Books	302
B.	Book chapters	
Α.	Journal articles	
II. S	Secondary sources	
	c. ICC	
	iv. SCSL	
	iii. ECCC	
	i. ICTR ii. ICTY	
	b. Ad hoc and hybrid jurisdictions i. ICTR	
	a. Second World War	
2	2. Individual criminal responsibility	
_	c. UNHRC	
	iii. IACtHR	
	ii. ECtHR	
	i. ACtHPR	287
	b. Regional human rights courts	
	iv. ITLOS	
	iii. ICJ	
	i. Arbitral and compensation mechanismsii. PCIJ	
	a. ISCMs      i. Arbitral and compensation mechanisms	
]	1. State responsibility	
В.	Cases	
	e. Non-Governmental organisations	
	d. National	
	ii. EU	284
	i. ECtHR	
	c. Europe	
	b. ICC	
	vii. Human rights	
	v. UNGA vi. UNSC	
	iv. UNESCO	
	: INECCO	200

## **PREFACE**

This thesis was in the making for over a quarter of a century.

My first exposure to a non-exclusively anthropocentric posture of international law occurred in the academic world. Having studied international environmental law at Essex University in 1994, I chose, for my Strasbourg University 1997 Diplôme d'Etudes approfondies dissertation, to write on the protection of the environment during the Second Persian Gulf War, where I explored the intersection between the legal protection of the natural and anthropical environment.

Later that year, when working as a young ICTY practitioner, I was in a position to consider cultural property crimes under individual criminal responsibility. This resulted in my 2001 article "The Protection of Cultural Property in Times of Armed Conflict: The practice of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia", which considered cultural property under the war crimes and crimes against humanity angles. Being further exposed to cultural property damage in the ICTY cases, specifically when serving the *Milošević* Chamber, I furthered my research when, in 2004, I published "Le conflit armé du printemps 2003 en Irak et le sort du patrimoine culturel mésopotamien", which focused on war crimes and "From the Destruction of the Twin Buddhas to the Destruction of the Twin Towers: Crimes Against Civilization under the ICC Statute", which focused on crimes against humanity. Later in 2005, I took these further into an anthropological context in an interview with Le Monde newspaper.<sup>4</sup> These reflections culminated in my 2007 article "Does International Criminal Law Protect Culture in Times of Trouble? Defining the Scope", 5 which summarised my 2006 winter course in Brazil's Centro de Direito Internacional, which I later updated for my teaching in the 2007 Winter session of the Hague Academy of International Law. Therein, I expanded the protection of cultural property to genocide, given the fact that, together with Dr Philippa Webb, during the writing of our 2008 volumes "The Genocide Convention: The Travaux Préparatoires",6 I discovered the drafters of the convention's passionate and detailed discussions regarding cultural genocide. Later in 2017, Dr Webb and I would detail these in "Secrets and Surprises in the Travaux Préparatoires of the Genocide Convention".

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Hirad Abtahi, "The Protection of Cultural Property in Times of Armed Conflict: The practice of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia" (2001) 14(1) *Harvard Human Rights Journal*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Hirad Abtahi, "Le conflit armé du printemps 2003 en Irak et le sort du patrimoine culturel mésopotamien" *in* Karine Bannelier, Olivier Corten, Théodore Kristakis and Pierre Klein (eds), *L'intervention en Irak et le droit international* (Centre de droit international ULB 2004).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Hirad Abtahi, "From the Destruction of the Twin Buddhas to the Destruction of the Twin Towers: Crimes Against Civilization under the ICC Statute" (2004) 4(1) *International Criminal Law Review*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Martine Jacot (interview with Abtahi Hirad), "La Capacité des Nations face à la destruction du patrimoine" (Le Monde, March 2005) < <a href="https://www.lemonde.fr/culture/article/2005/03/16/la-capacite-des-nations-face-a-la-destruction-du-patrimoine\_625752\_3246.html">https://www.lemonde.fr/culture/article/2005/03/16/la-capacite-des-nations-face-a-la-destruction-du-patrimoine\_625752\_3246.html</a> accessed 26 September 2019.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Hirad Abtahi, "Does International Criminal Law Protect Culture in Times of Trouble? Defining the Scope" (2007) 2 *Brazilian Yearbook of International Law* 180.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Hirad Abtahi and Philippa Webb (eds), *The Genocide Convention: The Travaux Préparatoires* (Brill Nijhoff 2008).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Hirad Abtahi and Philippa Webb, "Secrets and Surprises in the Travaux Préparatoires of the Genocide Convention" in Margaret deGuzman and Diane Marie Amann (eds) *Arcs of Global Justice: Essays in Honour of William A. Schabas* (Oxford University Press 2017).

