Supplementary online information

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

22

23

1

Historical overview of the origin of the term ecocide

Ecocide has been a topic of international debate for more than half a century drawing inspiration from international peace treaties, particularly around the concept of genocide. In 1933, Raphael Lemkin, a Polish Jurist, introduced the concept of genocide at the International Conference for Unification of Criminal Law, advocating for a global ban on the destruction of human groups. His proposal extended beyond physical genocide to encompass 'cultural genocide', involving obliteration through non-physically violent means (Lemkin & Finch, 1945). This included environmental crimes that contribute to cultural damage, for example, the destruction of forests due to illegal logging which erodes Indigenous and local communities' deep cultural connections to the forest. American plant biologist Professor Arthur Galston, credited with discovering the defoliating effects of Agent Orange, coined the term 'ecocide' in 1970 at a Conference on War and National Responsibility, noting its disturbing nature, akin to genocide (Curcio Lamas, 2017). Galston drew parallels between environmental damage and harm inflicted on social groups: viewing the environment as a victim of ecocide is comparable to individuals being victims of genocide (Higgins et al., 2013). Two years later, Swedish Prime Minister Olaf Palme, called out mass environmental destruction at the UN's first environment conference. Ecocide can indeed function as a method of genocide when environmental degradation significantly threatens the cultural and physical existence of specific groups (Crook & Short, 2014). Indeed, ecocide resulting from climate change and resource depletion could potentially catalyse genocide on a global scale (Mehta, 2021).

24

Efforts to establish legal frameworks to criminalise ecocide face obstacles

26

27

28

29

30

31

32

33

34

35

36

37

38

39

40

41

42

43

44

45

46

47

48

49

50

The idea of criminalising ecocide has faced persistent legal and political hurdles. In 1947, the International Law Commission (ILC) began drafting a code of offences inspired by the Nuremberg Tribunals (Zierler, 2011). In 1973, Richard Falk proposed a convention on ecocide following the environmental devastation of the Vietnam War (Falk, 1973). Although achieving broad support among UN states, the proposal was shelved. Between 1984 and 1996, the ILC revisited Falk's ideas, proposing Article 26 of the Draft Code of Crimes Against the Peace and Security of Mankind which defined ecocide as "An individual who wilfully causes or orders the causing of widespread, long-term and severe damage to the natural environment shall, on conviction thereof, be sentenced" (United Nations, 1996a). However, Article 26 faced criticism for its vagueness especially regarding the threshold of "severe damage". Australia and Belgium argued that using "wilfully" made prosecutions impractical, considering that perpetrators' motives are frequently profit-driven, rendering intent an unsuitable factor for establishing liability; ecocide is more likely a result of "disregarded risk" (Minkova, 2021). For example, deforestation is generally driven by intentions to sell harvested resources rather than an objective to cut down the forest aiming to cause ecocide (Gauger et al., 2012). In most cases, ecocide can therefore be seen as a by-product of other motives. Rather than revisiting the article, the ILC chose to remove it entirely without a formal vote.

Diverging perspectives within the ILC prompted the formation of a working group in 1996, to reconsider including ecocide in the Rome Statute, the foundational treaty that established the International Criminal Court (ICC) (UN General Assembly, 1998). An amendment to the Rome Statute is required to put an international law like ecocide in place. However, while ecocide had occurred during both war and peace,

most proposals treated it as a war crime with intent, neglecting to establish comparable provisions for peacetime – though arguably more significant (Falk, 1973). Regrettably, no recommendations were adopted and the Chairman of the ILC unilaterally removed the concept of peacetime ecocide altogether (Higgins et al., 2013) influenced by opposition from several governments against inclusion of Article 26 due to its lack of precision and vagueness (Gauger et al., 2012).

The final reference to environmental harm in the Rome Statute appears in Article 8(2)(b)(iv) "Intentionally launching an attack in the knowledge that such attack will cause widespread, long-term and severe damage to the natural environment which would be clearly excessive in relation to military advantage" (Heller & Lawrence, 2007). Article 8 thus remains the sole provision in international law holding individuals accountable for environmental harms, applicable as a very specific type of war crime. It confines the scope of ecocide to wartime, far from the broader protections originally envisioned (Heller & Lawrence, 2007; Higgins et al., 2013).

