Towards a Positive Application of Institutional Complementarity in the African Human Rights System: Issues of Functions and Relations

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1 Introduction

On 9 June 1998, a Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights on the Establishment of an African Court on Human and Peoples’ Rights (African Court Protocol or Protocol) was adopted by African heads of state and government on the platform of the Organisation of African States (OAU). The adoption of the Protocol was the climax of the OAU’s reaction to sustained agitation and pressure from different quarters for the creation of a truly judicial body to guarantee the protection of human rights contained in the African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights (African Charter). Since then, several events of immense significance to the system have taken place. The African Court Protocol has entered into force and the Court itself has been operationalised. New regional human rights documents and documents relevant to human rights in Africa have also been adopted, including a statute to merge the African Court on Human and Peoples’ Rights (African Court) with the African Court of Justice to form an African Court of Justice and Human Rights (ACJHR).

At the time the African Court Protocol was adopted, a few other international institutions created by the OAU to supervise aspects of the promotion and protection of human rights in the continent had already been in existence. In this regard, the African Commission on Human and Peoples’ Rights (African Commission), a treaty body created in the African Charter and the African Committee of Experts on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (the Committee) are prominent. Thus, effectively, there has been a proliferation of human rights

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2 The Court began operation in 2006 with the election of its first set of judges.
3 The Protocol on the Statute of the African Court of Justice and Human Rights (Statute) was adopted on 1 Jul. 2008. As at June 2010, it had been signed by 21 states and ratified by two. Available at http://www.africa-union.org/root/au/Documents/Treaties/list
supervisory institutions in Africa. Naturally, this raises a need to address inter-institutional
relationships between international institutions created under the same organisational
structure with almost similar goals. Apparently in a bid to address this need, the concept of
complementarity has been introduced into institutional relations in the African human rights
system. First introduced with regards to the relationship between the African Human Rights
Court and the African Commission, the concept has also now been applied to the relationship
between the proposed ACJHR and other human rights treaty bodies of the African Union
(AU). Consequently, it can be argued that complementarity is the functional principle
regulating the institutional configuration of the African human rights system.

While it seeks to clarify the relationship between institutions, the concept of complementarity
is not without its own ambiguities. Described as ‘a notion in motion’, complementarity is said
to be usable in normative and descriptive dimensions. In other words, complementarity can
describe as well as prescribe the relationship between institutions. In the context of the
African human rights system, the use of the concept with little or no detailed explanation aids
its character as a tool of description but does very little in terms of prescribing the relations
between the African Human Rights Court and the ACHJR on the one hand, and the system’s
non-judicial supervisory institutions on the other hand. This, despite the fact that it is
commonly agreed that the establishment of the judicial institutions after several years of
existence of the quasi-judicial bodies has the potential to impact significantly on the
relationship between these institutions.

The hazy usage of complementarity in the African system has attracted more attention in the
context of the relationship between the African Human Rights Court and the African
Commission. This relationship has been variously characterised as ‘peculiar’; ‘unique’ and
‘organic’. However, the lack of clarity is not restricted to this relationship as it is bound to
appear in relation to other institutions of the African system. It is also common to most
situations where complementarity is used to characterise relations between a judicial and a

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4 The African human rights system emerged on the platform of the OAU. The OAU was replaced by the AU in
2001. The Constitutive Act of the AU (AU Act) was adopted on 11 July 2000 and entered into force on 26 May
6 Vincent O.O Nmehielle, ‘Towards an African Court of Human Rights: Structuring and the Court’ 6 Annual
7 Inger Österdahl, ‘The Jurisdiction Ratione Materiae of the African Court of Human and Peoples’ Rights: A
8 Österdahl, supra note 7, at 150.
9 Österdahl, supra note 7, at 133.
quasi-judicial institutions as well as relations between two or more institutions established under the same organisational framework. Hence, some of the challenges that complementarity introduces into the African human rights system have been or still being experienced in other international legal (sub-) systems where a two-tiered institutional structure has been introduced. These challenges include duplication of functions resulting in either redundancy of institution; waste of resources\(^\text{10}\) or lengthening of time frame for concluding procedures,\(^\text{11}\) creation of institutional tension as a result of struggle for supremacy and the creation of loopholes for states to avoid responsibility by manipulating institutions.

Paying attention to the specific context of the African human rights system and the usage of complementarity in the system, this paper explores complementarity from the functional and relational perspectives. The paper argues that complementarity in the African human rights system can be applied positively by adopting a normative approach that allows for the prescription of what the system’s supervisory institutions should do and how they should relate to each other in their work. The paper argues further that the justifications for the introduction of judicial organs can also be employed to prescribe complementary functions for each supervisory institution. It concludes that applying complementarity positively would require encouraging each institution to focus on its strengths with a view to strengthening the overall effectiveness of the system. The paper is divided into four main sections. This introduction is followed by an examination of complementarity in international law. The third section explores the use of complementarity in the African human rights system, engaging in a detailed analysis of the functional and relational dimensions of the concept. The last section is the concluding section.

### 2 Complementarity in international law

In contemporary international law discourse, the complementarity as a concept has largely been associated with international criminal law, particularly with the statute of the

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However, complementarity or aspects of the concept can be found in different forms in international law. Notwithstanding this fact, complementarity has arguably not yet developed as a concrete principle of international law. Hence, there is apparently no single, generally acceptable meaning that can be ascribed to the concept in international law. The aim of this section of the paper is to consider some of the more obvious manifestations of complementarity in international, with a view to understanding its various applications for adaptation in the context of African international law.

According to at least one commentator, the linguistic origin of complementarity is not very clear. He contends that complementarity is not an English word, but was probably ‘borrowed’ from the French language. Despite this apparent obscurity of its origin, complementarity and its root word ‘complement’ can now safely be considered to be an English word. Accordingly, in various dictionaries, it is explained as ‘companion’; ‘completion’; ‘supplement’; ‘complete’; ‘addendum’ and ‘appendix’.

In its adjective form, ‘complementary’ has been translated as ‘concordant’; ‘correlative’; ‘completing’; ‘companion’ and ‘interdependent’. It is apparently from this adjective form that the term ‘complementarity’ emerged as ‘the concept of’ or ‘principle of complementarity’ in international law.

In its ordinary dictionary meaning, ‘complementary’ is arguably employed as a word to capture relations. The use of the term ‘complementarity’ in international law is not far from this ordinary usage. It is essentially an instrument of language used to explain institutional relationship between otherwise autonomous institutions in international law. As Klabbers has noted, while the benefits of autonomy cannot be denied, autonomy has its limitations. According to Klabbers, autonomy is limited by the ‘equally valued notions of solidarity and cooperation’ as well as by the risk it carries of ‘lapping into unilateralism’ and thereby

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16 Tallgren, supra note 13, at 120.
resulting in autarchy.\textsuperscript{18} His summation is that the autonomy of one institution could intrude the autonomy of another institution if the autonomy is carried to extreme limits.\textsuperscript{19} While Klabbers’ analysis was made in a different context, it represents the threat in international law that necessitates introduction of the concept of complementarity. In the anarchical field of international law where institutions are created as autonomous entities without any hierarchical structure to regulate their interactions, complementarity is surely an important tool for the restriction of abuse of autonomy by any single institution. It is against this background that the manifestations of the concept in international law will be analysed.

