TO PLEA OR NOT TO PLEA: THE BENEFITS OF ESTABLISHING AN INSTITUTIONALIZED PLEA BARGAINING SYSTEM IN JAPAN

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Abstract: Plea bargaining, the practice that permits the prosecution and defense to negotiate reduced charges or a lighter sentence in exchange for the defendant’s guilty plea, is a bedrock component of the criminal justice system in many nations. The Japanese legal community, however, has resisted introducing plea bargaining into Japan’s legal system. From 2001 to 2004, the Japanese legislature passed over twenty reform laws to prepare the country’s criminal justice system for the demands of the twenty-first century, but provisions for plea bargaining were conspicuously absent from the reform package. This is largely because the Japanese legal community views plea bargaining as antithetical to the Japanese justice system’s core values: obtaining the truth, encouraging the defendant’s remorse and rehabilitation, and protecting victims’ interests. Resistance to plea bargaining in Japan takes on heightened significance in light of increasing pressures on the nation’s legal system to expedite criminal proceedings. Currently, there are “tacit” informal types of plea bargaining that Japanese prosecutors use to simplify trial procedures. This comment argues that tacit bargaining is an inadequate substitute for formal institutionalized plea bargaining. While tacit bargaining may relieve burdens on congested Japanese criminal courts, tacit bargains are unenforceable, leaving the defendant without a remedy in the event the prosecution breaches the informal agreement. The use of tacit bargaining is also concerning in regards to defendants’ rights because it sustains coercive aspects of the Japanese justice system and leads to uninformed, involuntary confessions. In order to address Japan’s cultural aversions to plea bargaining, this comment examines the use of plea bargaining in international criminal tribunals. These tribunals can serve as models for Japan because they have demonstrated that plea bargaining can aid rather than undermine the goals of the Japanese justice system.

I. INTRODUCTION

“The disposition of criminal charges by agreement between the prosecutor and the accused, sometimes loosely called ‘plea bargaining,’ is an essential component of the administration of justice. Properly administered, it is to be encouraged.”—Chief Justice Burger, speaking for the United States Supreme Court.1

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“[P]revailing legal sensibility recoil[s] at the thought that criminal justice could be a matter to be negotiated rather than imposed.”—Mirjan Damaška.2

Plea bargaining is simultaneously one of the most frequently used practices in criminal justice systems around the globe and one of the most controversial practices.3 At its core, plea bargaining is a negotiation process between the prosecution and defense.4 It permits the defendant to admit incriminating facts or to plead guilty to one or more criminal charges in exchange for the prosecutor’s suspension of prosecution for other charges (charge bargaining) or recommendation of a lighter sentence (sentence bargaining).5 The practice is voluntary; criminal defendants must choose whether to waive their constitutional right to a jury trial and forgo the safeguards that a trial provides.6 On the one hand, plea bargaining is considered vital for sustaining overburdened trial courts and prosecutorial staffs.7 On the other hand, some believe that plea bargaining treats guilty defendants too leniently and undermines the truth finding function of trial by pressuring innocent defendants into accepting a bargain.8

The latter theory prevails in Japan, which lacks a formal plea bargaining system and whose legal community has long resisted adoption of such a system.9 Following a nationwide economic downturn in the 1990s, the Japanese government instituted a series of legal reforms proposed by the Justice System Reform Council (“JSRC”) to strengthen the foundations of the country’s legal and administrative apparatuses for the twenty-first century.10 The JSRC specifically refused to recommend a system of plea

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5 Id.
7 Fisher, supra note 3, at 867 (stating that plea bargaining “deliver[s] marvelously efficient relief from a suffocating workload [for judges and prosecutors]”).
9 See Jean Choi Desombre, Comparing the Notions of the Japanese and the U.S. Criminal Justice System: An Examination of Pretrial Rights of the Criminally Accused in Japan and the United States, 14 UCLA PAC. BASIN L.J. 103, 124 (1995) (observing that truth-seeking and accuracy are central goals of the Japanese criminal justice system and that these goals would be undermined if innocent defendants pled guilty).
10 See THE JUSTICE SYSTEM REFORM COUNCIL, RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE JUSTICE SYSTEM REFORM COUNCIL FOR A JUSTICE SYSTEM TO SUPPORT JAPAN IN THE 21ST CENTURY intro. (2001),
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bargaining, stating that it was important to develop efficient trial procedures but that there were “problems” associated with giving criminal defendants the choice to avoid trial. Accordingly, plea bargaining provisions were not among the reform laws passed by the Japanese legislature. In addition, Japanese legal professionals believe that plea bargaining is incompatible with the pursuit of justice within the Japanese system, which emphasizes truth seeking, the defendant’s remorse and rehabilitation, and the protection of victims’ interests. The rejection of plea bargaining by the JSRC, the Japanese legislature, and Japanese legal professionals assumes new urgency in light of rising pressures on the country’s criminal justice system to increase efficiency since the early 1990s.

Despite their resistance to institutionalized plea bargaining, key players in the Japanese legal system have sanctioned alternative kinds of bargaining in response to the demand for efficiency. The main response has been a system of “tacit” bargaining, in which there is an implicit, often unspoken, exchange of the defendant’s confession for lesser charges or recommendation of a more lenient sentence by the prosecutor. When defendants confess pursuant to a tacit bargain, they are usually convicted under expedited trial procedures. Since some semblance of trial is preserved and prosecutors are not obligated to adhere to implicit bargains,


11 THE JUSTICE SYSTEM REFORM COUNCIL, supra note 10, at ch. II, pt. 2 § (1)(6).

12 See Daniel H. Foote, Justice System Reform in Japan, at 11-13, http://www.reds.msh-paris.fr/communication/docs/foote.pdf (listing the major reforms that the Japanese legislature made, of which plea bargaining is not one).


14 See Desombre, supra note 9, at 124 (noting the truth-seeking component of the Japanese justice system); Ingram Weber, The New Japanese Jury System: Empowering the Public, Preserving Continental Justice, 4 E. ASIA L. REV. 125, 146-47 (2009) (noting the Japanese justice system’s commitment to the goals of rehabilitation and remorse); Arne F. Soldwedel, Testing Japan’s Convictions: The Lay Judge System and the Rights of Criminal Defendants, 41 VAND. J. TRANSNAT’L L. 1417, 1458-59 (2008) (noting that, as crimes have increased, the Japanese justice system has become increasingly focused on protecting victims’ rights rather than the rights of the accused).


17 Id. at 192.

18 Id. at 184-91.
tacit bargaining’s “unspoken exchange[s] of concessions” is more acceptable to the Japanese legal community than institutionalized plea bargaining. Nonetheless, some view tacit bargaining as the “functional analogue” of formal, American-style plea bargaining.

