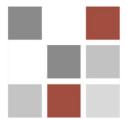
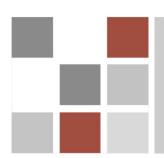


# POLITICAL PARTY CRIME IN THE BALKANS

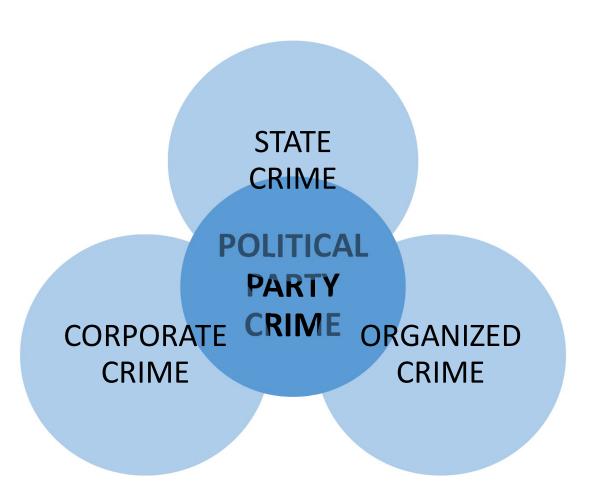
Dr. Aleksandar Marsavelski, LL.M. (Yale)
Assistant Professor at the Faculty of Law, University of Zagreb
Member of the Max Planck Partner Group "Balkan Criminology"



### Organisational crime



#### ORGANISATIONAL CRIME







# Case studies from the Balkans



### Torture: Romanian Piteşti Prison Experiment

- Brainwashing ('re-educating) of opponents of the communist regime ruled by PCR – developed in Piteşti (1949-1952)
- The Piteşti model of prison experiment included systematic torture and in the end the prisoners were asked to prove their loyalty to the PCR by becoming torturers themselves.
- Amounts to crimes against humanity







#### Political Crimes -> Political Trials

- SLOMR (Free Union of Romanian Workers)
   – established in 1979 to oppose the control exercised by the ruling Communist Party
- wave of repression against the body and its members it included massive arrests, involuntary commitment in psychiatric hospitals, exile, systematic harassment, beatings, as well as a summary trials and prison sentences passed on the SLOMR founder and other leading members
- the SLOMR founders and leaders have been arrested and sentenced to prison for "disseminating fascist propaganda", of having created an "anarchistic organisation", on charges of "parasitism" and "hooliganism" etc.



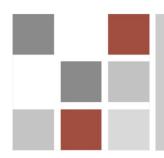


# Inernational Crimes: Serbian Democratic Party (SDS) behind Bosnian Genocide









# Inernational Crimes: Serbian Democratic Party (SDS) behind Bosnian Genocide

- [T]he SDS prepared and distributed written instructions to SDS municipal leaders to form crisis staffs including ultimately the objective of ethnic separation by force (*Prosecutor v. Krajišnik & Plavšić*, 2002)
- The Bosnian Serb forces under the direction and control of the SDS collaborated to implement the objective of ethnic separation by force (*Prosecutor v. Krajišnik* & *Plavšić*, 2002)
- The Trial Chamber stated that Krajišnik's overall contribution to the JCE was to help establish and perpetuate the SDS party and state structures that were instrumental to the commission of the crimes. (*Prosecutor v. Krajišnik*, 2009)
- The Trial Chamber is satisfied beyond reasonable doubt that the crimes that were committed in the Bosnian Krajina from April 1992 until the end of December 1992, the period relevant to the Indictment, occurred as a direct result of a consistent, coherent and criminal strategy of cleansing the Bosnian Krajina of other ethnic groups implemented by the SDS. (*Prosecutor v. Brđanin* 2004)



#### **Terrorism**

• IMRO's assassination of King Alexander of Yugoslavia (1934)