3.1 International institutions exhibiting complementarity

Perhaps the most commonly known manifestation of complementarity in international law can be found in the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (Rome Statute of the ICC). First, in its preamble,\textsuperscript{20} and then in its article 1, the Rome Statute of the ICC emphasizes that the International Criminal Court (ICC) ‘shall be complementary to national criminal jurisdictions’. Thus, complementarity regulates the relationship between the ICC and the national criminal jurisdictions of states. Similarly, global international law employs complementarity in relation to the relatively newly established Universal Periodic Review mechanism.\textsuperscript{21} In its resolution setting up the mechanism, the United Nations (UN) stipulates that the mechanism ‘shall complement and not duplicate the work of treaty bodies’.\textsuperscript{22} Again, in this formulation, complementarity regulates the relationship between the Universal Periodic Review mechanism and the various UN human rights treaty bodies.\textsuperscript{23} A third express use of complementarity in global international law by the UN is in relation to the Special Court for Sierra Leone. Probably explaining the institutional relations of the Special Court, the UN Secretary General is quoted as follows:

\textsuperscript{18} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{19} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{20} Para 10 of the Preamble to the Rome Statute of the ICC
\textsuperscript{21} I have used global international law here in contrast to regional international law that I implied or expressly refer to in this paper.
\textsuperscript{23} Clapham takes the view that three different complementarities can be distilled from the UN Resolution. These include the complementarity between the obligations undertaken by a state under the treaties it has ratifies and the state’s other obligations and commitments; the complementarity between the treaty body reporting process and the new review process; and the complementarity involved in choosing the order in which states should be reviewed. See Clapham, The Complementarity, supra note 22, at 1.
Care must be taken to ensure that the Special Court for Sierra Leone and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission will operate in a complementary and mutually supportive manner, fully respectful of their distinct but related functions.\textsuperscript{24}

This position of the UN Secretary General was reinforced by the Planning Mission sent by the UN to facilitate the ground work for the Special. The Planning Mission noted that the Special Court and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Sierra Leone were ‘perform complementary roles’ that are ‘mutually supportive’ and ‘in full respect for each other’s mandate’.\textsuperscript{25} Thus, complementarity is used to describe (and perhaps prescribe) the relationship between another two autonomous institutions.

At the regional level of international law, complementarity has also been employed in some form or another. It is important to emphasize that it is not all cases that the term ‘complementarity’ has been expressly employed by the drafters of treaties and other international documents. Hence, in some cases, it is in the practice and work, rather than in the documents that complementarity is found. For example, on the premise that there is a ‘multiplicity, indeed a proliferation, of mechanisms and means of action in the sphere of human rights’, it has been suggested that some form of complementarity is displayed in the regime of the Council of Europe (CoE).\textsuperscript{26} With specific reference to the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR), the argument is made that ‘a certain degree of complementarity between the roles of the different bodies has been provided for’.\textsuperscript{27} In this context, complementarity relates to the adjudicatory role of the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR) and the enforcement role of the Committee of Ministers.\textsuperscript{28} This relation is perceived as complementary or ‘tandem’ between existing institutions.\textsuperscript{29}

Another manifestation of complementarity in the CoE regime is that between existing structures and newly created human rights supervisory institutions. Thus, complementarity is


\textsuperscript{25} Schabas, \textit{supra} note 24, at 158.

\textsuperscript{26} Pierre-Henri Imbert, ‘Complementarity of mechanisms within the Council of Europe/ Perspectives of the Directorate of Human Rights’ 21 \textit{HRLJ} (2000) 292, at 292

\textsuperscript{27} Imbert, \textit{supra} note 26, at 293

\textsuperscript{28} \textit{Ibid.}

\textsuperscript{29} \textit{Ibid.}
invoked in the relationship between the ECtHR and the monitoring system of the Framework Convention for the Protection of Minorities. A similar argument is made in relation to the Commissioner for Human Rights vis-à-vis the work of the CoE’s human rights supervisory bodies. The evidence proffered in support of this contention is that several provisions in the Resolution setting up the Commissioner for Human Rights impose an obligation on that office to respect the competences of the existing institutions. Specifically, article 1(2) of the Resolution is to the effect that ‘the Commissioner shall respect the competence of, and perform functions other than those fulfilled by, the supervisory bodies set up under the ECHR or other human rights instruments and that the Commissioner shall not take up individual complaints’.  

Still within the framework of the CoE, the European Committee for the Prevention of Torture (CPT) which was created after the ECtHR is another manifestation of complementarity. The CPT was said to have been created ‘with the express intention of complementing existing CoE mechanisms … and in particular, of strengthening the system of judicial protection against ill-treatment protected by art 3 of the ECHR’. Here, the CPT is a non-judicial body established to ‘supplement’ judicial protection provided by the ECtHR without duplicating or usurping the functions of the ECtHR. In view of these different manifestations of the concept in international law, it can be argued that complementarity exists or is invoked expressly or impliedly whenever two or more international institutions with similar and potentially conflicting functions exist on the platform of an international organisation.

3.2 The functioning of complementarity in international law

While the term ‘complementarity’ has been employed expressly or impliedly by the global and the regional international regimes considered above, the term does not take on exactly the same meaning in every context. Put differently, although the term may appear universal, its application or functioning in practice differs according to each specific context. This point is important in order to demonstrate that complementarity in the context of the African human rights system needs to interpreted with due regard to the specific context of the system.

30 Ibid.
31 Ibid.
32 Mark Kelly, ‘Perspectives from the European Committee for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment’ 21 HRLJ (2000) 301, at 301.
33 Ibid.
Under the ICC regime, complementarity apparently functions as an instrument of limitation to dictate priority of jurisdiction. Arguing that complementarity in the Rome Statute of the ICC applies to all the institutions of criminal justice and not just the courts, one commentator contends that complementarity limits the powers of the ICC vis-à-vis national institutions.\footnote{Tallgren, supra note 13, at 120 – 122.}

Another Commentator argues that ‘one of the most important roles of the principle of complementarity is to encourage the State Party to implement the provision of the Statute, strengthening the national jurisdiction over those serious crimes listed in the Statute’. In effect, there is complementarity of purpose which is to prevent impunity for international crimes, but complementarity favours priority of action by national systems.

In relation to the Special Court of Sierra Leone vis-à-vis the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Sierra Leone, complementarity does limit jurisdiction but not in the same way as it does under the ICC regime. Rather, in that context, complementarity functions to ensure mutual respect in a manner that reinforces the separate yet inter-related mandates of the institutions involved. In the words of Bishop Joseph C Humper, Chair of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Sierra Leone, the two institutions are ‘going to the promised land, but by different roads’.\footnote{Cited by Schabas, supra note 24158.} Thus, both institutions operate simultaneously without encroaching on each other’s jurisdiction.

Within the framework of the CoE, complementarity also functions in a manner that encourages mutual respect and simultaneous operation. However, in the CoE regime, there appears to be agreement that complementarity ‘presupposes a need for coherence between and amongst different actors’.\footnote{Editorial, 21 HRLJ (2000) at 2.} In support of this position, it is contended that ‘complementarity must involve an acceptance of the principle of comparative advantage in action. That is, each organisation as a rule, should take the action for which it is best suited’.\footnote{Brian Cowen, ‘Preface’ 21 HRLJ (2000), at 290} Applied in this manner, complementarity is envisages consistency and coherence in the functioning of a regime and aims at preventing ‘wasteful duplication of scarce resources’.\footnote{Ibid.} Clearly, the focus here is on cooperation and coordination of institutions with emphasis on specialisation of competence.
In his analysis of complementarity in the European human rights regime, Clapham makes the argument that ‘complementarity can either point to the need to resolve divergences or complementarity can be used to neatly disguise the fundamental tension between different goals and actors’.\(^{39}\) Arguably, it is the constructive usage of complementarity that is intended each time the concept is invoked in international law. In order to realise this aim, the concept needs to be applied normatively just as it is understood in its descriptive role.

