

4TH ANNUAL CONFERENCE

CRIME AGAINST PEACE:

Addressing the Crime of Aggression
in a Changing World

4-6
JUNE
2025 | **MATENADARAN**
YEREVAN,
ARMENIA

CONFERENCE PROGRAM

C F T J U S T I C E . O R G

“CRIME AGAINST PEACE: ADDRESSING THE CRIME OF AGGRESSION IN A CHANGING WORLD”

As of 2025, the threats of aggression persist as a pressing challenge to global peace and stability. Despite advancements in international criminal law, conflicts and acts of aggression continue to plague various regions of the world, exacerbating humanitarian crises, destabilizing states, and undermining international security frameworks. The complexities of modern warfare, including hybrid and cyber conflicts, further compound the difficulty of addressing such crimes, stretching the bounds of existing legal mechanisms.

The crime of aggression, defined in UN General Assembly Resolution 3314 and later codified in the Kampala Amendments to the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, represents a cornerstone in the global effort to deter the illegal use of force. However, although the roots of addressing aggression as an international crime trace back to the Nuremberg Trials following World War II, where the "crime against peace" was first recognized as a punishable offense, it remains one of the least implemented and accepted components of international criminal law. As of January 2025, only 47/125 states have ratified the Kampala Amendments, reflecting a cautious and fragmented approach by the international community. This limited acceptance is striking compared to other core crimes under the Rome Statute, such as genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity, which have seen broader ratification and enforcement.

Challenges to the universal acceptance of the crime of aggression stem from several factors. First, there is a hesitance among states to cede sovereignty to an international body, particularly regarding decisions related to the use of force, which are often intertwined with national security interests. Second, political considerations and the asymmetrical distribution of power within the international system hinder collective action against acts of aggression. Third, the intricate procedural requirements for the ICC to exercise jurisdiction over the crime of aggression, including state referrals and Security Council involvement, create additional obstacles to accountability.

However, the limited ratification and enforcement of the crime of aggression highlight the pressing need for renewed dialogue, advocacy, and collaboration among states, international organizations, and civil society. Efforts to expand the jurisdiction over the crime of aggression and proposed reforms to the Rome Statute in this context present an opportunity to adopt a fresh approach to addressing the threats that have intensified since January 2025. As the international community convenes to discuss the crime of aggression, tackling these challenges and advancing the acceptance of the Kampala Amendments has become more critical than ever.

This conference serves as a critical platform to reflect on the historical development of the crime, identify barriers to its universal application, and explore innovative solutions to promote accountability and deter future acts of aggression.

CRIME 4TH ANNUAL CONFERENCE AGAINST PEACE:

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DAY 1 WEDNESDAY, JUNE 4, 2025

10:00 – 10:30 REGISTRATION

10:30 – 10:40 WELCOMING REMARKS



THE HONORABLE GASSIA APKARIAN
California, USA

10:40 – 10:50 VICTIM'S PERSPECTIVE

10:50 – 11:10 KEYNOTE SPEAKER **REMOTE**



H.E. AMBASSADOR CHRISTIAN WENAWESER
Vaduz, Liechtenstein

11:10 – 12:50

PANEL I

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CRIME OF AGGRESSION FROM NUREMBERG TO KAMPALA AND BEYOND



DR. GURGEN PETROSSIAN MODERATOR

Nuremberg, Germany



PROFESSOR DR. CHRISTOPH SAFFERLING

*The Legacy of Nuremberg
Nuremberg, Germany*



DR. YEGHISHE KIRAKOSYAN

*Aggression: jus ad bellum and ICL perspectives
Yerevan, Armenia*



PROFESSOR JENNIFER TRAHAN

*The Content of the Crime of Aggression
New York, USA*



DR. CARRIE MCDUGALL

*The ICC's Jurisdiction over the Crime of Aggression
Melbourne, Australia*

Q&A

12:50 – 14:00

LUNCH

14:00 – 15:40

PANEL II

JUS AD BELLUM – LEGAL AND STRATEGIC DIMENSIONS OF WARS OF AGGRESSION: CHALLENGES AND JUSTIFICATIONS



TIMOTHY JEMAL MODERATOR

California, USA



DR. NERSES KOPALYAN

*The Armenian Perspective - Nagorno-Karabakh War and the
Consequences
Nevada, USA*



DR. ALEXANDER SCHWARZ

*Aggression, Self-Defense, or Geopolitical Interests? Legal
Perspectives on Turkey's Military Operations in Northern Syria
Berlin, Germany*



GREGORY TOWNSEND

*Legal framework of ICC Art. 8 bis (1) on the crime of
aggression's novel modes of participation
Geneva, Switzerland*



KEVIN JON HELLER

*Legal rationales for using interstate force — the Russia example
Copenhagen, Denmark*

Q&A

CRIME 4TH ANNUAL CONFERENCE AGAINST PEACE:

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DAY 2 THURSDAY, JUNE 5, 2025

10:00 – 10:30



GOR MNATSAKANYAN, ESQ.
California, USA



KEYNOTE SPEAKER
DR. SILVIA FERNÁNDEZ DE GURMENDI
Buenos Aires, Argentina

10:30– 12:10

PANEL III

**LANGUAGE OF THE AGGRESSION:
POLARIZATION, HATE SPEECH,
AND ITS ROLE IN AGGRESSIVE
WARS****NARINE VLASYAN** MODERATOR*Rome, Italy***ARPI HARUTUNYAN***The Armenian Perspective: Hate Speech and the Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict
Yerevan, Armenia***ARTUR SAKUNTS***The International Criminal Court as a Key Institution of
International Security
Yerevan, Armenia***SARAH BAFADHEL***Countering Hate Speech Through Prosecution
The Hague, Netherlands***PROFESSOR GREGORY S. GORDON***Sentencing Aggression
Beijing, China*