This comment argues that the confession-reliant tacit bargaining now practiced in Japan is an ineffective substitute for a system of institutionalized plea bargaining. Institutionalized plea bargaining achieves the ultimate efficiency goal of avoiding trial in two ways: it creates binding, enforceable bargains, and it yields benefits to both the defense and prosecution through negotiation. In contrast, tacit bargains are nonnegotiable and nonbinding, and reinforce aspects of the Japanese justice system that favor prosecutorial power. This is problematic in view of the Japanese government’s goal of creating a more liberal justice system for the twenty-first century with renewed focus on defendants’ rights. Furthermore, this comment argues that, contrary to beliefs among Japanese legal professionals, institutionalized plea bargaining would comport with the values of the Japanese justice system that emphasize truth-seeking, the defendant’s remorse and rehabilitation, and protection of victims’ interests. In this regard, international criminal tribunals can serve as models for Japan because they utilize plea bargaining in ways that respect those objectives.

Part II of this comment describes the increasing burdens on the Japanese criminal justice system and the tacit varieties of plea bargaining that have developed in response. Part III argues that tacit bargaining cannot substitute for a more formalized system of plea bargaining. Tacit bargaining

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19 Id. at 191.
22 See Didrick Castberg, Prosecutorial Independence in Japan, 16 UCLA PAC. BASIN L.J. 38, 67-68 (1997) (noting that one feature of formal American-style plea bargaining is an offer and exchange of specific benefits to both parties). Standard-form plea bargaining, in which a defendant’s guilty plea is accompanied by standardized charge reductions or reductions in the prosecutor’s recommended length of sentence, renders negotiation more of a theoretical possibility than the norm in many jurisdictions in the United States. See, e.g., Margaret Etienne & Jennifer K. Robbennolt, Comment, Apologies and Plea Bargaining, 91 MARQ. L. REV. 295, 311 (2007) (analogizing plea bargaining to an “assembly line model of case processing in which prosecutors . . . assign a preliminary plea offer to each case”). However, the laws of most jurisdictions leave the parties significant room for negotiation at the margins that take into account the unique circumstances of each case. Id. at 312 (“Many plea agreements fall somewhere on the spectrum that runs from supermarket bargaining to protracted bargaining.”).
23 Turner, supra note 16, at 192.
exploits existing vulnerabilities in the Japanese justice system and often leads to uninformed, involuntary confessions. The nonbinding, nonnegotiable nature of tacit bargains also limits their effectiveness. In contrast, a system of institutionalized plea bargaining would provide some protection for defendants’ rights. It would also level the playing field between the defense and prosecution by yielding enforceable plea agreements through a negotiated exchange of benefits. Finally, Part IV posits that international criminal tribunals can serve as exemplars for Japan because they have used plea bargaining systematically and transparently in ways that incorporate the goals of the Japanese justice system.

II. INCREASING PRESSURE TO QUICKLY DISPOSE OF CRIMINAL CASES HAS LED JAPANESE PROSECUTORS TO USE TACIT BARGAINING

Efficiency is the most often cited reason for the existence of plea bargaining, and recent trends highlight the demand for efficiency in Japan. Japan has been characterized as a “paradise lost” because of its once low crime rates compared to other industrialized nations, followed by a gradual increase in crime and decline in the public’s sense of security in the past two decades. During the 1960s through the 1980s, when the crime rates of most industrialized countries increased, Japan’s crime rate fell. However, this pattern reversed during the 1990s and the first decade of this century, as Japan experienced an economic downturn. Japan’s increasing crime rate has translated into a decreasing number of cases tried and prosecuted in the country, signaling that the current system is in need of a safety valve. Prosecutors have used tacit bargaining and the expedited trial procedures that follow to address the burdens on the system, but tacit bargaining is not an ideal solution to the problem of efficiency.

27 See Curtin, supra note 15.
28 Id.; see also Leonardson, supra note 26, at 185 (concluding that the 1990s economic slump explains the rise in crime in Japan).
29 See 2006 WHITE PAPER ON CRIME, supra note 15, at tbl. 2-3-1-1.
A. Japan Is Experiencing an Upswing in Crime Rates and a Shortage of Prosecutorial Resources

The increase in crime in Japan from the 1990s to the present has been significant. One writer places the increase in the overall crime rate from 1994 to 2004 at approximately 150%. The Japanese Ministry of Justice issued a White Paper on Crime in 2002 that showed a steady increase in the number of reported crimes since 1990. There was an accompanying decrease in the clearance rate, the rate at which suspects are released from police custody or cleared of charges, for alleged violations of the Japanese Penal Code. Although recently issued White Papers indicate a decline in crime since 2003, crime is still high by historical standards and not all types of crime have decreased in frequency. Specifically, less serious nonviolent crimes, such as car thefts and burglaries, have seen the greatest rate increases in the past two decades. The increase in crime in Japan, particularly less serious crime, supports the argument in favor of plea bargaining because prosecutors are under pressure to dispose of each case quickly and turn their attention to other crimes. Less serious crimes are particularly amenable to plea bargaining because prosecutors may consider the seriousness of an offense and public response to a plea bargain when deciding whether to enter into plea discussions.

Although Japan’s rising crime rate and decreasing clearance rate demand more prosecutorial resources to keep the public safe, prosecutors’ offices remain “[c]hronically understaffed.” In 2006, according to United Nations estimates, there were fewer than two prosecutors in Japan for every

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30 Curtin, supra note 15. But see David T. Johnson, Crime and Punishment in Contemporary Japan, 36 CRIME & JUST. 371, 376-78 (2007) (arguing that the perception of a rise in crime has been fueled by changes in police crime reporting practices).

31 JAPANESE MINISTRY OF JUSTICE, WHITE PAPER ON CRIME fig. 1-1-1-1 (2002).

32 Id. at fig. 1-1-1-1.

33 See Leonardsen, supra note 26; 2006 WHITE PAPER ON CRIME, supra note 15, at pt. 1, ch. 1, § 1.1.


35 Id.

36 See TURNER, supra note 16, at 174.

37 Rebecca Hollander-Blumoff, Getting to “Guilty”: Plea Bargaining as Negotiation, 2 HARV. NEGOT. L. REV. 115, 131 (1997) (asserting that less serious and less visible crimes are most amenable to plea bargaining because prosecutors can avoid the public perception that they are being soft on crime by making a plea agreement).

38 Ramseyer & Rasmusen, supra note 20, at 54.
Although the Japanese government plans to bring the number of lawyers nationwide up to at least 50,000 by 2018 with changes to bar admission rules made in 2002, the number of attorneys will remain low by international standards. Moreover, there is no guarantee that a sizable share of the new lawyers will choose to work as criminal lawyers when more attractive career paths are available. In addition to the small number of prosecutors, the number of trials has decreased quite steadily from 1996 to 2005. The fact that the number of trials cannot keep pace with the country’s crime rate shows that prosecutors need the kind of safety valve provided by plea bargaining. The Japanese legislature’s introduction of a jury requirement for serious criminal cases beginning in 2009 has placed further limits on prosecutorial resources. The jury trial requirement impacts roughly 3% of criminal cases each year and is a reality that prosecutors must confront by conserving resources whenever possible.