67 Recent initiatives

While previous attempts to criminalise peacetime ecocide faced opposition, recent movements have reignited the notion and established a clearer legal framework. In 2010, environmental lawyer Polly Higgins proposed an amendment to the Rome Statute, defining ecocide as: "The extensive damage to, destruction of or loss of ecosystem(s) of a given territory, whether by human agency or by other causes, to such an extent that peaceful enjoyment by the inhabitants of that territory has been severely diminished" (Higgins et al., 2013). The proposal aims to establish a legal duty of care, obligating nations to prevent ecocide and intervene before

widespread harm occurs (Higgins et al., 2013). Though not accepted, it has gained support, notably from figures like Jane Goodall and Greta Thunberg (Stop Ecocide International, 2021). By 2017, increased attention spurred the creation of the NGO Stop Ecocide International (https://www.stopecocide.earth/). Collaborating with governments, diplomats and the public, the organisation's legal panel proposed yet another definition of ecocide: "Unlawful or wanton acts committed with knowledge that there is a substantial likelihood of severe and either widespread or long-term damage to the environment" (Stop Ecocide International, 2021). This would add ecocide as a prosecutable crime along with genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes and aggression.

Over 150 initiatives now affirm the rights of nature (Putzer et al., 2022). Some of these are seeking to integrate Stop Ecocide International's definition of ecocide into national Penal Codes. These developments underscore the increasing traction and support for the establishment of an international legal framework to address ecocide (Europarle, 2023). The most significant development came on 9 September 2024, when ecocide was formally proposed for inclusion in the Rome Statute by Vanuatu and co-sponsored by Fiji and Samoa. This marks the first formal ICC consideration of ecocide, driven in part by the vulnerability of Small Island Developing States (SIDS). Professor Philippe Sands KC highlighted the significance of this proposal as a crucial update to international law that addresses severe environmental harm. This move reflects growing global support, with a recent survey showing that 72% of people in G20 countries favour criminalising actions that cause major damage to nature and the climate (Stop Ecocide International, 2024).

References

- 101 Crook, M., & Short, D. (2014). Marx, Lemkin and the genocide–ecocide nexus. *The*
- 102 International Journal of Human Rights, 18(3), 298–319.
- 103 https://doi.org/10.1080/13642987.2014.914703
- 104 Curcio Lamas, A. (2017). Ecocide: addressing the large-scale impairment of the
- environment and human rights (Doctoral dissertation).
- 106 http://dx.doi.org/10.25330/1711
- Europarle. (2023). Procedure file: 2021/0422(COD). Legislative Observatory
- 108 European Parliament.
- https://oeil.secure.europarl.europa.eu/oeil/popups/ficheprocedure.do?reference=202
- 110 1/0422(COD)&I=en
- 111 Falk, R. A. (1973). Environmental warfare and ecocide Facts, appraisal, and
- proposals. Bulletin of Peace Proposals, 4(1), 80–96.
- https://doi.org/10.1177/096701067300400105.
- Gauger, A., Mai Pouye Rabatel-Fernel, Kulbicki, L., Short, D., & Higgins, P. (2012).
- The ecocide project: Ecocide is the missing 5th crime against peace. Human Rights
- 116 Consortium. https://sas-space.sas.ac.uk/4686/
- Heller, K. J., & Lawrence, J. C. (2007). The limits of article 8 (2)(b)(iv) of the Rome
- Statute, the first ecocentric environmental war crime. *Georgetown International*
- Environmental Law Review (GIELR), 20. https://ssrn.com/abstract=979460
- Higgins, P., Short, D., & South, N. (2013). Protecting the planet: a proposal for a law of
- ecocide. Crime, Law and Social Change, 59(3), 251–266. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10611-
- 122 013-9413-6
- UN General Assembly. (1998). Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (last
- amended 2010). International Criminal Court. Retrieved from https://www.icc-
- cpi.int/sites/default/files/2024-05/Rome-Statute-eng.pdf553
- Lemkin, R., & Finch, G. A. (1945). Axis rule in occupied Europe: Laws of occupation,
- analysis of government, proposals for redress. *The American Journal of International*
- 128 Law, 39(2), 360. https://doi.org/10.2307/2192363
- Mehta, J. (2021, February 24). To stop climate disaster, make ecocide an
- international crime. *The Guardian*.
- 131 https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2021/feb/24/climate-crisis-ecocide-
- international-crime?CMP=share btn url
- Minkova, L. G. (2021). The Fifth International Crime: Reflections on the Definition of
- "Ecocide." *Journal of Genocide Research*, 25(1), 1–22.
- https://doi.org/10.1080/14623528.2021.1964688
- Putzer, A., Lambooy, T., Jeurissen, R., & Kim, E. (2022). Putting the rights of nature
- on the map. A quantitative analysis of rights of nature initiatives across the
- 138 world. *Journal of Maps*, 18(1), 89–96.
- https://doi.org/10.1080/17445647.2022.2079432
- Stop Ecocide International. (2021). Legal definition of ecocide drafted by