Q&A

12:10 – 13:10

LUNCH

13:10 – 14:50

PANEL IV

FRAMEWORK OF AGGRESSIVE WAR



GEVORG VARDANYAN, ESQ. MODERATOR
California, USA



PROF. DR. DR. HC DR. HC CLAUS KRESS REMOTE
*On the immediate future of the international legal architecture
against the crime of aggression
Köln, Germany*



DR. NANDOR KNUST
*Environmental impact of aggressive wars
Tromsø, Norway*



DR. FRANZISKA OEHM
*Economic actors and the crime of aggression
Berlin, Germany*



CHRISTIAN MKHITARYAN
*Framework conditions for the enforcement of the so-called
"Zangezur Corridor" through aggression covered
Aschaffenburg, Germany*

Q&A

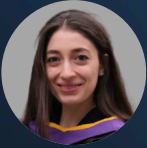
14:50 – 15:10

COFFEE BREAK

15:10 – 16:50

PANEL V

LEGAL, POLITICAL, AND PSYCHOLOGICAL DELIBERATIONS ON THE SHAM TRIALS CARRIED OUT IN BAKU AGAINST POLITICAL PRISONERS AND POWS



LUSINE SARGSYAN

MODERATOR

Yerevan, Armenia



IRENE VICTORIA MASSIMINO

*Legal analysis of the sham trials in Baku: the suppression of human rights and international humanitarian law
Buenos Aires, Argentina*



DR. CLAUDIA VIVIANA ROCCA

REMOTE

*Lawfare: the use of the judiciary to persecute on political grounds. Analysis of this concept in the context of the Baku sham trials
Buenos Aires, Argentina*



DR. ANA MARÍA CAREAGA

REMOTE

*Crimes Against Humanity and the justice process in Argentina: their impact and consequences on subjectivity
Buenos Aires, Argentina*



STEVE SWERDLOW

*Analysis of the Crime of Aggression in comparison to the situation of Azerbaijan's aggression against Armenia
California, USA*

Q&A

CRIME 4TH ANNUAL CONFERENCE AGAINST PEACE:

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DAY 3 **FRIDAY, JUNE 6, 2025**

10:00 – 11:40

PANEL VI

COOPERATION ON ACCOUNTABILITY FOR AGGRESSION FROM THE STATE'S PERSPECTIVE



MILENA MAILYAN, ESQ. **MODERATOR**
California, USA



DR. SARAH BABAIAN
The State's mandate: promoting ratification, forging strategic alliances and the resolute punishment of the act of aggression
Hamburg, Germany



**H.E. AMBASSADOR DR. ÁLVARO ENRIQUE
GONZÁLEZ OTERO**
Cooperation among states
The Hague, Netherlands



ZOHRAB MNATSAKANYAN
Political Dynamics in the Multilateral System and Its Institutions
Yerevan, Armenia



IGNACIO TREDICI
International cooperation in the prosecution of international crimes
Bari, Italy

Q&A

11:40 – 12:40

LUNCH

12:40 – 14:20

PANEL VII

ACCOUNTABILITY FOR AGGRESSIVE WAR

**THE HONORABLE GASSIA APKARIAN***California, USA***MODERATOR****THE HON. BETI HOHLER***The Crime of Aggression and the ICC: Present and Future
The Hague, Netherlands***CLAUS MOLITOR***Examining allegations of aggression as part of the OTP's
preliminary examination process
The Hague, Netherlands***MARIE O'LEARY***Defending Alleged Aggressors: reflecting on the proposed
singular "person" of Article 8bis(1)
The Hague, Netherlands***DR. MATTHEW GILLETT****REMOTE***Accountability for Aggression in Uncertain Times
Essex, United Kingdom***Q&A**

14:20 - 15:00

CLOSING CEREMONY



THE HON. GASSIA APKARIAN

Gassia Apkarian was appointed judge of the Superior Court of California. Before becoming a judge in 2014, she served as a senior attorney and president at Apkarian Defense APC (2007-2014), a deputy public defender in Orange County (2000-2007), a public relations advisor to the President of Armenia Robert Kocharyan (1998-1999), the executive director of Democrats 2000 (1997-1998), and special assistant to the ambassador at the Embassy of Armenia in Washington, D.C. (1996-1997). She also worked with the Armenian Assembly of America (1992-1995). Judge Apkarian was awarded the 2022 Alba Witkin Humanitarian Award. She is a founding member and a Senior Advisor to the Center for Truth and Justice.