The public mood in Japan is not impervious to the nation’s increasing crime rate. The sense of security that Japanese citizens once felt has gradually eroded, to the point that people fear for their personal safety. The fear signals that “something new is happening in a society renowned for its peacefulness and high level of social integration.” The public is distrustful of the ability of government authorities to clamp down on increasing crime rates. Perhaps these trends in the public mood indicate

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41 The United States had more than four times as many prosecutors as Japan (8.84) for every 100,000 people in 2005, while still using plea bargaining on a regular basis to keep the court system running efficiently. U.N. Office on Drugs & Crime, supra note 39, at 2290.
42 Reforms in Japan Expected to Bring Influx of Lawyers, Lawsuits, supra note 40 (remarking that “[d]efense lawyers are widely perceived as protectors of the public’s enemies and are often poorly paid”).
43 See 2006 WHITE PAPER ON CRIME, supra note 15, at tbl. 2-3-1-1 (tracking a relatively steady decline from 1996 to 2005 in the number of defendants that are finally judged by trials).
44 See Matthew J. Wilson, U.S. Legal Education Methods and Ideals: Application to the Japanese and Korean Systems, 18 CARDOZO J. INT’L & COMP. L. 295, 334 (2010) (explaining that Japanese courts had to appoint defense attorneys in 6730 cases that were filed in the month following implementation of the new jury trial system).
45 Matthew Wilson, The Dawn of Criminal Jury Trials in Japan: Success on the Horizon?, 24 Wis. INT’L L.J. 835, 844-45 (2007) (listing types of cases in which new mixed jury system is required and calculating that 3.2% of cases would have been subject to the requirement in 2005).
46 See Leonardsen, supra note 26, at 186 (describing fear that Japanese parents and teachers have about youth and a rising preoccupation with media coverage of crime).
47 Id. at 187.
48 See Curtin, supra note 15 (finding that public confidence in the police has hit a record low).
that the Japanese citizenry is ready for the government to try more efficient methods of prosecuting crime and getting criminals off the streets. Indeed, one of the findings of the JSRC was that the public doubted the government’s ability to quickly try and sentence criminal defendants.\footnote{\textsc{The Justice System Reform Council,} supra note 10, at ch. II, pt. 2, § 1.} Plea bargaining could be an effective tool in the government’s arsenal for achieving speedier criminal justice.

\section*{B. Japanese Prosecutors Have Used Tacit Bargaining in Response to the Pressures to Expedite Criminal Proceedings}

The trends noted above illustrate that efficiency is now a core concern of the Japanese criminal justice system, creating the need for a system of plea bargaining. Japanese prosecutors, encouraged by trial courts, have responded to the demand for efficiency by using various forms of informal tacit bargaining.\footnote{\textsc{Turner,} supra note 16, at 174, 191.} In her survey of plea bargaining systems across the globe, Jenia Turner identifies three types of tacit bargaining that are used in Japan: 1) an informal offer of summary prosecution and a monetary fine rather than a custodial sentence, in exchange for a confession; 2) an informal offer of suspended prosecution or recommendation of a lenient sentence, in exchange for a confession; and 3) an unspoken exchange of a lighter sentence for confession and cooperation with the court.\footnote{\textit{Id.} at 189, 191.}

Summary prosecution, in which no formal trial occurs, is the primary mode of resolution used in minor criminal cases and traffic offenses.\footnote{\textsc{See 2006 White Paper on Crime,} supra note 15, at tbl. 2-3-1-3; \textsc{Johnson,} supra note 13, at 414.} More serious cases, however, must be resolved by a full-scale trial or by the expedited trials allowed by the second and third type of tacit bargains.\footnote{\textsc{Turner,} supra note 16, at 191.} All three categories of tacit bargaining identified by Turner rest on the defendant’s confession.\footnote{\textit{Id.}} The implicit bargain (i.e. the promise of a more lenient sentence or of suspended prosecution) is offered in exchange for the defendant’s confession, and this exchange of benefits occurs during pretrial interrogation before the defendant is formally charged and pleads in court.\footnote{\textit{Id.}} As one writer explains,

\begin{quote}
In Japan, there is no guilty plea as such, as the accused can only admit or deny the facts as set forth in the indictment. And by
\end{quote}
the time the indictment is filed, the defendant has generally given a statement in which he or she confesses or admits to most of the facts charged. Thus the defendant in Japan has little with which to bargain.\footnote{Castberg, supra note 22, at 68.}

In contrast, in the Anglo-American system, the bargain is offered in exchange for the defendant’s guilty plea, and the terms of the bargain are reduced to writing before the defendant appears in court. The system of confession-dependent tacit bargaining and the system of plea-dependent institutionalized bargaining differ in important respects.

C. Japanese Prosecutors Rely on Tacit Bargaining Because of Cultural Aversion to Institutionalized Plea Bargaining

Tacit bargaining can be viewed as a way of getting around the ingrained cultural aversion to “explicit” plea bargaining within the Japanese legal community.\footnote{See Turner, supra note 16, at 191, 195.} Japan’s cultural distaste for plea bargaining stems from the fact that the country’s justice system is not centered on defendants’ rights, or what some scholars call “procedural justice.”\footnote{Desambre, supra note 9, at 103; Soldwedel, supra note 14, at 1430.} Rather, it focuses on achieving the “just result,” or what some scholars call “substantive justice.”\footnote{Id.} There are three goals of the Japanese justice system that lead the way to the “just result”: seeking a truthful account of events, exacting remorse from defendants while attempting to rehabilitate them, and protecting victims.\footnote{See Desambre, supra note 9, at 124 (noting the truth-seeking component of the Japanese justice system); Weber, supra note 14, at 146-47 (noting the Japanese justice system’s commitment to the goals of rehabilitation and remorse); Soldwedel, supra note 14, at 1458-59 (noting that, as crimes have increased, the Japanese justice system has become increasingly focused on protecting victims’ rights rather than the rights of the accused).} Many Japanese legal professionals believe that plea bargaining interferes with these goals because “the advance promise of leniency” pressures innocent defendants to plead guilty and induces guilty defendants to distort the truth.\footnote{Desambre, supra note 9, at 124.} They believe that the pressure to falsify undermines the search for truth.\footnote{Id.} They also believe that, whereas a confession reveals the motives behind a defendant’s crime, a guilty plea precludes a sincere apology from the defendant, diminishes the prospects for genuine rehabilitation, and interferes with the victim’s healing process.\footnote{Weber, supra note 14, at 146-47.}
To get around cultural obstacles to institutionalized plea bargaining, Japanese legal professionals use tacit bargaining. However, tacit bargaining is concerning in regards to defendants’ rights, as covered in Part III. The use of plea bargaining in international criminal tribunals, as covered in Part IV, indicates that institutionalized plea bargaining may actually be a better fit for the values of the Japanese justice system.

III. THE NONBINDING, COERCIVE NATURE OF TACIT BARGAINS MAKE THEM INADEQUATE SUBSTITUTES FOR FORMAL PLEA AGREEMENTS

Formal institutionalized plea bargaining has been the object of much criticism, raising the question of whether Japan would be better served by continuing to use the tacit bargaining system that preserves at least some semblance of trial procedures. There is voluminous literature that criticizes the quality of justice that results from institutionalized plea bargaining. A common thread in this literature is that plea bargaining subverts the integrity of the judicial system because the defendant gives up the safeguards of trial, such as judicial neutrality and the public forum. Plea bargaining is also criticized for its coerciveness; it pressures defendants into waiving their right to a trial and punishes defendants who insist on trial with harsher sentences. Finally, some believe that plea bargaining pressures innocent defendants who don’t want to accept the risks associated with trial into pleading guilty, thereby undermining the truth finding function of trial. The main response to these arguments usually hinges on the sheer necessity of plea bargaining in overburdened criminal justice systems.