3 Complementarity in the African human rights system

Liberally interpreted and applied, complementarity can be linked to different forms of institutional relationships in the AU framework. This is because apart from the traditional continental human rights supervisory bodies, several other organs of the AU are involved in the business of human rights realisation.\(^{40}\) Further, with the growing involvement of African sub-regional institution in the field of human rights, complementarity and related issues can be raised in relation to the relationship between such sub-regional institutions and the traditional continental human rights supervisory bodies. However, while these issues are no less important, it is within the traditional structures of the African human rights system that the concept of complementarity has been expressly invoked. Hence, the focus of the discourse in this paper is on such express complementary relationships.

It is in the preamble to the African Court Protocol that the concept of complementarity was first introduced. Paragraph 7 of the Preamble speaks of ‘the establishment of an African Court on Human and Peoples’ Rights to complement and reinforce the functions of the African Commission on Human and Peoples’ Rights’. In the body of the African Court Protocol itself, complementarity appears twice. In article 2 relating to the relationship between the African Human Rights Court and the African Commission, it is emphasised that the Court shall ‘complement the protective mandate’ of the African Commission. Article 8 of the Protocol relating to the ‘Consideration of Cases’ requires the Court to bear in mind ‘the complementarity between the Commission and the Court’ in making its rules of procedure. In these three provisions, the concept of complementarity entered into the discourse of the African human rights system.

\(^{39}\) Clapham, *On Complementarity*, *supra* note 5, at 315

\(^{40}\) For eg, the Assembly of heads of state and government, the AU Commission, the Peace and Security Council are organs that are somewhat involved in the human rights work of the AU.
In the making of a protocol to merge the African Court of Justice\textsuperscript{41} and the African Human Rights Court, the term ‘complementarity’ was once again employed in the legal framework of the AU. In article 27(2) of the Protocol on the Statute of the African Court of Justice and Human Rights (Court Statute), the ACJHR is invited to bear in mind ‘the complementarity it maintains with the African Commission and the African Committee of Experts’\textsuperscript{42} in the course of making its rules of court. Further, in article 38 of the Court Statute relating to the procedures before the ACJHR, that Court is again required to take ‘into account the complementarity between the court and other treaty bodies of the Union’. Effectively, this Court Statute has consolidated complementarity as a defining principle in the relationship between judicial and non-judicial or quasi-judicial human rights supervisory bodies in the African human rights system. It also has to be noted that in all their employment of complementarity, drafters in the African human rights system have stopped short of giving a clear definition of complementarity and how it ought to function in the system. Thus, there is need to explore the possible interpretations and application of the principle in the system.

In order to locate the meaning and hence, the implications of complementarity in the system, it is necessary to recall the rationale behind the establishment of the institutions that are expected to co-exist in a complementary fashion. In this context, Nmehielle reiterates that the essence of the African Charter is ‘the protection of human rights in accordance with international standards rather than a particular African standard’.\textsuperscript{43} As is now common knowledge, under the Charter itself, only the African Commission was established to supervise compliance. Whatever promise it may have held at the time it was conceived and established, it did not take long for alleged ineffectiveness of the African Commission to emerge as one of the main criticisms against the African Charter and the entire African human rights system. In the vast literature that emerged on the African human rights system, the inadequacy of the African Commission was almost common ground.\textsuperscript{44}

\textsuperscript{41} The African Court of Justice was established by art 5 of the AU Constitutive Act 2000.

\textsuperscript{42} The African Committee of Experts on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (African Committee of Experts) is the treaty body established in art 32 of the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child to ‘promote and protect the rights and welfare of the child’ in Africa.

\textsuperscript{43} Nmehielle, supra note 6, at 30.

As Viljoen notes, there are seven main ‘inter-linked difficulties associated with the Commission’s efforts’. These include the fact that the Commission’s findings are non-binding; uncertainty of the Commission’s legal basis for creating remedies, and the ad hoc nature of the enforcement system for implementation of the Commission’s decision. Other difficulties include the strict confidentiality of the Commission’s proceedings and the notorious delay in the Commission’s consideration of communications. Perhaps it was these and other reasons that led Udombana to come to a conclusion that the ‘the greatest weakness of the Banjul Charter … was its failure to provide for an institutional safeguard in the form of a judicial organ in the African system’. As far as Udombana was concerned, with regards to the protection of rights, the African Commission was a ‘toothless bulldog’, especially because it lacked ‘any enforcement power or remedial authority’. Arguably, the African Committee of Experts is not so different from the African Commission. In fact, within the period of its existence, the Committee has proved to be less effective than the African Commission in the execution of its functions. As these two are the existing treaty bodies for human rights supervision in the AU framework, it can be argued that the establishment of a judicial body aims to remedy the shortcomings of these bodies.

In the opinion of some commentators, the establishment of a human rights court in Africa was essential to ‘salvage the entire system form its near-total irrelevance and obscurity’. Thus, it is believed that the adoption of the African Court Protocol is ‘to give teeth and meaning to the rights guaranteed in the Banjul Charter’. Viljoen’s view is that ‘the overarching aim of the African Court is to supplement the African Commission’s individual communications procedure’. Extending these views to the African Committee of Experts, it would be that the establishment of the Court is also aimed at bringing about an improvement

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48 Ibid., *A Human Rights Court*, supra note 11, at 15.
50 Ibid.
52 Udombana, *Towards the African Court*, supra note 51, at 64.
in the promotion and protection of the rights and welfare of children in Africa. Against this background, conscious of the remedial purpose of the Court, the question arises whether complementarity as employed in the African Court Protocol and in the Court Statute should be restricted to its descriptive function. If complementarity in the context of the African human rights system extends beyond its descriptive function, there is the further challenge of locating the limits of its normative functions in the system.

The existence of a challenge in pinning down the exact meaning and functions of complementarity in the African system is reflected in the difficulty that commentators have in finding common ground on the issue. Considering the relationship between the African Commission and the African Human Rights Court to be one of the ‘peculiarities’ of the Protocol, Österdahl says it is an ‘organic’ relationship that lacks clarity. Österdahl considers the provisions on the relationship to be ‘vague’ yet concludes that ‘it is clear that the Commission and Court were to share many powers’. Udombana considers the provisions on the relationship to be ‘vague’ yet concludes that ‘it is clear that the Commission and Court were to share many powers’. Nmehielle also envisages the challenge and suggests that the African Human Rights Court will impact on the work of the Commission but he emphasizes the need for clarification of the functions of the institutions. These challenges are further complicated by the perception that a relationship of ‘hierarchy is established the moment a flat structure is converted into even a two-tier structure’.

These challenges are by no means peculiar to the African system as Klabbers notes that it is typical for international organisations to create multiple organs without specifying the precise relationship of between those organs. In relation to the Inter-American human rights system, the definition of the relationship between the Court and the Commission in that system was considered to be one of the more difficult tasks that the system faced. Thus, it is often in the functions of organs and institutions that the nature of relationships is distilled.

