## **Contents**

Preface XI Acknowledgements XIII Abbreviations XVII

- 1 Introduction: 'Das Kapital, das immer dahinter steckt' 1
  - 1 Introduction 1
  - 2 Theoretical Framework 16
  - 3 'Developing the Form on the Basis of the Fundamental Form' 19
  - 4 Beyond 'Nebulous Left Functionalism': Further Considerations on Marxism and Law 24
  - 5 Conclusion 30
- 2 The Roots, Development, and Context of the Legal Concept of the Corporation: the Making of a Structure of Irresponsibility and a Tool of Imperialism 31
  - 1 Introduction to Chapter 2 31
  - 2A THE 'BACK STORY' OF THE LEGAL CONCEPT OF THE BUSINESS COMPANY 33
    - 1 Introduction to 2A 33
    - 2 Epistemology of the Corporate Legal Form 35
    - 3 The Creation of Market Society: Legal Relations and Legal Entities 43
    - 4 From the Joint Stock Corporation to the MNC  $\,$  58
    - 5 Conclusion to 2A 74
  - 2B THE CORPORATION AND THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF INTERNATIONAL LAW 76
    - Introduction: The Corporation and Capitalism in International Law 76
    - 2 Corporations, Law and Capitalism 88
    - 3 Corporations in IL in the Twentieth Century 104
    - 4 Class Law and Class Struggle in IL 124
    - 5 Conclusion to 2B 127
    - 6 Afterword to Chapter 2: the Modern Corporation and Criminal Law 131

VIII CONTENTS

3 Capitalism's Victors' Justice? The Economics of World War Two, the Allies' Trials of the German Industrialists and Their Treatment of the Japanese *zaibatsu* 133

- 1 Introduction to Chapter 3 133
- 3A GERMANY: THE NUREMBERG INTERNATIONAL MILITARY TRIBUNAL, OR, THE THEATRE OF LAW 135
  - 1 Introduction to 3A 135
  - 2 From War to Trials: Why 'Nuremberg'? 140
  - 3 The us Occupation and Economic Reform of Germany 145
  - 4 Nuremberg: Political Demands Translated into Law 146
  - 5 The Turnaround: from Germany is Our Problem to Germany is Our Business 155
  - 6 The Trials of the Industrialists: from Morality Play to Theatre of the Absurd 158
  - 7 Industrialists in Other Zonal Trials 185
  - 8 Aftermath: The warm bosom of the Western powers, the Churchill and McCloy clemencies, McCarthyism and the rebuilding of West Germany 194
  - 9 Conclusion to 3A 197
- 3B Japan: The Tokyo International Military Tribunal, or, How the East Was Won 199
  - 1 Introduction to 3B 199
  - 2 Why Tokyo? 203
  - 3 The US Occupation and Economic Reform of Japan 206
  - 4 The International Military Tribunal for the Far East 209
  - 5 Economic Occupation Policy: *zaibatsu* Dissolution and the 'Reverse Course' 232
  - 6 Conclusion to Chapter 3: Capitalism's Victors' Justice 236
- 4 Remaking ICL: Removing Businessmen and Inserting Legal Persons as Subjects 239
  - 1 Introduction to Chapter 4 239
  - 4A THE (RE-)MAKING OF ICL: LAWYERS CONGEALING

CAPITALISM 243

- Introduction to 4A: Constructing ICL's Foundational Ideology 243
- 2 ICL Ideology, Pre-fab Critiques and Foreclosed Critiques 253
- 3 An Alternative Foundational Narrative for ICL 263
- 4 Conclusion to 4A 265

CONTENTS

4B	'No Soul to Damn and No Body to Kick'? A	TTRIBUTION,
	PERPETRATION AND MENS REA IN BUSINESS	265

- 1 Introduction to 4B 265
- 2 'No soul to damn and no body to kick'? Attribution, Perpetration and mens rea in Business 268
- 3 Direct (Individual) Perpetration 270
- 4 Co-perpetration and Joint Criminal Enterprise 271
- 5 'Complicity', Aiding and Abetting 273
- 6 Command and Other Superior Responsibility 275
- 7 Perpetration through an Organisation? 276
- 8 Contextual Elements and Gravity 278
- 9 Conclusion to 4B: so Many Men, so Many Modes 280
- 4C RE-MAKING ICL: WHO WANTS TO BE AN INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL? CASTING BUSINESS IN CONTEMPORARY ICL 282
  - 1 Introduction to 4C 282
  - The 'New ICL' and Re-opening the Debate on Collective Liability 286
  - 3 'De-Individualising ICL': towards Legal Person Liability? 288
  - 4 From Theory to Practice: Recent Developments 298
  - 5 Conclusion to 4C 306
  - 6 Conclusion to Chapter 4: Who Let the *Dogmatisierung* out? 307

## 5 Contemporary *Schreibtischtäter*: Drinking from the Poisoned Chalice? 309

- 1 Introduction 309
- 2 The Balkans and the ICTY 311
- 3 International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda 314
- 4 Special Court for Sierra Leone 323
- 5 The ICC 326
- 6 Alternative Ways of Dealing with Business in Conflict 328
- 7 ICL on the Domestic Level 331
- 8 Host State Cases 336
- 9 Conclusion 339

## 6 Corporate Imperialism 3.0: from the Dutch East India Company to the American South Asia Company $$\,_{343}$

- Introduction: Corporate Imperialism 3.0: the American South Asia Company 343
- 2 The Story so far ... 346

X CONTENTS

3 The Creation of the Corporate Soul: Corporate Citizenship and Corporate Social Responsibility as the 'Last Maginot Line of Capitalism' 352

- 4 Legalised CSR, CA Cause Lawyering and Corporate ICL Problematised 365
- $\,\,$  5  $\,\,$  Consciousness-Building and the Seed of the New  $\,\,$  378  $\,$

Appendix A 381
Appendix B 382
Appendix C 389
Appendix D 391
Appendix E 393
Appendix F 398
References 400
Index 483