

# **OVERVIEW: JORDAN**

Jordan faces critical corruption risks in its defence sector. Jordan's defence sector is afforded a particularly high level of secrecy and low levels of oversight, largely in the name of national security. Yet such limited levels of transparency risk exposing Jordan's defence sector to critical risks of corruption and to increasing public grievance towards the defence sector, which may lead to further recruitment by non-state armed groups. Given the increasingly high level of regional and international threats to Jordan's own national security, and already high levels of recruitment by armed groups, the Kingdom cannot afford to maintain such high levels of secrecy.

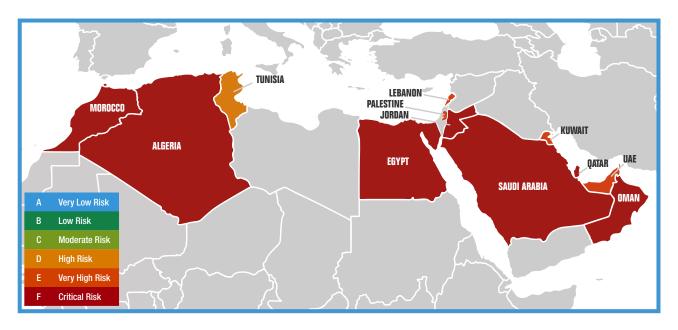


#### **Jordan Quick Facts**

OECD fragile state	No
Significant defence exporter*	No
Significant defence importer*	Yes
Volume of arms trade 2015-2018 (US\$ mil)*	113, Rank: 29 out of 65
Defence Budget (US\$ mil)*	1958
Defence Budget as % of GDP*	4.7%
Total armed forces personnel#	116,000
UN Convention Against Corruption	Ratified in 2005
Arms Trade Treaty	Not signed

\*SIPRI, #World Bank

# Middle East & North Africa: Regional Issues in Defence Integrity



Defence sectors across the Middle East & North Africa (MENA) region continue to face a high risk of corruption. At the same time, protracted armed conflicts in Syria, Libya, and Yemen persist, while public protests against corruption and authoritarianism continue in a number of countries – reflecting an overall context of insecurity and fragility. Although some governments have publically committed to stepping up anti-corruption efforts, there remains a gap between existing legislation and implementation in practice. Military institutions in the region are characterised by a high degree of defence exceptionalism, resulting in a lack of transparency that precludes oversight actors from effectively scrutinising defence budgets and policies at a time when defence spending and arms imports continue to surge. These concerns are further compounded by authoritarian governance systems seen in many MENA countries. Resurgent protests and uprisings in the region after the 2011 Arab Spring demonstrate that corruption is a central and persistent public grievance. Continuing to treat the defence sector as an exception and failing to meet public expectations of transparency and accountability could further fuel public distrust, result in a loss of legitimacy for defence institutions, and facilitate the recruitment efforts of non-state armed groups. It is therefore crucial that governments in the region disclose more information about defence spending and strategy, make decisions that serve the public interest, and rectify loopholes that allow for corruption to thrive, in turn bolstering national security and stability.

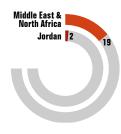
Jordan faces critical risks of corruption in defence, at a time where the country faces increasing national security concerns. In particular, Jordan has seen an increase in support for non-state groups such as the so-called Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant, and has faced several terrorist attacks from supporters of radical ideologies within its territory. In addition, public grievances against the government's corruption have been on the rise, prompting widespread protests and calls for government reform.

# **RISK AREAS**



#### **Political Risk**

Jordanian citizens continue to have a high level of trust in their armed forces. Yet from a political standpoint, there is limited oversight and transparency of the defence sector with parliament and the population, leaving the defence sector under the control of the king alone. While the official defence budget is published, key items of expenditure are missing, and parliament has a limited level of oversight of the defence sector: no committees specifically examine the defence forces, nor are they subject to debate. Financial and business interests of defence institutions should be subject to higher levels of oversight and transparency, for instance through the establishment of a parliamentary defence committee.



#### **Financial Risk**

This is one of Jordan's highest risk areas. Jordan's defence sector is subject to limited financial oversight, largely due to the absence of specialised parliamentary oversight and auditory bodies. In fact, there is no evidence that the Audit Bureau has conducted an audit of the defence sector in the last three years, or that any committee in parliament has the authority to scrutinise defence budgets. There is also substantial evidence of defence personnel involvement in defence-related private enterprises, as well as allegations of corruption. Jordan does not prohibit military-owned enterprises, and several members of the royal family own or head large military services private businesses in the country.