It has to be noted that in stating the functions of the African Human Rights Court (and in the future, the ACHJR), the competences of the African Commission and the African Committee of Experts to examine communications were not conversely extinguished by the relevant

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56 Österdahl, supra note 7, at 133.
57 Udombana, Towards the African Court, supra note 51 97
58 Nmehielle, supra note 6, at 46.
60 Klabbers, supra note 17, at 147.
61 Sepúlveda, supra note 10, at 83.
62 Klabbers, supra note 17, at 147.
instruments. Hence, the existing division of labour, if any, complicates rather than clarifies the relationship between judicial and quasi-judicial bodies in the African system. The thesis in this paper is that the concept of complementarity can be applied positively to clarify the division of functions and the relations between institutions in the African system. It is along these two broad headings that complementarity in the system will be analysed.

A. Functional dimension of complementarity in the African system

From a functional perspective, the challenge that complementarity poses for the African human rights system is the determination of what functions should be undertaken by what institution(s). Generally, there appears to be almost conclusion that whenever there is a two-tier system comprised of a judicial body and a quasi-judicial body, the task of adjudication naturally rests in the judicial body. Along these lines, some commentators have suggested that the judicial organ in the African human rights system should ‘completely take over the protective mandate under the Charter’. However, such a simple conclusion is inapplicable in the context of the African system on at least two grounds. First, the role of the African Human Rights Court and its successor institution is to complement rather than usurp the existing protective competences of the quasi-judicial bodies. Both the African Commission and the African Committee of Experts already engage in some sort of adjudication in pursuit of this mandate. Second, the protective mandate is not restricted to the adjudicatory process. A possible way out of the quagmire would be to analyse the strengths of the institutions in order to identify in what areas each is more likely to contribute to the system and apply complementarity in favour of such institutional strengths.

1. The functioning of a complementary court

Under its Protocol and from its rules of procedure, the main and perhaps only task that is assigned to the African Human Rights Court and its successor institution is adjudication. The Court’s adjudicatory powers are two-fold: contentious and advisory. A function auxiliary


64 F Viljoen, International Human Rights Law in Africa (2007), at 437 citing Mutua and Nmehielle

65 Reference to the African Human Rights Court should be read to include the ACJHR unless a contrary position is expressly stated.
to adjudication that is ascribed to the Court is the competence to be involved in the pursuit of amicable settlements. The basic question is whether the Court is suited for these roles and in so doing enhance efficiency in the system in a complementary manner.

From the viewpoint of contentious adjudication, the founding instruments of the judicial bodies empower them to make final and binding decisions that constitute judgments enforceable by the relevant organs of the AU. The power to order appropriate remedies is also incumbent on the Court. Clearly, in this regard, the African Human Rights Court already offers something that is lacking in the existing procedures of the quasi-judicial bodies. Naturally, in view of the commonly known impotence of international law in relation to enforcement, the question could arise whether in practice the Court offers anything more than the persuasiveness associated with the recommendations that the existing quasi-judicial treaty bodies offer. In other words, despite the undertaking by states to comply with the Court’s judgments and the potential for more concrete involvement of the AU’s political organs in the ‘enforcement’ process, a risk of non-compliance is as present in relation to the Court as it has been with the quasi-judicial bodies.

Notwithstanding the reality check above, the chances of compliance are higher in relation to the African Court. Further, there are strong arguments that the mere fact that a state has been brought before an international court and the subsequent listing of states in a ‘registrar of non-complaint states’ is a ‘potent shaming mechanism’ that will enhance compliance with the decisions of an international human rights court. In this regard, complementarity favours the involvement of the Court in the adjudicatory process in order to give meaning to international litigation of human rights in Africa.

Another factor that favours the Court’s involvement in the contentious adjudicatory process is the recognition that proceedings before the Court are to take place in public. The perception of fairness triggered by expectation that transparency is more likely in a public trial works in

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66 Art 9 of the African Court Protocol.
67 Art 28 of the African Court Protocol; art 46 of the Statute.
68 Art 27 of the African Court Protocol;
69 Udombana, *Towards the African Court*, supra note 51, at 93.
70 Art 30 of the African Court Protocol
71 By Art 31 of the African Court Protocol, the Court is required to include in its annual reports to the AU Assembly, a list of states that have failed to comply with its judgments and orders. There is expectation that this provision holds a promise that the political organs will take some action to strongly persuade states to comply.
72 The experiences of the sub-regional courts in relation to the refusal of the Gambia (in the ECOWAS regime) and Zimbabwe (in SADC) to comply with decisions of those courts are instructive. See ST Ebobrah, ‘Human Rights Developments in sub-regional courts in Africa during 2008’ 9 AHRLJ 312
73 Udombana, *Towards the African Court*, supra note 51, at 94 – 95; …
favour of a higher degree of public confidence in the Court. Further, the crippling confidentiality clause in article 59 of the African Charter does not apply to the African Human Rights Court. As Nmehielle notes, the absence of this restriction presupposes that there would be greater publicity around cases coming before the African Court. The robust press coverage given to human rights cases brought before the ECOWAS Court of Justice (ECCJ) in Abuja, Nigeria supports Nmehielle’s view. The advantages in such publicity include increased public confidence and the potential for shaming states to act in favour of human rights. These are improvements that the judicial organs bring to the system. It may be noted that confidentiality in the procedure of the African Committee of Experts may be desirable in the interest of the child. However, the possibility of a private hearing also exists under the Court’s procedure.

An additional advantage that comes with adjudication before the African Human Rights Court is that the wider scope of instruments applicable before the Court. While it has to be conceded that a potential exists for jurisdictional conflict with treaty bodies established under various treaties applicable before the Court, in the absence of a global human rights court, the prospects of binding judgments arising from those instruments is a peculiar advantage that the Court brings. This is clearly a positive complement to the existing procedures.

Linked to the improved remedial regime of the judicial organs, another factor that favours a complementary role for the Court in the adjudicatory process is the ‘compulsory’ nature of its interim orders. Building on its express powers to adopt provisional measures, the Court has used its rules of procedure to indicate the ‘bindingness’ of its provisional measures. Thus, the rules use such terms as ‘prescribe’ and ‘order’ when it refers to interim measures that it adopts. This is clearly another improvement that the Court has brought into the procedures of the system.

In terms of advisory jurisdiction that it shares with the quasi-judicial bodies, the African Human Rights Court also holds certain advantages that presuppose a positive complementary character. Nmehielle has taken the view that pronouncement by a court is essential ‘for the articulation of international legal principles’. Sepúlveda reinforces this position with the

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74 Nmehielle, supra note 6, at 40.
75 As Pasqualucci, supra note 11, at 349 notes, ‘, a mere summons to appear before an international court has been shown to have a chilling effect on human rights abuses within the summoned state’.
76 See art 44(2) of the African Children Charter.
77 See art 43(2) of the interim rules of the African Court.
78 Nmehielle, supra note 6, at 39.
assertion that ‘opinions of the Court are to be considered as positive development of law in
the field of human rights’. While by their very nature, advisory opinions are non-binding
interpretations of the law, they have far reaching effects when they emerge from a judicial
institution that demands and receives the respect of states and their national courts. Thus,
arguably, the potential for national authorities, especial national courts to pay the deserved
attention to advisory opinions emerging from the African Human Rights Courts are likely to
be higher. In relation to the Inter-American system, Sepúlveda considers the field of
advisory opinion as an area in which the Inter-American Court of Human Rights is able to
offer ‘valuable juridical assistance’ to the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights.
With its potential to produce more authoritative interpretations of the African Charter,
complementarity arguably favours a more active role for the Court.