### Crimes against privacy: Macedonian Watergate

### The New York Times

Macedonia Government Is Blamed for Wiretapping Scandal

By JOANNA BERENDT JUNE 21, 2015





### Macedonian monuments of corruption



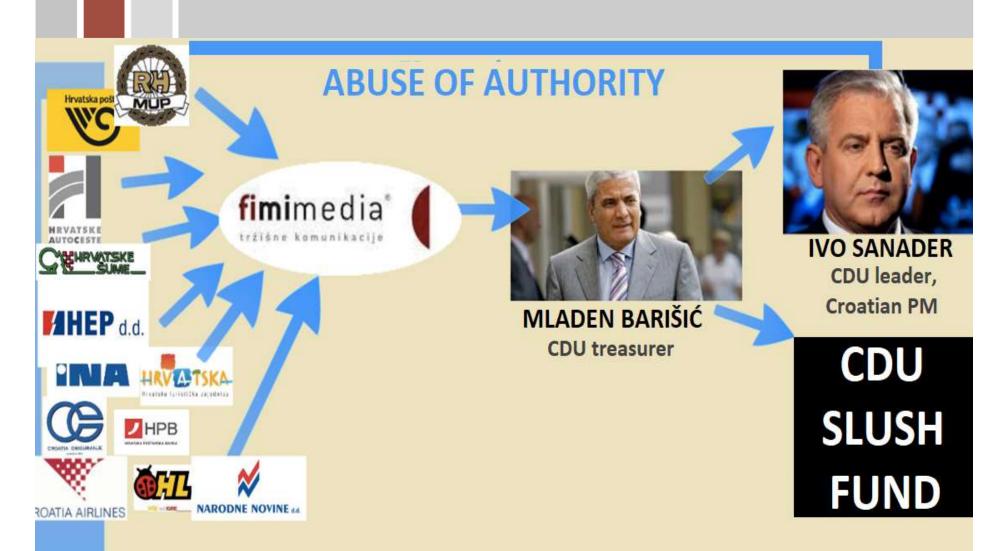


### More political corruption: Slovenian Patria affair



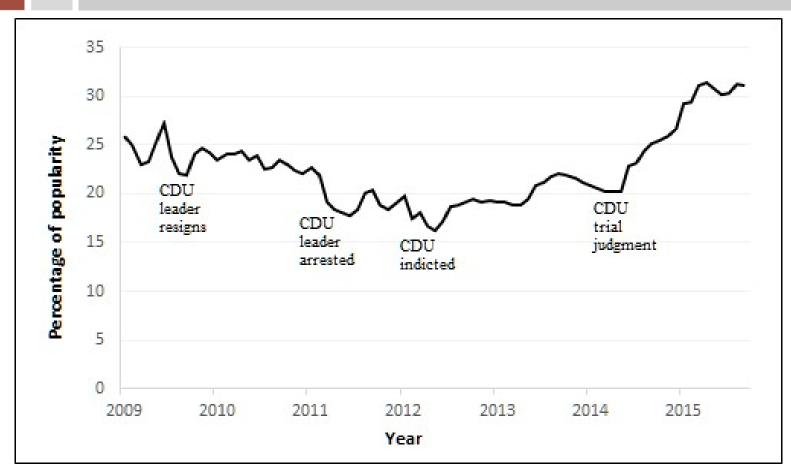


#### Economic crimes: Croatian CDU case



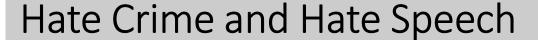






**Figure 2** CDU's popularity (January 2009 – September 2015); sample: 1,300; margin of error: +/-2.3%; confidence level 95%; source: Promocija plus.

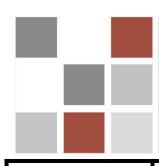




• Far party **Golden Dawn** – hate speech and violence against minorities and immigrants in Greece







# PHENOMENOLOGY OF POLITICAL PARTIES' CRIMINALITY

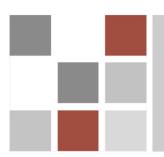
POLITICAL	STATUS OF A		
SYSTEM	POLITICAL PARTY	CRIMES IN PEACETIME	CRIMES IN WARTIME
DEMOCRACY			1. International crimes
	RULLING PARTY	1. Economic crimes	2. Unlawful imprisonment
		2. Election crimes	& torture
		3. Crimes against privacy	3. Hate speech &
			economic crimes
DEN	PARTY IN OPPOSITION	1. Hate speech	1. Hate speech
		2. Election crimes	2. Election crimes
		3. Terrorism	3. International crimes
TOTALITARIANISM		1. Unlawful imprisonment	1. International crimes
	RULLING PARTY	& torture	2. Unlawful imprisonment
		2. Homicide	& torture
		3. Crimes against	3. Homicide
		humanity	
TOTA	PARTY IN OPPOSITION	1. political crimes	1. political crimes
		2. terrorism	2. International crimes