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65 Summary prosecution, often used to resolve minor crimes, avoids trial, but the types of tacit bargaining generally used to resolve more serious cases preserve an expedited form of trial. See TURNER, supra note 16, at 191; Johnson, supra note 13, at 414.
66 See generally Combs, supra note 64.
70 See, e.g., Santobello v. New York, 404 U.S. 257, 260 (1971) (“If every criminal charge were subjected to a full-scale trial, the States and the Federal Government would need to multiply by many times the number of judges and court facilities.”).
Plea bargaining is viewed as an essential time saver because it shortcuts complicated trial procedures while still affording defendants some measure of choice in deciding whether to "‘sell’ [their] right to trial." The increasing crime rates and shortage of prosecutorial resources in Japan highlight the necessity for a plea bargaining system in the country. Thus, while it is beyond the scope of this comment to embark on an in-depth analysis of the advantages and disadvantages of plea bargaining, this comment does adopt the stance that plea bargaining, for all its flaws, is a valuable feature in overburdened court systems. Furthermore, this comment argues that, compared to institutionalized plea bargaining, the problems associated with tacit plea bargaining are more numerous and more restrictive of defendants’ rights.

At about the same time that crime started increasing in Japan in the 1990s, the country’s legal system also began undergoing a major transition, formally shifting from an inquisitorial system to an adversarial system. Many of the reform laws passed by the Japanese legislature following the JSRC recommendations were intended to introduce an adversarial component into Japan’s criminal justice system. However, vestiges of the old inquisitorial system remain. The principle aim of the Japanese justice system is still “to achieve the just result, not the just process,” so that “if the accused is indeed guilty, the Japanese system is driven to find him guilty even if his rights are violated in the process of determining his guilt.” Tacit plea bargaining, which rests on obtaining confessions, reinforces coercive institutional structures and relationships within the Japanese system in a way that is concerning for the rights of criminal defendants. Institutionalized plea bargaining would result in fewer uninformed, involuntary confessions in Japan. A system of formal plea agreements would also introduce more balance into Japan’s criminal justice process and into the relationships of key players in the Japanese legal system. It would do so by fostering binding

71 Fisher, supra note 3, at 1070.
72 Sandefur, supra note 6.
73 See supra Part II.
75 See Foote, supra note 12, at 11-12 (describing reform laws, such as the strengthening of public defender agencies and introduction of ADR mechanisms, that have attempted to equalize the power of the defense and prosecution).
76 See Ginsburg, supra note 74, at 573 (noting that many authors have concluded that Japan has not met its stated objective of fully transitioning to an adversarial system).
77 Desombre, supra note 9, at 103.
plea agreements through a negotiated exchange of benefits and setting up structures that are protective of defendants’ rights.

A. Tacit Bargaining Depends on Confessions Obtained Under Coercive Conditions Where the Defendant’s Access to Counsel Is Restricted

Despite Japan’s transition to a primarily adversarial legal system, the balance of power is still skewed in the prosecution’s favor, particularly during the pretrial stage. Prosecutors focus on obtaining confessions prior to trial, and tacit bargaining relies on the defendant’s confession. Accordingly, the practice of tacit bargaining exploits the coercive conditions that exist at the pretrial stage due to the lack of procedural safeguards in the Japanese justice system. Confessions are considered to be the “‘king of evidence’” and form the basis for a conviction in over 90% of criminal cases in Japan, so the connection between tacit bargaining and coercive institutional structures raises concern in many cases. American-style institutionalized plea bargaining can help equalize the power of the defense and prosecution by affording defendants greater institutional safeguards when they decide whether to accept a plea agreement.

1. Confessions Are Often Obtained in Japan Under Coercive Conditions

Coercive interrogation practices are linked to the high frequency of confessions in Japan. There is a 93% confession rate and a conviction rate over 99% in Japan. In addition to virtually ensuring conviction at trial, confessions are viewed as “a first step on the road to rehabilitation,” an important goal of the country’s justice system. In fact, confession takes precedence in criminal prosecutions over other important factual and legal issues that should be examined to preserve the presumption of innocence.

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80 Wilson, supra note 78, at 508-09.
81 Ginsburg, supra note 74, at 574 (acknowledging that “the frequency of confession is no doubt tied to interrogation practices”).
82 See Ramseyer & Rasmusen, supra note 20, at 57.
83 Wilson, supra note 78, at 508. Note that the confession and conviction rates can differ because the Japanese Constitution requires independent evidentiary corroboration of a defendant’s confession in order to convict. See KENPO [CONSTITUTION], art. 38, para. 3 (Japan).
such as analysis of forensic evidence. \(^{85}\) In light of the importance of confession to the legal system, there is a great deal of pressure on police and prosecutors to obtain confessions from defendants. \(^{86}\) While there are analogous pressures to obtain guilty pleas in the Anglo-American system, the pressures used to secure confessions are more acute in Japan for two reasons. First, Japanese prosecutors have greater discretion than their American counterparts during the pretrial interrogation period. \(^{87}\) Second, a defendant’s access to counsel is restricted during the pretrial period in Japan, making interrogation a more isolating, coercive experience in Japan than in the American system. \(^{88}\)

Japanese police and prosecutors employ a variety of methods to extract confessions within the coercive interrogation environment. \(^{89}\) Once arrested, defendants can be held in police custody for up to twenty-three days and questioned during that period before they are indicted. \(^{90}\) This period can be extended with court approval when the suspect faces charges for multiple crimes, \(^{91}\) which is often true in cases that are amenable to bargaining. \(^{92}\) Article 198(1) of the Japanese Code of Criminal Procedure places suspects under a duty to appear at interrogation, \(^{93}\) and although suspects may refuse to answer questions, they cannot cut off questioning and are therefore susceptible to coercive interrogation techniques. \(^{94}\) Authorities may resort to threats or psychological torture to extract a confession from an


\(^{87}\) Id. (noting that “discretionary powers . . . make official restorative measures possible.”).


\(^{89}\) Wilson, supra note 78, at 509.


\(^{91}\) Wilson, supra note 78, at 504 n.116.

\(^{92}\) Craig Albee, *Note, Multiple Punishment in Wisconsin and the Wolske Decision: Is it Desirable to Permit Two Homicide Convictions For Causing a Single Death?*, 1990 WIS. L. REV. 553, 572 (1990) (noting that “a defendant facing the prospect of conviction on a number of charges is more likely to be compelled to plead guilty for plea bargaining purposes, regardless of his actual guilt”).

\(^{93}\) See KEISOH [C. CRIM. PRO.] art. 198, para. 1 (Japan).

