Towards a Global Consensus against Corruption

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Agreements as Products of Diffusion and Signals of Commitment. Abingdon: Routledge.

In the book, I compare the scope and legal design of anti-corruption agreements adopted by

nine international and regional organizations: the Organization of American States (OAS), the

Organisation of Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), the Council of Europe

(COE), the European Union (EU), the Southern African Development Community (SADC), the

Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the African Union (AU), the United

Nations (UN), and the League of Arab States (LAS).

Chapter 2 contains the core of the comparative analysis: a thorough mapping of 57 substantive

anti-corruption provisions (or their absence) across all documents, plus an account of how many

of those provisions are verbatim copies or very similar to their counterparts in other cases. The

high frequency of copy-and-paste across documents suggests that international anti-corruption

agreements were indeed shaped by diffusion processes, which is one of the book's key findings.

This online appendix is provided for the sake of transparency. Below, I have summarized the

wording of 57 anti-corruption provisions in all documents under investigation, indicating

similarity between them with color codes. This is based on a mapping of the documents (using

MaxQDA to flag chunks of text as referring to specific provisions) followed by a manual, step-

by-step comparison of the contents. As explained in chapter 2 of the book, my estimate of

copying and pasting is relatively conservative: as soon as document X's provision on topic Z

contains more than a few cosmetic changes, I treat it a separate variant/model.

Please do not hesitate to get in touch if you have any questions.

Link to this file: <a href="https://lohaus.org/corruptionconsensus/">https://lohaus.org/corruptionconsensus/</a>

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# **PREVENTION (17 PROVISIONS)**

|                      | OAS  | EU | OECD  | COE   | ECO  | SADC                             | AU   | UN  | LAS   |
|----------------------|--|----|---|---|--|----------------------------------|--|---|---|
| Public officials     |  |    | 1   | l   |  | 1                                | 1  | l   | l   |
| Codes of conduct     | "correct,<br>honorable,<br>and proper"         | /  | model C  "statement of core ethical standards and principles" + | Model D  "national CoC based on model CoC" (with 28 | Model A2  "eliminate conflict of interest"                             | "correct, honourable and proper" | Model A3  Create body to establish a CoC             | Model B1 Incl. A1 "correct, honourable  | "correct,<br>honourable<br>and safe" +<br>"prevent                        |
|                      |  |    | conflict of interest policy                                     | articles of its<br>own)                             |  |                                  |  | and proper<br>performance"<br>+ other intl<br>documents +<br>sanctions          | conflicts of interest", public and private                                |
| Personal<br>finances | Model A1  Register income, assets, liabilities | /  | /   | /   | Model A2  Disclose assets, liabilities, tax returns, incl close family | /                                | Model A3  Declare all assets before and after office | Model B1  Require reports about assets, other employment etc                    | Model A4  Require financial statements, in particular on foreign accounts |
| Training             | Model A1  "instructions to gov't personnel"    | /  | Model C  Remind and "support with information and advice"       | /   | /  | /                                | Model A2  "sensitize and train" about ethics         | Model B1  Enable "correct, honourable and proper" performance + raise awareness | /   |

| Public process |  |   |  |  |                                     |  |  |  |   |
|----------------|--|---|--|--|-------------------------------------|--|--|--|---|
| Hiring         | Model A1                                   | / | /  | /  | Model A2                            | Model A1                                     | Model A1   | Model B1   | /   |
|                | "openness,<br>equity and<br>efficiency"    |   |  |  | "transparency<br>and<br>efficiency" | "transparency<br>, equity and<br>efficiency" | "transparency<br>, equity and<br>efficiency"   | "efficiency,<br>transparency<br>and objective<br>criteria" +<br>adequate pay<br>+ criteria for<br>candidates +<br>transparency |   |
| Procurement    | Model A1                                   | / | Model D  | Model B  | Model A2                            | Model A1                                     | Model A1   | Model C1   | Model A3  |
|                | "openness,<br>equity and<br>efficiency"    |   | "integrity<br>throughout<br>the entire<br>public<br>procurement<br>cycle" +<br>details | "appropriately transparent procedures that promote fair competition" | "transparency<br>and<br>efficiency" | "transparency<br>, equity and<br>efficiency" | "transparency<br>, equity and<br>efficiency"   | "transparency<br>, competition<br>and objective<br>criteria" +<br>details  | "transparency<br>, competition<br>and objective<br>standards" |
| Accounting     | Model A1  Systems that  "deter corruption" | / | /  | /  | /                                   | Model A1  Systems that "deter corruption"    | Model B  "create, maintain and strengthen internal accounting, auditing and follow-up systems" | Model C 5 elements to achieve "transparency and account."  | /   |

