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A Comparison of the European, Inter-American, African and Arab Human Rights Courts: Institutional Aspects





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Foreword

Any visitor must surely be impressed by the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg. One encounters the visual spectacular in celebration of international human rights—the striking architecture of the Human Rights Building of 1995 (even adopted in the court's logo) and the symbolic location between the old foes of France and Germany. More fundamentally, there is the heartfelt message of respect for the humanity for all. That signal is reflected in the soaring aspiration of Winston Churchill, calling in his speech of 19 September 1946 for a United States of Europe delivered in part by a Council of Europe. Equally, the Council of Europe and its European Court of Human Rights betoken a determination to deliver the practical protection of individual lives, reflected in the approach of UK Foreign Minister Ernest Bevin, a founding father of the Council of Europe, who is reputed to have said, 'Foreign policy isn't something that is great and big, it's common sense and humanity as it applies to my affairs and yours'.²

The European Court of Human Rights has since emerged as the prime example of a regional human rights court with its ability to move on from the usual exotic (and sometimes quixotic) diplomatic language of international institutions into hard decisions about the preoccupations and travails of human rights in Europe. Amongst its prime achievements, which often set standards for other regional courts, it has, albeit sometimes hesitantly and sometimes laggardly, provided stern messages in hard times. Cases such as *Ireland v UK*³ narrowed the security options and prompted a rethink of strategies and legislation in the field of counter-terrorism.⁴ The lesson had to be reinforced after the shock of 9/11, but, by 2004, that warning was understood by the UK courts without waiting for the pronouncement of the European

¹ University of Zurich, https://rm.coe.int/16806981f3. Accessed 10 April 2025.

² Cited in Beckett M, Foreign Secretary's address to Congress, TUC Congress, 13 September 2006, https://www.tuc.org.uk/speeches/foreign-secretarys-address-congress-2006. Accessed 10 April 2025.

³ ECtHR, Ireland v The United Kingdom, App. no.5310/71, Judgment, 18 January 1978.

⁴ Report of the Commission to Consider Legal Procedures to Deal with Terrorist Activities in Northern Ireland (Cmnd. 5185, December 1972).

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Court of Human Rights in 2009.⁵ The European Court of Human Rights eventually pronounced upon other aspects of the reverberations of 9/11, including secret renditions and torture⁶ as well as deportation with assurances.⁷

Emergencies, conflicts, and political violence, not just in Ireland but also Cyprus, Turkey, Armenia, the Balkans, Chechnya, and now Ukraine, have been the most acute sites of disputation before the European Court of Human Rights, often pitching state against state. But, in line with the vision of Ernest Bevin, the purview of the European Court of Human Rights extends into highways and byways of public and personal life, shaping debates and laws by its judgments affecting the plight of individuals and institutions. To illustrate the point, the jeopardy of life or death decisions about extradition has been ameliorated by reference to Article 3 since Soering v UK.⁹ Criminal process safeguards have become substantially more fair through limits on police detention, access to lawyers during police questioning, disclosure of adverse evidence, and reason-giving by an independent tribunal. 10 Privacy rights have also been nurtured, especially in jurisdictions without any such juristic tradition and especially in regard to electronic communications. ¹¹ In addition, a strong strand of cases express support for freedom of expression and information and depict the press as playing a 'watchdog' role in a democratic society. 12 Most recently, Verein KlimaSeniorinnen Schweiz v Switzerland demonstrates the ongoing confidence and relevance of the regional human rights courts system. ¹³ The ruling affirmed that climate change poses a direct and substantial threat to human rights, especially to private life under Article 8, as a result of which states are obliged to undertake effective action as

⁵ House of Lords, *A (FC) and Others (FC) (Appellants) v Secretary of State for the Home Department (Respondent)*, Judgment, 16 December 2004, [2004] UKHL 56; ECtHR, *A and Others v The United Kingdom*, App. no. 3455/05, Judgment, 19 February 2009.

⁶ European Court of Human Rights, 'Secret detention sites', Factsheet, March 2024. https://www.echr.coe.int/documents/d/echr/fs_secret_detention_eng. Accessed 10 April 2025.

⁷ ECtHR, Othman (Abu Qatada) v UK, App. no.8139/09, Judgment, 17 January 2012.

⁸ European Court of Human Rights, 'Armed conflicts', Factsheet, January 2023. https://www.echr.coe.int/documents/d/echr/fs_armed_conflicts_eng. Accessed 10 April 2025.