But cultural property would resurface in my research activities on the typology of injury and forms of reparations which focused on State responsibility's inter-State claim mechanisms and regional human rights courts. This path was initiated by my 2013 lecture co-organised by King's College, Oxford Transitional Justice Research and Swisspeace, and was published in two parts: "Types of Injury in Inter-State Reparation Claims: A Guide for the International Criminal Court" in 2015;<sup>8</sup> and "Types of Injury in Inter-State Reparation Claims: Direct Injury to the State" in 2017.<sup>9</sup>

To the invitation of Sciences Po's Paris School of International Affairs to teach a course, beginning in 2018, I proposed "Mass Cultural Violations in International Law: from State Responsibility to Individual Criminal Responsibility". Throughout these teaching years, students' complex questions have made me constantly adjust my thought-process.

These decades of publications and teaching revealed to me two major gaps in academia. First, attacks targeting culture had not been considered, comparatively, under State responsibility and individual criminal responsibility. Second, the latter had placed little focus on culture's intangible, as I realised, eg, in my 2007 article "Reflections on the Ambiguous Universality of Human Rights: Cyrus the Great's Proclamation as a Challenge to the Athenian Democracy's Perceived Monopoly on Human Rights". In sum, a dedicated focus on the concept of culture constituted the missing link, resulting in the terminological opacity of cultural property and cultural heritage – and a hesitant reference to culture's tangible and intangible.

This thesis attempts to bridge the above gap, by drawing upon my twenty-five years of exposure to cultural ravages through teaching, writing, and practicing in international courts and tribunals. In what follow, I propose a systematic comparative analysis of attacks that target culture's tangible and intangible under both State responsibility and individual criminal responsibility. My proposed concepts and neologisms do not carry any pretence of erudition, even less so perfection. These are a mere standardisation of the subject at hand which, as a first of its kind, constitutes a foundation for critical thinking, reflection and enhancement of the protection of something which is always attacked not because it represents humanity, but because it *is* humanity.

Hirad Abtahi The Hague, April 2021

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Hirad Abtahi, "Types of Injury in Inter-State Reparation Claims: A Guide for the International Criminal Court" (2015) 30(2) *Canadian Journal of Law and Society* 259.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Hirad Abtahi, "Types of Injury in Inter-State Reparation Claims: Direct Injury to the State" in James Crawford, Abdul G Koroma, Said Mahmoudi and Alain Pellet (eds) *The International Legal Order: Current Needs and Possible Responses: Essays in Honour of Djamchid Momtaz* (Brill/Nijhoff 2017). <sup>10</sup> Hirad Abtahi, "Reflections on the Ambiguous Universality of Human Rights: Cyrus the Great's Proclamation as a Challenge to the Athenian Democracy's Perceived Monopoly on Human Rights" (2007) 36(1) *Denver Journal of International Law and Policy* 71.

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In an age of inflationist electronic information, it is illusory to conceive that an international lawyer with a full-time employment may have the capacity to explore the outer limits of anthropology so as to propose a legally workable scope for the polymorphic concept of culture. It would also be pretentious for that single individual to propose placing culture in the little explored realm of comparative State responsibility and individual criminal responsibility.