H.E. AMBASSADOR CHRISTIAN WENAWESER

Ambassador Christian Wenaweser has served as the Permanent Representative of Liechtenstein to the United Nations in New York since 2002. From 2020 to 2022, he led Liechtenstein's efforts at the United Nations to reform the use of the veto in the Security Council (known as the 'Veto Initiative'), which came to fruition when the General Assembly adopted a resolution by consensus in April 2022. Under his leadership, in 2016, Liechtenstein spearheaded the creation of the legal Syria Mechanism (known as the 'IIIM') through the General Assembly to support the investigation and prosecution of international crimes since 2011. From 2009 to 2011, he served as President of the Assembly of States Parties to the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (ICC). From 2004 to 2009, he served as Chairman of the Special Working Group on the Crime of Aggression. Other previously held functions include: Vice-President of the 61st session of the UN General Assembly (2006-2007), Vice-Chair of the Open-Ended Working Group on Security Council Reform (2004-2005), Chairman of the Ad hoc Committee on the Scope of Legal Protection under the 1994 Convention on the Safety of United Nations and Associated Personnel (2003-2005), Chairman of the UN General Assembly's Third Committee (2002). Previously, Mr. Wenaweser worked as Counsellor and Deputy Permanent Representative of Liechtenstein to the UN and as diplomatic officer in the Office for Foreign Affairs in Liechtenstein. Mr. Wenaweser studied literature, languages, history, and philosophy at Zurich University and diplomacy at the Institut Universitaire de Hautes Etudes Internationales (IUHEI) in Geneva.



DR. GURGEN PETROSSIAN

Dr. Gurgen Petrossian (Moderator) Senior Officer for International Criminal law at International Nuremberg Principles Academy is an Armenian legal expert who specialises in international criminal law, international law and human rights. He holds teaching positions at Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg, Katholische Universität Eichstätt-Ingolstadt and Yerevan State University. Before rejoining the International Nuremberg Principles Academy, Dr. Petrossian advised one of Germany's largest textile companies on aspects of business and human rights in accordance with the German Act on Due Diligence in Supply Chains. Previously, he worked as head of the International Criminal Law Research Unit at Friedrich-Alexander Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg



PROFESSOR DR. CHRISTOPH SAFFERLING

Professor Dr. Christoph Safferling is the Director of the International Nuremberg Principles Academy. He is also Professor of Law at the Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg, where he holds the Chair in Criminal Law, Criminal Law Procedure, International Criminal Law, and Public International Law. At the university, he is the Director of the Research Unit on International Criminal Law. Further, he is the Whitney R. Harris International Law Fellow of the Robert H. Jackson Center in Jamestown, New York. Professor Safferling's main fields of research are German and international contemporary legal history, international criminal law, human rights law, and the subjective elements of crime. He is widely published in these areas and his books (in English) include *Towards an International Criminal Procedure* (Oxford University Press, 2003), *The Nuremberg Trials: International Criminal Law Since 1945* (co-editor with Herbert Reginbogin, De Gruyter, 2006), *The Genocide Convention Sixty Years after its Adoption* (co-editor with Eckart Conze, T.M.C. Asser Press, 2010), *International Criminal Procedure* (Oxford University Press, 2012) and *Victims before the International Criminal Court* (co-author with Gurgen Petrossian, Springer, 2021). His work has been cited by international courts and organisations including the International Criminal Court, the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia, Kosovo Specialist Chambers, the United Nations International Law Commission, and the German Federal Court of Justice. In 2018, he was also a Visiting Scholar at the Stanford Center for Human Rights and International Justice.



PROFESSOR JENNIFER TRAHAN

Jennifer Trahan is a Professor at NYU's Center for Global Affairs, where she directs the Concentration in International Law and Human Rights. She also serves as Convenor of the Global Institute for the Prevention of Aggression. She is a leading expert on international law, international justice, international criminal tribunals, and, specifically, the crime of aggression. She holds various positions with the American Branch of the ILA, including Vice President. She served on the Council of Advisers on the Application of the Rome Statute to Cyberwarfare and as part of a working group advising Ukraine and others on establishing a special tribunal on the crime of aggression. Her book, "Legal Limits to Security Council Veto Power in the Face of Atrocity Crimes" (Cambridge University Press, 2020) was awarded the "2020 ABILA Book of the Year Award" by the American Branch of the International Law Association. Her ideas from the book are also newly featured in the documentary short film entitled "The Veto," produced by Tim Slade.



DR. CARRIE MCDUGALL

Dr Carrie McDougall is an Associate Professor at the University of Melbourne. Previously, she was a legal specialist at Australia's Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, serving in Canberra and at Australia's Mission to the United Nations. Carrie completed her PhD on the crime of aggression. She was a delegate to the Special Working Group on the Crime of Aggression and the Rome Statute Review Conference, and played an active role in the ICC's Assembly of States Parties. She authored *The Crime of Aggression under the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court* (CUP, 2nd ed, 2021). Carrie is an adviser to the Government of Ukraine concerning the proposed Special Tribunal for the Crime of Aggression Against Ukraine, and is also the principal author of model amendments to the ICC's jurisdiction over aggression proposed by the Global Institute for the Prevention of Aggression.



DR. YEGHISHE KIRAKOSYAN

Dr. Yeghishe Kirakosyan is a scholar and educator in international law with a PhD from Yerevan State University (2006), where he is an Assistant Professor. He has extensive teaching experience and authored an LL.M. Program. As Armenia's Representative on International Legal Matters for the past 6 years, he has appeared before the ICJ, ECHR, and international tribunals. He is the Co-Founder and Managing Partner of Equity Law Partners. Dr. Kirakosyan is a Member of the ICSID Panel of Arbitrators and Conciliators, a Licensed Attorney in Armenia (since 2016), and a Council Member of the Arbitration and Mediation Center of Armenia.