⁹ ECtHR, App. no.14038/88, Judgment, 7 July 1989.

¹⁰ ECtHR, *Brogan and Others v The United Kingdom*, App. nos. 11209/84, 11234/84, 11266/84 and 11386/85, Judgment, 29 November 1988; ECtHR, *Salduz v Turkey*, App. no. 36391/02, Judgment, 27 November 2008; ECtHR, *Rowe and Davis v The United Kingdom*, App. no. 28901/95, Judgment, 16 February 2000; ECtHR, *Findlay v UK*, App. no. 22107/93, Judgment, 25 February 1997; ECtHR, *Taxquet v Belgium*, App. no. 926/05, Judgment, 16 November 2010.

¹¹ See ECtHR, *Malone v The United Kingdom*, App. no.8691/79, Judgment, 2 August 1984; ECtHR, *Privacy International and Others v The United Kingdom*, App. no. 46259/16, Decision, 7 July 2020; ECtHR, *Big Brother Watch and Others v The United Kingdom*, App. nos. 58,170/13, 62,322/14 and 24,960/15, Judgment, 25 May 2021; ECtHR, *Centrum för rättvisa v Sweden*, App. no. 35252/08, Judgment [GC], 25 May 2021.

¹² ECtHR, *The Sunday Times v The United Kingdom (No. 2)*, App. no. 13166/87, Judgment, 26 November 1991.

¹³ ECtHR, Verein KlimaSeniorinnen Schweiz and Others v Switzerland, App. no. 53600/20, Judgment [GC], 9 April 2024.

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'one of the most pressing issues of our times'. ¹⁴ This intervention is not only boldly assertive but also considerably perilous at a time when courts are under swelling criticism for unwelcome and improper intrusions into the political sphere, a danger which is in turn recognized by the judicial refusal in that case to offer any concrete remedy.

The Eurocentricity of this brief survey must be indulged and forgiven. Of course, the European Court of Human Rights has no monopoly of wisdom and no certitude as to the correct blueprint for a regional court. Therefore, it must be fully recognized that other regional human rights mechanisms have made their mark in establishing further regional human rights courts. Thus, the Inter-American system of international protection of human rights was developed through the American Convention on Human Rights 1969, ¹⁵ the competent organs of which comprise the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights and the Inter-American Court of Human Rights. Since coming into operation in 1979, the latter has considered some of the worst excesses of member states during internal insurgencies, campaigns of political violence, and repressive regimes, such as torture, disappearances, excessive lethal force, and amnesties. ¹⁶ The court has also set new standards in protecting the rights of indigenous communities. ¹⁷

For its part, the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (the Banjul Charter) 1981 and the Protocol of 1998, ¹⁸ which establish the African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights, recognize most universal civil and political rights (not privacy and subject to a preamble which commits member states to the elimination of Zionism). More positive is the inclusion of some economic, social, and cultural rights, as well as some collective peoples' rights. However, only 7 out of 34 states that have ratified the Protocol (taking account of five withdrawals) have filed a Declaration under Article 34 of the Protocol by which they accept the competence of the

¹⁴ Ibid. para. 410.

^{15 144} UNTS 123.

¹⁶ IACtHR, Velásquez-Rodríguez v Honduras, Judgment (Merits), 29 July 1988, Series C No. 4; IACtHR, Barrios Altos v Peru, Judgment (Merits), 14 March 2001, Series C No. 87; IACtHR, Plan de Sánchez Massacre v Guatemala, Judgment (Merits), 29 April 2004, Series C No. 105; IACtHR, Moiwana Community v Suriname, Judgment (Preliminary Objections, Merits, Reparations and Costs), 15 June 2005, Series C No. 124; IACtHR, "Mapiripán Massacre" v Colombia, Judgment (Merits, Reparations and Costs), 15 September 2005, Series C No. 134; IACtHR, Almonacid-Arellano et al v Chile, Judgment (Preliminary Objections, Merits, Reparations and Costs), 26 September 2006, Series C No. 154; IACtHR, La Cantuta v Peru, Judgment (Merits, Reparations and Costs), 29 November 2006, Series C No. 162; IACtHR, Gomes Lund et al. ("Guerrilha do Araguaia") v Brazil, Judgment (Preliminary Objections, Merits, Reparations and Costs), 24 November 2010, Series C No. 219.