| Transparency          |   |   |   |  |  |   |  |  |   |
|-----------------------|---|---|---|--|--|---|--|--|---|
| Access to information | /   | / | Model A  Facilitate scrutiny by access to public information          | /  | /  | Model B1  Right of access to info   | Model B1  Right of access to info                            | Model C1  Access to info + simplify procedures + self-reporting + few limits | /   |
| Political<br>funding  | /   | / | /   | Model A + D  Mentions party funding  + model rules (16 articles) from 2003 | /  | /   | Model B  Ban illegal cash, enhance transparency              | Model C Enhance transparency   | /   |
| Civil society         | "mechanisms<br>to encourage<br>participation"<br>of CSO, NGOs | / | /   | /  | model A1  "mechanisms to encourage participation" of CSO, NGOs | mechanisms<br>to encourage<br>participation"<br>of CSO, NGOs<br>and media | Model B  Enabling environment plus involve CSO in monitoring | model C  promote the active participation of individuals and groups          | model C  promote the active participation of individuals and groups |
| Media                 |   |   | Model A  "Recognition of the role of an active and independent media" | Model B  Ensure  "freedom to receive and impart information"               | Model C  "freedom of the press"                                |   | Model D  Give access but ensure fair trial                   |  | /   |

| Public<br>awareness  | /   | / | Model D  "awareness- raising initiatives in the public and private sector" | Model A  "Raise public awareness and promoting ethical behavior" |  | Model B1  "promoting public education and awareness" | Model B2  "promoting the education of populations" | Model C1  "public information activities" and education                 | Model C2  "public information activities" and education                 |
|----------------------|---|---|--|--|--|--|--|---|---|
| Private sector       |   |   |  |  |  |  |  |   |   |
| Accounting           | Model A1  Require  "reasonable  detail" to  deter | / | Model B1  Ban off-the-books, fake expenses, wrong IDs, forged documents    | Model C1  Ensure clear and audited annual accounts               | Model A2  Require "adequate" standards | Model A1  Require  "reasonable  detail" to  deter    |  | Model B2  Ban off-the-books, fake expenses, wrong IDs, forged documents | Model B2  Ban off-the-books, fake expenses, wrong IDs, forged documents |
| Tax<br>deductibility | Model A1  Laws denying favorable treatment        |   | Model B  Consider  "disallowing"  deduction                                | Model C  Deny deductibility "under the law or in practice"       | /                                      | Model A1  Laws denying favorable treatment           |  | Model D  Disallow deductibility of bribes and expenses                  |   |

| Institutions       |                    |   |   |   |                           |  |  |   |   |
|--------------------|--------------------|---|---|---|---------------------------|--|--|---|---|
| AC agency creation | Model A            | / | / | Model B   | Model B                   | Model A  | Model C  | Model D   | Model D   |
| Creation           | "Oversight bodies" |   |   | "Specialized authorities"                                 | "Specialized authorities" | "Oversight bodies"   | "Independent<br>national<br>authorities"                               | "a body or<br>bodies that<br>prevent<br>corruption",<br>plus<br>provisions on<br>training | "a body or<br>bodies that<br>prevent<br>corruption",<br>plus<br>provisions on<br>training |
| Agency             | /                  | / | / | Model A   | /                         | /  | /  | Model A   | Model A   |
| cooperation        |                    |   |   | Ensure<br>cooperation<br>among<br>national<br>authorities |                           |  |  | Ensure<br>cooperation<br>among<br>national<br>authorities                                 | Ensure<br>cooperation<br>among<br>national<br>authorities                                 |
| Judiciary          | /                  | / | / | Model A  Ensure appropriate independence and autonomy     | /                         | /  | /  | Model B1  Promote integrity and prevent corruption in judiciary                           | Model B2  Promote integrity and protect judiciary   |
| False claims       | /                  | / | / | /   | /                         | Laws that<br>"punish those<br>who make<br>false and<br>malicious<br>reports" | Model A  Laws that "punish those who make false and malicious reports" | /   | /   |