142	https://www.stopecocide.earth/legal-definition
143 144 145 146 147 148	Stop Ecocide International. (2024). Mass destruction of nature reaches International Criminal Court (ICC) as Pacific Island states propose recognition of ecocide as international crime. Stop Ecocide International. https://www.stopecocide.earth/2024/mass-destruction-of-nature-reaches-international-criminal-court-icc-as-pacific-island-states-propose-recognition-of-ecocide-as-international-crime
149 150 151	United Nations. (1996a). <i>Draft Code of Crimes against the Peace and Security of Mankind</i> . United Nations. https://legal.un.org/ilc/texts/instruments/english/draft articles/7 4 1996.pdf
152 153 154	Zierler, D. (2011). The invention of ecocide: Agent Orange, Vietnam, and the scientists who changed the way we think about the environment. University of Georgia Press.
155	
156	
157	
158	
159	
160	References for tables 1 and 2
	References for tables 1 and 2
160	 References for tables 1 and 2 Ahmed, J., Thakur, A., & Goyal, A. (2021). Industrial wastewater and its toxic effects.
160 161	
160 161 162	Ahmed, J., Thakur, A., & Goyal, A. (2021). <i>Industrial wastewater and its toxic effects.</i>
160161162163	Ahmed, J., Thakur, A., & Goyal, A. (2021). <i>Industrial wastewater and its toxic effects.</i> The Royal Society of Chemistry Doi: https://doi.org/10.1039/9781839165399-00001
160 161 162 163	Ahmed, J., Thakur, A., & Goyal, A. (2021). <i>Industrial wastewater and its toxic effects</i> . The Royal Society of Chemistry Doi: https://doi.org/10.1039/9781839165399-00001 Akbarally, Z. (2016). <i>Impact of war and post-war development upon ecology: the</i>
160 161 162 163 164 165	Ahmed, J., Thakur, A., & Goyal, A. (2021). <i>Industrial wastewater and its toxic effects</i> . The Royal Society of Chemistry Doi: https://doi.org/10.1039/9781839165399-00001 Akbarally, Z. (2016). <i>Impact of war and post-war development upon ecology: the case of Sri Lanka's Wilpattu national park within the framework of 'Warfare Ecology'</i> .
160 161 162 163 164 165 166	Ahmed, J., Thakur, A., & Goyal, A. (2021). <i>Industrial wastewater and its toxic effects</i> . The Royal Society of Chemistry Doi: https://doi.org/10.1039/9781839165399-00001 Akbarally, Z. (2016). <i>Impact of war and post-war development upon ecology: the case of Sri Lanka's Wilpattu national park within the framework of 'Warfare Ecology'</i> . London School of Economics and Political Science.
160 161 162 163 164 165 166	Ahmed, J., Thakur, A., & Goyal, A. (2021). <i>Industrial wastewater and its toxic effects</i> . The Royal Society of Chemistry Doi: https://doi.org/10.1039/9781839165399-00001 Akbarally, Z. (2016). <i>Impact of war and post-war development upon ecology: the case of Sri Lanka's Wilpattu national park within the framework of 'Warfare Ecology'</i> . London School of Economics and Political Science. Akchurin, M. (2015). Constructing the rights of nature: Constitutional reform,

- ship called the Probo Koala, and the dumping of toxic waste in Cote D'Ivoire.
- Amnesty International. https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/afr31/002/2012/en/
- Arias-Gaviria, J., Suarez, C. F., Marrero-Trujillo, V., P, J. C. O., Villegas-Palacio, C.,
- & Arango-Aramburo, S. (2021). Drivers and effects of deforestation in Colombia: a
- systems thinking approach. Regional Environmental Change, 21, 1-14.
- 176 https://doi.org/10.1007/s10113-021-01822-x
- 177 Beyer, J., Trannum, H. C., Bakke, T., Hodson, P. V., & Collier, T. K. (2016).
- Environmental effects of the Deepwater Horizon oil spill: A review. *Marine pollution*
- *bulletin*, *110*(1), 28-51. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.marpolbul.2016.06.027.
- Bouma, G. A., & Kobryn, H. T. (2004). Change in vegetation cover in East Timor,
- 181 1989-1999. *Natural Resources Forum*, 28(1), 1–12. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0165-
- 182 0203.2004.00067.x
- Braga-Pereira, F., Peres, C. A., Campos-Silva, J. V., Santos, C. V. D., & Alves, R. R.
- N. (2020). Warfare-induced mammal population declines in Southwestern Africa are
- mediated by species life history, habitat type and hunter preferences. Scientific
- 186 Reports, 10(1), 15428. https://doi.org/10.1038/s41598-020-71501-0
- Bratman, E. (2015). Passive revolution in the green economy: activism and the Belo
- 188 Monte dam. International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and
- 189 *Economics*, 15, 61-77. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10784-014-9268-z
- Dathan, J. (2020). The Environmental Afterlives of Sri Lanka's Civil War. *Jamhoor*, 4.
- https://www.jamhoor.org/read/2020/11/18/the-environmental-afterlives-of-sri-lankas-
- 192 civil-war.

