New Orleans
Pursuing Justice After the Storm
BY ARLENE RIVERA FINKELSTEIN
On April 30, 1998, the Board of Governors of the Philadelphia Bar Association passed a resolution supporting the creation of a permanent and independent international criminal court at the forthcoming June-July Diplomatic Conference in Rome. At that time, I was co-chair of the Bar’s International Law Committee and was in Italy completing vocal studies at an international opera workshop in Fiuggi, near Rome. The timing was perfect.
I seized the opportunity to attend this historic conference. It paved the way for me to take an active part during the following eight years in the establishment and evolution of the International Criminal Court (ICC). During the Philadelphia Bar Association Civil Rights Forum, I heard about an international Criminal Court (CICC) remedied this situation. Like in any bureaucracy, my registration wasn’t complete without another obligatory line for a photograph that became the contract.

THE COALITION FOR AN INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL COURT

Once inside the conference site, I was lost in a maze of corridors to the room reserved for members of the CICC, a group of Roco civil society NGOs dedicated to the establishment and work of this court. A low din emanated from the fax and copying machines that were in constant operation. In principle, members of foreign tongues scurried around looking for documents printed in a familiar language. I found the other Union Internationales des Avocats representative, who was familiar with the conference procedures. One of my first acts was to distribute to coalition members and country delegations at the Diplomatic Conference copies of the Philadelphia Bar Association’s resolution supporting the court’s mission. From that time forward, everyone involved was aware that the Philadelphia Bar Association was a hands-on player in the treaty process. Within the NGO coalition, the Philadelphia and American Bar Associations have been the only lawyers’ organizations from the U.S. to be involved continuously in this groundbreaking development in the history of law.

In three years of work before the Rome conference, a Preparatory Committee had drafted an initial consolidated text of the treaty, comprised of fourteen Parts and 128 Articles. To preserve the integrity and substance of the Rome project, the Working Group decided that the CICC’s participating states were not to insert any amendments to the CICC’s draft text. This type of agreement also had been reached in the U.S. by the Founding Pledge to ratify the CICC. It became clear that the CICC’s participation in the conference was the key to the future of the court. The CICC was represented by a delegation of five members.

THE DRAFTING COMMITTEE

In 1997, a group of countries was asked to develop operational rules on the Rules of Procedure and Evidence of Crimes to help make the Rome Statute more workable. Preparatory Committee members elected a committee of experts to draft these rules. The committee met in Rome in 1998 until the Assembly of States Parties (ASP) met in September 2002. During this period, the committee and States worked toward ratification of the Rome Statute. By December 31, 2000, 153 countries had signed the statute, including the U.S. with President Clinton’s signature that day. Nations who became parties after that date were required to sign and ratify the statute. The ratification process usually takes a minimum of sixty nations needed to accede to the Rome Statute. It was one of the highlights of my life to witness the incredible and historic moment of the ceremony for the beginning of the ICC. I stood next to my friend Ben Ference, a former Nuremberg prosecutor, and M. Chervi Bassioni, chair of the Drafting Committee in Rome. Both were instrumental in drafting discussions, articles and constantly altered texts. So, some documents were sent overnight to U.N. headquarters in Geneva and New York. In the meantime, delegates worked from revisions in English until the other translations were completed, causing major delays.

The coalition, too, was in perpetual motion in Rome. It maintained a separate work schedule from the national delegations. Within the coalition, we met early in the morning, over lunch, in the evening, or whenever we could. My work has focused on victims’ rights, Women’s and Legal Issues and the development of a new element of Crime of Aggression.

We monitored the Plenary, Group of 70, the Whole and topical Working Group meetings of the country delegations, using earphones that provided simultaneous translation, and reported back to the coalition with regular updates. In principle, coalition members did not attend “informal,” closed-door meetings comprised of smaller groups of delegates. Contentious issues were debated and negotiated here and consensus was often reached. No notes were taken, so delegates could speak freely. Agreement upon determinations then were brought to the Formal Working Group. The informal created problems for such of the NGOs. Since critical issues were resolved in these sessions, I considered it essential for coalition members to be privy to the direction of the discussions. To get information on these sessions, coalition members stood outside the doors of the rooms and pressed the participants as they exited for accounts of the proceedings. Sometimes, their information necessitated urgent convened coalition meetings where strategy was decided. In different groups of NGOs hastily wrote topical position papers, which were distributed immediately to states’ representatives to apprise them of different points of view and attempt to influence their thinking. The file of the court and of the CICC—has been very useful for determining positions on specific issues but acted upon a set of principles relating to a permanent, just and fair International Criminal Court.