# **CRIMINALIZATION (12 PROVISIONS)**

|                          | OAS   | EU  | OECD | COE  | ECO  | SADC AU                                     | UN   | LAS   |
|--------------------------|---|---|------|--|--|---|--|---|
| Public bribery a         | and related issues  | <u> </u>                                    | l .  | <u> </u>                                       | 1  |   | l  |   |
| Bribing public officials | Model A1  | Model A2                                    | /    | Model A2                                       | Model A1                                       |   |  | Model B1  |
| Unicials                 | Active and passive,   | Active and passive; requires intentionality |      | Active and passive; requires intentionality    | but AU slightly                                | y broader (not just public officials)       |  | only active<br>bribery; no<br>clear<br>definition |
| Trading in /             | Model A1  | /   | /    | Model B1                                       | Model B1                                       | Model B2                                    | Model C1   |   |
| buying<br>influence      | Unclear. Act<br>or omission to<br>obtain<br>decision                  |   |      | Both<br>directions,<br>results don't<br>matter | Both<br>directions,<br>results don't<br>matter | Similar to B1,<br>but different<br>wording  | Just lists<br>"influence-<br>peddling"                     |   |
| Abuse of public          | functions   |   |      | I  |  | 1   |  |   |
| Abuse of public office   | Act or omission for own or 3 <sup>rd</sup> party benefit; use of info |   | /    |  | /  | Model A2  A1 without mention of information | Model A3  A2 plus intent and 'violation of laws'           | Model B1  Just lists "abuse of public office"     |
| Embezzlemen<br>t         | Model A1 Improper use or diversion of assets                          | /   | /    | /  | Model A2  Diversion of ass public officials)   | Model A2  Diversion of assets               | Model B1  Just lists "misappropriation of public property" |   |

| Illicit<br>enrichment  | Model A1  | /  | /  | /   | Model A1                                  | /                                      | Model A1                                  | Model A2  | Model B1  |
|------------------------|---|--|--|---|---|--|---|---|---|
| Cinicinient            | Optional;<br>"reasonable<br>explanation"              |  |  |   | Optional;<br>"reasonable<br>explanation"  |  | Optional;<br>"reasonable<br>explanation"  | A1 plus<br>mention re<br>asset recovery         | Lists "illicit<br>enrichment"<br>and mirrors<br>A2 re asset<br>recovery |
| Related offense        | <u> </u><br>2S  |  |  |   |   |  |   |   |   |
| Complicity             | Model A1  | Model B                                  | /  | Model C1  | Model C2                                  | Model A1                               |   | Model D   | Model E   |
|                        | Very broad:<br>principal,<br>accomplice,<br>accessory | "participating<br>in and<br>instigating" |  | "aiding and<br>abetting" +<br>bad record<br>keeping | "aiding and abetting"                     | Very broad: prir<br>accomplice, acc    | -   | Broadest: A1<br>plus attempts<br>or preparation | Just lists<br>"participation<br>or attempt"                             |
| Money                  | Model B2  | Model A0                                 | Model A1                                   | Model A2  | Model B1                                  | Model B2                               | Model B1                                  | Model B3  | Model C1  |
| Laundering             | Very briefly:<br>use or<br>concealment                | Money<br>laundering as<br>offence        | Establish corr.<br>as predicate<br>offense | A1 plus call to<br>ratify AML<br>treaty             | A1 plus concealment, evasion, acquisition | Very briefly:<br>use or<br>concealment | A1 plus concealment, evasion, acquisition | Expanded version of B1                          | Lists<br>laundering<br>and<br>concealment                               |
| Obstruction of justice | /   | /  | /  | /   | /   | /                                      | /   | Model A1  Testimony, law enforcement            | Model B1  Lists "obstruction of justice"                                |