While the comparative advantage brought by the Court into the system demonstrates that it
can play a reinforcing complementary role with regards to adjudication, such an advantage is
arguably lacking in relation to the auxiliary function of amicable settlement. Perhaps the
Court itself is conscious of this fact as it tones down in relation to amicable settlement in its
rules. Although, article 9 of the African Court Protocol states that the Court ‘may try to reach
an amicable settlement’ the rules only make reference to the Court’s competence to
‘promote’ amicable settlement. Apparently, while the Court creates room for amicable
settlement to occur under its auspices, it does not appear to envisage any role for its judges in
the process. It would be noticed that in Rule 56(3), the Court has taken the position that it
may decide to proceed with a case before it, notwithstanding notice of an attempt at amicable
settlement in such a case. Arguably, if the Court is the initiator of such a process, it cannot
turn around to ignore the process. As harsh as the rule may appear, almost giving the
impression that the Court is against such friendly efforts, situations where such a position is
necessary can be envisaged. For example, where a violating practice by a state party is
widespread and the state tries to ‘settle’ nominal applicants before the Court in order to stifle
further publicity, it may be more advantageous for the Court to proceed with the case.

Further, by Rule 57(2) of the Rules of the Court, negotiations aimed at amicable settlement
ought to be confidential and would be without prejudice to observations in proceedings

79 Sepúlveda, supra note 10, at 84.
80 Matua, supra note 53, at 362 for eg, holds the opinion that ‘individual courts in (O) AU member states should
look to the African Human Rights Court for direction in the development and application of human rights law’.
81 Sepúlveda, supra note 10, at 83.
before the Court. Moreover, the contents of negotiations in the settlement process cannot be mentioned or referred to in proceedings before the Court. If the judges are to be involved in the settlement process, this may not be possible. Additionally, it is clearly undesirable that the same set of persons should be mediators or arbitrators on the one hand, and still be adjudicators on the other hand. Consequently, the potential that the Court can or would add value to the process of amicable settlement is almost non-existent. Thus, it is difficult to see how the Court can positively complement such a process.

Having analyzed the functions that the judicial organs of the African human rights system are primed to undertake in furtherance of complementarity, there remains the question of expectations that courts are not likely to meet. The main concern here is whether adjudication by individuals before international courts is sufficient to address pertinent structural human rights issues and promote a culture of respect for human rights in the continent. Although, the value of the judicial or quasi-judicial individual litigation procedure has never been in doubt as an instrument for the protection of rights, there are clear limits to its utility. In this regard, it has to be emphasized that international courts lack the ability to address all cases of alleged injustice that occur in the continent. Accordingly, almost similar to the ICC’s complementarity regime, it is the national courts that bear the primary responsibility for judicial protection of rights. Thus, save in cases where national legal systems have failed to guarantee relief or where a novel matter with far reaching consequences is in issue, the complementary value of the regional courts would be little.

In relation to widespread or serious and massive violations, the impact of litigation by a few applicants may not create the opportunity for the system to address the issues. In such cases, the complementary value of the courts is diminished. Similarly, the potential for proactive action to avoid the worsening of a state’s human rights record cannot be realised through the litigation process. The payment of compensation to one or more applicant does not guarantee that the human rights records of a state will improve. In the European context, Clapham has noted for example, that the overall aim of the ECHR mechanism was to ‘serve as an early-warning devise exposing signs of future extremism either from the left or the right’. 83 This was a role that the ‘legal complaint mechanism with the European Court of Human Rights at its core’ could not play. 84 The backward looking legal complaint procedure, while relevant for the provision of reparations in the event of prior violation, needs to be matched with a

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83 Clapham, On Complementarity, supra note 5, at 315.
84 Ibid.
forward looking protective procedure. It is this forward looking procedure that litigation before the African courts will not be able to guarantee, thereby limiting their complementary value in this regard.

A final point to be noted on the handicap of the international litigation process relates to the attitude of most states in the developing world. As Pasqualucci notes, ‘some third world states are still governed by the rule of man rather than the rule of law’.\(^{85}\) States in this category are never eager to comply with judicial decisions, whether such decisions are of domestic or international flavour. In such conditions, to insist on strict application and use of the judicial process ‘can only undermine the legitimacy of the entire system: to introduce judicial review under such conditions might do more harm than good … to international law’.\(^{86}\) Considering the challenge that some African states have with regards to compliance with court decisions, the complementary value of the courts in the protection of human rights is be little. Overall, the functions that the courts should take on in their complementary role must be in those areas where there is abundant comparative advantage over the quasi-judicial mechanisms.

2. Quasi-judicial bodies\(^ {87}\): More than just residual functions

In the absence of an ICC-type complementarity that gives them priority in the adjudicatory process, it has to be considered whether quasi-judicial bodies should become redundant or simply play the role of ‘less-fortunate-cousins’ with only residual functions. Although, the individual complaints mechanism is not currently a major activity of the African Committee of Experts, similar to the African Commission, the African Committee has the potential to expand its work in this area. The challenge is to answer the question whether it is beneficial under the complementarity regime for these bodies to hold on to their complaint procedures or if they should focus on other protective and/or promotional activities. Better still, is there scope for a combination of adjudicatory and other protective activities in a manner beneficial from a complementary perspective?

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\(^{85}\) Pasqualucci, *supra* note 11, at 299.

\(^{86}\) Klabbers, *supra* note 17, at 157, albeit in relation to the judicial review process under the platform of the UN.

\(^{87}\) Due to word constraints, the African Committee of Experts will not be analysed separately. Hence, all references to the African Commission should be understood as reference to both institutions unless otherwise stated.
It will serve no purpose to repeat the arguments against the complaints procedure of quasi-judicial institutions in the African system. What is important to consider are the factors, if any, that support continuance of such quasi-judicial communications procedures. As at June 2010, only four state parties to the African Human Rights Court Protocol had made the declaration required in terms of article 34(6) to direct individual access to the Court. The implication is that only 25 states can currently partake in the Court’s inter-state procedure and only four states can be brought under the individual complaints process of the Court. This position applies to the ACJHR since the Statute retains the declaration requirement. Thus, the quasi-judicial mechanisms provide the only opportunity for adjudicatory redress for the vast majority of African people. The other point to note is the risk of excessive workload once the Court becomes fully utilised. In such a situation, resort to the quasi-judicial mechanisms may provide faster reliefs than the Court would be able to guarantee. Thus, there is some beneficial complementary value in retaining the communications procedures of the Commission and the Committee without necessarily relegating it to the status of a ‘filter’. As canvassed already, there are limits to the utility of the adjudicatory process in terms of triggering and sustaining positive change in the field of human rights. Hence, the protective mandate of the quasi-judicial bodies cannot be restricted to the communications procedures. In terms of massive and systematic violations, the balance of complementary value tilts more in favour of these bodies than the judicial organs. In the Inter-American context, Rescia and Seitles have noted that ‘the main function of the Commission was to deal with the problem of the massive and systematic violations of human rights, rather than to investigate isolated violations’. Accordingly, the aim was to ‘document the existence of human rights violations in a country and to place pressure on that government to improve its general human rights

88 See generally Mutua, supra note 53.
89 There are 25 state parties to the Protocol, out of 53 state parties to the African Charter. The four that have made the declaration in terms of art 34(6) are Burkina Faso, Malawi, Mali and Tanzania.
90 Arts 8 and 30 of the Statute of the ACJHR.
91 See also Viljoen, International Human Law, supra note 64, at 437; In the context of the UN, in interpreting events relating to political action after the denial of locus to Liberia and Ethiopia in the South West Africa case, Klubbers suggest that the ICJ’s position was informed by the need to ensure that non-judicial options for remedy should be available against breaches of international law if the Court cannot intervene due to jurisdictional challenges. Klubbers, supra note 17, at 156.
92 See Dulitzky, supra note 63, at 11 in relation to the inter-American Commission’s communications procedure. Also see Sepúlveda, supra note 10, at 86.
record’. This is an aspect of protective mandate that the Commission and the Committee ought to build on.