\(^{94}\) See Desombre, supra note 9, at 109-10.
uncooperative defendant. Such abuses occur despite constitutional prohibitions against compelled testimony. In the infamous 1991 wrongful conviction case of Toshikazu Sugaya, who was charged with kidnapping and murdering a four-year-old girl but ultimately acquitted after spending seventeen years in jail, interrogators questioned Sugaya for thirteen consecutive hours without access to counsel. The public rarely learns of such interrogation abuses because interrogations occur incommunicado; they are not fully recorded, and prosecutors sometimes cherry pick which portions of recordings to make available to the court.

While the American system is not immune from these kinds of abuses, the kind of institutionalized plea bargaining that is prevalent in America could reduce the coerciveness of Japan’s pretrial processes. Japanese authorities implicitly recognize this, citing the lack of a formal plea bargaining as a justification for their use of harsh interrogation methods. Because plea bargaining, unlike most forms of tacit bargaining, eliminates the trial stage, the main event of the criminal justice process in a plea bargaining system is the process of pretrial plea negotiations. Both parties bring all their bargaining chips to the plea discussions and must abide by the plea agreement that is reached; as discussed in greater detail below, the defendant can withdraw a guilty plea if the prosecutor reneges on the deal. The binding nature of the plea agreement gives the prosecutor incentive to engage defense counsel at each step of the negotiations and develop a mutually amicable agreement. This kind of negotiating environment facilitates “openness and candor” between the parties during the bargaining process. It can permit more transparent negotiations and yield fairer deals that will withstand the test of time.

In contrast, in Japan’s tacit bargaining system, prosecutors often do not deal with defense counsel prior to trial. Rather, they interrogate the unrepresented defendant alone, setting up a one-sided situation where prosecutors are prone to use coercive techniques to secure confessions. One of these techniques may be to offer a tacit bargain but leave little or no room

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95 Wilson, supra note 78, at 509.
96 KENPÔ [CONSTITUTION], art. 38, para. 2 (Japan).
99 Wilson, supra note 78, at 509.
101 Damaška, supra note 2, at 1027.
102 Robison, supra note 100.
for negotiation or modifications to the initial offer. With the full force of the prosecutorial system bearing down upon them, Japanese defendants may confess because they feel like they have “little with which to bargain.”103 The lack of access to defense counsel for many Japanese defendants means that there is no one to counterbalance the prosecutor’s apparent power during the tacit bargaining stage. In sum, in contrast to their American counterparts, Japanese prosecutors in the tacit bargaining system work within an isolating, coercive environment where defendants are likely to confess even if doing so is against their best interests.

2. Access to Counsel Prior to Confession Is Restricted in the Japanese Justice System

In Japan, parties usually agree to tacit bargains during interrogation without the presence of defense counsel.104 In most cases, the exchange of the tacit bargain for the defendant’s confession occurs prior to pleading guilty or not guilty.105 When defendants gain access to counsel after indictment, they may recant their confessions and plead not guilty, but this does not prevent the courts from using the original confession as incriminating evidence.106 Thus, tacit bargains, once struck during the interrogation period, can do real damage to a defendant’s case, and it is important for a defendant to consult with counsel before confessing. Until recent amendments to Japan’s Criminal Procedure Code in 2004,107 a suspect had no right to request the presence of an attorney during the pre-indictment interrogation period or to stop the interrogation midway to consult with an attorney.108

In 2004, the Japanese legislature amended the Code of Criminal Procedure to provide access to state-appointed counsel for indigent defendants before indictment.109 The amendment went into effect in two phases.110 In the first phase, effective in October 2006, the new system of state-appointed counsel was extended to cases that are punishable by death

103 Castberg, supra note 22.
104 See Wilson, supra note 78, at 505 (noting that traditionally, state-appointed counsel has been unavailable to defendants until after indictment).
105 TURNER, supra note 16, at 192.
106 See Wilson, supra note 78, at 500 (explaining that Toshikazu Sugaya, in his 1991 murder trial, recanted his confession after gaining access to counsel because the confession was given under the duress, but the trial court proceeded to convict him based on his confession).
107 See JAPAN FED’N OF BAR ASS’NS, supra note 88; KEISOHÔ [C. CRIM. PRO.] arts. 32, 36 (Japan).
108 Wilson, supra note 78, at 505.
109 See JAPAN FED’N OF BAR ASS’NS, supra note 88; KEISOHÔ [C. CRIM. PRO.] art. 32 (Japan).
110 JAPAN FED’N OF BAR ASS’NS, supra note 88.
or by life imprisonment or a minimum term of not less than one year. 111 In 2009, the system was extended also to any crimes that have a maximum term of more than three years. 112

Yet, even these amendments do not ensure that every defendant has access to counsel prior to confession. The Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs claims that the system covers 80% of criminal cases. 113 This leaves out the other 20% of cases, which are usually minor crimes that may be most amenable to plea bargaining. 114 Accordingly, the Japan Federation of Bar Associations (JFBA) has declared that the new system is “far from international standards.” 115 Despite the 2004 amendment, under Article 39(3) of the Code of Criminal Procedure, the prosecutor still retains discretion to determine the time, duration, and location of suspect-counsel meetings prior to indictment. 116 These restrictions on the availability of counsel set up a situation where the defendant may not fully appreciate the benefits and drawbacks of confession or of accepting a tacit offer of leniency from the prosecutor.

Because the Japanese Constitution, like the United States Constitution, guarantees criminal defendants the right to a trial, 117 a formal waiver of this constitutional right through plea bargaining would likely require special safeguards, particularly the right to counsel. In Japan, with the exception of traffic infractions and other minor offenses, trial is preserved when the defendant confesses to a crime pursuant to a tacit bargain. 118 In the American system, when a defendant chooses to plead guilty and forego a trial, the defendant’s rights are protected by a plea colloquy or hearing. 119 The United States Supreme Court has explained that “[t]he purpose of a plea colloquy is to protect the defendant from an unintelligent or involuntary plea.” 120 During a colloquy, the trial court must explain to defendants that they have the right to a jury trial and the right against self-incrimination at the trial and are foregoing those rights by

111 Id.
112 Id.
114 See Hollander-Blumoff, supra note 37.
115 JAPAN FED’N OF BAR ASS’NS, supra note 88.
116 Desombre, supra note 9, at 113; KEISOHŌ [C. CRIM. PRO.] art. 39, para. 3 (Japan).
117 Compare U.S. CONST., amend. VI, with KENPÔ [CONSTITUTION], art. 37 (Japan).
118 Johnson, supra note 13, at 414 (writing that traffic infractions and minor offenses are handled by summary procedure without a trial).
120 Id. at 322.
pleading guilty.121 Defendants have the right to be represented by counsel during the plea hearing.122 Thus, even for defendants who make incriminating statements during pretrial interrogation, the plea colloquy gives those defendants a second chance to weigh their options and decide whether to plead guilty after consultation with counsel.

There is no analogue to the plea colloquy in the Japanese system since defendants charged with serious crimes must go through the motions of a trial even after confessing pursuant to a tacit bargain.123 If Japan were to adopt a system of institutionalized plea bargaining, in which bargaining shortcuts the trial stage of a case, it is likely that some analogue to the plea colloquy would be necessary to formalize and regularize guilty pleas. Accordingly, Japanese defendants would have access to counsel at their plea hearing before waiving the right to trial. In turn, increased access to defense counsel in Japan’s criminal justice system would result in fewer involuntary and uninformed admissions of guilt as a basis of conviction.

