

Contents

1	Introduction.....	1
1	The Prosecutor's Promise	2
2	The Effectiveness of International Criminal Justice	4
3	Methodology	8
3.1	Scope.....	8
3.2	Research Method	9
3.3	Assessing the ICC's Impact	11
4	Ending Impunity	12
4.1	The OTP and the End of Impunity.....	13
4.2	The Ending of Impunity for Kenyans	14
4.3	Assessing the End of Impunity	16
5	Precursors for Positive Complementarity	17
6	Structure of Project	20
	Bibliography	24
2	The Strategy of Positive Complementarity.....	29
1	Origins of Positive Complementarity	30
1.1	Complementarity and the Rome Statute	30
1.2	The Birth of Positive Complementarity	31
2	OTP's Understanding of Positive Complementarity.....	32
2.1	The Two Dimensions of Complementarity	33
2.2	Strategy for Encouraging Prosecutions.....	34
3	Positive Complementarity in Practice.....	38
3.1	Early Years and Negative Complementarity	38
3.2	Success Stories?	40
3.3	The Shadow Side of Complementarity	42
4	Conclusion	43
	Bibliography	44

3 Kenya's Post-Election Violence and History of Impunity	47
1 Kenya's Post-Election Violence.....	48
1.1 Disputed Presidential Elections and the Road to Violence	48
1.2 Causes of the Violence	51
2 History of Institutionalised Impunity.....	53
2.1 Colonial Era	53
2.2 Post-Independence	55
2.3 The Institutionalisation of Impunity	59
2.4 Culture of Impunity.....	61
3 Conclusion	64
Bibliography	65
4 From Nairobi to The Hague.....	69
1 Phase One: Commencement of Preliminary Examinations (February 2008–July 2009).....	70
1.1 Monitoring the Situation.....	70
1.2 The Waki Report and the Sealed Envelope	71
1.3 Strike One	72
2 Phase Two: Encouragement of Domestic Prosecutions (June 2009–November 2009).....	74
2.1 The Complementarity Contract and the Delivery of the Sealed Envelope.....	74
2.2 Strike Two and the Division of Labour	75
3 Phase Three: ICC Investigations (December 2009–December 2010)	78
3.1 Strike Three and Investigations Proprio Motu	78
3.2 Continued Encouragement of Domestic Proceedings.....	80
4 Phase Four: ICC Pre-Trial Stage (December 2010–March 2013)	82
4.1 The ‘Ocampo Six’	82
4.2 The ‘Ocampo Four’	84
4.3 The ‘Ocampo Three’	85
5 Conclusion	86
Bibliography	87
5 Prosecuting Perpetrators.....	91
1 A Yardstick for Success.....	91
2 The Small Fish	93
2.1 Prosecutions by Numbers	95
2.2 Prosecutions by Crimes.....	99
2.3 The OTP’s Influence	101
3 The Big Fish.....	102
4 The Foreign Affairs Façade.....	103
4.1 The Special Tribunal and Motion Without Movement	104
4.2 Justice Delayed but Justice Assured.....	106
4.3 Investigating the Ocampo Six	108

5	Kenyans in The Hague	110
5.1	Local Support for ICC Intervention	110
5.2	A Blow to Impunity	114
6	Impunity Gaps.....	115
7	The Shadow Side of Complementarity	119
7.1	Increased Threats to Witnesses	119
7.2	Politicisation of the ICC.....	121
8	Conclusion	125
	Bibliography	127
6	Don't Be Vague, Go to The Hague!	133
1	An Unsuitable Strategy	134
1.1	Political Suicide	135
1.2	Domestic Inability.....	136
2	The OTP's Influence	139
2.1	Not the Initial Impetus	139
2.2	Influencing Leaders.....	142
2.3	Imminent but not Inevitable	147
2.4	Vested Interests	151
3	Foreign Affairs Façade	156
3.1	Reneging on Referral	156
3.2	Rescuing the Ocampo Six.....	157
3.3	Withdrawal from the Rome Statute.....	158
3.4	Security Council Deferral and Shuttle Diplomacy	159
3.5	Article 19 Application.....	160
3.6	East African Court of Justice	162
3.7	African Court of Justice and Human Rights	163
3.8	Motions Without Movement	164
3.9	Obstructing Investigations	165
4	The Shadow Side of Complementarity	169
4.1	Discouragement of Local Prosecutions	170
4.2	A Mechanism We Can Control	171
5	Conclusion	174
	Bibliography	176
7	Rule of Law Reforms: Post Hoc Ergo Propter Hoc?	183
1	The OTP and Rule of Law Reform	184
2	The Tenth Parliament's Rule of Law Reforms.....	186
2.1	Constitution.....	188
2.2	Criminal Justice System.....	189
2.3	Electoral Process.....	191
2.4	National Reconciliation	192
3	Catalysts for Reform	194
3.1	The Ongoing Reform Process.....	194
3.2	The Post-Election Violence.....	198
3.3	Legacies and Campaigns.....	200

3.4 International Pressures	202
3.5 Domestic Pressures	204
4 The OTP's Impact	206
4.1 The International Crimes Act 2008.....	206
4.2 Witness Protection	208
4.3 Judicial and Security Sector Reforms.....	212
4.4 Simultaneous but Separate	213
5 The Shadow Side of Complementarity	216
5.1 The Government of National Disunity.....	216
5.2 Delays and Distractions	220
5.3 Illusory Reforms	221
6 Conclusion	223
Bibliography	225
8 Culture of Impunity	233
1 Ending the 'Culture of Impunity'	234
2 Judging the Judges	236
3 Policing the Police	239
4 The Shadow Side of Complementarity	243
5 Conclusion	246
Bibliography	246
9 Conclusion	249
Bibliography	254
Appendix: Timeline.....	257
Index.....	265