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# TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS

1863 Lieber Code	Instructions for the Government of Armies of the United States in the Field
1874 Brussels Declaration	Project of an International Declaration concerning the Laws and Customs of War
1880 Oxford Code	The Laws of War on Land, Oxford
1899 Hague Regulations II	Hague Convention (II) with Respect to the Laws and Customs of
1899 Hague Regulations II	War on Land and its annex: Regulations concerning the Laws and
	Customs of War on Land
1907 Hague Regulations IV	Hague Convention (IV) respecting the Laws and Customs of War on
1907 Hague Regulations IV	Land and its annex: Regulations concerning the Laws and Customs
	of War on Land
1907 Hague Regulations IX	Hague Convention (IX) concerning Bombardment by Naval Forces
1707 Hague Regulations 12	in Time of War
1935 Pan American Treaty	Treaty on the Protection of Movable Property of Historic Value
1935 Roerich Pact	
1933 Roerich Pact	Treaty on the Protection of Artistic and Scientific Institutions and
1049 OAC Charter	Historic Monuments
1948 OAS Charter	Charter of the Organization of American States
1949 Geneva Convention II	Geneva Convention (II) for the Amelioration of the Condition of
1040 G	Wounded, Sick and Shipwrecked Members of Armed Forces at Sea
1949 Geneva Convention	Geneva Convention (IV) Relative to the Protection of Civilian
IV	Persons in Time of War
1950 ILC Nürnberg	Principles of International Law Recognized in the Charter of the
Principles	Nürnberg Tribunal and in the Judgment of the Tribunal
1954 Hague Convention	Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of
	Armed Conflict
1954 Hague Convention	Second Protocol to the Hague Convention of 1954 for the
1999 Protocol	Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict 1999
1969 European	European Convention on the Protection of Archaeological Heritage
Archeological Heritage	
Convention	
1970 Cultural Property	UNESCO Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing
Convention	the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural
	Property
1972 World Heritage	UNESCO Convention Concerning the Protection of the World
Convention	Cultural and Natural Heritage
1972 World Heritage in	World Heritage in Danger List
Danger List	
1972 World Heritage List	World Heritage List
1976 San Salvador	Convention on the Protection of the Archaeological, Historical, and
Convention	Artistic Heritage of the American Nations
1977 Additional Protocol I	Protocol Additional to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949,
	and relating to the Protection of Victims of International Armed
	Conflicts
1977 Additional Protocol II	Protocol Additional to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949,
	and relating to the Protection of Victims of Non-International
	Armed Conflicts
1985 European Convention	European Convention on Offences Relating to Cultural Property
1985 European	European Convention for the Protection of the Architectural
Architectural Heritage	Heritage of Europe
Convention	
1985 Victims Basic	UNGA Declaration of Basic Principles of Justice for Victims of
Principles	Crime and Abuse of Power
1991 ILC Report	Report of the International Law Commission on the Work of its
<b>r</b>	Forty-Third Session
1995 UNIDROIT	UNIDROIT Convention on Stolen or Illegally Exported Cultural
Convention	Objects
Convention	Objects

