Contents

About the author xiii
Preface xiv
List of abbreviations xvii
Table of cases xix
Table of statutes xxv

1. Setting the scene: law and persuasion 1
   1.1 Introduction 1
   1.2 The main arguments 2
   1.3 The arrangement of the book 4
   1.4 The organization and scope of the book 7

2. Law and governance in Africa: supporting integrity and combating corruption 9
   2.1 One white crystal covered ‘Bad Tour’ glove and other Michael Jackson memorabilia 9
   2.2 The African context 12
   2.3 What constitutes ‘corruption’? 13
      2.3.1 Seeking a ‘definition’ 13
      2.3.2 Why is combating ‘corruption’ and supporting good governance so vital? 15
      2.3.3 Why get involved in bad governance and corruption? 16
   2.4 What constitutes ‘good governance’? 20
   2.5 Developing laws in support of good governance 22
      2.5.1 The transnational initiatives 22
      2.5.2 The national initiatives 26
   2.6 The ‘political will’ and good governance 28
   2.7 Changing times: changing attitudes 33

3. Preventive measures: maintaining integrity in the public service 34
   Introduction: The Chiluba case 34
   Section I: Maintaining and enhancing integrity in public life: developing codes of conduct for public officials 37
Combating corruption

3.1 Why a code of conduct? 37
3.2 What should a code of conduct contain? 38
  3.2.1 Asset and income declaration mechanisms 39
  3.2.2 Provisions designed to prevent conflict of interests 46
  3.2.3 Provisions for education and training 52
  3.2.4 Reporting corruption and misuse of public office: providing a safe alternative to silence 53
  3.2.5 Right to administrative justice 57
  3.2.6 Sanctions 58

Section II: Parliament, parliamentarians and elections 58
3.1 Financing of election campaigns: the constitutional right to equality and access to the political system 59
  3.1.1 The provision of state funding for candidates and political parties and the enhancing of multi-party democracy 60
  3.1.2 Overseeing the political financing/electoral system: the role of electoral commissions 62
  3.1.3 Seeking transparency in the funding of candidates and political parties: a Tanzanian case study 63
  3.1.4 Restricting payments to voters by candidates for political office 64
  3.1.5 Election malpractice and electoral petitions 65
3.2 Addressing the financial demands of family and constituents 68

Section III: Maintaining and enhancing integrity in public sector finances 71
3.1 Protecting the role of the supreme audit authority 71
3.2 Fiscal transparency and the role of the legislature 73
3.3 Constitutional oversight bodies in support of good governance and integrity 75
3.4 Role of civil society and the media 75

4. When things go wrong: addressing integrity problems in the public service 77
   Introduction: When things go wrong 77
   Section I: Constitutions and immunities 78
  4.1 Immunities in the national setting 78
    4.1.1 Presidential immunity during tenure of office 78
    4.1.2 The position upon leaving office 81
Contents

4.1.3 Immunities enjoyed by other public officials and the presidential power of pardon 82
4.2 Immunities in an international setting 85

Section II: Parliamentarians, corruption and parliamentary privilege 87

Section III: Combating the misuse/abuse of public office 89
4.1 The offence of misuse of public office 89
   4.1.1 The scope of the offence 90
   4.1.2 The burden of proof 93
   4.1.3 The ‘seriousness’ of the conduct 93
   4.1.4 Overview 94
4.2 Civil remedies: the tort of misfeasance in a public office 94

5. Constitutions, constitutional rights and combating corruption: exploring the links 104
   Introduction 104
   Section I: Constitutions and good governance in Africa 105
   5.1 The pre-1990 position 105
   5.2 The post-1990 constitutions 107
   Section II: Linking constitutional rights and corruption 109
   5.1 Making the connection 109
   5.2 Using the connection 110
      5.2.1 ‘Personalizing’ the approach 110
      5.2.2 Utilizing the constitution to enforce the rights of victims of corruption 111
   Section III: Utilizing constitutional oversight bodies 115
   5.1 ‘Public institutions that promote and support democracy and constitutional order’ 115
   5.2 The role of constitutional oversight bodies 117
   Section IV: Resolving tensions between the enjoyment of constitutional rights and the development of anti-corruption strategies 121
   5.1 Right to a fair trial 121
      5.1.1 Right to a fair trial versus the duty to protect witnesses 122
## 5.1 Right to a fair trial

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>5.1.2</th>
<th>The presumption of innocence and privilege against self-incrimination versus ‘reversing’ the burden of proof</th>
<th>129</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5.1.3</td>
<td>Right to a fair trial and special investigative techniques</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## 5.2 Right to privacy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>5.2.1</th>
<th>Right to privacy versus the use of special investigative techniques</th>
<th>138</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5.2.2</td>
<td>The right to privacy versus the right to information</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2.3</td>
<td>Right to privacy versus asset and income declarations</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## 5.3 Right to property versus recovery of the proceeds of corruption

Overview 145

## 6. Investigating and prosecuting corruption-related offences: challenges and realities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>6.1 Evidence gathering: special investigative techniques</th>
<th>148</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6.2 Evidence gathering: obtaining access to documents and witnesses</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3 Evidence gathering: obtaining information and evidence located abroad</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Section II: Prosecuting corruption