The advantage of quasi-judicial mechanisms in relation to massive and serious violations is subtly recognised by the ECCJ in its judgement in Koroua v Niger. Faced with a request by the applicant in that case for an order compelling the state to engage in structural law reform, the ECCJ stated as follows:

As regards the applicant’s first plea-in-law, the Court finds that it does not have the mandate to examine the laws of member states of the Community in abstrato, but rather, to ensure the protection of the rights of individuals whenever such individuals are victims of the violation of those rights which are recognized as theirs, and the Court does so by examining concrete case brought before it.

The Court indicates that other mechanisms are employed in the consideration of cases, such as the checking of the situation in each country, the submission of periodic reports as provided for by certain international instruments, including article 62 of the African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights, which provides: ‘Each state party shall undertake to submit every two years, from the date the present Charter comes into force, a report on the legislative or other measures taken with a view to giving effect to the rights and freedoms recognized and guaranteed by the present Charter’.

Thus, while the Court can only bring succour to applicant(s) before it, the protective potential of the quasi-judicial bodies are boundless. The African Commission already engages in such non-adjudicatory protective activities. For instance, the rules of the Commission make provision for the use of ‘subsidiary mechanisms such as special Rapporteurs, committees and working groups’. The Rules also provides for protective missions. These are tools for the protection of human rights that the Court does not possess. It is hoped that the African Committee of Experts will develop similar or other appropriate protective mechanisms to enhance its usefulness in the complementary relationship.

Another area of protection of human rights that the quasi-judicial bodies retain comparative advantage is in relation to amicable settlement of disputes. Considering that the idea of giving

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95 Koroua case, para 60

96 Rule 23 of the Interim Rules of Procedure of the African Commission

room for amicable settlement resonates within the African system and in view of the fact that the Court is inappropriate to undertake that venture, it rests on the Commission and the Committee to take on this role. With the possibility of either validating settlement by Court endorsement or referring cases not settled to the Court for adjudication, complementarity arguably favours mediatory roles for the quasi-judicial bodies. Not only does this fit with the role envisaged for the African Commission at its inception,\(^98\) it is also already contemplated by the rules of the Commission.\(^99\) In both the European and the Inter-American systems, such attempts at friendly settlements have been undertaken by the relevant commissions.\(^100\)

In relation to the African Charter, one other protective area where the African Commission may jointly exercise competence in complementarily beneficial manner is in relation to interpretation of the Charter. This aspect of the Commission’s mandate has hardly been put to use even though it has great potential. As both Ndombana and Nmehielle have noted, in the area of social, economic and cultural rights where challenges of justiciability abound, the African Commission is likely to make more impact. In fact, even if Charter-based socio-economic rights are justiciable before the African Court, the potential difficulties of enforcement favour non-judicial intervention by the Commission. Accordingly, the complementary value tilts in favour of the quasi-judicial bodies in this regard.

Overall, in the distribution of functions and tasks against the operation of complementarity, it is crucial that the emphasis is placed on suitability and comparative advantage above anything else. It is also essential that the relevant institutions do not shy away from mutual execution of mandates where such is beneficial to the efficiency of the entire system.

### B. Relational dimension of complementarity in the African system

The need to define the relationship between the judicial and non-judicial mechanisms for human rights supervision in the African human rights system arises essentially within the ambit of the adjudicatory process. This is because that process is the only one in which both sets of institutions can really operate jointly. Perhaps this accounts for the emphasis that the drafters have placed on requiring the African Human Rights Court and the ACJHR to take

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99 Rule 90.
complementarity into account in the adoption of their respective rules of procedures.\textsuperscript{101} While both provisions appear very simple, there is some recipe for complication in the supposed simplicity. As the experiences in other regional systems indicate, the ideal situation would be for all institutions to consider themselves as ‘partners in the same system, embarked in a joint venture’,\textsuperscript{102} creating room for consistency and coherence in the system.\textsuperscript{103} However, because the complementarity provisions are vague and the human factor is ever present, conscious effort is needed to iron out how these institutions should relate.

1. A relationship of hierarchy?

One of the touchiest aspects of the relationship between the courts and the quasi-judicial bodies would relate to the issue of hierarchy. As some commentators have noted, the idea of hierarchy emerges once a two-tier structure is introduced to replace a single structure system.\textsuperscript{104} In the context of complementarity in the African system, the question is whether a relationship of hierarchy is intended. The danger in failing to resolve this issue lies in the risk of allowing tension arising from a struggle for supremacy to affect the smooth functioning of the system. This is not an academic concern as is demonstrated by the struggle for supremacy and territorialism that occurred in the early years of the Inter-American system.

Although there is yet to be any public report of such tension within the African human rights system, the length of time it took for the African Human Rights Court and the African Commission to harmonise their respective rules of procedure could well be a sign that such issues have emerged.\textsuperscript{105} Naturally, amongst lawyers, the tendency is to consider the court to be superior any other institution engaged in adjudicatory processes. In fact, a perusal of certain provisions in the Court’s Rules suggests that the Court is being held out as a superior partner in the relationship. For example, the provisions in Rule 29(1) relating to documents that the African Commission needs to submit to the Court and the discretion of the Court to hear Commissioners of the African Commission in cases before it are suggestive of such a hierarchical relationship. Similarly, Rule 29(2) relating to the competence of the Court to limit time within which the Commission should send its opinion on an admissibility reference

\begin{footnotes}
\footnotetext{101}{Art 37(2) African Court Protocol; art 38 of the Statute.}
\footnotetext{102}{Dulitzky, supra note 63, at 11.}
\footnotetext{103}{Cowen, supra note 37, at 290.}
\footnotetext{104}{Leathley, supra note 59, at 272.}
\footnotetext{105}{The two institutions have met several times over the past one to two years to harmonise their rules. No similar meetings have been reported between the Court and the African Committee of Experts.}
\end{footnotes}
is suggestive of a superior position. Indeed, if article 2(1) of the Statute is considered, when
the African Human Rights Court is merged with the African Court of Justice, the joint
ACJHR is expected to be the ‘main judicial organ of the African Union’. While clarity of
status is important, considering the dangers of unhealthy competition between institutions, it
needs to be asked whether hierarchy is necessary in this complementary relationship.