#### **Personnel Risk**

Personnel is Jordan's lowest corruption risk area. The country has publicly expressed commitment to countering corruption, approved legislation on whistleblowing and reporting corruption and has strict rules relating to bribery and corruption—all alongside its adherence to international conventions including the UN Convention against Corruption. While payment systems of personnel are clear, the appointment system lacks transparency, and there is no available information about structured anti-corruption trainings, the enforcement of anti-bribery policies, promotions, or the existence of a code of conduct for civilian personnel within the defence sector. These elements inherently weaken the development of an anti-corruption culture among personnel.



# **Operational Risk**

Operations are another of Jordan's critical risk areas. The Jordanian defence sector does not address corruption as a strategic issue within military doctrine or in the planning of operations, and the Jordanian armed forces do not send regular monitoring personnel to evaluate missions or monitor corruption. The lack of consideration for corruption as a military crime, and lack of external auditing to identify and remedy corruption-related cases, demonstrate another case of defence exceptionalism. Indeed, Jordan has adopted a number of anti-corruption instruments in recent years as well as implementing international conventions; the defence sector remains excluded from their application however.



#### **Procurement Risk**

Despite evidence of efforts to make some aspects of governmental procurement public, the government does not appear to disclose comprehensive information in relation to defence procurement. While Jordan has a legal framework to cover defence and national security purchases, it does not address corruption risks, and the assessment demonstrated that there is no oversight over purchases. Procurement laws in Jordan do not prohibit the use of intermediaries or agents, and allow the use of 'consultants' or 'experts' without clear qualifications or restrictions on their use; yet the prevalence of intermediaries may lead to procurement contracts being made without regard for strategic and military needs, and therefore hinder the effectiveness of purchases made.

# THEMATIC FOCUS

The following section presents discussion of important challenges facing Jordan, and suggests areas of reform that are possible, based on GDI findings.

## **Budget & Finance**

Sound management of assets, with timely and efficient accounting systems, is one of the most powerful mechanisms for maintaining organisational integrity. It relies heavily on the availability of information for adequate scrutiny. Financial management links available resources, military operations, and national policy objectives across systems and institutions. It ensures that income is used appropriately and sustainably, and allows for audits to uncover mismanagement and malfeasance.

Evidence points to the fact that rather than scrutinising the defence budget, Jordan's financial committees approve all spending and support increasing defence expenditures without overseeing their necessity. The Jordanian government should focus on strengthening the Audit Bureau and allowing for financial oversight of the defence sector, to ensure that all financial decisions are made in accordance with military necessity and aligned with national security policies and objectives.

## **Oversight**

Oversight functions exist in the form of anti-corruption bodies, audit functions, and/or parliamentary committees, but defence institutions have historically been exempt from this degree of scrutiny. Oversight mechanisms instil confidence that systems are resilient against undue influence and efficient in the face of resource challenges. Well-functioning oversight mechanisms ensure that national defence decisions around operations, budgets, personnel management, and arms acquisitions are robust and aligned with strategic needs, and can note problems at an early stage, before they threaten to hollow out defence and security institutions.

The Jordanian government should consider establishing a parliamentary committee with clear oversight of the defence sector to prevent undue influence over the defence forces and guarantee that decisions and resources are made in line with priorities for Jordan's national security. This would help strengthen the effectiveness of the armed forces by guaranteeing that all decisions pertaining to them are aligned around national security priorities and strategic needs.

# **Transparency**

Transparency facilitates more effective government, not only by allowing oversight mechanisms to function effectively, but also by creating opportunities to streamline processes for greater impact and efficiency. Its absence is marked by mistrust in government and insecure political power. A lack of transparency over military capability, defence budgets, and acquisitions can increase the risk of arms proliferation, which in turn creates the potential for instability and pressure to increase defence spending. While some items may need to remain classified, opacity should be a well-founded exception, not a rule.

Transparency is a cornerstone to guarantee long-standing public trust. The Jordanian government should consider making publicly available basic information regarding the governance of the armed forces, within the confines of national security imperatives, and strengthen nascent collaborations with members of Jordanian civil society, to allow for effective dialogue with civilian members of government and Jordanian citizens.

#### **Procurement**

Ineffective or corrupt procurement in the defence sector wastes significant state resources, not only because it is one of the largest areas of government expenditure. Exceptions for defence procurement in law, combined with weak rules and/or scrutiny, can lead to the overpriced purchases of sub-standard arms or ammunition, threatening the safety of military personnel in combat. It is essential for defence purchases to be aligned with military needs, subject to oversight, processed through open competition as much as possible, and without undue influence from middlemen or agents.

