



Geoffrey Nice Foundation on
Law, History, Politics, and Society
in the context of Mass Atrocities

PROGRAMME

for

12th Master Class by Geoffrey Nice Foundation

to be held in

DUBROVNIK, 29 June - 6 July

at the Inter-University Centre

on the topic

WHY GO TO WAR; WHAT if ANY LAW CAN STOP US?

case studies

WWII; Rwanda; Western Balkans 1993-1999; Ukraine-Russia; Israel-Gaza'

The 12th Master Class organised by the Geoffrey Nice Foundation (GNF)

ORGANISER: Geoffrey Nice Foundation on Law, History, Politics and Society in the Context of Mass Atrocities (GNF)

SHORT HISTORY of the GNF MASTER CLASSES:

2014: “On Law, History, Politics and Society in the Context of Mass Atrocities”, held from 28 June to 11 July 2014 at the Inter University Centre in Dubrovnik, Croatia.

2015: “Law and Politics of Genocide: 20 Years After Srebrenica”, held from 28 June to 09 July 2015 at the IUC Dubrovnik (Croatia) and from 10 to 12 July 2015 in Srebrenica.

2016: “Conflict Beyond the Reach of Law: Emerging World Order and the Search for Adequate Responses to Political Violence”, held from 03 to 14 July 2016 in Dubrovnik, Croatia.

2017: “Law and Politics of Terrorism: In Search of Adequate Political, Military and Legal Responses to the Threat of Terrorism in the Post-Cold War Era”, held from 03 to 14 July 2017 in Dubrovnik, Croatia.

2018: “Political Expediency behind International Criminal Courts”, held from 01 to 12 July 2018 in Dubrovnik, Croatia.

2019: “Mapping, Documenting and Prosecuting Mass Atrocities”, held from 01 to 12 July 2019 at the Inter-University Centre in Dubrovnik, Croatia.

2020: “Transitional, Post-Transitional and Strategic Narratives of Genocide: commemorating the 25th anniversary of the Srebrenica Genocide”, 29 June to 10 July 2020 by authority of the Inter-University Centre in Dubrovnik, Croatia; online due to Covid lockdown.

2021: “Peace Without Justice: Mass Atrocities in the Post-Human Rights Age”, from 28 June to 11 July 2021 at the Inter-University Centre in Dubrovnik, Croatia.

2022: “International Criminal Law and Genocide: an interdisciplinary approach”, Sarajevo University in cooperation with ELSA/SELS, 10-17 July 2022.

2023: “Accountability for War Crimes in Ukraine – What Will work”, 1 July to 8 July at the Inter-University Centre in Dubrovnik, Croatia.

2024: Genocide. Citizen, state, victims, accountability, case studies. WWII; Pakistan-Bangladesh 1971; Rwanda; Western Balkans 1993-1999; Ukraine-Russia; Israel-Gaza’, 29 June to 6 July at the Inter-University Centre in Dubrovnik, Croatia.

The Master Class project is an initiative of Geoffrey Nice Foundation on Law, History, Politics and Society in the Context of Mass Atrocities in cooperation with:

1. The Law Faculty, University of Zagreb, Croatia,
2. Inter-University Centre for Postgraduate Studies, Dubrovnik, Croatia
 - Marija and Mirjan Damaška fund
 - Scholarships of the Croatian Ministry of Science and Education
 - South-East European Scholarship Fund
3. Honourable Society of Inner Temple, London, UK

COURSE DIRECTORS:

- **Sir Geoffrey Nice KC**

Lead Prosecutor Slobodan Milošević for the UN; Emeritus Gresham Professor of Law; Chair China Tribunal; Chair Uyghur Tribunal, (UK)