I was fascinated by the process and constantly amazed that delegates were able to reach a final consensus on the text that was reached by the July 17 deadline. The vote late that evening was an overwhelming 120 countries in favor of the statute. After eighty years of discussion about such a court, beginning after the Nuremberg Trials after World War II, this vote brought to fruition the first treaty-based, permanent, independent International Criminal Court.

FROM ROME TO NEW YORK

The Diplomatic Conference in Rome was followed during the next four years by ten sessions of a Preparatory Commission, referred to as “Prep Com,” which was to develop operational rules on the Rules of Procedure and Evidence of Crimes to make the Rome Statute more workable. Prep Com met twice at U.N. Headquarters in New York after the Rome conference in 1998 until the Assembly of States Parties (ASP) met in September 2002. During this period, the coalition and States worked toward ratification of the Rome Statute.

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The conference was complex but able led by the ASP’s first president, Jordan’s Prince Zeid Ra’ad Zeid Al-Hussein, who later became Jordan’s ambassador to the U.S. To assure diversity, the court’s judges were elected from the legal systems, geographical regions, and gender per the statute’s electoral formula — so many from each Africa, Asia, Eastern Europe, Western Europe, Canada, Latin America and the Caribbean.

Under the Rome Statute, there must be a fair representation of women among the 18 judges. I was surprised but pleased that of the seven women judges on the court’s six judges, six women were with a seventh elected in the next few votes. Then, and on succeeding ballots, Prince Zeid said with a smile yet serious intent, “Remember, you must vote for at least five men.” It took thirty-three ballots to elect the seventh woman judge.

Gender balance remains an ongoing issue of importance with coalition members. We always remind the prosecutor and registrar of the need to hire more female staff, particularly at the highest-level

The Peace Palace in The Hague held the 2005 swearing-in of the ICC’s first chief prosecutor.

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The Philadelphia Bar Association’s reach extends well beyond the city limits. Whether participating in international policy forums, promoting lawyer outreach through exchange programs or hosting international visitors, the Association’s activities support the city’s global and historic image as a center for innovation and creativity.

The Philadelphia Bar Association’s international reach will continue to grow in 2005. In addition to her role representing the Association in the Rome Treaty Conference, Erin Adler joined Michael Scullin on a trip in 1997 that would establish the basis of the sister-city relationship Philadelphia enjoys with Lyon, France. The success of the Lyon program (see “Lyon Shines” on page 39) laid the foundation for the Association’s newest exchange program development—a proposal from the Israel Bar Association to establish a similar relationship.

Emily Cooper, director of international relations for the Israel Bar, approached the Association, under the leadership of former Chancellor Alan Feldman, in October 2004 about a lawyer-exchange program for the members of the bar in Israel, whose practices are concentrated in areas related to the high-tech, pharma and agriculture industries.

To help Israeli lawyers excel in the international arena amid the rapid growth of these commercial sectors, the exchange program would encourage their members to learn more about their English and understanding of the U.S. legal system through internships with U.S. law firms and legal departments.

Chancellor Jane Dalton, Chancellor-Elect A. Michael Pratt and Vice Chancellor Sayde Ladow (joined Feldman on a 10-day visit to Israel arranged by Cooper in Tel Aviv, Philadelphia’s second-oldest sister city. The Bar leaders traveled to Tel Aviv and the surrounding area.

In addition to seeing historic sites throughout Israel, the Bar leaders planned to visit the Knesset and the Israeli Supreme Court. They also planned to discuss the parameters of the exchange program with representatives from the Israeli bar. The Association hopes to welcome the first influx of Israeli lawyers with us in 2005.

The Association also welcomed in February a visiting delegation of legal professionals from the Middle East and North Africa traveling as guests of the State Department to visit their U.S. counterparts. This group of International Visitor Leadership Program participants comes from such countries as Algeria, Bahrain, Egypt, Gaza, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Oman, Saudi Arabia, Tunisia, West Bank and Yemen.