¹⁷ IACtHR, *Pueblos Rama y Kriol, Comunidad Negra Creole Indígena de Bluefields and others v Nicaragua*, Judgment (Merits, Reparations and Costs), 1 April 2024, Series C No. 522.

¹⁸ 1520 UNTS 217; Protocol to the African Charter on Human And Peoples' Rights on the Establishment of an African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights 1998. See also Protocol on the Statute of the African Court of Justice and Human Rights of 1 July 2008.

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court to consider applications filed by individuals and NGOs, ¹⁹ one reason for its modest impact to date. ²⁰

Next, the Statute of the Arab Court of Human Rights was adopted in 2014 but has yet to receive sufficient ratifications to enter into force. Nevertheless, the statute, alongside the Arab Charter on Human Rights (2004), forms another regional human rights system, a remarkable aspiration within a global region where autocracy is far more prevalent than democracy. Yet, those circumstances mean that work remains to be done. First, the Arab system of human rights currently lacks an operative court because the Statute of the Arab Court of Human Rights, adopted in 2014,²¹ will only come into force when it has been ratified by seven member states. A second problem is the substance of the charter which reflects limits in protection more significant than those in other international human rights standards.

This short survey raises fundamental issues about whether the model of regional courts is worthwhile. In response, this book provides vital food for thought. For sure, the model of regional human rights courts seems valuable and attractive, given that it has spread to many corners of the world. But even a cursory survey suggests that the perceived prestige of foundation may be distinct from the commitment to its application.

Considering the darker side of the regional courts discourse, even in the hearts of the European founding fathers, there are now mounting doubts. To take the example of the UK, the European Convention on Human Rights Protocol No. 15 of 2013 (the Brighton Declaration)²² was fostered as a way of inserting reassurance for the doubters through affirmation of the principle of subsidiarity and the doctrine of the margin of appreciation even though the UK has the lowest rate of applications and near to the lowest rate of adverse judgments per capita.²³ Yet, the perception remains that the Strasbourg Court stands in the way of UK sovereignty, especially concerning effective migration and deportation policies, to an extent that Robert Jenrick MP, one of the main contenders for the leadership of the Conservative Party, adopted the UK's withdrawal from the European Convention on Human Rights as a key part of his platform.²⁴ This antipathy is echoed by the political right in other jurisdictions.

¹⁹ See African Court Coalition, 24 March 2025, https://africancourtcoalition.org/tunisia-wit hdraws-article-346-declaration-limiting-direct-access-for-individuals-ngos-to-the-african-court/. Accessed 10 April 2025.

²⁰ See Ssenyonjo M (2018), Responding to human rights violations in Africa: Assessing the role of the African Commission and Court on Human and Peoples' Rights (1987–2018), *International Human Rights Law Review* 7:1; Tufa GG (2024), The African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights: assessing its effectiveness, *African Human Rights Yearbook* 8:206.

²¹ Resolution 7790/142 of the Council of the League of Arab States.

²² CETS 213. See the UK government reaction: https://www.gov.uk/government/news/european-convention-on-human-rights-protocol-comes-into-force. Accessed 10 April 2025.

²³ UK Ministry of Justice, Responding to Human Rights Judgments: Report to the Joint Committee on Human Rights on the Government's response to human rights judgments 2023–2024 (CP 1192, November 2024) pp. 10, 11.

²⁴ See, Seddon P 2024, Tories must back ECHR exit to survive, says Jenrick, BBC News 30 September 2024, https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/articles/cy0lqzjwqx8o. Accessed 10 April 2025.

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Beyond Europe, even more fundamental challenges face human rights advocacy and implementation, both at the regional and universal levels. The most powerful regimes in the world, China, Russia, and the United States, have all moved closer to the view that national self-interest must override the fundamental ethical pillars of the post-1945 world order, including universal human rights. First, China has disputed the universalism of human rights by fostering a state-indulgent reinterpretation. ²⁵ The UN Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action in 1993²⁶ rebuffed the rival conception but did concede that regional organizations could complement the UN's efforts in promulgating universal human rights standards. A thorough assessment of this claim can be found in the chapters of this book.²⁷ The response of the Chinese government has been to continue to challenge Western concepts of universalism, including by the foundation in 2001 of the distinctly authoritarian club, the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation, which promotes the notions of state diversity and non-interference in internal sovereign affairs. 28 As for the Russian Federation. its renunciation of Council of Europe membership in 2022 (reciprocated by the Council's decision to exclude)²⁹ reacted to the animosity of fellow member states and the adverse findings of the European Court of Human Rights arising initially from crackdowns on free speech and dissent³⁰ and then arising from brutal armed action against separatists (especially in Chechnya) and against neighbouring states (such as Georgia and Ukraine) and probable crimes against humanity.³¹ Third, the United States has demonstrated a long-standing antipathy to the notion of overriding international enforcement structures, evidenced by its refusal to ratify the Optional

 $^{^{25}}$ Qi Z (2005), Conflicts over human rights between China and the US, $\it Human~Rights~Quarterly~27:105.$

²⁶ Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action, UN Doc A/CONF.157/23 (12 July 1993).

