Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	V
List of Case Studies	xiii
Table of Cases	XV
International Cases	xv
Municipal Cases	xvii
Table of Municipal Legislation	xxiii
Table of Official International Documents	xxxv
Treaties	XXXV
Other Documents xx	xviii
List of Figures	xliii
Abbreviations	xlv
Introduction	1
Defining 'Amnesty'	3
Controversial Nature of Amnesty Laws	7
Amnesties, International Law and Legal Claims-making	7
Amnesties and the Views of Victims	10
Amnesties and Pragmatic Peacemaking	12
Amnesties and Dealing with the Past	13
Amnesty and Reconciliation	16
Trends in the Introduction of Amnesty Laws	18
Creating the Amnesty Law Database	22
Structure and Purpose of the Book	24
III	
Part I Amnesties and Peacemaking: Context and Content	27
1 Enacting Amnesties	29
Introduction	29
How are Amnesty Laws Introduced?	30
Exercises of Executive Discretion	31
Negotiated Peace Agreements	32
Statutes	33
Public Consultation	34
Why Do States Introduce Amnesty?	37
Amnesty as a Reaction to Internal Unrest and Domestic Pressure	e 41
Amnesty as a Tool for Peace and Reconciliation	46
Amnesty as a Response to International Pressure	61

viii Contents

	Amnesty as a Cultural or Religious Tradition	63
	Amnesty as Reparation	64
	Amnesty as a Shield for State Agents	66
	Repeated and 'Rolling' Amnesties	68
	Conclusion	71
2	Whom do Amnesties Protect? The Personal Jurisdiction of	
	Amnesty Laws	75
	Introduction	75
	Amnesties, Equality and the 'Myth of Equivalency'	76
	How have States Distinguished between Offenders with	
	Different Allegiances?	82
	State Agents	85
	Opponents of the State	87
	Non-Violent Political Prisoners	88
	Exiles and Refugees	89
	Foreign Nationals	91
	Can an Offender's Reasons for Committing a Crime Justify an	
	Amnesty?	92
	Ideology and Political Offenders	93
	Duress	96
	Self Protection and Personal Gain	97
	Victim–Perpetrator Axis	98
	Importance of Rank: Should States distinguish different Levels of	
	Responsibility	100
	Amnesty for Subordinates?	100
	Amnesty for Superiors?	102
	Individual v Blanket Amnesties	110
	Can Amnesties Prevent Individuals from Proving their	
	Innocence?	111
	Conclusion	113
3	Granting Immunity? The Material Scope of Amnesty Laws	117
	Introduction	
		117
	Which Crimes Are Granted Amnesty?	118
	Amnestying Atrocities? Can States Amnesty Crimes under	100
	International Law?	123
	Should Amnesties Treat Political Crimes Differently?	135
	Impinging on Individual Rights: Amnesties for Crimes Against	111
	Civilians and Combatants who are <i>Hors de Combat</i>	144
	Do States Amnesty Economic Crimes?	145
	Restricting Amnesties and the Scope of the Duty to Prosecute	148
	Conclusion	150

4	Towards Greater Accountability: The Role of Conditional	
22	Amnesties	153
	Introduction Which Conditions are Attached to Amnesties? Amnesty for Surrender and Disarmament Application Deadlines for Amnesties Amnesty and Repentance Amnesty and the Search for Truth Amnesty and Repairing the Harm Amnesty and Restorative Approaches to Justice Lustration and Vetting Procedures and Amnesty Enforcing Conditions and the Potential of Temporary Amnesties Conclusion	153 154 156 159 160 163 171 184 189 192
Pa	rt II Approach of Courts to Amnesties	201
5	Implementing the Amnesty: The Approach of National Courts	203
	Introduction	203
	Trends in the Responses of National Courts to Amnesty Laws How have National Courts explained their Approach to	204
	Amnesty Laws?	209
	Legality of Amnesty Processes Under Municipal Law	210
	Legality of Amnesty Processes Under International Law	218
	Adhering to the Separation of Powers Doctrine	232
	Learning from Experiences Elsewhere	236
	Promoting Peace and Reconciliation	239
	Disclosing or Concealing the Truth Conclusion	241 244
	Conclusion	244
	International Courts and National Amnesty Laws	247
	Introduction	247
	Whom do International Courts Hold Accountable?	248
	Who has Standing?	252
	When do International Courts have Jurisdiction to Rule on	050
	National Amnesties?	253
	Potential to Create Change: How the Rulings of International Courts Can Affect National Amnesties?	261
	Amnesties and Victims' Rights: The Verdicts of the International	201
	Courts	262
	Right to a Remedy	263
	Duty to Investigate	266
	Duty to Prosecute and Punish	270
	Right to Reparations	277

x Contents

	Potential Approach of the International Criminal Court	279
	Security Council Deferral (Article 16)	282
	Complementarity (Article 17)	282
	Non bis in idem (Article 20)	285
	Prosecutorial Discretion (Article 53)	286
	Conclusion	291
7	Beyond Territoriality: Transnational Prosecutions and Amnesties	293
	Introduction	293
	Jurisdiction of Courts in Third States to Rule on Amnesties	
	Introduced Elsewhere	294
	Treaty Law	295
	Customary International Law	299
	Domestic Law	302
	Scope of Universal Jurisdiction within Third States	304
	Role of Subsidiarity	304
	Executive Discretion	308
	'Nexus Requirement' and In Absentia Prosecutions	309
	Selectivity	311
	'Ripple Effect': The Impact of Investigations in Third States on	
	National Amnesties	311
	Conclusion	314
Pa	rt III Views of Stakeholder Groups	317
8	Legal Obligations v Self-interest: The Contradictory Approach of	
	International Actors to Amnesty	319
	4	210
	Introduction	319
	What Motivates International Actors' Decisions on Involvement in	
	Domestic Amnesty Processes?	321
	Attitudes of International Actors towards Amnesties	327 331
	Diplomatic Pressure	340
	Economic Pressure	342
	Legal Pressure	350
	Military Pressure	351
	Conclusion	331
9	Prioritising Needs: Amnesties and the Views of Victims	355
	Introduction	355
	Research on Victims	356
	Identifying Victims and their Needs	358
	How do Amnesty Laws Affect Victims?	365
	How do Anniesty Laws Affect Victims!	500

How can Amnesty Laws Be Made More Responsive to the Needs of Victims? Conclusion	373 376
10 Promoting Participation: Making Amnesties Attractive to the Targeted Groups	379
Introduction Combatants, Perpetrators, Victims or Freedom Fighters? The Complex Terminology for Amnesty Beneficiaries Amnesty and Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration Methods to Encourage Participation Publicising Amnesties Sensitising Communities Providing Financial Incentives Establishing Training and Employment Programmes Integrating Former Combatants into the Armed Forces Establishing Power-sharing Governments Impact of Truth commissions on Potential Amnesty Applicants Conclusion	379 380 381 384 385 390 393 394 396 398 400
Conclusions	403
Appendix 1: List of Amnesty Processes	415
Appendix 2: International Court System	423
Appendix 3: Provisions of the Universal Jurisdiction Legislation in Third States	429
Bibliography	433
Index	569