On February 5, 2005, the lawyers, judges, professors and police officer met with Chancellor Jane Dalton during a trip February 7 at Association headquarters. While in Philadelphia, the delegation also visited Penn Law School, Temple Law School and the Criminal Justice Center as part of an overview of the Pennsylvania legal system and the bar exam process.

Through sustained international relations, the Philadelphia Bar Association creates opportunities for global networking and professional development in a multicultural setting. Bringing the world a little closer to Philadelphia...

— Adreinne Cornwall

cs. Because many victims and witnesses in cases brought before the court are women, having female staff in field offices is critical in countries where investigations are ongoing. The coalition also recommended more emphasis on outreach—essential efforts to inform the public, allay fears of cooperating with ICC staff and dispel misinformation about the ICC. I admire the prosecutor’s willingness to listen to and act on suggestions by coalition members and NGOs in the field.

Coalition pressure also was critical to the establishment of a Victims Trust Fund, which was moved from the registrar’s general budget to a separate entity with its own ASP-funded board of directors, organizational structure and ability to find independent funding sources. For the first time in known history, this Trust Fund, with oversight by the Assembly, will provide reparations for victims.

WORK ON THE COURT’S ETHICS CODE

My work has had significant impact on the adoption of a Code of Ethics for the court. Members of the Ethics Committee of the International Criminal Bar (ICB) discovered at its November 2005 International Congress that the registrar had charged language previously agreed upon with our group regarding attorney-client confidentiality. The change was totally unacceptable to the ICB, committee of which I was a member, because it would have led to breaches of confidentiality and undermined representation of clients before the court. My colleagues and I drafted alternative language to present to the Assembly. I was charged with getting support for our proposal from the coalition’s Working Group on Legal Representation, which I did. The registrar’s proposed Code of Ethics was up for a vote that afternoon.

When the Assembly convened to vote on the code, we went into “kift” mode, handing out the alternative-language paper, stopping delegates outside the conference room, and explaining why our change was essential. The Italian delegation agreed to bring the issue to the floor. In the Assembly hall, I spoke with several delegates to garner support of the Italian delegation’s initiative. The die was cast. The Italians interrupted the chair’s call for a vote to adopt the Ethics Code as written and stated that they had, in hand, optional, more acceptable wording to the attorney-client provisions. A flurry of placks were up to obtain recognition from the chair. After debate, half of those present agreed to go back into closed session to look at the alternate language. Our hard work was rewar ded with approval of the new wording. The change was made was essential for the integrity of the court and the legal profession.

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRESENCE

In spring 2001, President George W. Bush sent a letter to the U.S. Secretary-General suspending President Clinton’s signature to the Rome Statute. This act would create immediately any and all administration cooperation with the court, including non-prosecution of documents in U.S. possession that might be helpful during investigations. Both our allies and others were stunned. Never before in anyone’s memory had a nation “unsigned” a treaty. The U.S. had the largest delegation in Rome and at the Prep Couns and had influ enced the statute’s inclusion of the due process protections for victims under the U.S. Constitution. The “unsigning,” although reversible, has been disquieting for all of us.

My American colleagues and I felt a role, embarrassing moment at a Preparatory Commission assembly later that year, several weeks after September 11, 2001. Heads of national delegations took the microphone to express their nations’ condolences to the U.S. Their remarks fell on empl ties behind the U.S. placed. The U.S. was now the only country without an official presence. We didn’t even send observers, despite the Philadelphia, American, New York and San Francisco bar association passing resolutions in favor of at least an observer delegation, which would let us participate in all discussions, including evolving deliberations on the crime of aggression.

By December 2006, 104 countries had ratified the treaty. Fortunately, American lawyers are not precluded from registering with the court as legal counsel and are encouraged to do so. In fact, the ICC prosecutor appointed American lawyer as one of his deputies.