²⁷ See also Weston B et al. (1987), Regional human rights regimes: a comparison and appraisal, *Vanderbilt Journal of Transnational Law* 20:585; Mugwanya G (1999), Realizing universal human rights norms through regional human rights mechanisms: Reinvigorating the African System, *Indiana International and Comparative Law Review* 10:35; Shelton D (2010), *Regional Protection of Human Rights*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

²⁸ https://eng.sectsco.org/. Accessed 10 April 2025. See Kent A (2013), *China, the United Nations, and Human Rights: The Limits of Compliance*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia; Ward D (2015), The Shanghai Cooperation Organization's bid to transform international law, *International Law & Management Review* 11:162; Marochkin S and Bezborodov Y (2022), *The Shanghai Cooperation Organization: Exploring New* Horizons, Routledge, London.

²⁹ The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation 2022, Foreign Ministry statement on initiating the process of withdrawing from the Council of Europe, 15 March 2022, https://mid.ru/en/foreign_policy/news/1804379/. Accessed 10 April 2025; Council of Europe 2022, The Russian Federation is excluded from the Council of Europe, 16 March 2022, https://www.coe.int/en/web/portal/-/the-russian-federation-is-excluded-from-the-council-of-europe, Accessed 10 April 2025. See Magliveras KD (2023), Legal and procedural issues arising from the expulsion of the Russian Federation from the Council of Europe, *International and Comparative Law Review* 23:95.

³⁰ See European Court of Human Rights 2025, 'Russia', https://www.echr.coe.int/documents/d/echr/cp_russia_eng. Accessed 10 April 2025.

³¹ See European Court of Human Rights 2023, 'Armed conflicts', https://www.echr.coe.int/documents/d/echr/fs_armed_conflicts_eng. Accessed 10 April 2025.

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Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights 1966, ³² the American Convention on Human Rights, and the Rome Statute relating to the International Criminal Court. ³³ Despite the shocking protestation by Vice President JD Vance in 2025 regarding lack of care for human rights on the part of European allies, ³⁴ US claims to bear the beacon of Western freedoms have been undermined in the past year or so by the curtailment of rights, such as the removal of abortion as a federal constitutional right, ³⁵ the sanctioning of ICC support activities, ³⁶ and the summary removal of aliens ³⁷

Given the disdain and hostility of the superpowers, it may not be easy to mark out the distinct necessity for regional human rights courts. Nevertheless, there is plenty of evidence in this book which offers support. A case may be mounted on several grounds. External scrutiny can guard against what has sometimes been labelled as 'constitutional dictatorship' or 'elective dictatorship'—as represented in the UK by a parliament which is both unconstrained by a constitutional code while being dominated by the executive. Second, as mentioned previously, the mechanism of external scrutiny can give pause for thought in the adoption of strategies and legislation. In the case of the UK, the European Convention on Human Rights has helped to rule out the option of government by emergency whether in colonies or Northern Ireland. Third, a rights agenda shared and understood by regional friends is more likely to give comfort and be capable of endorsement than more distant versions and judgments. Fourth, the faith reposed in human rights is repaid, reflecting a key theme of this book, by bolstering state legitimacy.

³² 999 UNTS 171.

³³ See Bradley CA 2002, U.S. announces intent not to ratify International Criminal Court Treaty, *ASIL Insights* 7: https://www.asil.org/insights/volume/7/issue/7/us-announces-intent-not-ratify-int ernational-criminal-court-treaty

³⁴ See Lu C 2025, The Speech That Stunned Europe, Foreign Policy 18 February 2025. https://foreignpolicy.com/2025/02/18/vance-speech-munich-full-text-read-transcript-europe/. Accessed 10 April 2025.

³⁵ US Supreme Court, *Dobbs v Jackson Women's Health Organization*, Decision, 24 June 2022, 597 U.S. 215 (2022).