TIMOTHY JEMAL

Timothy “Tim” Jemal is the President of Global ARM, a U.S.-based nonprofit founded in 2022 to advance impactful, strategic, and non-partisan advocacy in support of Armenia and Artsakh (Nagorno-Karabakh) in Washington, D.C. Global ARM champions a smarter, stronger, and more effective approach to Pro-Armenia, Pro-Artsakh engagement—independent of any political party or government affiliation. With over three decades of experience promoting democracy and freedom across Central and Eastern Europe, Tim is a seasoned entrepreneur and CEO who has built and led multiple organizations. A longtime advocate for stronger U.S.-Armenia relations, he has organized and led five U.S. Congressional delegations to Armenia and Artsakh, forging bipartisan cooperation on issues spanning economic and security partnerships, human rights, and democratic development. Tim played a key role in securing substantial and early U.S. support for the growth of the American University of Armenia (AUA) and has served as an adjunct faculty member at the University. He was also a founding board member of the American Chamber of Commerce in Armenia, helping to advance U.S.-Armenia business and investment ties. Previously, Tim served as Chairman of the Central and East European Coalition (CEEC), which was among the earliest advocates for NATO expansion to Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic. In addition to his national and international work, Tim is an elected Trustee of the South Orange County Community College District in Southern California, where he has been elected Board President five times. The flagship District serves over 50,000 students annually, employs nearly 3,000 faculty and staff, and has a budget approaching \$1 billion.



DR. NERSES KOPALYAN

Dr. Nerses Kopalyan is an Associate Professor-in-Residence of Political Science at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas. His fields of specialization include international security, geopolitics, paradigm-building, and philosophy of science. He is the author of "World Political Systems After Polarity" (Routledge, 2017), the co-author of "Sex, Power, and Politics" (Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), co-author of the upcoming "Armenia, Azerbaijan, and the 2020 Nagorno-Karabakh War (2025, Routledge), and author of numerous book chapters and academic publications. His current research and academic publications concentrate on geopolitical and great power relations within Eurasia, with specific emphasis on small-state resiliency, hybridity, and the confluence of security and democratic consolidation. He has authored several policy papers for the Government of Armenia and serves as a voluntary advisor to numerous state institutions. Dr. Kopalyan is also a regular contributor to EVN Report.



DR. ALEXANDER SCHWARZ

Dr Alexander Schwarz is a German human rights lawyer and co-director of ECCHR's International Crimes and Accountability Program. Alexander studied law and philosophy in Heidelberg and Santiago de Chile. He worked at the Max Planck Institute for International Law in Heidelberg and was an Associate Professor at the Institute for International Law at Leipzig University. He completed his PhD at the Institute of International Criminal Law of Göttingen University about Sexualized and gender-based violence before the International Court. After his legal clerkship, he supported universal jurisdiction cases before German courts with a focus on sexualized and gender-based violence. Before joining ECCHR, he worked as Senior Legal Advisor for the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) in Tunis. Since October 2023, he has been working at ECCHR, accompanying work on international crimes in Libya and Palestine, supporting legal interventions by individuals before national and international courts.



GREGORY TOWNSEND

Gregory Townsend (UK/USA) has worked in international justice since 1998 at eight international courts. He started his legal career as a public defender in California. He worked for the Rwanda and Yugoslav tribunals, their residual mechanism, UN mission in Kosovo, Special Court for Sierra Leone, Special Tribunal for Lebanon, represented victims before the Kosovo Specialist Chambers, and was duty counsel at the ICC in the Mkom case. He taught law in The Hague for six years, including for UCLA Law. He was elected twice to the ICC's Advisory Committee on Legal Texts and the UK appointed him to the OSCE List of Experts for the 'Moscow Mechanism'. He presently works for the U.S-ICJI component of the Atrocity Crimes Advisory Group (supporting the Ukrainian Office of the Prosecutor General on conflict related sexual violence and crimes against and affecting children), the UN Team of Experts, and on a PhD on witness protection.



GOR MNATSAKANYAN, ESQ.

Gor Mnatsakanyan, Esq. is a California attorney and Chief Legal Counsel for a nationwide pharmaceutical company. Born in Yerevan and educated at UCLA and Southwestern Law School, he also leads a boutique law firm in Southern California. In 2020, he co-founded the Center for Truth and Justice, documenting war crimes and advancing international legal accountability. As the Founding Board President of CFTJ, Gor has helped establish it as a key source of credible evidence used by lawyers, academics, and global institutions.



DR. SILVIA FERNÁNDEZ DE GURMENDI

Dr Silvia Fernández de Gurmendi is a former Judge and Diplomat of Argentina with over 35 years of practice in international criminal law and humanitarian human rights law. She was involved in the creation, set up, and functioning of the International Criminal Court in various capacities, including as ICC Judge and President, and President of the Assembly of State Parties. She has also been the Chair of the Global Action against Mass Atrocities Crimes (GAAMAC) and Special Representative of Argentina to the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA). She is currently the President of the Advisory Council of the International Nuremberg Principles Academy and teaches international criminal law at University Di Tella of Buenos Aires. She holds a Law Degree from the University of Cordoba, Argentina, a master's degree in public law from the University of Limoges (France), and a Ph.D. in Law from the University of Buenos Aires, Argentina.



NARINE VLASYAN

Narine Vlasyan is the Project Coordinator at CFTJ. She previously worked as the Programme Manager at the Armenian Institute, London and is a co-founder of the educational non-profit organization, Oxford Armenia Foundation. Narine holds an MPhil in General Linguistics & Comparative Philology from the University of Oxford and is also active as a freelance writer on Armenian current affairs and culture. Her articles were published in EVN Report, The Armenian Weekly, and H-Pem.