Sir Geoffrey Nice has practised as a barrister since 1971. He worked at the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia – the ICTY – between 1998 and 2006 and led the prosecution of Slobodan Milošević, former President of Serbia. Work since has included cases before the permanent International Criminal Court – Sudan, Kenya, Libya – or pro bono for victims groups – Iran, Burma, North Korea – whose cases cannot get to any international court. He works for several related NGOs and lectures and commentates in the media in various countries on international war crimes issues. He was a part-time judge from 1984 to 2018, sitting at the Old Bailey . He also sat as judge in other jurisdictions, tribunals and inquiries. Between 2009 and 2012 he was Vice-Chair of the Bar Standards Board, the body that regulates barristers. He was Gresham Professor of Law from 2012 to 2016. He is the co-founder and Executive Director/Chair of the Geoffrey Nice Foundation on Law, History, Politics, and Society in the Context of Mass Atrocities, which supports and provides cross-national educational opportunities for students, researchers, and academics in the field of International Criminal Justice. His publications include the book “Justice for All and How to Achieve It,” (London, 2018). Sir Geoffrey has been Chair of two tribunals that investigated large-scale atrocities and human rights abuses in China: the China Tribunal (2018-2-2019); and the Uyghur Tribunal (2020-2021).

- **Dr Aldo Zammit-Borda**

Reader in Law at City University, London

Dr Aldo Zammit-Borda is the 2025 Course Director and Member of the Board of Trustees of the Geoffrey Nice Foundation Masterclass, an esteemed annual programme dedicated to the interdisciplinary study of Law, History, Politics, and Society in the context of mass atrocities. He currently serves as Reader at the School of Law, City, University of London, and previously held roles at the Commonwealth Secretariat and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Malta.

Dr Zammit Borda's distinguished academic career includes influential publications such as his monograph, 'Histories Written by International Criminal Courts and Tribunals: Developing a Responsible History Framework' (Springer, 2021), highly praised for its innovative analysis of historical narratives within international criminal justice. His scholarly articles have appeared in leading journals, including the Modern Law Review, Journal of Genocide Research, and Leiden Journal of International Law, and the European Journal of International Law, significantly contributing to contemporary understandings of genocide, reproductive violence, accountability mechanisms, and transitional justice.

He has served as Head of Research for both the Yazidi Justice Committee and the Uyghur Tribunal, where he led critical investigations into accountability for mass atrocities against marginalised communities. Dr Zammit Borda's research has informed high-level policy discussions in the UK Parliament and the UN Human Rights Council in Geneva. He is a Senior Fellow of the Higher Education Academy and was a Fellow of the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple (2009-2015).

FILM MATERIALS:

Documentaries: (1) "Why did Srebrenica have to fall?"; (2) "Scorpions killing video"; (3) "10 Years of Darkness: ISIS & The Yazidis"

LECTURERS:

Abu-Akel, Ahmad* – Associate Professor at University of Haifa, Israel

Ahmeti, Arbër* – PhD Candidate at the University of Vienna, specialising in transitional justice and international criminal law; former alumnus of the GN Masterclass 2023, Kosovo

Biserko, Sonja* – Chairperson of the Helsinki Committee for Human Rights, Serbia

Bonomy, Lord Iain – Judge of the ‘Mechanism’ for ICTR (Rwanda); former judge of the ICTY and Scotland’s appeal courts (High Court of Justiciary and Inner House of the Court of Session)

Carver, Jeremy* – English solicitor, President of the International Law Association British Branch, UK

Crawford, Alex* – Journalist, special correspondent for Sky News, UK

Findlay, Markus – Barrister at Doughty Street Chambers in London, UK

Glasgow, Peter – Chair of the Peace Pledge Union (PPU), UK

Grant, Thomas, Dr.* – Senior Research Fellow (Wolfson College) University of Cambridge; Fellow (Lauterpacht Centre for International Law)

Jaspers, Huub – Journalist and filmmaker, the Netherlands

Junk, Horst – Retired civil servant, former political adviser for the Social Democrats in the Dutch Parliament and the European Parliament, the Netherlands

Kodraliu, Kaltrina* – Attorney at Law; practicing lawyer and former alumna of the GN Master Class 2024, Kosovo