- Durango-Cordero, J., Saqalli, M., Laplanche, C., Locquet, M., & Elger, A. (2018).
- Spatial analysis of accidental oil spills using heterogeneous data: A case study from
- the North-Eastern Ecuadorian Amazon. *Sustainability*, *10*(12), 4719.
- 196 https://doi.org/10.3390/su10124719.
- Enaruvbe, G. O., Keculah, K. M., Atedhor, G. O., & Osewole, A. O. (2019). Armed
- conflict and mining induced land-use transition in northern Nimba County,
- Liberia. *Global Ecology and Conservation*, *17*, e00597.
- 200 https://doi.org/10.1016/j.gecco.2019.e00597
- 201 Environment Agency. (2021). Pollution from water industry wastewater: challenges
- 202 for the water environment. Gov.UK.
- 203 https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/pollution-from-water-industry-
- 204 wastewater-challenges-for-the-water-environment
- Erickson-Davis, M. (2014). Rebuilding Kissama: war-torn Angola's only national park
- 206 affected by deforestation, but refaunation gives hope. Mongabay Environmental
- News. https://news.mongabay.com/2014/07/rebuilding-kissama-war-torn-angolas-
- 208 only-national-park-affected-by-deforestation-but-refaunation-gives-hope/
- Finkel, M. L. (2018). The impact of oil sands on the environment and health. *Current*
- Opinion in Environmental Science & Health, 3, 52-55.
- 211 https://doi.org/10.1016/j.coesh.2018.05.002.
- 212 Fischer, F. (2004). Status of the Comoé National Park, Côte d'Ivoire, and the effects
- 213 of war. *Parks*, 14(1), 17-25.
- Frey, R. S. (2013). Agent orange and America at war in Vietnam and Southeast
- Asia. *Human Ecology Review*, 1-10. https://www.jstor.org/stable/24707567

- Goswami, R. (2011). Conservation amidst political unrest: the case of Manas
- National Park, India. Current Science, 100(4), 445-446.
- 218 http://archives.atree.org/id/eprint/147
- Greenberg, P. (2017). Disproportionality and resource-based environmental
- inequality: An analysis of neighborhood proximity to coal impoundments in
- 221 Appalachia. *Rural Sociology*, 82(1), 149-178. https://doi.org/10.1111/ruso.12119
- Gusmão, L.H.A., Sombra, D.A., Messias, C.G., & Camilotti, V.L. (2024). National
- 223 Forests in the Brazilian Amazon: Deforestation and Land use pressures (2018-2021).
- 224 RAEGA O Espaço Geográfico em Análise, 60, 19.
- 225 https://doi.org/10.5380/raega.v60i0.96579
- Hecht, S. B., Kandel, S., Gomes, I., Cuellar, N., & Rosa, H. (2006). Globalization,
- forest resurgence, and environmental politics in El Salvador. World
- 228 Development, 34(2), 308-323. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2005.09.005
- 229 Human Rights Watch. (2003). The Iraqi Government Assault on the Marsh Arabs (A
- 230 Human Rights Watch Background Paper, January 2003). HRW.
- Human Rights Watch. (2021). Why Our Land?, Oil Palm Expansion in Indonesia
- 232 Risks Peatlands and Livelihoods. HRW.
- ICUN. (2007). How the Lebanese environment was affected by the war. ICUN.
- Khalturin, V. I., Rautian, T. G., Richards, P. G., & Leith, W. S. (2005). A review of
- 235 nuclear testing by the Soviet Union at Novaya Zemlya, 1955–1990. *Science and*
- 236 Global Security, 13(1-2), 1-42. https://doi.org/10.1080/08929880590961862
- Lindén, O., Jernelöv, A., & Egerup, J. (2004). The environmental impacts of the Gulf