1996 ECOSOC	ECOSOC Standards and Norms in the Field of Crime Prevention
Recommendations	and Criminal Justice
1996 ECOSOC Resolution	ECOSOC Resolution of the Economic and Social Council at the
1990 ECOSOC Resolution	Forty Fifth Plenary Meeting
1996 ILC Report	Report of the International Law Commission on the Work of Its
1990 ILC Report	Forty-Eighth Session
1996 Victims Basic	ECOSOC Revised Set of Basic Principles and Guidelines on the
Principles	Right to Reparation for Victims of Gross Violations of Human
Timelpies	Rights and Humanitarian Law
2001 Underwater Cultural	UNESCO Convention on the Protection of the Underwater Cultural
Heritage Convention	Heritage
2003 Intangible Cultural	UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible
Heritage Convention	Cultural Heritage
2005 Victims Basic	UNGA Basic Principles and Guidelines on the Right to a Remedy
Principles	and Reparation for Victims of Gross Violations of International
Timelpies	Human Rights Law and Serious Violations of International
	Humanitarian Law
2007 ECtHR Practice	ECtHR, "Practice Direction: Just Satisfaction Claims" (28 March
Direction	2007)
2017 Cultural Property	European Convention on Offences Relating to Cultural Property
Offences Convention	European Convention on Offences Retaining to Cattural Property
ACHPR	African Charter on Human and People's Rights
ACmHPR	African Commission on Human and People's Rights
ACHR	American Convention on Human Rights
ACtHPR	
ACHEK	African Court of Human and Peoples Rights
ARSIWA	Possessors of Artificial Intelligence
AKSIWA	Articles on Responsibility of States for Internationally Wrongful
Coll	Acts
CaH	crimes against humanity
CCL	Control Council Law No 10
CETS	Council of Europe Treaty Series
ECCC	Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia
ECCC Law	Law on the Establishment of the Extraordinary Chambers in the
	Courts of Cambodia for the Prosecution of Crimes Committed
ECHR	During the Period of Democratic Kampuchea
ECHK	European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and
ECOSOC	Fundamental Freedoms  Economic and Social Council
ECtHR	European Court of Human Rights
EECC	Eritrea-Ethiopia Claims Commission
ETS	European Treaty Series
FIDH	Féderation internationale des Droits de l'Homme
Genocide Convention	Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of
TTD 0	Genocide
HRCts	regional human rights courts
IACtHR	Inter-American Court of Human Rights
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICC Statute	The Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil, Political and Cultural Rights
ICESCR	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
ICJ	International Court of Justice
ICL	International Criminal Law
ICR	individual criminal responsibility
ICTR	International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda
ICTR Statute	Statute of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda
ICTY	International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia
ICTY Statute	Statute of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former
	Yugoslavia

IHL	International Humanitarian Law
IJCP	International Journal of Cultural Property
ILA	International Law Association
ILC	International Law Commission
IMT	International Military Tribunal
IMT Charter	Charter of the International Military Tribunal
IMTFE	International Military Tribunal of the Far East
IMTFE Charter	Charter of the International Military Tribunal for the Far East
ISCMs	Inter-State claim mechanisms
Montevideo Convention	Montevideo Convention on the Rights and Duties of States
OAS	Organization of American States
OASTS	Organization of American States Treaty Series
OTP	Office of the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court
SCSL	Special Court for Sierra Leone
SCSL Rules	Special Court for Sierra Leone Rules of Procedure and Evidence
SCSL Statute	Statute of the Special Court for Sierra Leone
STL	Special Tribunal for Lebanon
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Right
UNESCO	The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural
	Organization
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNGA Res	United Nations General Assembly Resolution
UNHRC	United Nations Human Rights Committee
UNIDROIT	International Institute for the Unification of Private Law
UNCC	United Nations Compensation Commission
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UNTAET	United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor
UNTS	United Nations Treaty Series
UN	United Nations
VCLT	Vienna Convention on the Law of the Treaties

## TABLE OF CHARTS

- Chart 1: IHL and ICL instruments linking culture's tangible to legal persons
- Chart 2: IHL, ICL and peacetime instruments not linking culture's tangible to legal persons
- Chart 3: IHL, ICL and peacetime instruments referring to cultural property as such
- Chart 4: Culture as victims and/or object of harm before ICR-based jurisdictions
- Chart 5: IHL and ICL instruments listing culture's tangible
- Chart 6: IHL and ICL instruments naming cultural property
- Chart 7: IHL and ICL instruments indirectly protecting culture's tangible: prohibition of destruction, attack, bombardment and devastation of civilian objects
- Chart 8: IHL and ICL instruments indirectly protecting culture's tangible: prohibition of seizure-appropriation and pillage-plunder of civilian objects
- Chart 9: UN Member States' votes per regional groups on the inclusion/exclusion of political groups and cultural genocide
- Chart 10: Chronology of Second World War related trials and of the drafting of the Genocide Convention