³⁶ Executive Order 14203 of February 6, 2025: Imposing Sanctions on the International Criminal Court.

³⁷ US President Memorandum of 29 January 2025: Expanding Migrant Operations Center at Naval Station Guantanamo Bay to Full Capacity; Executive Order 14160 of January 20, 2025: Protecting the Meaning and Value of American Citizenship; Presidential Proclamation No. 10903, 90 FR 13033: Invocation of the Alien Enemies Act Regarding the Invasion of the United States by Tren de Aragua March 14, 2025 (see further, *Trump v JGG*, Decision, 7 April 2025, 604 US _, 2025).

³⁸ See Anderson D (2025), National security and human rights, *European Convention Human Rights Law Review*, Issue 2.

³⁹ Clinton L. Rossiter, Constitutional Dictatorship; Crisis Government in the Modern Democracies (Princeton University Press. 1948); Lord Hailsham, 'Elective Dictatorship': The Richard Dimbleby Lecture, 1976

⁽British Broadcasting Corporation, 1976).

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Despite the often adverse circumstances, and in the spirit of human rights as an essentially 'optimistic project' which assumes the potential best in others, ⁴⁰ one cannot doubt the timeliness and value of a study of the legal and procedural aspects of the European, Inter-American, African, and Arab Human Rights Courts. These structures, which deliver fairness and humanity, deserve to be vaunted in contrast to the predations of those regimes which neither endorse the human rights movement nor appreciate its value in legitimizing the assertion of power.

May 2025

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⁴⁰ See Brems E (2025), Sim Peter Baehr lecture 2024—The state of human rights: an attempt at optimism, *Netherlands Quarterly of Human Rights*, https://doi.org/10.1177/09240519251321890. Accessed 1 May 2025.

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Abbreviations

ACHR American Convention on Human Rights
ACHPR African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights
ACommHPR African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights

ACtHPR African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights

ArabCHR Arab Charter of Human Rights
ArabCtHR Arab Court on Human Rights

Art. Article Arts Articles

ASEAN Association of Southeast Asian Nations

AU African Union

CACJ Central American Court of Justice

Cf. Compare

CETS Council of Europe Treaty Series
CIA Central Information Agency

CIS Commonwealth of Independent States
CJEU Court of Justice of the European Union

Cmnd Paper presented to the UK House of Commons by Royal

Command, 1956–1986

CoE Council of Europe CoM Committee of Ministers

COMESA Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa

CP Command Paper

CRC Convention on the Rights of the Child

Doc. Document

EAC East African Community
EACJ East African Court of Justice

ed/ed. Editor edn. edition eds Editors

ECHR Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental

Freedoms

xx Abbreviations

ECOMMS European Commission of Human Rights
ECOWAS Economic Community of West African States

ECtHR European Court of Human Rights

e.g. exempli gratia

EFTA European Free Trade Area

et al. et alia

et seq. et sequentes, et sequential (and the following)

ETS European Treaty Series

EU European Union ff. And the following GC Grand Chamber

HRC UN Human Rights Committee

IACommHR Inter-American Commission on Human Rights
IACtHR Inter-American Court on Human Rights

ICCPR International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

ICESCR International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

ICC International Criminal Court
ICJ International Court of Justice
ICL International Criminal Law

i.e. id est

IHL International Humanitarian Law
 IHRL International Human Rights Law
 ILC International Law Commission
 ILM International Legal Materials

ITLOS International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea

LAS League of Arab States

LNTS League of Nations Treaty Series

MERCOSUR Mercado Común del Sur MoA Margin of Appreciation

MoU Memorandum of Understanding

n. Note/footnoteno. Numbernos Numbers

OAS Organization of American States
OAU Organization of African Unity

ODECA Organization of Central American States

O.J. Official Journal

p. Page

PACE Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe

para. Paragraph Paragraphs

PCA Permanent Court of Arbitration

PCIJ Permanent Court of International Justice

pp. Pages pt. Part

Abbreviations xxi

REC Regional Economic Community

REIO Regional Economic Integration Organization
SADC Southern Africa Development Community
SICA Central American Integration System

TEU Treaty on European Union

TFEU Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union

VCLT Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties

vol. Volume

UDHR Universal Declaration of Human Rights

UK United Kingdom

UKHL United Kingdom House of Lords

UN United Nations

UNTS United Nations Treaty Series
USA United States of America