- 238 War 1991. https://pure.iiasa.ac.at/7427
- Moumin, M. A. (2007). Mesopotamian marshlands: an ecocide case. Geo. Int'l Envtl.
- 240 L. Rev., 20, 499.
- Mužinić, J., & Filipović, M. (2006). The Plitvice Lakes: world's natural
- heritage. Croatian medical journal, 47(1), 1.
- Peter, T., & Hunder, M. (2024). Ukraine's vast forests devastated in hellscape of war.
- Reuters. https://www.reuters.com/investigates/special-report/ukraine-crisis-
- 245 <u>environment-forests/</u>
- Raftopoulos, M., & Morley, J. (2020). Ecocide in the Amazon: the contested politics
- of environmental rights in Brazil. *The International Journal of Human Rights*, 24(10),
- 248 1616-1641. https://doi.org/10.1080/13642987.2020.1746648
- Rothman, H. K. (2004). To ride alone in a forever unpossessed country: An
- administrative history of Death Valley National Park. Report on file at Death Valley
- National Park Archives, Cow Creek, CA.
- 252 Royal Geographical Society (2015). The Belo Monte Hydroelectric Dam complex in
- 253 Brazil. RGS. https://www.rgs.org/schools/resources-for-schools/the-belo-monte-
- 254 hydroelectric-dam-complex-in-brazil
- Sentamu, J. T. M., Kufuor, J., Amos, L. G., Nwajiaku-Dahou, K., Zalik, A., Emeseh,
- E., ... & Hodler, R. (2023). An Environmental Genocide: Counting the Human and
- 257 Environmental Cost of Oil in Bayelsa, Nigeria. BSOEC Report.
- 258 https://report.bayelsacommission.org/
- Solokha, M., Pereira, P., Symochko, L., Vynokurova, N., Demyanyuk, O.,

- Sementsova, K., ... & Barcelo, D. (2023). Russian-Ukrainian war impacts on the
- 261 environment. Evidence from the field on soil properties and remote sensing. Science
- of the Total Environment, 902, 166122.
- 263 https://doi.org/10.1016/j.scitotenv.2023.166122
- Sullivan, M. (2005). OCC: Gunung Leuser National Park, Sumatra, Indonesia.
- 265 https://www.orchidconservationcoalition.org/hl/gunungleuser.html.
- Tia, L., & Dago, D. R. (2015). Morcellement d'une aire protégée en agglomération
- urbaine: le cas du parc national du Banco (Côte d'Ivoire). Cahiers de géographie du
- 268 *Québec*, 59(168), 349-376. doi:https://doi.org/10.7202/1037254ar
- Timoney, K. P., & Lee, P. (2009). Does the Alberta tar sands industry pollute? The
- scientific evidence. The Open Conservation Biology Journal, 3(1), 65-81.
- 271 DOI: <u>10.2174/1874839200903010065</u>
- Ubani, E. and Onyejekwe, I. (2013). Environmental impact analyses of gas flaring in
- 273 the Niger delta region of Nigeria. American Journal of Scientific and Industrial
- 274 Research, [online] 4(2), pp.246–252. https://doi.org/10.5251/ajsir.2013.4.2.246.252
- 275 UNESCO (2018). 45 COM 7B.22 Decision.
- 276 Unesco.https://whc.unesco.org/en/decisions/8296
- United Nations Economic Commission for Europe. (2005). *Drainage Basin of the Aral*
- Sea and Other Transboundary Surface Waters in Central Asia. UN. https://www.un-
- 279 ilibrary.org/content/books/9789210549950s008-c003
- Vargas, R. (2006). *The Sierra de la Macarena | Transnational Institute*. Transnational
- Institute. https://www.tni.org/en/publication/the-sierra-de-la-macarena.

282	White, C. M. (2008). <i>The History of El Salvador</i> . Bloomsbury Publishing USA.
283	Yasunidos (2023). The Collective Process to Defend Yasuni National Park.
284	Yasunidos. https://www.yasunidos.org/the-collective-process-to-defend-yasuni-
285	national-park/
286	Yin, H., Butsic, V., Buchner, J., Kuemmerle, T., Prishchepov, A. V., Baumann, M., &
287	Radeloff, V. C. (2019). Agricultural abandonment and re-cultivation during and after
288	the Chechen Wars in the northern Caucasus. Global Environmental Change, 55,
289	149-159. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.gloenvcha.2019.01.005
290	
291	
292	
293	
294	
295	
296	
297	
298	
299	
300	