B. Tacit Bargaining Reinforces Close Judge-Prosecutor Relationships and a Deferential Culture Among Defense Attorneys in Japan

Part I of this comment described the relatively small number of lawyers in Japan compared to the United States.124 The small size of the Japanese bar and the country’s rising crime rates highlight the need for plea bargaining as a tool of efficiency.125 More important than the number of attorneys in Japan, however, are the relationships among legal professionals. These relationships suggest that institutionalized plea bargaining is a better fit for Japan than tacit plea bargaining.

Because of prosecutorial privileges before and during trial, there exists a deferential and cooperative culture among Japanese defense attorneys.126 Before trial, defense lawyers often do not even recommend that their clients exercise their right to silence.127 In spite of the new system of state-appointed counsel prior to indictment, defense attorneys are already accustomed to deferring to the investigative practices of police and

121 Id. at 323.
123 Johnson, supra note 13, at 414 (distinguishing between contested and uncontested forms of trial in Japan).
124 See supra Part I.
125 See id.
126 Johnson, supra note 13, at 214.
127 Id.
prosecutors. Because of their traditional deferential relationship with prosecutors, defense attorneys often advise their clients to confess. The fact that tacit bargains are nonnegotiable and unenforceable reinforces this deferential culture because the defense has little power at the bargaining table and may see no other choice but to accept the prosecutor’s offer.

During trial, the prosecution retains its advantage because any evidence obtained during interrogation, including a confession, becomes part of the dossier that is presented to the trial court. A dossier is a written account of the evidence drafted by the prosecutor. A dossier is not an objective account of the evidence but a summary of the evidence obtained during pretrial investigation written from the prosecutor’s perspective. Nonetheless, judges are quick to use the dossier both in evaluating the defendant’s guilt and in sentencing. Defense attorneys rarely object to dossier evidence at trial because reliance on the dossier is a “custom based on years of tradition.” Courts have come to depend so much on the dossier that one former judge had this to say:

[I]n their current state, criminal trials—and in particular the fact-finding that lies at the heart of trials—are conducted in closed rooms by the investigators, and the proceedings in open court are merely a formal ceremony. In a word, [reliance on the dossier] is the turning of public trials into an empty shell.

The reliance on the dossier stems from the deep relationship of trust between the judge and the prosecutor, a vestige of the old inquisitorial system. Although the introduction of jury trials since 2009 has reduced reliance on dossier evidence, the jury requirement does not extend to the large majority of cases. Moreover, the introduction of jury trials does not impact pretrial interrogation practices. Ultimately, therefore, defense attorneys and their clients occupy a weaker position relative to the

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128 See id. at 214, 217.
129 Id.
131 Id.
132 Id.
133 See id. (stating that trial by dossier is an “acceptable phenomenon” among key players in the justice system).
134 Id. (quoting Takeo Ishimatsu, Are Criminal Defendants in Japan Truly Receiving Trial by Judge?, 22 UNIV. OF TOKYO: AN ANNUAL 143, 143 (1989)).
135 Ginsburg, supra note 74, at 573.
137 See Wilson, supra note 45 (calculating that the jury requirement would only impact about 3% of criminal cases in Japan each year).
prosecution. Institutionalized plea bargaining could introduce more balance between the parties by yielding a negotiated exchange of benefits and binding, enforceable plea agreements. In such a system, defense attorneys would form one-half of the negotiation process, on an equal ground with the other half, the prosecutor. Emphasizing the importance of defense counsel to the plea bargaining process, a former American judge has called the defense attorney the “‘equalizer’ in the bargaining process.”138 In a system of formal plea agreements, defense attorneys would need to take responsibility for the bargains that will determine the evolution of their clients’ cases.

I. Tacit Bargains Lack Formal Enforcement Mechanisms If the Prosecutor Breaches and Are Not Formed by a Negotiated Exchange of Benefits

The usefulness of tacit bargains for relieving burdens on Japan’s court system is diminished by the fact that such bargains are nonbinding and unenforceable if the prosecutor breaches the agreement. Japanese prosecutors may suspend prosecution on a particular charge, may recommend a lenient sentence, and may do something else that is the subject of an implicit bargain, but they need not do so.139 The tacit agreement does not appear on the record.140 This leaves the defendant without a legal remedy if the prosecutor reneges on the implicit deal.141 In contrast, a formal plea bargain is a written agreement signed by both parties and is enforceable as a contract once approved by the court.142

The written record of the plea agreement is useful if the prosecutor reneges on the deal, prompting the defendant to seek enforcement of the agreement.143 American courts apply principles of contract law to the

139 TURNER, supra note 16, at 191-92.
140 Id.
141 Id. at 192.
142 See United States v. A-Abras Inc., 185 F.3d 26, 29 (2d Cir. 1999) (noting that the parties used a written plea agreement); United States v. Johnston, 199 F.3d 1015, 1020 (9th Cir. 1999) (stating that “plea agreements are typically construed according to the principles of contract law”); Pannarale v. State, 638 N.E.2d 1247, 1248 (Ind. 1994) (noting that pleas are “contractual in nature, binding the defendant, the state and the trial court”).
143 Colquitt, supra note 21, at 747 (stating that a written plea agreement is useful in the event of an appeal or other type of collateral proceeding).
enforcement of plea agreements.144 For example, in an appropriate case, the defendant may be entitled to specific performance of the plea agreement.145 Conversely, prosecutors in Japan are keenly aware that they can change their minds about tacit bargains.146 While it is true that prosecutors normally abide by the terms of tacit agreements to encourage other defendants to confess in the future,147 the lack of a record and enforcement remedies leave the prosecutor with discretion as to whether to honor the agreement. This creates a scenario that is very different from formal plea bargaining: “defendants are not bargaining—instead, they are essentially throwing themselves at the mercy of the authorities, who ultimately decide whether to honor [the] ‘deal.’”148 Even though prosecutors in the Japanese system usually honor informal deals because of the impact of repudiation on future cases, individual defendants may hesitate to confess and enter into implicit deals in the absence of formal enforcement mechanisms. This could lead to fewer tacit agreements, undermining the ultimate goal of bargaining, which is to reduce burdens on trial courts.