ARPI HARUTUNYAN

Arpi Harutyunyan is the Justice and Human Rights Portfolios Manager at the Democracy Development Foundation, where she oversees policy and advocacy initiatives in human rights, justice, and anti-corruption. In the past 5 years, she has supervised two significant fact-finding missions investigating war crimes and IHL violations in Nagorno-Karabakh, and has spearheaded accountability efforts grounded in the evidence collected. Before transitioning to civil society, Arpi spent nine years in public service, including at the Ministry of Justice and the Government of Armenia, where she ultimately served as Deputy Head of the Office of the Representative of Armenia on International Legal Matters.



ARTUR SAKUNTS

Artur Sakunts is the co-founder and chairman of Helsinki Citizens' Assembly– Vanadzor. He has been involved in human rights activism since 1992. In 2011, Artur co-founded the Helsinki Citizens' Assembly Vanadzor office NGO, which is now one of the prominent human rights organizations of Armenia. Artur Sakunts is a lawyer and a well-known expert on the rule of law, democracy, and human rights. He oversees all projects implemented by HCAV. He is a member of the Constitutional Reform Council and other councils adjacent to the Ministries of Justice, Internal Affairs, Labour, and Social Affairs. Artur Sakunts has a Bachelor's degree of Law completed in Mkhitar Gosh Armenian-Russian International University in Vanadzor, Armenia, and a PhD in Chemical Sciences, completed in the Institute of Element-Organic Compounds, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, Russia.



SARAH BAFADHEL

Sarah Bafadhel is member of the Bar of England and Wales with over fifteen years' experience specialising in international criminal law, public international law and human rights law. Sarah has defended clients in international and national institutions, including the International Criminal Court, International Residual Mechanism for Criminal Tribunals, Special Tribunal for Lebanon, and the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, as well as the European Court of Justice. She is regularly instructed to provide legal consultation and advice to governments and NGOs across Europe, Africa, and the Middle East about the implementation, enforcement, and consequences of international obligations arising from treaties, judicial decisions, and regulatory measures. Sarah has an LLM specialising in public international law from King's College London and is fluent in Arabic.



PROFESSOR GREGORY S. GORDON

Gregory S. Gordon is a Professor of Law at Peking University School of Transnational Law. Not long after earning undergraduate/law degrees from Berkeley, he served as an attorney at the ICTR on the landmark "Media" cases, the first international post-Nuremberg incitement prosecutions of media executives, earning a commendation from U.S. Attorney General Janet Reno. He subsequently worked with the U.S. Department of Justice (DOJ), serving, in sequence, as a street crime, white collar crime, organized crime and then human rights prosecutor (the latter for the Office of Special Investigations, the so-called "Nazi Hunters Unit"). He was detailed by the DOJ to Sierra Leone to conduct a post-civil war justice assessment and served as a Special Assistant U.S. Attorney for the District of Columbia. Professor Gordon is the author of *Atrocity Speech Law: Foundation, Fragmentation, Fruition* (Oxford University Press, 2017) and will soon publish *Nuremberg's Citizen Prosecutor: Benjamin Ferencz and the Birth of International Justice* (University of Virginia Press, 2025). He is on the Advisory Board of the Global Initiative for the Prevention of Aggression and, since 2023, has served as an advisor to Ukrainian prosecutors related to Russian invasion war crimes.



GEVORG VARDANYAN, ESQ.

Gevorg Vardanyan (Moderator) is a civil litigation attorney based in Los Angeles, California. He represents individuals in personal injury matters and employment and labor law disputes. As a member of the CFTJ, he has been involved in educating and training law students in Armenia on the methodologies to collect admissible testimonial evidence.



PROF. DR. DR. HC DR. HC CLAUS KRESS

Prof. Dr. Dr. hc Dr. hc Claus Kreß is a Professor of International Law and Criminal Law. He holds the Chair for German and International Criminal Law and he is the Director of the Institute of International Peace and Security Law at the University of Cologne. His prior practice was in the German Federal Ministry of Justice on matters of criminal law and international law. In addition to his scholarly work, comprising more than 200 publications on the law on the use of force, the law of armed conflicts and international criminal law, he has been a member of Germany's delegations in the negotiations regarding the International Criminal Court since 1998. In 2019, he was appointed Judge ad hoc at the International Court of Justice in the Case of the Application of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (The Gambia v. Myanmar). Since 2021, he serves as the Special Adviser to the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court on the Crime of Aggression. He is a Life Member of Clare Hall College at the University of Cambridge, a Member of the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Northrhine-Westfalia, and the recipient of the 2014 M.C. Bassiouni Justice Award. He holds honorary doctorates from the State University Tbilisi of and the University of Huánuco. In 2018 he was the Francis Lieber Scholar at West Point. He was a Guest Professor at Columbia Law School, Kyoto University, Melbourne Law School, Paris 1 (Sorbonne), University Castilla - La Mancha (Toledo), as well as a Fernand Braudel Senior Fellow at the European University Institute in Fiesole.