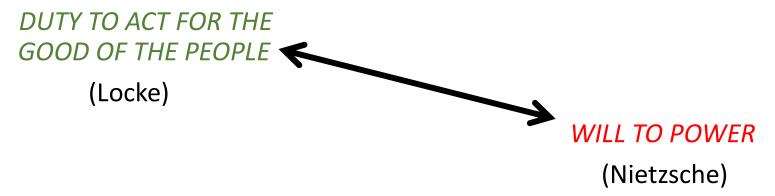
# ETIOLOGY OF POLITICAL PARTIES' CRIMINALITY



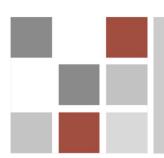


# ETIOLOGY OF POLITICAL PARTIES' CRIMINALITY

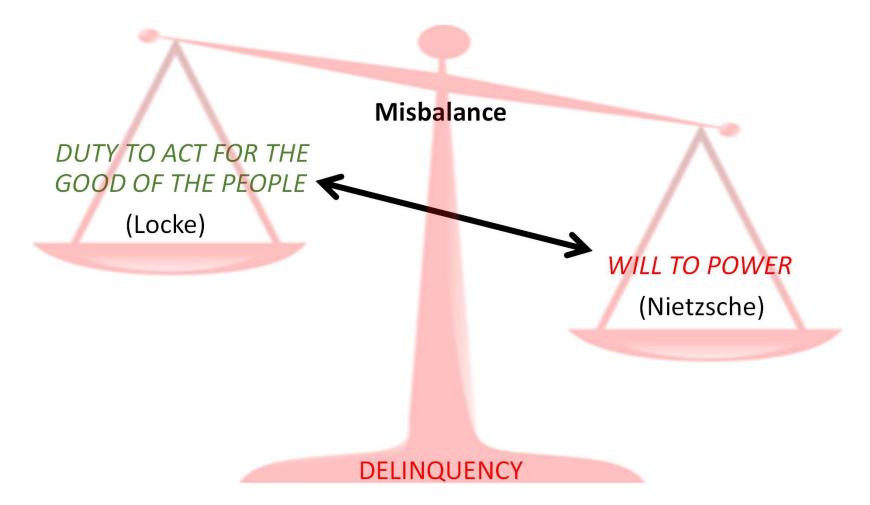
#### **Colliding interests:**



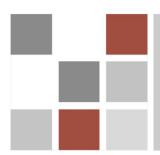




# ETIOLOGY OF POLITICAL PARTIES' CRIMINALITY







### Responsibility of political parties: colliding interests

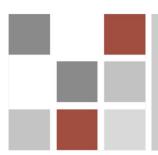


Different models of responsibility of political parties for criminal offences may provide incentives to members of political parties to elect honest political leaders

Restrictions are necessary to prevent instrumentalisation of criminal law in confrontations of the ruling political party with its opponents

Balancing the spectrum of responsibility of political parties for criminal offences in order to prevent irresponsible political structures, while ensirung the functioning of democratic system.





## Responsibility of political parties: alternative constitutional response







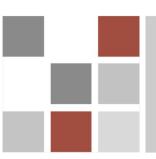
#### Obstacles, alternatives, sanctions...

- **Obstacles**: immunity, abolition, amnesty, pardon, law amendments, political preferences of law enforcement bodies (police, prosecutors, judges...), *Parteienprivileg, statut privilégie*, status change of political parties, political pressures...
- Alternatives: other criminal law models (criminal organizations) political, constitutional, administrative, misdemeanour, civil...

#### Sanctions

- Punishments: fine, dissolution, de facto dissolution
- Security measures: bans of certain activities ...
- Ancillary measures (criminal record)
- etc.
- Human Rights concerns primarily Art. 11 ECHR





#### Discussion and Conclusion

- New area of criminological research
- Balkan region (including Balkan neigbouring countries) can be used to study new criminological phenomenons of global relevance
- Balkan region is the perfect environment to study political party crime:
  - Relatively small area
  - Cultural and political diversity
  - Historical presence of totalitarianism, transition and democracy
  - Presence of innovative responses



### Thank you for your attention!



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