The government should strengthen procurement policies and procedures, and ensure adequate oversight and regulation of procurement decisions. This would guarantee that purchases are made in accordance with Jordan's national security interests, and are not subject to external undue influence. It would also ensure that purchases correspond to Jordan's strategic needs.

# **COUNTRY SCORECARD: JORDAN**

# Overall Country Score F 14 Critical Risk

			,
	Political Risk	Ε	17
Q12	Budget Transparency & Detail		75
Q5	Conventions: UNCAC / OECD	В	75
Q8	Compliance and Ethics Units	D	42
Q1	Legislative Scrutiny	Е	25
Q14	Budget Availability	Ε	25
Q19	Organised Crime Links	Ε	25
Q22	Intelligence Services Recruitment	Е	25
Q6	Public Debate	E	25
Q18	Natural Resources	Ε	20
Q16	Internal Audit	Е	17
Q4	CSO Engagement	E	17
Q3	Defence Policy Debate	F	8
Q10	Risk Assessments	F	0
Q11	Acquisition Planning	F	0
Q13	Budget Scrutiny		0
Q15	Defence Income		0
Q17	External Audit	F	0
Q2	Defence Committee	F	0
Q20	Organised Crime Policing	F	0
Q21	Intelligence Services Oversight	F	0
Q23	Export Controls (ATT)		0
Q76	Lobbying		0
Q9 Public Trust in Institutions			NS
Q7 Anticorruption Policy		NEI	

2	F	Financial Risk	
25	E	Beneficial Ownership	Q31
0	F	Asset Disposal Controls	Q24
0	F	Asset Disposal Scrutiny	Q25
0	F	Secret Spending	Q26
0	F	Legislative Access to Information	Q27
0	F	Secret Program Auditing	Q28
0	F	Off-budget Spending	Q29
0	F	Access to Information	Q30
0	F	Military-Owned Business Scrutiny	Q32
0	F	Unauthorised Private Enterprise	Q33
0	F	Defence Spending	Q76

D 39	Personnel Risk	
A 83	Q44 Bribery for Preferred Postings	Q44
B 67	Q40 Payment System	Q40
B 67	Q50 Facilitation Payments	Q50
C 63	Q35 Disciplinary Measures for Personnel	Q35
C 50	Q38 Numbers of Personnel	Q38
C 50	Q42 Objective Promotions	Q42
C 50	Q45 Chains of Command and Payment	Q45
D 44	Q47 Civilian Code of Conduct	Q47
D 42	Q34 Public Commitment to Integrity	Q34
D 42	Q46 Military Code of Conduct	Q46
D 38	Q39 Pay Rates and Allowances	Q39
E 17	Q36 Whistleblowing	Q36
F 8	Q48 Anticorruption Training	Q48
F 8	Q41 Objective Appointments	Q41

Q37	High-risk Positions	F	0
Q49	Corruption Prosecutions	F	0
Q43	Bribery to Avoid Conscription		NA

	Operational Risk	F	5
Q52	Operational Training	Е	25
Q51	Military Doctrine	F	0
Q53	Forward Planning	F	0
Q54	Corruption Monitoring in Operations	F	0
Q55	Controls in Contracting	F	0
Q56	Private Military Contractors		NS

	Procurement Risk	F	5
Q58	Procurement Cycle	Е	25
Q67	Contract Award / Delivery	E	25
Q70	Offset Contracts	E	25
Q60	Potential Purchases Disclosed	F	13
Q57	Procurement Legislation	F	0
Q59	Procurement Oversight Mechanisms	F	0
Q61	Actual Purchases Disclosed	F	0
Q62	Business Compliance Standards	F	0
Q63	Procurement Requirements	F	0
Q64	Competition in Procurement	F	0
Q65	Tender Board Controls	F	0
Q66	Anti-Collusion Controls	F	0
Q68	Complaint Mechanisms	F	0
Q69	Supplier Sanctions	F	0
Q71	Offset Contract Monitoring	F	0
Q72	Offset Competition	F	0
Q73	Agents and Intermediaries	F	0
Q74	74 Financing Packages		0
Q75	Political Pressure in Acquisitions		NS

Legend	Range of Scores	<b>Corruption Risk</b>
Α	83 - 100	Very Low
В	67 - 82	Low
C	50 - 66	Moderate
D	33 - 49	High
E	17 - 32	Very High
F	0 - 16	Critical

#### Kev

**NEI - Not enough information to score indicator.** 

NS - Indicator is not scored for any country

NA - Not applicable

# Transparency International Defence & Security www.ti-defence.org/gdi twitter.com/ti-defence