DR. NANDOR KNUST

Dr. Nandor Knust is a legal scholar educated in Frankfurt and Paris in the fields of Public International Law and Criminology, and he gained practical experience during his time at the ICTR and working with international, regional, and non-governmental organisations within the field of human rights, atrocity crimes and transitional justice. Before moving to the Arctic University of Norway to work as an associated professor within an interdisciplinary project on the use of new technologies to combat transnational organised crime - he was head of the 'Section of International Criminal Law' at the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Crime, Security and Law, deputy coordinator of the International Max Planck Research School on Comparative Criminal Law, – as well as coordinator of Max Planck Law. Currently, he is also the leader of ECO-CRIM-Net, a global network for the monitoring and investigation of crimes against ecosystems.



CHRISTIAN MKHITARYAN

Christian Mkhitarian is a practicing lawyer in Germany. He graduated in 2016 from Goethe University Frankfurt, specializing in the internationalization and Europeanization of law. In 2017, he completed an internship at the German Bundestag and later worked as an integration coach and volunteer language and cultural mediator. That same year, he co-founded the German-Armenian Lawyers' Association (DEARJV) and has served on its board since. He has been practicing law since early 2020 and opened his own law firm in May 2021. In 2022, he contributed as an author to the anthology "Nagorno-Karabakh: A Legal Analysis of the Conflict over Artsakh."



DR. FRANZISKA OEHM

Dr Franziska Oehm studied Law in Germany, Spain and the USA. She a book on corporate criminal liability as part of the research project “Human Rights as a Standard of Transnational Economic Law” and has researched and taught International Criminal Law in California, Colombia and Cambodia. She also holds a Master of Law (LL.M.) with a focus on Holocaust Studies from Chapman University, USA. She then worked on International Criminal Law and Business and Human Rights at the European Center for Constitutional and Human Rights (ECCHR) in Berlin and is currently a researcher and policy advisor at the German Institute for Human Rights.



LUSINE SARGSYAN

Lusine Sargsyan holds an MSc in Human Rights with a focus on public international law from London School of Economics and Political Science, and a BA in English and Communications with a minor in Philosophy, Politics and Economics from the American University of Armenia. Her professional experiences include producing human rights analyses for EVN Report, supporting the development of a transitional justice agenda for the Government of Armenia, working at the Constitutional Court of Armenia and contributing to the work of Center for Truth and Justice. Her most recent experiences were focused on the Nagorno-Karabakh (NK) conflict at the UN Resident Coordinator’s Office and on the issues of NK refugees at UNHCR Armenia and at Democracy Development Foundation.



IRENE VICTORIA MASSIMINO

Irene Victoria Massimino is a lawyer specialized in international criminal law and human rights law. She is a graduate of the Faculty of Legal and Social Sciences of the National University of La Plata, in Argentina; has a Master of Laws from Robert H. McKinney School of Law at Indiana University, in the United States of America, where she is currently residing, and teaching international law. She also holds a Master of Arts and Humanities in Human Rights from the School of Advanced Studies of the University of London, in the United Kingdom. Ms. Massimino has served as Rapporteur of the High Criminal Court of Buenos Aires Province, Argentina, where she focused on institutional violence, police brutality and gender violence cases, many of which became leading jurisprudence and became internationally known for their contribution to human rights. In this capacity, she became a member of the Provincial Roundtable for Discussions to address the emergency situation in Buenos Aires Province's Prison System.

She works actively in the fields of internal and international conflicts, human rights violations, and atrocity crimes -especially genocide- in relation to the experiences of Argentina, Armenia, Artsakh (Nagorno-Karabagh), Bangladesh, Chile, Colombia, Guatemala, Iraq, Somaliland, and Ukraine, amongst many others. She has served in international investigative delegations and trial observation missions, and she is the former co-founder of the Lemkin Institute for Genocide Prevention.



DR. CLAUDIA VIVIANA ROCCA

Dr Claudia Viviana Rocca is a lawyer and the President of the Argentine Association of Jurists (2018 to present), Vice President of the American Association of Jurists, NGO with Consultative Status with ECOSOC (2022 to present). She is a Professor of Commercial Law at the National University of Mothers of Plaza de Mayo - Argentina as well as Professor of Economic and Corporate Law at the National University of Moreno, Argentina. Director of Legal Affairs of the Financial Information Unit of Argentina (2020-2022). Dr Rocca is also a Legal and Technical Coordinator of the Space for Memory and for the Promotion and Defense of Human Rights (formerly ESMA), Buenos Aires, Argentina (2010-2019). She is specialized in Public Law from the School of Justice Services - UNLaM-Argentina-, and in Local and Federal State Law from the Training School of the Attorney General's Office of the Autonomous City of Buenos Aires, Argentina. She is a member of international human rights missions and international observer in electoral processes.



DR. ANA MARÍA CAREAGA

Dr Ana María Careaga is Director of the Space for Memory Institute (IEM). Director of the Human Rights Institute of the Atlántida University. Former detainee-disappeared. Witness and plaintiff in trials for crimes against humanity and genocide in the country and abroad. Doctor in Psychology (University of Buenos Aires). Doctor Honoris Causa (National University of Cuyo). Psychoanalyst. Teacher and researcher at the Faculty of Psychology (UBA) and at the Atlántida University (UA) on the subjective consequences of torture and State terrorism. Member of the International Advisory Committee of the Search Unit for Missing Persons (UBPD) in Colombia. Member of the International Human Rights Oversight Office in the case of the former vice president of Ecuador, Jorge Glas. She has numerous publications on psychology and human rights in newspapers, magazines and books. She directed the magazine "Espacios para la Memoria por la Verdad y la Justicia" (IEM). She hosts a weekly radio program on human rights and memory.



