

Acknowledgments

Contents

Acknowledgments			page xi		
	PAR	T I SETTING THE STAGE: INTERNATIONAL AND TRANSNATIONAL LAW AND POLICIES			
1	The	e Grand Corruption Problem	3		
	1.1	Introduction	3		
	1.2	What Is Corruption Anyway? And How Has It Changed?	6		
	1.3	Corruption and Organized Crime	8		
	1.4	Precursors in Latin America	10		
	1.5	Methodology and Structure of the Book	15		
2	Treaty Law on Corruption and Human Rights: Convergence				
	and	Gaps	19		
	2.1	The Evolution of Anti-Corruption Law	19		
	2.2	Changes in International Human Rights Law	24		
	2.3	C 1 C C I C			
		Violations	27		
	2.4	A Human Rights-Based Approach to Grand Corruption	32		
	•	2.4.1 Transparency	32		
		2.4.2 Participation and Empowerment	33		
		2.4.3 Accountability	34		
		2.4.4 Protection	36		
	2.5	Is There a Human Right to Be Free of Corruption?	38		
3	Tra	nsnational Approaches I: Sizing Up Guatemala's CICIG	42		
,	3.1	Antecedents: How Did Corrupt Networks Emerge from the			
		Armed Conflict?	42		
	3.2	International Support for National Prosecutions:			
		The Emergence of CICIG	46		



V111		Contents	
	3·3 3·4	Achievements and Limitations of CICIG as a Model Beyond CICIG	53 56
4		nsnational Approaches II: Sanctions, Standards, Third-Party States Changing Individual and Corporate Behavior: Targeted	58
	7'-	Sanctions	58
		4.1.1 Global Magnitsky Equivalents Outside the US	61
	4.2	Using the Courts of Third-Party States	67
	4.3	Market-Based Standards and Certification	69
	4.4	The Role of International Development Banks and Agencies	71
	PAR	T II PUTTING VICTIMS AT THE CENTER	
		OF ANTI-CORRUPTION WORK	
5	Fran 5.1	ud on the River: Victim Access to Corruption Proceedings Who Is the Victim of Grand Corruption under	77
		the UNCAC?	79
	5.2	The Definition(s) of Victim in International Human	82
		Rights Law The Honduran Supreme Court Rules	86
	5.3	An Emerging Latin American Jurisprudence	88
	5.4	5.4.1 Direct Harm to Victims	88
		5.4.2 Civil Society Organizations Representing Diffuse	00
		Interests	93
		5.4.3 Latin American Experiences with Diffuse Interests	96
		5.4.4 Who Represents Civil Society? Law and Criteria	101
6	Giv	ing It Back: Transnational Asset Recovery	
	and	Repurposing	104
	6.1	The Evolution of Cross-border Asset Recovery	105
	6.2	Anti-Corruption Law on Asset Returns: UNCAC's	
		Chapter V	107
	6.3	Soft Law Approaches to Asset Recovery	109
	6.4	National Law of States Where Assets Are Often Located	111
	6.5	Return and Repurposing: Four Models	117
		6.5.1 Purpose-built: The BOTA Foundation Example6.5.2 Citizen Monitoring: The Abacha Funds	118
		and MANTRA	120
		6.5.3 Using Existing International Organizations:	
		The Uzbekistan Return	122



		Contents	ix
		6.5.4 Beneficial Trusts, International Criminal Tribunals,	
		and Asset Return	124
		6.5.5 When No Return Is Possible	126
7	_	arations for Victims of Grand Corruption: Applying	
	a Hı	uman Rights Framework	128
	7.1	Integral Reparations: Experiences from Human	
		Rights Cases	129
	7.2	Restitution: Giving It Back through Social Reuse	132
		7.2.1 Land Restitution: Examples from Human	
		Rights Cases	135
	7.3	1	139
		7.3.1 Personal or Property Damage Due to Corrupt Acts	140
		7.3.2 Where Bribes or Undue Influence Change Law	
		or Procure Permits	140
		7.3.3 Loss of Opportunity	141
	7.4	Social Harm and Diffuse or Collective Interests	145
	7.5	Causation and the Use of Presumptions	150
	7.6	Satisfaction: Nonmonetary Responses and Restorative	
		Processes	153
		7.6.1 DPAs, Immunities and Amnesties, and Satisfaction	155
	7.7	Guarantees of Nonrepetition: The Reform Agenda	156
	PAR	T III A CORRUPTION LENS ON HUMAN RIGHTS-	
		RELATED ISSUES	
8	Trai	nsitions, Transitional Justice, and Grand Corruption	161
	8.1	Why Transitions? Why Transitional Justice?	161
	8.2	South Africa: The Road to State Capture	163
	8.3	Tunisia: A Package Deal Falls Apart	168
	8.4	Colombia: "Parapolítica," Economic Actors,	
		and Comprehensive Transitional Justice	173
	8.5	Commonalities and Conclusions	179
9	A C	orruption Lens on Atrocity Crimes: Seeing behind	
	the S	Slaughter	182
	9.1	A Corruption Lens	183
	9.2	Crimes against Humanity and Grand Corruption	185
		9.2.1 Modes of Liability	186
		9.2.2 State or Organizational Policy	188
		9.2.3 Establishing That Acts Are Widespread or Systematic	191



x Contents

		9.2.4 Specific Acts Listed in Article 7 9.2.5 Complementarity and Gravity	194 196
	9.3	Operationalizing a Corruption Approach in International and National Courts	198
10	Con	clusions: Where To and What to Watch Out For?	202
	10.1	Lessons Learned and Limitations of Current Law	202
	10.2	Attribution to the State: How Grand Corruption Changes	
		the Picture	206
	10.3	An International Anti-Corruption Court?	207
	10.4	Pitfalls and Dangers	211
	·	10.4.1 Victimhood	211
		10.4.2 Politicization and Abuse	212
		10.4.3 Resources	214
	10.5	Convergence with Other Movements: "Everything,	
		Everywhere, All at Once"	215
Epilo	ogue		219
Note			221
Index			