Levada, Artem – Head of the non-governmental organisation OsintFlow, Ukraine

Morgan, Austen* – English barrister, originally from Northern Ireland

Muharremi, Robert, Dr. – Assistant Professor at RIT Kosovo and Dean of Faculty at RIT Tirana (Albania), Kosovo

Nice, Sir Geoffrey, KC – Emeritus Gresham Professor of Law; Chair, China and Uyghur Tribunals, UK

Parker, General Sir Nick, KCB, CBE – Former British Army officer; Commander Land Forces; UK’s advisor on reform to the Ukrainian Minister of Defence (2016–2019), UK

Paulose, Regina – International criminal law attorney, US

Pelliconi, Andrea Maria, Dr. – Lecturer in Human Rights Law at the University of Southampton; Fellow of the Higher Education Academy (FHEA), UK

Rogers, Harry – Future pupil criminal barrister at Mountford Chambers, London; aspiring international criminal barrister; former alumnus of the GN Masterclass 2023, UK

Sabi, Hamid – International lawyer and Human Rights activist, UK

Schiemann, Sir Konrad* – Former judge of the Court of Justice of the European Communities (2004–2012) and England and Wales Court of Appeal (1995–2004), UK

Sinclair, Jill* – Canada’s representative to the Ukraine Defence Reform Advisory Board, Canada

Tambadou, Abubacarr Marie – Registrar of the International Residual Mechanism for Criminal Tribunals (IRMCT), Gambia

Zammit-Borda, Aldo, Dr. – Reader in Law at City University, UK

*Present online

DAY TO DAY PROGRAM:

Sunday, 29 June

Arrival

Monday, 30 June

09:00-9:30 - General introduction by Sir Geoffrey Nice

TOPIC: “WHY HUMAN BEINGS GO TO WAR?”

Moderator: Dr Robert Muharremi

09:30-10:00 - Presentation of the article “Why we go to war” by Sir Konrad Schiemann

10:00-11:00 - Q&A and a discussion of the article moderated by Robert Muharremi

11:00-11:15 - Coffee break and group members to start getting to know each other

11:15-12:00 - Moderated discussion

12:00-13:00 - Lecture I “Realism: human nature and power” by Robert Muharremi

13:00-14:30 - Lunch Break

14:30-16:30 - Lecture II “Liberalism, English School, Marxism, Constructivism” by Robert Muharremi

16:30-17:30 - Reception for all at the IUC courtyard hosted by the IUC management

17:30-19:00 - Tour of Dubrovnik

Tuesday, 1 July

TOPIC: “PACIFISM”

Moderator: Hamid Sabi

09:00-9:30 - Introduction “What is Pacifism?” by Hamid Sabi

09:30- 11:00 - Lecture I “Pacifism: An Alternative to War and Violence” + Q&A by Peter Glasgow

11:00- 11:15 - Coffee Break

11:30- 13:00 - Lecture II “Empathy for Peace” + Q&A by Ahmad Abu-Akel

13:00-14:30 - Lunch Break

14:30-15:00 - Introduction of class exercise “AVERNIA” (to be presented by classes on Thursday 3th of July) by Sir Geoffrey Nice

15:00-16:30 - Lecture III “Northern Ireland Peace Process – Belfast Agreement – How to Bridge the Sectarian Divide” by Jeremy Carver and Austen Morgan

16:30- 16:45 - Coffee Break

16:45- 18:15 - Lecture IV “Are sanctions a tool of peace, a tool of war, or both?” + Q&A by Markus Findlay

18:15 - 19:00 - Students work on the AVERNIA exercise

Wednesday, 2 July

TOPIC: “CONFLICT PREVENTION. PEACEMAKING IN AND AFTER CONFLICTS”

Moderators: General Nick Parker and Jill Sinclair

09:00-9:45 - Lecture I “The Inevitable Logic of Conflict” by Nick Parker

9:45-10:15 - Discussion

10:15-10:30 - Coffee break

10:30-11:15 - Lecture II “The Changing Geopolitical Environment” by Nick Parker

11:15-12:00 - Discussion

12:00-13:30 - Lunch

13:30-15:00 - Lecture III “So What does this mean?” by Jill Sinclair

15:00-15:30 - Break

15:30-17:30 - Group Discussion on 4 themes with Jill Sinclair and Nick Parker which will cover: Thinking about War and Peace; Deterrence, Defence and Diplomacy: Managing and De Escalating Conflict; State Sovereignty and Humanitarian Intervention; New Wars - Old Tools; Old Wars - New Tools.