STEVE SWERDLOW

Steve Swerdlow esq. is a human rights lawyer and Associate Professor of the Practice of Human Rights in the Department of Political and International Relations at the University of Southern California, who teaches international human rights law, human rights research and advocacy, including field-based courses in Armenia, Georgia, Kyrgyzstan, and Kazakhstan. An expert on the former Soviet region, Swerdlow was Senior Researcher for Human Rights Watch from 2010-2019, heading the organization's Central Asia office in Kyrgyzstan covering Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. Earlier, Swerdlow was a fellow in the U.S. State Department's Young Leaders for Public Service program in southern Russia (Krasnodar) and the Human Rights monitor for the Union of Council for Soviet Jews (UCSJ) for Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia. Swerdlow practiced law in San Francisco at Lief Cabraser Heimann & Bernstein, LLP, and also served as law clerk to the Honorable Judge Dean Pregerson of the United States District Court for the Central District of California.



MILENA MAILYAN, ESQ.

Milena Mailyan is a Los Angeles-based immigration attorney and lifelong advocate for human rights and Armenian Genocide recognition. A magna cum laude graduate of UCLA and the UC Davis School of Law, she refined her advocacy skills on the Moot Court Board and was inducted into the national Order of Barristers. Milena clerked for two years in the UC Davis Immigration Law Clinic, contributing hundreds of pro-bono hours through the Public Service Law Program. She later founded Mailyan Law. Outside her practice, she is a co-founder and serves on CFTJ's Board of Directors.



DR. SARAH BABAIAN

Dr. Sarah Babaian is an International Negotiation Expert and Conflict Manager, a Lecturer in International Public and Criminal Law, Negotiation and Conflict Resolution and speaks as a Keynote Speaker at the United Nations, the International Criminal Court, for NGOs and in companies. She works as an International Negotiation Expert & Conflict Manager at Negotiation & Conflict Consulting. She advises and trains states and international institutions as well as companies on complex negotiations and conflict management solutions in order to prepare them for any kind of conflict situation. She is the author of the publications "The International Criminal Court – An International Criminal World?" and "Artsakh - An International Legal Analysis of the Conflict over Artsakh". Since 2025 She is the chair of the German-Armenian Lawyers' Association.



ZOHRAB MNATSAKANYAN

Zohrab Mnatsakanyan is a graduate of the Moscow State Institute of International Relations and the Victoria University of Manchester. He entered Armenia's diplomatic service in 1991 and held several posts in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Embassy of Armenia to the United Kingdom, the Offices of the Prime Minister and the President of Armenia. In 2002 he became Armenia's Ambassador and Permanent Representative to the United Nations Office and other International Organisations at Geneva, as well as Armenia's Ambassador and Permanent Representative to the Council of Europe in Strasbourg (France). Between 2011 and 2014 he held the post of Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs and Chief Negotiator of EU-Armenia Association Agreement. In 2014 he became Armenia's Ambassador and Permanent Representative to the United Nations in New York. From May 2018 until his resignation in November 2020 he was Armenia's Minister of Foreign Affairs. He is currently an independent consultant and a guest lecturer at the American University of Armenia. In 2015, he led the negotiations for the adoption of a UN General Assembly Resolution, initiated by Armenia, to proclaim 9 December as the United Nations International Day of Commemoration and Dignity of the Victims of the Crime of Genocide and of the Prevention of this Crime. During his tenure both in Geneva and New York he had been actively engaged and on many occasions directly led the UN prevention agenda against atrocity crimes, including the initiation and negotiations leading to unanimous adoption of the UN Human Rights Commission and the Council respective resolutions on the prevention of genocide in 2005 and 2008.



H.E. AMBASSADOR DR. ÁLVARO ENRIQUE GONZÁLEZ OTERO

H.E. Ambassador Dr. Álvaro Enrique GONZÁLEZ OTERO is the current Permanent Representative of Uruguay to the International Organizations in The Hague and serves concurrently as Uruguay's Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador to the Kingdom of the Netherlands. He signed the Ljubljana – The Hague Convention on International Cooperation in the Investigation and Prosecution of Genocide, Crimes against Humanity, War Crimes and other International Crimes on 14 February 2024. In September 2023, he deposited Uruguay's instrument of ratification for the Convention on the Recognition and Enforcement of Foreign Judgments in Civil or Commercial Matters. A seasoned diplomat with over three decades of experience, he has held postings across Africa, the Americas, and Europe, including as Ambassador to Angola and Consul General in Brazil and the United States. He has served in senior roles at Uruguay's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, including as Deputy Director-General for International Economic Affairs and Director of Human Resources. He holds a Doctor of Law and Social Sciences from the University of the Republic (Uruguay) and a Master of Law in International Legal Studies from American University in Washington, D.C. An academic and author, he has published widely on international law, trade, and diplomacy, and taught at leading universities in Uruguay.