The prosecutor’s ability to renege on an informal deal makes the terms and finality of the deal less predictable than is the case with institutionalized plea bargaining. Tacit bargains benefit the prosecution by triggering less time-consuming court proceedings, and they benefit the defendant by saving time, litigation costs, and perhaps a harsher sentence or heightened charges.149 Japanese prosecutors, however, have less flexibility in negotiating tacit bargains than their counterparts in a formal plea bargaining system. For example, they usually cannot offer the defendant more than predetermined, standard sentence reductions as a “reward” for confession.150 In contrast, prosecutors engaged in formal plea bargaining can generally consider all of the mitigating circumstances of a case and develop an

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144 See id. at 772; United States v. Johnston, 199 F.3d 1015, 1020 (9th Cir. 1999) (stating that “plea agreements are typically construed according to the principles of contract law”); Pannarale v. State, 638 N.E.2d 1247, 1248 (Ind. 1994) (noting that pleas are “contractual in nature, binding the defendant, the state and the trial court”).
145 See United States v. Floyd, 1 F.3d 867, 869, 871 (9th Cir. 1993).
146 Turner, supra note 16, at 192.
147 Ramseyer & Rasmusen, supra note 20, at 55-56.
149 See id. at 185, 191; Ramseyer & Rasmusen, supra note 20, at 56. Ramseyer & Rasmusen argue that abbreviated trial procedures following confession reduce a defendant’s litigation costs. However, nearly two thirds of criminal defendants in Japan are represented for free by state-appointed counsel, so they do not experience this financial benefit. See also David T. Johnson, Early Returns from Japan’s New Criminal Trials, 36(3) ASIA-PAC. J.: JAPAN FOCUS (2009), available at http://www.japanfocus.org/-David_T_-Johnson/3212 (“Defense Lawyers” section).
150 Alkon, supra note 25, at 358.
appropriate deal.\textsuperscript{151} Thus, tacit bargaining is not a negotiation similar to the kind that occurs in American-style plea bargaining, where the prosecutor comes to the bargaining table with flexibility and a range of benefits to offer.\textsuperscript{152} The benefits afforded by tacit plea bargaining are much narrower and less predictable.

IV. THE USE OF FORMAL PLEA BARGAINING IN INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL TRIBUNALS ADDRESSES JAPAN’S CULTURAL AVersion TO PLEA BARGAINING

In spite of the tacit negotiations that are common within the Japanese criminal justice system, there is an enduring cultural distaste for plea bargaining among Japanese legal professionals, so much so that the practice is referred to as “evil.”\textsuperscript{153} Therefore, any argument that Japan should adopt a system of institutionalized plea bargaining must address the deep-rooted cultural aversion to the practice. As discussed above, many Japanese legal professionals believe that plea bargaining is incompatible with the central values of the Japanese justice system: seeking the truth, ensuring the defendant’s remorse and rehabilitation, and protecting victims’ interests. The use of plea bargaining in international criminal tribunals is important in this regard because these tribunals share the goals of the Japanese justice system and have used plea bargaining in ways that respect these goals.

International criminal tribunals have reconciled competing cultural viewpoints on plea bargaining and pragmatically opted for an open, systematic use of the practice in order to manage increasing case loads and complex cases.\textsuperscript{154} The International Criminal Court (“ICC”) and the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (“ICTY”) are among the international tribunals that permit plea bargaining.\textsuperscript{155} The use of plea bargaining in international tribunals is particularly controversial because of the serious nature of the crimes involved, the duty of international courts to prosecute these crimes and issue proportionate

\textsuperscript{151} See, e.g., Or. Rev. Stat. § 135.415 (1973) (providing nonexclusive factors that prosecutor may consider when deciding whether to engage in plea discussions); Wash. Rev. Code § 13.40.077(8)(b) (1997) (same); Colo. Rev. Stat. § 16-7-301(2) (1975) (allowing district attorneys to make a wide variety of plea agreements); Fed. R. Crim. P. 11(c) (stating broadly that prosecutor and defense counsel “may discuss and reach a plea agreement”).

\textsuperscript{152} Castberg, \textit{supra} note 22.


\textsuperscript{155} Turner, \textit{supra} note 16, at 214.
sentences, and the need to create a sufficient historical record of cases for posterity. Because of the unique functions of international courts and the serious nature of international crimes, the goals that are central to the Japanese justice system are also central to international courts. International tribunals have managed to reconcile plea bargaining with the important objectives of truth seeking, the defendant’s remorse and rehabilitation, and victim protection.

A. International Tribunals Have Used Procedural Rules to Reconcile Plea Bargaining and the Pursuit of Truth

As with Japanese courts, truth seeking is a priority of international criminal tribunals because of the tribunals’ duty to develop an accurate historical record of cases for the future and see to it that “less information is lost in the catacombs of the past.” Full-blown trials yield a record of the facts of a case through evidentiary production and witness testimony, and there is concern that plea bargaining hinders the truth-finding function by shortcutting this process. The ICTY case of Prosecutor v. Plavšić, relating to the conflict in Bosnia during the 1990s, is one of the first international plea-bargained cases and provides an example of how plea bargaining may actually aid the truth-finding function of courts.

The defendant in that case, Biljana Plavšić, was the president of Republika Srpska during the Bosnian conflict. In 2001, she voluntarily surrendered to the ICTY and was charged with two counts of genocide and complicity in genocide and six counts of crimes against humanity. In exchange for a plea of guilty to persecution (one count among the charges for crimes against humanity), the prosecutor agreed to drop the other charges and recommend a light sentence. The court approved the agreement, and Plavšić was eventually sentenced to just eleven years in a “posh” Swedish

156 See Scharf, supra note 154, at 1070, 1075.
157 TURNER, supra note 16, at 214 (noting the goal of international courts to create a truthful historical record, and the large number of victims involved in international crimes); Damaška, supra note 2, at 1037-38 (noting ICTY’s goal of inducing remorse in defendants who plead guilty).
158 Damaška, supra note 2, at 1037.
159 Scharf, supra note 154, at 1078.
161 Scharf, supra note 154, at 1071.
163 Scharf, supra note 154, at 1071.
prison complex. Significantly, along with her guilty plea, Plavšić was required by the ICTY Trial Chamber to provide a five-page statement in which she detailed the circumstances of her crime of persecution. The prosecution and defense teams agreed that Plavšić’s statement would quell revisionist accounts of the crime, aiding the Trial Chamber’s truth-finding function. Both sides also defended the plea bargain by noting that a trial would be followed by debate about the accuracy and quality of evidence presented, but debate is minimal when the defendant details the circumstances of the crime.

Beyond the statement requirement, other procedural rules of international criminal tribunals also tailor plea bargaining to suit the truth-finding function of the tribunals. For example, the ICC’s Rules of Procedure and Evidence provide that the court may order a “more complete presentation of the alleged facts” if it believes that the “interests of justice require it.” This language is broad enough to give the court discretion to reject a plea bargain if it believes that the record indicates that the defendant is actually innocent or that the crime is one for which a full trial is necessary to build an accurate historical record. Article 65 of the statute creating the ICC also notes that the “admission of guilt [must be] supported by the facts of the case.” This case-by-case approach to plea bargaining allows the international courts to reconcile the practice with its duty to discover the truth. Japan can adapt institutionalized plea bargaining to the truth-seeking goal of its justice system by adopting similar methods: requiring defendants to make detailed statements accompanying their guilty pleas and adopting procedural rules that grant the court discretion in determining whether to approve a plea agreement.

B. Self-Condemnatory Plea Bargaining Mechanisms Will Promote Defendants’ Remorse and Rehabilitation

Given the serious nature of the crimes that come before them, international criminal tribunals have had to reconcile plea bargaining with the goals of encouraging remorseful behavior from the defendant and promoting the defendant’s rehabilitation, objectives that the Japanese value

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164 Id.
165 Id. at 1079.
166 Id.
167 Id.
very much. As with the truth seeking objective, international tribunals have utilized plea bargaining in ways that respect the goals of remorse and rehabilitation, and Japan can learn from this example.