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>6.1 Capturing the political will</th>
<th>151</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6.2 The exercise of prosecutorial discretion</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2.1 Protecting prosecutorial independence</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2.2 The discretion to prosecute</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2.3 The role of the Attorney General</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2.4 Enhancing and supporting the integrity and accountability of prosecutors</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Section III: Corruption and related offences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>6.1 The offences</th>
<th>161</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6.1.1 The range of offences</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1.2 Selecting the offence(s)</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2 Proving corruption: reviewing the rules of evidence</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6.2.1</td>
<td>Proof and truth</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2.2</td>
<td>The hearsay rule in Lesotho: a case study</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2.3</td>
<td>Modernizing the rules of evidence</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>Sanctions</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Section IV: Doing deals</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>National anti-corruption bodies: a key good governance requirement?</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>A separate anti-corruption commission?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7.1.1</td>
<td>The anti-corruption convention provisions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7.1.2</td>
<td>The response of African states</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>The mandate of ACCs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7.2.1</td>
<td>Corruption prevention/integrity function</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7.2.2</td>
<td>An investigation and prosecution function</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7.2.3</td>
<td>Asset recovery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>The building blocks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7.3.1</td>
<td>The challenges</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>Towards an independent and effective Anti-Corruption Body (ACB)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Overview</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Judges: independence, integrity and accountability</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Section I: Judicial independence and integrity</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>The anti-corruption convention requirements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>The challenges</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>The basis of judicial independence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8.3.1</td>
<td>Institutional autonomy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8.3.2</td>
<td>Administrative and financial autonomy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Section II: Maintaining judicial accountability</td>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>Setting the standards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>Judicial codes of conduct/ethics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>Disciplinary and removal proceedings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>Removing judges: the Kenyan experience</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Section III: Anti-corruption courts?</td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Overview</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Combating corruption

9. Combating corruption: ‘persuasion’ and the private sector

Section I: Maintaining and enhancing integrity in the private sector: a national and transnational challenge

Section II: Gentle ‘persuasion’: developing standard setting in the private sector

9.1 ‘Persuading’ the private sector to develop and implement integrity and compliance mechanisms

9.1.1 Global initiatives

9.1.2 Sector-specific initiatives: the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI)

9.2 Gentle persuasion: the economic argument

9.3 Overview

Section III: ‘Forceful persuasion’

9.1 Forceful persuasion 1: prosecuting the offending companies and their senior officials in the ‘victim’ state: the Lesotho Highlands Water Project cases

9.1.1 The background to the project

9.1.2 The preliminary issues

9.1.3 The prosecution of Acres International: a case study

9.1.4 The need for the political will to prosecute bribery

9.2 Forceful persuasion 2: tackling the supply side and the OECD anti-bribery convention

9.2.1 The development of the OECD anti-bribery convention

9.2.2 The OECD anti-bribery convention in practice

9.2.3 UNCAC and the fight against the bribery of foreign public officials

9.2.4 Overview

9.3 The use of civil remedies

Section IV: ‘Persuasive threats’

9.1 Doing ‘deals’ with the corporate sector

9.2 Using the threat of debarment

9.2.1 The basic principles

9.2.2 Towards an effective debarment system

9.2.3 MDBs and cross debarment

9.2.4 Overview

Section V: So what is in it for African states?
10. Preventing the looting of state assets: combating corruption-related money laundering

Introduction

Section I: Laundering the proceeds of corruption

10.1 Some basic principles
10.2 Corruption and money laundering: making the connection
10.3 The ‘special advantages’: PEPs and the ‘seven fundamental controls over money laundering’

Section II: Combating the laundering of the proceeds of corruption in the African context

10.1 Responding to the challenges: the role of the Financial Action Task Force
10.2 Combating money laundering in Africa

10.2.1 The three FATF-style African regional bodies
10.2.2 Standard setting: the FATF Recommendations in the African context
10.2.3 African states and the mutual evaluation process
10.2.4 Ghana and Nigeria: two case studies
10.2.5 A ‘success’ story: the Ibori case

10.3 Conclusions

11. Preventing public officials from enjoying their proceeds of corruption

Introduction: The Alamieyeseigha case

Section I: Investigating corruption-related offences with a transnational element: developing effective international cooperation mechanisms

11.1 Background
11.2 Mutual assistance: informal requests
11.3 Mutual Legal Assistance (MLA)

11.3.1 What is MLA and when is it required?
11.3.2 The legal basis for the request
11.3.3 Jurisdiction
11.3.4 How is the request made? The role of the central authority
11.3.5 Challenges for African states in maintaining an effective MLA system

11.4 Overview
Section II: Taking away the profit: recovering the proceeds of corruption

11.1 The basics of asset recovery
11.2 Conviction-based asset forfeiture
11.3 Non-conviction-based Asset Forfeiture (NCBAF)
  11.3.1 The basics
  11.3.2 Constitutional issues
  11.3.3 The Obiang case
11.4 How can African ‘victim’ states benefit? Recovering looted assets
11.5 Civil law actions
  11.5.1 Bringing a civil action in a foreign jurisdiction: the Chiluba case
  11.5.2 Civil actions in the domestic setting
11.6 Overview

12. Laws, political will and the art of persuasion
   The end of the beginning?
   12.1 The legal dimension
      12.1.1 The national constitution
      12.1.2 Laws and regulations
      12.1.3 The transnational dimension
      12.1.4 Laws designed to take away the profit from corruption
   12.2 The political dimension
   12.3 The art of persuasion
      12.3.1 Moral persuasion
      12.3.2 Gentle persuasion
      12.3.3 Forceful persuasion
      12.3.4 Persuasive threats: dealing with the ‘deny everything’ approach
      12.3.5 Persuasive accountability
   12.4 A final thought

Bibliography
Index