IGNACIO TREDICI

Ignacio Tredici was Legal Officer and Prosecutor Ad Hoc in his native Argentina. Mr. Tredici started his career with the United Nations in 2003 at the ICTR, where he worked as both Trial Attorney and Appeals Counsel for the Prosecution. From 2009, as Head of the Legal Unit at the Office of the Co-Investigating Judges, he coordinated the investigations into the crimes committed by the Khmer Rouge. He briefly worked as Human Rights Officer for the Rule of Law Section at the UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights. In 2014, he transferred to the UN DPKO Justice and Corrections Standing Capacity as Judicial Affairs Officer. From his office he deployed constantly to post-conflict areas to work on judicial reform, legal reform, support and capacity building of local magistrates. Since 2019 he teaches international criminal law at the Università degli Studi di Bari. He has taught in universities in Europe and the Americas and he has published on international criminal law and transitional justice issues.



THE HON. BETI HOHLER

The Hon. Beti Hohler has spent most of her career practising law at international and internationalised criminal courts. Prior to her election as a Judge, she was a Trial Lawyer in the Office of the Prosecutor of the ICC. Before joining the ICC in 2015, Judge Hohler worked for the EU Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo, advising international judges in complex criminal cases. Judge Hohler started her career in Ljubljana, Slovenia, where she first served at the Court of Appeals and thereafter as a senior associate at a prominent law firm. Judge Hohler was an Associate Editor of Oxford Reports on International Law in Domestic Courts from 2006 until 2024. She was a member of the International Law Association's Committee on Complementarity in International Criminal Law and is one of the authors of the leading Commentary of the Rome Statute in the English language. Judge Hohler is regularly invited to train judges and advocates at international events. She has delivered trainings on advocacy before international tribunals and on substantive international criminal law. Until 2024 Judge Hohler also acted as Director of Training at the Institute for International Legal and Advocacy Training in The Hague, which she co-founded. Judge Hohler is the recipient of several accolades, including the 2012 EU Common Security and Defence Policy Service Medal, awarded for her service in the Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo. Judge Hohler holds a Master of Law from University of Ljubljana, Slovenia, and an LLM in International and European Law from University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands.



CLAUS MOLITOR

Claus Molitor is the Head of the Preliminary Examination Unit in the Office of the Prosecutor (OTP) of the International Criminal Court (ICC). As such, he supervises the initial filtering process of article 15 communications, legal and factual analysis related to preliminary examinations and any relevant cooperation activities. He advises the Prosecutor and Deputy Prosecutors on strategic issues related to preliminary examinations. Prior to this he served as an Analyst in the same unit, since 2007. Mr Molitor led various preliminary examinations, including in the situations of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Kenya, Georgia, Nigeria, Mali, Guinea, and the Central African Republic. Prior to working for the ICC, Mr Molitor worked as a Human Rights Officer with the United Nations peace-keeping mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Mr Molitor holds a Master's Degree in Human Rights and Democratization and studied Political Science, International and European law and English at the University of Bonn, Germany.



MARIE O'LEARY

Marie O'Leary is currently Acting Principal Counsel of the Office of Public Counsel for the Defence (OPCD) at the International Criminal Court (ICC) and has been with the Office since 2013. Prior to the ICC, Marie worked on several Defence teams, in Trial Chambers, and with an amicus prosecutor at the UN International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY), and briefly served as a Legal Consultant for the Defence Office of the Special Tribunal for Lebanon (STL). She is a current Vice-President (and Past President) of the Association of Defence Counsel (ADC-ICT) and currently serves on the ICC Bar Association (ICCBA) Working Group on the Code of Conduct. She has dedicated time to various capacity-building and training initiatives specifically for defence lawyers, recently contributing to a defence needs assessment & defence manual for Ukrainian practitioners, both developed/conducted with USAID Justice for All Activity support.



DR. MATTHEW GILLETT

Dr Matthew Gillett is a Senior Lecturer (Associate Professor) at the University of Essex Law School and a United Nations Special Mandate holder (Chair-Rapporteur of the Working Group on Arbitrary Detention). He was previously a Prosecution Trial Attorney and Appeals Counsel at the ICC and the ICTY and a Human Rights Officer with the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan. He was part of the New Zealand delegation at the Kampala conference on aggression. He has published widely on international criminal law and environmental harm, including the 2022 monograph "Prosecuting Environmental Harm before the International Criminal Court" (Cambridge University Press).



KEVIN JON HELLER

Kevin Jon Heller is a Professor of International Law and Security at the University of Copenhagen's Centre for Military Studies and Distinguished Visiting Professor of Law at Universidad Torcuato Di Tella in Buenos Aires. He is an Academic Member of Doughty Street Chambers in London and currently serves as Special Advisor to the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court on War Crimes.

Prof. Heller's books include *The Nuremberg Military Tribunals and the Origins of International Criminal Law* (OUP, 2011) and four co-edited volumes: *The Handbook of Comparative Criminal Law* (Stanford, 2010), *The Hidden Histories of War Crimes Trials* (OUP, 2013), *The Oxford Handbook of International Criminal Law* (OUP, 2018), and *Contingency in International Law: On the Possibility of Different Legal Histories* (OUP, 2021). He is also Editor-in-Chief of the international-law blog *Opinion Juris*, where he has blogged for more than 17 years.

Prof. Heller has been involved in the practice of international law throughout his career, most notably acting as one of Radovan Karadzic's formally-appointed legal associates at the ICTY; serving as the plaintiffs' sole expert witness in *Salim v Mitchell*, a successful Alien Tort Statute case against the psychologists who designed and administered the CIA's torture program; functioning as UNITAD's Special Expert for International Criminal and Humanitarian Law; and acting as legal advisor to and expert witness for Ramzi bin al-Shibh, one of the defendants in the 9/11 trial at Guantanamo Bay.

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