The ICTY Trial Chamber has adopted a practice that one scholar calls “negotiated self-condemnation” to advance the goals of remorse and rehabilitation. Under this practice, the Trial Chamber judge pauses after reading aloud each charge that the prosecutor is pursuing and asks the defendant if the charge is correct; the defendant must acknowledge the accuracy of each charge to move forward with the plea agreement. The ICTY judges also encourage the defendant to apologize profusely in the statement accompanying the guilty plea. These self-condemnatory mechanisms rest on the defendant’s acknowledgment of past mistakes and thus can be viewed as a court-led expression of remorse and a step towards rehabilitation.

Remorse and rehabilitation also enter more informally into the Trial Chamber’s calculus when it decides whether to approve or reject a plea agreement. In Plavšić, for example, the Trial Chamber made it clear that it approved the plea bargain in part because the defendant contributed to reestablishing peace and order in the very communities in Bosnia that she had ravaged during her reign as president. In other words, signs of the defendant’s remorse and rehabilitation made Plavšić an appropriate case for “negotiated justice” rather than “imposed justice.”

C. Courts Can Adopt Victim-Friendly Elements in Plea Bargaining

International criminal tribunals initially faced criticism for permitting plea bargaining because international crimes often have hundreds or thousands of victims who want to see the defendant brought to justice. In 1994, for example, ICTY judges rejected a proposal from the U.S. government to permit plea bargaining as a way of obtaining testimony from

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171 Damaška, supra note 2, at 1037-38.
172 Id. at 1038.
173 Id.
174 See Matthew M. DeFrank, Comment, ICTY Provisional Release: Current Practice, a Dissenting Voice, and the Case for a Rule Change, 80 TEx. L. REV. 1429, 1432 (2002) (pointing out that the ICTY Trial Chamber considers the defendant’s voluntary surrender in determining whether to approve a plea agreement).
176 Damaška, supra note 2, at 1032.
177 See Scharf, supra note 154, at 1071.
defendants about higher-level suspects. Judge Cassese, the former ICTY President, said for the court,

[W]e always have to keep in mind that this Tribunal is not a municipal criminal court but one that is charged with the task of trying persons accused of the gravest possible of all crimes. The persons appearing before us will be charged with genocide, torture, murder, sexual assault, wanton destruction, persecution and other inhumane acts. After due reflection, we have decided that no one should be immune from prosecution for crimes such as these, no matter how useful their testimony may otherwise be.

Despite this initially clear rejection of plea bargaining, the ICTY reversed course seven years later when Judge Gabrielle Kirk McDonald of the United States replaced Judge Cassese of Italy as president of the tribunal.

The transition to plea bargaining at the ICTY was marked by a new understanding of plea bargaining as a method of helping victims of serious crimes and members of communities where the crimes occurred. Thus, in Plavšić, the defense and prosecution agreed that the defendant’s guilty plea represented “a significant effort toward the advancement of reconciliation.” In her statement, Plavšić spoke directly to the victims of her crime: “[My guilty plea] will, I hope, help the Muslim, Croat, and even Serb innocent victims not to be overtaken with bitterness . . . .”

The Plavšić case can be instructive for Japan because it suggests that institutionalized plea bargaining is not necessarily antithetical to a justice system that focuses on victims’ concerns. Quite the opposite, plea bargaining can actually further the interests of victims. Since the defendant admits to certain charges when accepting a plea bargain, the plea can facilitate the processes of bringing together conflict-ridden communities and moving past the crime. It also spares the victim the emotional pain, danger, or embarrassment of having to publicly recount the circumstances of a crime by testifying at trial.

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178 Id. at 1073.
179 Id. (quoting Antonio Cassese, Statement by the President Made at a Briefing to Members of Diplomatic Missions (Feb. 11, 1994)).
180 Id.
181 TURNER, supra note 16, at 245.
182 Prosecutor v. Plavšić, Case No. IT-00-39&40/1-S, Transcript, at 416 (Dec. 16, 2002).
183 Id. at 520-22, 562-66.
184 See Scharf, supra note 154, at 1071.
Japan can also emulate international tribunals by adopting a system of plea bargaining that contains victim-friendly procedural elements. For example, ICTY procedural rules prohibit equivocal plea bargains, in which the defendant pleads guilty but supplements the plea with a legal defense of his actions. That is, the defendant must make a clear choice to provide the victim with closure in one of two ways: either proceed with trial or fully admit guilt with respect to a particular charge. The ICC’s Rules of Procedure and Evidence require the court to notify victims of a prosecutor’s decision not to prosecute the defendant for certain charges. Victims must have an opportunity to respond to such prosecutorial decisions and to otherwise participate in the court proceedings. The court has discretion to obtain victims’ views on “any issue,” which is broad enough to cover the court’s decision to approve or reject a proposed plea bargain. Finally, the ICC is specifically authorized to order a “more complete presentation of the alleged facts” if it believes that doing so is necessary to advance the victims’ interests. This means that the court can proceed to a full trial to protect victims in appropriate cases. By incorporating these kinds of provisions into its own plea bargaining system, Japan can ensure that victims play a role in evaluating the fairness of plea bargains.

V. CONCLUSION

The mantra of those who support the practice of plea bargaining is simplicity, simplicity, simplicity. For all its flaws, plea bargaining simplifies the administration of criminal justice and eases burdens on court systems. The rising crime rate in Japan, the shortage of prosecutorial resources, and the public’s loss of confidence in prosecuting authorities demonstrate the need for simplicity in Japan’s criminal justice system.

Tacit bargaining is a poor solution to the goal of simplicity. Because tacit bargains are nonnegotiable and rely on a defendant’s confession, they reinforce weaknesses of the Japanese justice system, particularly the coercive pretrial interrogation environment and restrictions on a defendant’s access to counsel. More generally, tacit bargains exploit the deferential culture among Japanese defense attorneys. In addition, tacit bargains are

188 Id. at Rule 89.
189 Id. at Rule 93.
190 Id. at Rule 69.
191 Alschuler, supra note 138, at 1277.
nonbinding, leaving the defendant without a remedy if the court rejects the prosecutor’s recommendation of leniency or the prosecutor breaches the agreement.

Formal plea bargaining succeeds where tacit bargaining fails by equalizing power between the defense and prosecution. Because plea bargaining involves the full scope of negotiation, it invites active participation from defense counsel. Moreover, the defendant can withdraw his guilty plea if the court rejects the plea agreement and can seek enforcement of the agreement if the prosecutor breaches. Because of these features of institutionalized plea bargaining, the adoption of such a system in Japan would help make the nation’s justice system friendlier to the procedural rights of defendants.

Finally, a look at the systematic use of plea bargaining in international criminal tribunals addresses culturally-based criticisms of the practice in Japan. International criminal tribunals, primarily through procedural rules on the implementation of plea bargaining, have used plea bargaining in ways that are sensitive to the goals of the Japanese justice system. Japan could benefit from this example. The Japanese legal community should be more pragmatic about the need for simplified criminal justice procedures and adopt a system of institutionalized plea bargaining.