| Private sector          |   |  |                             |  |  |   |   |   |   |
|-------------------------|---|--|-----------------------------|--|--|---|---|---|---|
| Bribery                 | /   | Model A1   | /                           | Model A1   | Model A2                               | Model A3                                      |   | Model A1  | Model B1                                      |
|                         |   | Active and passive plus intention and business related |                             | Active and passive plus intention and business related | Active and passive                     | Active and passive                            |   | Active and passive plus intention and business related                    | Just lists "bribery in the private sector"    |
| Embezzlemen<br>t        | /   | /  | /                           | /  | /                                      | /   | / | Model A1  Embezzlement of private funds                                   | Model A2 Misappropriation                     |
| Transnational k         | oribery                                       |  |                             | •  |  |   |   |   |   |
| National<br>officials   | Model A1  Active bribery, related to business | /  | Model A2 A1 plus complicity | Model B1  Active and passive bribery                   | Model A3 A1 minus relation to business | Model A1  Active bribery, related to business | / | Model B2  Active and passive bribery, related to business and intentional | Model A1  Active bribery, related to business |
| International officials | /   | /  | /                           | Model A1  Active and passive bribery                   | /                                      | /   | / | Model A1  Active and passive bribery, related to business and intentional | Model A2  Active bribery, related to business |

# **JURISDICTION (7 PROVISIONS)**

|                      | OAS   | EU                                       | OECD  | COE   | ECO   | SADC  | AU   | UN   | LAS   |
|----------------------|---|--|---|---|---|---|--|--|---|
| Extraterritorial     | ı   |  |   |   |   |   |  |  |   |
| Own citizens         | Model A1  | Model B1                                 | Model C   | Model B2  | Model A2  | Model A1  | Model A3   | Model A4   | Model A4  |
|                      | "when the offense is committed by one of its nationals" or resident | "offender is<br>one of its<br>nationals" | "prosecute its<br>nationals for<br>offences<br>committed<br>abroad" | "offender is<br>one of its<br>nationals" or<br>public officials | "when the offense is committed by one of its nationals" or resident | "when the offense is committed by one of its nationals" or resident | "one of its nationals outside its territory or by a person who resides in its territory" | Committed by<br>a national or<br>habitual<br>resident            | Committed by<br>a national or<br>habitual<br>resident             |
| Effect on state      | /   |  |   |   |   |   | Model A  When it affects vital interests or has harmful consequences                     | Model B  When the "offence is committed against the State Party" | Model B  When the "offence is committed against the State Party"  |
| Effect on<br>citizen | /   | /  |   | /   | /   | /   | /  | Model A  When "committed against a national of that State Party" | Model A  When  "committed against a national of that State Party" |

| Involve official       | / | Model A  Offence against public officials who are citizens                | /   | Model B  Offense "involves one of its public officials" | /   | /   | /   | /   | /   |
|------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Related off.<br>abroad |   | /   |   |   |   | /   | /   | Model A  When actions abroad contribute to money laundering     | Model A  When actions abroad contribute to money laundering |
| Limits                 |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| Double<br>jeopardy     | / | "shall apply the ne bis in idem rule", but exceptions                     | /   | /   | /   | "principle that a person shall not be tried twice for the same offence" | "principle that a person shall not be tried twice for the same offence" | /   | /   |
| Consult if overlap     |   | Model A  Co-op to centralize prosecution in a single state where possible | Model B1  Consult at the request of one party and decide most appropriate |   | Model B2  Consult and decide most appropriate | /   |   | "consult one another with a view to coordinating their actions" | Model C2  "consult together and coordinate"                 |

# **DOMESTIC ENFORCEMENT (13 PROVISIONS)**

|                          | OAS | EU  | OECD   | COE  | ECO  | SADC | AU | UN   | LAS  |
|--------------------------|-----|---|--|--|--|------|----|--|--|
| Sanctions                | 1   | 1   | l  | l  |  |      |    |  |  |
| Criminal sanctions       | /   | Model A  "effective, proportionate, dissuasive" incl. prison          | Model A  "effective, proportionate, dissuasive" incl. prison                       | Model A  "effective, proportionate, dissuasive" incl. prison | Model A  "effective, proportionate, dissuasive" incl. prison | /    | /  | Model B  "take into account the gravity of that offence" | "take into<br>account the<br>gravity of that<br>offence"<br>+ more<br>punishment |
| Administrative sanctions | /   | Model B  Business leaders may be banned                               | Model A  "consider the imposition of additional civil or administrative sanctions" | /  | /  | /    | /  | Model C  Ban or suspend suspects from office             | "Any<br>secondary or<br>additional<br>punishment"                                |
| Legal persons            | /   | Model A  Effective, dissuasive penalties incl exclusion from commerce | Model B1  If no criminal liability, use effective civil sanctions incl monetary    | Model B2  Effective civil sanctions incl monetary            | Model A + B  |      |    | Model C  Model B plus optional broader sanctions         |  |