17:30-18:30 - Plenary Session with Jill Sinclair and Nick Parker

18:30-19:00 - Concluding Remarks

Thursday, 3 July

TOPIC: “APPROACH TO WAR IN AFRICA; RWANDA GENOCIDE 1994”

Moderator: Lord Iain Bonomy

09:00-10:30 - Screening of Film “10 Years of Darkness: ISIS & The Yazidis” and discussion with Alex Crawford, the Presenter

10:30-10:45 - Coffee break

10:45-11:00 - Overspill from previous session, if necessary

11:00-12:30 - Lecture I “The Rwanda Genocide of 1994” by Abubacarr Tambadou

12:00-13:00 - Lecture II “Role of African Nations in Development of International Justice since World War II” by Abubacarr Tambadou

13:00-14:00 - Lunch break

14:00-14:45 - Lecture III “Justice For All - a Pipe Dream?” by Iain Bonomy

14:45-15:00 - Break

15:00-17:00 - Lecture IV “Biafra Genocide I and II” + Group exercise and Q&A by Regina Paulose

17:00-17:15 - Break

TOPIC: GROUP EXERCISE CONTINUED

Moderator: Sir Geoffrey Nice

17:15-19:00 - Group Exercise “AVERNIA” including presentations by groups

Friday, 4 July

TOPIC: “METHODS OF ACCOUNTABILITY DURING AND AFTER CONFLICTS ARE CONCLUDED. WHAT WORKS?”

Moderator: Dr Aldo Zammit-Borda

09:00-10:30 - Lecture I “Compensating victims of genocide: Pitfalls of a purely juridical approach” by Horst Junk

10:30-10:45 - Coffee break

10:45-12:30 - Lecture II “Law and Politics in Accountability” by Harry Rogers and Aldo Zammit-Borda

12:30-13:30 - Lunch break

13:30-14:30 - Lecture III “Institutional steps toward Accountability: What role is the UNSC?” + Q&A by Thomas Grant

14:30-16:00 - Lecture IV “Forgotten atrocities and Selective Accountability” by Andrea Pelliconi and Aldo Zammit-Borda

16:00-17:45 - Screening of Film “Why did Srebrenica have to fall?” and discussion with Huub Jaspers, the film director

17:45-18:15 - Break

18:15-19:00 - Optional for Students (Students must decide whether they want to stay for this video): Scorpions killing video by Huub Jaspers and Geoffrey Nice

Saturday, 5 July

TOPIC: “CONCLUDING LECTURES ON ALL TOPICS”

Moderator: Sir Geoffrey Nice

09:00-10:00 - Reflections with Geoffrey Nice and Sonja Biserko

10:00-10:30 - Coffee break

10:30-11:30 - Student Groups “Closing Presentations”

11:30-11:45 - Break

11:45 - 13:00 - Student Groups “Closing Presentations” continued

13:00-14:00 - Lunch break

14:00-15:00 - Lecture I “Collecting evidence and investigating war crimes” by Artem Levada

15:00-15:45 - Lecture II “Prosecution and its limits as a Mechanism of Transitional Justice” by Arbër Ahmeti

15:45-16:00 - Break

16:00-17:00 - Lecture III “Post Conflict Justice” by Kaltrina Kodraliu

17:00-18:30 - Closing remarks by Sir Geoffrey Nice

18:30 - Dinner if organised by students

Sunday, 6 July

All depart