Former U.S. Secretary-General Kofi Annan and his wife, Nane, (above) celebrate with Hans Corell and ICC President Judge Philippe Kirsch at a CICC reception for the Rome Status taking effect in July 2002. Below: National delegates at the 60th ratification ceremony at the U.N.
Lyon-Philadelphia Bar Twinning and Exchange Program

This year, the Philadelphia Bar Association will celebrate the tenth anniversary of the Lyon-Philadelphia Bar Twinning and Exchange Program, which was established in December 12, 1997. As chair of the International Law Committee of the Philadelphia Bar Association at the time, I discussed the subject with Lyon counterpart Christian Lenny, in the fall of 1996. Shortly thereafter, the Board of Governors passed a resolution endorsing the development of a sister program with the Lyon Bar and the exchange of delegations. I organized a delegation including Endi Adler that travelled to Lyon in July of 1997. The mission was documented in an article in the Fall 1997 edition of The Philadelphia Law-Filer.

We proceeded to work on a draft of a simple agreement that would put the relationship into place. After a visit to the Philadelphia Bar Association by the Lyon Bar leadership, we went to Lyon and signed the agreement. The primary focus of which was the development of an exchange for lawyer interns.

The first lawyer-intern (stagiaire in French), Nicholas Bonnefoy, arrived in the spring of 1998. His host was Peter Tucci, then a partner at Reed Smith and now at DLA Piper. Peter has continued to be a faithful participant in the program ever since, joined in subsequent years on the Philadelphia side by Pepper Hamilton, Duane Morris, Cozen O’Connor, U.S. Magistrate Judge John Kuan, and colleagues at other District of Pennsylvania firms like Carrapate, the Elt Law Firm and others, offering internships of six to twelve months.

Philadelphia lawyers have gone to Lyon and worked in important law firms there as well. Their number has been significantly smaller than those coming from the other direction, largely because the economies can be difficult for young American lawyers, in the absence of the type of stipend received by the French lawyers from their side. The first American lawyer to participate was Shahram Siddiqui, then an associate with Cozen O’Connor, in 2000. In 2000, the program was extended to include law students at area schools, and two students went to Lyon that summer. To date, thirty participants have been selected to participate in the program, almost all of whom have completed internships.

Each December, the Lyon Bar welcomes representatives from about ten associations around the world, including Manchester, England; Frankfurt, Germany; Milan; Italy; Lodz, Poland; and Cambodia, to attend the opening ceremony of the year, known as the Rentree du Barreau. In recent years, these have provided, in addition to networking opportunities, an occasion to examine an aspect of the law or the practice that can profit from multilateral dialogue.

Recent colloquia have focused on the role of in-house lawyers and the scope and nature of confidentiality and privilege. The 2006 topic was anti-money-laundering provisions and the implications for legal practitioners. The topic for 2007 was a debate on the right to a different trial, with whether lawyers can or should be allowed to serve as judges, a concept that is regarded as unusual in many jurisdictions outside of the U.S. and the U.S. military.

In 2004, the first Chancellor-level delegation went to Lyon, with incoming Chancellor Andrew Chirs, Vice Chancellor Alan Feldman and Executive Director Ken Shear in attendance. On that occasion, all of the French lawyers who could make it gathered in a conference room and described the time they spent in Philadelphia firms and, later, in significant French and international law firms and corporations. They learned about a foreign culture and different laws and practices, and they perfected their linguistic abilities. They stressed their appreciation for the experience, and the trio they made with firms in Philadelphia, as something of value that they would never forget. American lawyers who have participated describe the benefits in similar terms and, in memory of the business they have brought back as a result.

The following year, Andrew Chirs attended again, and for the first time the Philadelphia judiciary was represented, by Judge Caracappa.

For internships in 2007, the French will be convening their lawyer training to a different system, consisting of three-six month trimesters. They hope that the legal trainees are expected to arrive in Philadelphia in the fall. We are hopeful that we can encourage more American lawyers to benefit from this unique and valuable program.

Michael E. Scullin
Michael Scullin is counsel to the firm of Manheimer, Fritsch & Caracappa; he is co-chair of the International Law Committee of the Philadelphia Bar Association and honorary consul of France in Philadelphia.

The current cases
At the 2006 Fifth Session of the ASP, the court’s prosecutor updated the coalition on three current cases: one each from Uganda, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) Ituri Region, and Darfur in Sudan. These cases developed from more than 1000 requests to the prosecutor for possible investigation. All requests are responded to, but most do not meet the threshold for formal charges.