The law of international institutions does not prescribe how international institutions should
operate. However, the experiences of other international organisations can provide some
guidance. In relation to the UN, it would appear that no relationship of hierarchy exists as
between its organs. In his analysis of the ICJ’s decision in the Certain Expenses case, Klabbers reasons that the ICJ found ‘a balance of sorts in the idea that the Charter did not
create any hierarchy between the two organs other than that authorising enforcement of
action is the sole prerogative of the Security Council. Klabbers argues further that ‘The
Court found support for its interpretation in what it called the “structure” of the Charter,
under which neither organ was subordinate to the other’. A related question of hierarchy in
the UN system arose in connection with the General Assembly’s termination of South
Africa’s mandate over South West Africa. Analysing the ICJ’s opinion on the implications of
the General Assembly’s resort to the Security Council for enforcement assistance, Klabbers
points out that the Court response was an indication that hierarchy did not exist. Each organ’s
involvement ‘stemmed from its own powers’ and ‘it is not a case of one organ telling the
other what to do’. Klabber’s overall conclusion in relation to the UN is that ‘the various
political organs are supposed not so much as to control each other, but to act in concert’.

As persuasive as the opinion above may appear, one cannot run away from the fact that the
contexts are different as the analysis relates to political organs. In the judicial context, the
ECCJ has declined to attribute a position of superiority to itself in relation to national courts
of ECOWAS member states. According to the ECCJ, it exists in an ‘integrated relationship’
with the national courts. While this may be closer to the present concerns, there are still
differences in contexts. First, the institutions in question do not exist under the same
organisational framework. Second, it was not a case of a relationship between judicial and

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107 Klabbers, *supra* note 17, at 153.
108 *Ibid*.
109 Klabbers, *supra* note 17, at 154
110 Klabbers, *supra* note 17, at 162
111 See *Ugokwe v Nigeria*, Unreported Suit No. ECW/CCJ/APP/02/05, para 32.
non-judicial organs. This later point raises the question whether a relationship of hierarchy need emerge whenever judicial and quasi-judicial organs exist in the same framework.

Conceded that there are huge contextual differences between the issue at hand and the analyses above, it has to be stated that there is does not appear to be any compelling justification to impose hierarchy in this relationship of complementarity. Indeed, in view of the differences in mandate and the fact that the institutions are not all judicial, it may be more beneficial to adopt the ‘integrated relationship’ approach of the ECCJ as between the judicial and quasi-judicial bodies of the African human rights system.

2. Uncertain role of quasi-judicial bodies in the court’s processes

There is no doubt that the quasi-judicial bodies will have some roles in the adjudicatory process of the Court. This could either be at the pre-trial stage or in the course of trials before the court. This aspect of the relationship is one that the institutions in question are likely to cover in the process of harmonising their rules. Thus, reference will be made to those rules to enhance understanding of how it has panned out. The point must be made however, that despite the fact that the African Committee of Experts takes a position equivalent to the African Commission in relation to cases brought on the basis of the African Children’s Charter before the Court, there is no reference to that Committee in the Court’s interim rules.

As far as the pre-trial stage is concerned, there are three main aspects in which quasi-judicial bodies may be involved. These are where there is a request for provisional measures; the admissibility consideration stage and where applicable, at the stage of attempt at amicable settlement. In the view of some commentators, the African Commission should ‘play a prominent role as a filter mechanism’ or act as a ‘screening body’. This is apparently the picture that emerges from the Inter-American system where ‘complaints by individuals alleging human rights abuses must first be directed to the Inter-American Commission’.

However, it has to be borne in mind that the African Commission and the African Committee of Experts were not established with such ‘support’ roles in mind. Unlike the Inter-American system where the ‘institutional integrity’ of the system requires completion of the

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112 Naldi and Magliveras, supra note 44, at 946.
113 Buergenthal, supra note 63, at 157.
114 Pasqualucci, supra note 11, at 306.
Commission’s procedure as a condition precedent for access to the Court, the African system envisages independence of action for the quasi-judicial bodies. However, the African Court Protocol, as well as the Rules of both the Court and the Commission envisages a role for the Commission in the admissibility process of cases brought directly by individuals and NGOs before the Court. No similar certainty exists in relation to the Committee even though it may be desirable for it to play such a role in cases involving the rights of children.

A crucial concern that arises in relation to the involvement of the quasi-judicial bodies relates to the danger of expanding time for the conclusion of cases. If the essence of complementarity is to enhance efficiency of the system, there needs to be compelling reasons to require the Court to solicit the admissibility opinion of the Commission, especially if the Court does not consider itself bound to agree with such an opinion. A possible situation in which such opinion could be warranted may be in a case where admissibility can only be determined after verification of facts. A quasi-judicial body may be better positioned to engage in such a mission and thereby be primed to conclude admissibility. Whatever the case, it is important for the functioning of complementarity that reference to the quasi-judicial bodies should not unduly prolong the process.

In cases directly brought before the Court, the quasi-judicial bodies need not be involved in the request for provisional measures. However, in cases brought before these bodies, in which provisional measures are required, it may be easier for them to forward such requests to the Court instead of ‘recommending’ their own measures. As is evident from the interim rules of both the Commission and the Committee, these bodies have codified their competences in this regard. However, since they are not courts, they can only recommend measures, which states are at liberty to ignore. If states are more likely to comply with the ‘orders’ of provisional measures from the Court there is very little reason why the urgency of a situation should be compromised by experimenting with ‘recommendations’. In fact, if a given situation does not lend itself to diplomacy, this is one way by which the Court can be kept busy pending the liberalisation of access or the willingness of states to make the article 34(6) declaration. This is no different from the position in the Inter-American system.

Ideally, attempts at amicable settlement, where applicable, have to be undertaken before the Court goes into the merits of the case. As previously canvassed, the Court is not suitable for

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115 Shelton, supra note 100, at 251.
117 Pasqualucci, supra note 11, at 301
the role of mediation and arbitration if it has to remain a neutral adjudicator. Thus, once the decision is made that a case is suitable for settlement, the quasi-judicial bodies should make their good offices available for that purpose. This is another way in which the complementary relationship can be positively employed at the pre-trial stage.

The main challenge for complementarity at the merit stage relates to the role that a quasi-judicial body that has brought before the Court should play. Although, there is lack of clarity concerning at what stage cases commenced at before the quasi-judicial bodies should be referred to the Court, both the Commission and the Committee have taken the position that cases will be referred after the conclusion of the merit stage and after states have failed to comply. 118 While there is nothing wrong with this approach, it is submitted that cases involving novel and far reaching issues should be referred to the Court immediately after the admissibility stage. Such referral would allow the Court to develop authoritative interpretations to serve as future reference point.

In relation to the role that the quasi-judicial bodies should play at the hearing of cases brought by them before the Court, the other regional systems present some precedents. Before the ECtHR in the old European system, the European Commission occupied a position similar to the Advocate General in the European Court of Justice. In this role, the Commission is expected to be non-partisan and presents argument in a disinterested manner. 119 In the Inter-American system on the other hand, it would appear that the Commission is the main representative of the victim/applicant even though a victim’s lawyer may be granted audience. 120 Considering the mediatory role that the Commission may be required to play from time to time, and in view of all other aspects of the Commission’s mandate, it is preferable that the old European model is adopted.