| Confiscation of proceeds | /                              | Model A   | Model B1  | Model B2   | Model B2   | Model B2   | Model B2   | Model C  | Model C   |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------|---|---|--|--|--|--|--|---|
| or proceeds              |                                | "enable the<br>seizure and<br>confiscation of<br>instruments<br>and proceeds" | "seizure and confiscation or monetary sanctions of comparable effect" | "confiscate or<br>otherwise<br>deprive<br>instrument.<br>and proceeds"<br>or same value<br>in property | Model B2 plus<br>further details                           | Model B2 plus<br>further details  |
| Protection               |                                |   |   |  |  |  |  |  |   |
| Whistle-<br>blowers      | Model A1  "Systems to protect" | /   | Model D  Appropriate measures to protect (2009)                       | Model A2  Measures as necessary  | Model A2  Measures as necessary  | Model A1  "Systems to protect"   | Model A4 "legislative and other measures" + false accusations  | Model B  "Appropriate" protection + anon reporting         | Model C  Encourage reports by public officials + public info + necessary protection |
| Witnesses                | /                              | /   | /   | Model A1  Measures as necessary  | Model B  Specific measures for witness protection  | /  | Model A2<br>"legislative<br>and other<br>measures"   | Model B  Specific measures for witness protection          | Specific measures for witness protection  |
| Victims                  | /                              | /   | /   | /  | Model A  Specific ideas to protect and hear victims  | /  | ?  | Model A2  Specific ideas to hear victims (slightly weaker) | Model A  Specific ideas to protect and hear victims                                 |

| Suspects                                       |   |   |   |  |   |   |   |  |  |
|--|---|---|---|--|---|---|---|--|--|
| Statute of limitations                         | / | / | Model A  SoL must allow time to investigate | Model B  Period betw. 3 and 10 years (civil law)       | / | / | /                                       | Model C  "long period"; longer if suspect gone | Model D  Must have some kind of SoL      |
| Fair trial                                     | / | / | /   | /  | / | / | Model A  "Minimum guarantees"           | /  | /  |
| Limits to immunity                             | / | / | /   | Model A  "degree necessary in a democratic society"    | / | / | Model B  Immunity shall not be obstacle | Model C  "appropriate balance"                 | Model C  "appropriate balance"           |
| Civil law                                      |   |   |   |  |   |   | I                                       |  |  |
| Contracts void?                                | / | / | /   | Model A  Void if about corruption                      | / | / | /                                       | /  | /  |
| Contracts voidable?                            | / | / | /   | Model A1  Courts can void contracts in case of corr.   | / | / | /                                       | Model A2  C. as reason to void, withdraw       | Model A2  C. as reason to void, withdraw |
| Private right<br>to action, civil<br>sanctions | / | / | /   | Model A  Right to claim compensation ; gov't liability | / | / | /                                       | Model B Right to claim compensation            | Model B Right to claim compensation      |