A case can come before the court in three ways: the prosecutor can initiate an investigation proprio motu (on his own initiative) with the consent of an appropriate pre-chamber, there is sufficient evidence to proceed; on self-referral by a States Party; or on referral from the U.N. Security Council. Two of the above cases were self-referrals from a States Party — Uganda and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The national governments declined to exercise the Principle of Complementarity, which gives them primacy of jurisdiction over the ICC — a protection that had been insisted on by the U.S.

In northern Uganda, the court’s first arrest warrants were issued in the fall of 2005 against Joseph Kony and four other leaders of the notorious Lord’s Resistance Army, who were charged with crimes against humanity and war crimes. This act was a major transition for the ICC into a fully operational judicial body.

In February 2006, the pre-trial chamber of the court issued sealed arrest warrants for Thomas Lubanga Dyilo, a warlord whose militia terrorized the population in the Ituri Region in the Democratic Republic of Congo. The Congolese government was informed and surrendered Lubanga to The Hague that March. He was accused of war crimes, conscripting children under 15 and using them in the hostilities.

On January 29, 2007, the resumed Fifth Session of the ASP in New York met with increased interest and growth, for the announcement from The Hague of the pre-trial chamber’s decision of Lubanga’s November 2006 evidentiary “charging” hearing. The hearing confirmed against Mr. Lubanga, extending the case to trial — the court’s first — initiating a new aspect of the court’s operation.

The third case, referred to the court by the U.N. Security Council, was the horrendous situation in Darfur, Sudan. As a signatory to the treaty, the Sudanese government may not hinder the court’s investigation. Despite the government not allowing the ICC prosecutor’s team into the country and because the court is permanent and has investigative authority, the cooperation of local NGOs has helped the prosecutor’s office collect evidence. Even so, it is far, from Darfurians in refugee camps in Chad and elsewhere. This dangerous process entails sending prosecutorial teams into ongoing conflict, a danger never before faced by an international court. Previous criminal courts, such as for Yugoslavia and Rwanda, were temporary ad hoc tribunals set up by the U.N. Security Council after the conflicts had ended.

The U.S. government has called the situation in Darfur genocidal. In the eyes of the world, and to uphold the democratic ideals of our country, how could the U.S. not now support the Security Council’s vote to refer the Darfur situation to the International Criminal Court? The U.S. should not exercise its veto. Americans in the coalition hoped that this case would establish tacit recognition of the court, but there still is no American participation in the deliberations of the court or in the ASP.

 WHAT THE WORK OF THE COURT MEANS TO ME

As a Philadelphia, attorney and longtime human rights advocate, participation in this work is a crowning moment in more than thirty years of human rights work. The court’s role is to bring to justice the perpetrators of the most heinous crimes — crimes against humanity, war crimes, genocide and aggression — and to establish a new level of competence and importance for the rule of law. It is both awesome and humbling to have played a role as the representative of the Philadelphia Bar Association in the establishment of this court. For me, the advent of this court reflects one of the best examples of what can be achieved through strategic and determined cooperation among governments, international organizations and civil society.

My work continues. In June 2006, I was part of the coalition’s ten-person team at the international session of the ASP Special Working Group on the Crime of Aggression, held at the Liechtenstein Institute at Princeton University. I have had the privilege of emphasizing the importance of the city of Philadelphia — both in the founding of the U.S. and as a good place to do business — with ambassadors, foreign ministers and legal counsel and with more than 2000 NGO representatives to the coalition. Brochures of all the city and its business community are regular companions in my travels abroad, along with my camera, which is often hung over my neck and almost in constant use.

We can take great pride that our Philadelphia Bar has received international recognition for its consistent role in the development of this historic court. Our presence in the coalition is a constant reminder to other nations that the members of America’s first Bar Association reflect the ideals of the United States and its commitment to human rights and fairness through rule of law.

Most rewarding are the friendships and acquaintances I made with people from a multiplicity of countries, cultures and ethnic groups, all striving to bring a greater measure of justice to our world.

Emil H. Adler is sole practiced in asylum immigration and international human rights law. She to the Philadelphia Bar Association representative to the Coalition for the International Criminal Court (CICC) and past co-chair of the Philadelphia Bar’s International Law Committee and the Bar’s Twinning Program with the Barres de Lyon.

The author (trachten) meets with the legal breakout team at a meeting in The Hague.