3. Status of non-judicial and quasi-judicial output before the court

Another important aspect worthy of consideration in the complementarily relationship is the status of the outputs of the quasi-judicial bodies in proceedings before the Court. In this respect, the admissibility findings; reports of an amicable settlement process; reports of

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118 However, note Rule 118(4) of the Commission’s Interim Rules which stipulates that the Commission may seize the Court at any stage of the proceedings.
119 Pasqualucci, supra note 11, at 320(footnote 119).
120 Pasqualucci, supra note 11, at 320.
factual investigative processes and findings on the merit deserve attention. Generally, reports emerging from a fruitful settlement process should easily receive the endorsement of the Court without any complications. Where the settlement attempt is unfruitful, in line with the Rules of the Court itself, details of who said and did what should not be brought before the Court.\textsuperscript{121}

The status of admissibility findings by the Commission and the Committee appear to be more problematic. Ordinarily, the Court is not under any obligation to consider itself bound by such findings. The experiences of the other regional systems suggest that generally, the admissibility finding by a commission was final under the old European system.\textsuperscript{122} However, during the dying days of the system, the admissibility decision of the defunct Commission was re-opened.\textsuperscript{123} Similarly, in the Velásquez Rodríguez v Honduras case,\textsuperscript{124} the Inter-American Court asserted its right to re-open admissibility findings of the Inter-American Commission. Attractive as it may be for the Court to establish itself as an independent institution, the risk of duplication is very real in situations such as this. Hence, it is suggested except where there compelling reasons for the Court to re-open admissibility, favourable admissibility findings of the quasi-judicial bodies should not be re-opened.

With regards to reports of factual investigation, it is unlikely and even undesirable for the Court to undertake investigative mission. Just as national courts rely on non-judicial bodies to provide evidence for the resolution of cases, the Court has asserted its competence to invite and receive evidence from diverse sources. If the quasi-judicial bodies take on a ‘ministerial’ role before the Court, the value of their factual findings ought to be respected.\textsuperscript{125} Under the CoE regime, it has been noted that there is a practice of the ECtHR showing interest in the ‘findings-in-fact’ of the CPT even though the considered opinion on such facts are not utilised.\textsuperscript{126} Thus, in this area, complementarity should work in favour of recognition of the fact-finding role of the quasi-judicial bodies.

\textsuperscript{121} Rule 57(2) of the Interim Rules of the Court.
\textsuperscript{122} P van Dijk and GHJ van Hoof (eds) Theory and Practice of the European Court of Human Rights (1998), at 107.
\textsuperscript{124} [1998] Inter-Am Ct HR (Ser C) No4
\textsuperscript{125} See eg Rescia and Settles, supra note 93, at 607, who suggests that acceptance of a Commission’s ‘proven facts’ by the Court is procedurally economic. However, he also consider such wholesale acceptance of Commission’s finding to be dangerous to the credibility of the Inter-American system.
\textsuperscript{126} Kelly, supra note 32, at 302.
The status of the findings on the merit by the quasi-judicial bodies presents some complications. Clearly, there is no guidance in any of the rules on the status of such findings in the Court’s determination of cases. In considering this point, it has to be borne in mind that the Court cannot assume an appellate role over quasi-judicial findings on the merit. For example, the findings of administrative and quasi-judicial bodies in municipal law are subjected to review but not appeal. It also has to be borne in mind that technically, the principles of lis pendens and res judicata cannot apply to this relationship since one body is a court and the others are not. Thus, the expectations of outcome are not similar and therefore will not fulfil the conditions for these principles to apply. Consequently, despite the risk of duplication, there is no compelling argument against a re-consideration of the case on the merit by the Court. The Court cannot allow itself to be seen as a ‘rubber-stamp’ for a quasi-judicial institution. Indeed, if the intention was merely to create an institution for the enforcement of the Commission’s decision, any of the political organs could have better served that purpose. Notwithstanding these arguments, there is no reason why the earlier or previous jurisprudence of these quasi-judicial bodies should not constitute persuasive soft law that can be applied as interpretative aids by the Court.127

There appears to be no simple solution to some of the challenges that the complementarity relationship carries. However, insofar as the Court recognises that the quasi-judicial bodies are not in an inferior position towards it, the resolution of conflicts will be easier.

4. Duty of the Court to the other institutions

One other relational issue that arises from the Court’s rules concerns the duty that the Court owes to the other institutions. By article 43(5), the Court undertakes to transmit its judgments to the Commission just as it transmits such judgments to member states. A similar duty is not indicated vis-à-vis the Committee. Further, both in the African Court’s Protocol and in Rule 26(1)(b), the advisory jurisdiction of the Court is limited in relation to matters undergoing examination by the African Commission. This kind of deference is positive as it reinforces complementarity. However, it raises the question whether the same limitation should not apply to matters pending before the African Committee of Experts.

127 In this regard, see Imbert, supra note 26, at 294.
One final point in this regard relates to the provision in Rule 40(7) of the Rules of the Court. That provision which is a reproduction of article 56(7) of the African Charter limits the jurisdiction of the Court in matters previously settled in accordance with the principles of the UN Charter, the AU Constitutive Act, the provisions of the African Charter and any other AU instruments. While it may appear to be a positive provision, titling towards res judicata and indicating deference for the procedures of other institutions, including the quasi-judicial bodies, it creates certain concerns. For example, it needs to be considered whether there is no conflict between this rule and article 5 of the Court’s Protocol. This is because except the access granted to states in article 5 of the Protocol can only be exercised while a complaint is still pending before the African Commission, the rule conflicts with that access. The equivalent provision in article 56(7) of the African Charter is directed at the African Commission and is more useful in the complementary context in that character. If it is applied in the context of the Court, it is likely to defeat the purpose of complementarity. It is also likely to raise the question whether a non-judicial or quasi-judicial settlement is sufficient to extinguish the right to judicial remedy of an alleged victim of human rights violation. In summary, the provisions containing the duty of the Court in this complementary relationship may need to be revisited.

4 Towards a positive application of complementarity in the system

Although, the terms ‘complementary’ and ‘complementarity’ do not appear very frequently in the instruments of the African human rights system, they appear enough to require careful attention. Hopefully, the discourse in this paper has demonstrated that as used in the African human rights system, complementarity takes a fluid meaning and is not exactly a replica of any other usage of the term. Close as it may be to the understanding of complementarity in the CoE regime, the nature of institutions involved in the relationship often forces a difference in conceptualisation. The discourse has also tried to show that in the context of the African human rights system, complementarity specialisation and individual action on the one hand, and mutual, cooperative and supportive action on the other. The challenge is to ensure that complementarity is applied in a positive manner to enhance the efficiency of the system.

The experiences of the other main regional human rights system has indicated that the challenges associated with a two-tiered structure for human rights protection are daunting.
From issues of unnecessary duplication\textsuperscript{128} and lengthy procedures,\textsuperscript{129} to concerns around compartmentalisation,\textsuperscript{130} commentators have not ceased to find compelling arguments against such two-tiered systems. In the case of the African system, the challenge is even bigger as the system is technically a multi-tiered structure. With such challenges, it is beyond doubt that complementarity needs to be engaged as an instrument to bring order into the system. In order to do this, complementarity in the system has to be understood beyond its descriptive function. The functional and relational dimensions of complementarity in the African human rights system can only be positively exploited if the various institutions in the system are encouraged to focus on their relative comparative abilities. Similar to Clapham’s proposal to the CoE regime,\textsuperscript{131} matching the strengths and weaknesses of each institution in this complementary relationship is vital to the task of building a unified fortress for human rights protection in Africa.

\textsuperscript{128} Rescia and Seitles, \textit{supra} note 93, at 607.
\textsuperscript{129} Pasqualucci, \textit{supra} note 11.
\textsuperscript{130} Imbert, \textit{supra} note 26, at 292
\textsuperscript{131} Clapham, \textit{On Complementarity, supra} note 5, at 321