# **INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION (8 PROVISIONS)**

|                     | OAS  | EU  | OECD   | COE  | ECO  | SADC   | AU   | UN   | LAS  |
|---------------------|--|---|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| Legal assistance    |  |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Legal<br>assistance | Model A1  "mutual  | Model B States shall  | Model A2  "prompt and  | Model C  More detail   | Model D<br>Mutual  | Model A1  "mutual  | Model A2 Mutual  | Model E  Very detailed   | Model E  Very detailed   |
|                     | assistance":<br>evidence<br>requests "and<br>other<br>necessary<br>measures"                         | cooperate if<br>case concerns<br>both;<br>centralize<br>prosecution | effective"<br>assistance on<br>request   | on coop.; "prompt" reaction to requests unless against fundamental interests                                   | assistance +<br>encouraging<br>the use of<br>bilateral<br>treaties                                   | assistance":<br>evidence<br>requests "and<br>other<br>necessary<br>measures" | assistance,<br>immediate<br>reaction to<br>requests  | regulation of<br>mutual<br>assistance;<br>grounds for<br>rejection                     | regulation of<br>mutual<br>assistance;<br>grounds for<br>rejection                     |
| Bank secrecy        | "shall not<br>invoke bank<br>secrecy", but<br>only use info<br>as promised                           | /   | "Shall not<br>decline on<br>the grounds of<br>bank secrecy"  | Model C  Shall not invoke B.S., but can ask for judicial authority   | Model D1<br>Shall not<br>invoke B.S.   | Model D1<br>Shall not<br>invoke B.S.   | "shall not<br>invoke bank<br>secrecy", but<br>only use info<br>as promised                           | Model D2<br>Shall not<br>invoke B.S.   | Model D3  Shall not invoke B.S.  |
| Extradition         | Extraditable; can be basis instead of separate treaty; states must prosecute if they don't extradite | Model B  States must prosecute if they don't extradite              | Model A1  Extraditable; can be basis instead of separate treaty; states must prosecute if they don't extradite | Model A1  Extraditable; can be basis instead of separate treaty; states must prosecute if they don't extradite | Extraditable; can be basis instead of separate treaty; states must prosecute if they don't extradite | Model A2 A1 + encourage bilateral treaties                                   | Extraditable; can be basis instead of separate treaty; states must prosecute if they don't extradite | Model C  Model A + additional procedures and details, extradition of sentenced persons | Model C  Model A + additional procedures and details, extradition of sentenced persons |

| Law enforcem          | ent  |   |   |   |   |   |   |  |   |
|-----------------------|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|--|---|
| Technical assistance  | "widest measure of mutual technical cooperation"           | / | /   | /   | /   | "widest measure of mutual technical cooperation"                | Model B1  Exchange of expertise and joint programs and training | Assistance + voluntary support in particular for developing countries                              | Model D  Exchange of info, experts, research  |
| Special<br>techniques |  | / | /   | Model A  "special investigative techniques" mentioned                     | model B1  "special investigative techniques" mentioned; joint investigations, case by case or via an additional agreement | /   | /   | Model B2 Controlled delivery et al; joint investigations; case by case or via additional agreement | Model B2  Controlled delivery et al; joint investigations; case by case or via additional agreement |
| Central<br>authority  | Model A1  May designate authority that deals with requests | / | Model A2  Must designate authority that deals with requests | Model A3  Must designate authority for requests; can communicate directly | Must<br>designate<br>authority for<br>requests; can<br>communicate<br>directly  | Must designate authority for requests; can communicate directly | Model A4  A3 + ensure autonomy, training                        | Model A2  Must designate authority that deals with requests  | Model A2  Must designate authority that deals with requests   |

| Assets               |  |   |   |  |  |  |   |   |   |
|----------------------|--|---|---|--|--|--|---|---|---|
| Freezing and seizure | Model A  Briefly: assist in "identification , tracing, freezing, seizure and forfeiture" | / | / | Model B  Adopt measures to "identify, trace, freeze and seize" | Adopt steps to "identify, locate and seize"; also other assets of equal value      | Adopt steps to "identify, locate and seize"; also other assets of equal value      | Adopt steps to "identify, locate and seize"; also other assets of equal value | Model C2  Steps to allow confiscation as in C1 + more detail  | Model C3  Steps to allow confiscation as in C1 + more detail (almost equal to C2)                                     |
| Return               | Model A  Domestic laws prevail; "may transfer all or part of property or proceeds"       | / | / | /  | Model A  Domestic laws prevail; "may transfer all or part of property or proceeds" | Model A  Domestic laws prevail; "may transfer all or part of property or proceeds" | Model B  States shall enable repatriation esp. in connection to extradition   | Model C  Return = fundamental principle; direct and indirect recovery; parties are obliged to return assets to owners | Model C  Return = fundamental principle; direct and indirect recovery; parties are obliged to return assets to owners |