*Law and Politics of Transnational Justice: The Past, Present and Future of International Criminal Justice

The Future of Internationalized Criminal Courts

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Internationalized Criminal Courts

- UNMIK "Regulation 64" panels and EULEX judges in Kosovo
- Special Panels for Serious Crimes in East Timor
- Special Court for Sierra Leone
- Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia
- Section I for War Crimes and II for Organized Crime, Economic Crime and Corruption in Bosnia and Herzegovina
- Special Tribunal for Lebanon

Characteristics

Criminal Courts

- Internationalized element(s) mixture of international and national judges
- Ad hoc and temporary character
- Heterogenous

Criminal Justice in Context of Post-Conflict (Transitional) Justice

- 1945-2008 313 armed conflicts (Mullins)
- Reactions to them:
 - Amnesties: 125
 - Truth commissions: 56
 - Lustration legislative: 32
 - National criminal prosecutions: 26
- Criminal justice in total (national courts, international courts, internationalized courts, military courts):
 - 65 in 313 19,6 % (international conflicts 24,5 %)

Justice, Peace, Truth, Reconciliation

Justice and Peace – issue of amnesties, "no peace without justice"

Justice and Truth – role of criminal courts in establishing the truth

- relationship with truth commissions

Justice and Reconciliation

- Post-conflict justice retributive and restorative justice,
- but also capacity-building and enhancement of national legal systems, which are failed or weakened because of conflicts

The Advantages over National Courts

- Political will for prosecution
- Capacity for prosecution financial support from international community – physical infrastructure, judges and other staff, financial resources for functioning, security for participants, peace and security
- Legal knowledge
- Impartiality

The Advantages over ad hoc International Criminal Tribunals

- Lower costs of establishment and functioning
- Trials take place where the crimes were committed (in situ) with exceptions
- Capacity-building
- Knowledge of the situation "on the ground"
- Incorporation into national criminal justice system (not always)
- Faster proceedings without endangering the quality?

Capacity-building

- Reconstruction or construction of physical infrastructure
- Professional development of national judges and other staff – training programs and mentors "on spot"
- Demonstration effect no impunity and fair trial
 standards first oportunity to see how the trials should be conducted
- Reforms of domestic legal system
- Results better when trials conducted in situ

The Disadvantages in Relation to National Courts

- To keep in mind when deciding on establishment of internationalized courts:
 - Selectivity of criminal prosecutions and temporary nature
 - Integration into national legal system and the need of harmonizing international and national elements
 - The costs of functioning and the speed of proceedings

The Disadvantages in Relation to International Criminal Tribunals

- Funds provided for functioning
- Mode of their collection (voluntary contributions)
- Cooperation of the third states and comprehensive scope of the committed crimes
- The necessity of compromise (potential treaty courts)

The relationship with the ICC

- 2 different situations: a) ICC doesn't have jurisdiction over crimes
 - b) ICC has jurisdiction over crimes

- A) ICC has no jurisdiction:
 - Ratione materiae Special Tribunal for Lebanon terrorism, BiH -organized crime, economic crimes, corruption
 - Ratione temporis Extraordinary Chambers in Courts of Cambodia 1975-1979,
 Section for war crimes in BiH
 - Territorial jurisdiction not a state party and not referred by the SC...

Crimes under jurisdiction of ICC

- A) Internationalized court instead of ICC could undermine the universal role of the ICC
 - Fragmentation?
- B) Internationalized court with concurrent jurisdiction
 - States unwilling or unable to genuinely prosecute
 - ICC capable to prosecute only (some of) top level perpetrators
 - Internationalized court other top level and mid-level perpetrators
- The case of Rwanda Rule 11 bis only one case referred to Rwanda
- "willing and adequately prepared to accept"

Conclusion – the role of internationalized courts

- Capacity-building the key advantage of internationalized courts for achieving goals of postconflict justice
- international and internationalized courts are too expensive to be expected to achieve just primary function
- "Spaceship effect"
- But, protection of human rights must be provided East Timor – more than a year without functioning Court of Appeal

Conclusion – possible future role of internationalized courts

- Concurrent jurisdiction with ICC
 - States unwilling or unable to genuinely prosecute
 - ICC capable to prosecute only top level perpetrators
 - Internationalized court other top level and mid-level perpetrators
- Experiences with ICTY show that time is an important factor evolution of principle of primacy to complementarity
- The need of referral procedures and establishment of two-way cooperation in Rome statute
- Possible model: international court internationalized courts national courts

Thank you for your attention!

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