

CORRUPTION AS A THREAT TO STABILITY AND PEACE

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Corruption as a Threat to Stability and Peace

Foreword	5
Zusammenfassung	6
Executive Summary	9
Introduction	15
Case Studies	20
Afghanistan – Corruption and the Primacy of Counter-Terrorism	20
Kosovo – Fighting Corruption Amidst International and National Divisions	25
West Africa – Corruption and Transnational Crime	29
Multilateral Organisations, Peace Operations, and Corruption	34
UN Peace Operations and Corruption Challenges in Procurement and Troop Selection	37
The European Union’s Response to Fragile States and Corruption	40
NATO and ISAF	43
Annex: Evidence from the Transparency International Government Defence Anti-Corruption Index 2013 Regarding Conflict States	46
List of Abbreviations	48
Bibliography	49

Foreword

Corruption is widely recognised as a global threat to peace and security.

This problem acquires huge proportions in countries suffering or recovering from conflict, acting as a major constraint on the development of peaceful and sustainable societies, and often encouraging a downward spiral.

In recent years, we have seen the destabilising effects of corruption take many forms. Be it in Afghanistan, the Balkans or West Africa, we see that where corruption is rife, criminal networks and conflict prevail. In such environments, hopes of lasting peace and stability can only be fleeting unless solutions are found for the root causes of instability.

When corruption becomes entrenched, it undermines the development of state authority and its institutions, leaving a weak state with potentially more space for insurgents to operate. Leaders also feel the cost of corruption, but they pay in the currency of losing the trust of their citizens.

Corruption is a particular concern for post-conflict societies because it deprives the poor and vulnerable of essential services, leaving them to fear for the safety of their family and suffer daily extortion. This drives a wedge between them and the institutions meant to serve them.

While the poor often suffer the most, this disastrous cycle of impunity leaves ordinary people disempowered, unable to seek justice in courts or hold politicians to account. This makes them further impoverished, but also sows the seeds of conflict by dissolving any ties of loyalty between people and a state seemingly captured by private interests. By contrast, people with a stake in society are more likely to reject those who preach violence to achieve their ends.

It is not surprising therefore, that we see a constant and sad correlation between corruption and conflict.

The way forward lies in treating corruption as an urgent problem, through greater understanding of the problem, the development of measures to prevent and tackle it including defence anti-corruption action plans and a full commitment by national and international leaders involved in bringing about a resolution of these conflicts. Crucial is the role of multilateral actors such as the UN, the EU, NATO as well as defence ministries, police forces and companies involved in the resolution of these conflicts and the leaders of the G20. Respect for civil rights and space for civil society participation are also critical building blocks.

In recent years, Transparency International has increased its understanding of how corruption affects defence and security forces. We have identified many ways in which this problem can be tackled, from training of defence forces to corruption prevention through to specific actions by governments, parliamentary security committees, military forces and police forces. The formation of the global forum for good business conduct (IFBEC) by defence companies is a recent sign of progress.

I hope this study will encourage a more critical reflection on this still unresolved global problem with inclusive solutions to mobilise a strong international response as we strive to contribute to lasting stability and peace.



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Zusammenfassung

Korruption ist inzwischen als eine ernstzunehmende Bedrohung für Stabilität und Frieden anerkannt. Eine Reihe von nützlichen Ansätzen wurde entwickelt, um Korruption zu bekämpfen. Erste Fortschritte in verschiedenen (Post-)Konfliktsituationen wurden erzielt. Es ist jedoch notwendig, dass Regierungen, internationale Organisationen und die Zivilgesellschaft stärker zusammen als auch eigenständig an der Umsetzung der Lehren aus diesen Erfahrungen arbeiten. Es ist keine leichte Aufgabe, Korruption während Friedensoperationen zu bekämpfen. Es müssen jeweils die Ziele Stabilität, Sicherheit und Legitimität abgewogen werden. Allerdings muss weiterer Fortschritt erzielt werden.

Länder mit einem sehr hohen Grad an Korruption sind überproportional stark gefährdet, gewaltsame Konflikte zu erleiden. Daher ist die Wahrscheinlichkeit sehr hoch, dass Friedensmissionen in ihrem Land notwendig werden. Die Ziele der Friedensmissionen können durch anhaltende Korruption unterlaufen werden. Die Korruption bietet Brennstoff für soziale Missstände und untergräbt die Legitimität des Staates. Dadurch ist die friedliche Entwicklung von stabilen Gesellschaften in hohem Maß gefährdet. Wenn Korruption öffentlichen Einrichtungen, insbesondere Sicherheitsinstitutionen, finanzielle Ressourcen entzieht, schwächt dies die Fähigkeit des Staates, ein Mindestmaß an Sicherheit ohne externe Hilfe zu gewährleisten. Korruption gefährdet Menschenrechte und Entwicklung.

Die Vernachlässigung des Korruptionsproblems bei internationalen Friedensmissionen kann zu ungewollten Folgen führen, statt zu einem Abbau zu einer Verfestigung der Korruption. Oftmals erkennen die internationalen Akteure die Auswirkungen der Korruption auf den Erfolg der Mission zu spät.

Die Untersuchung der komplexen Beziehung zwischen Korruption, Instabilität und Konflikten hilft zu verstehen, welche Rollen internationale Akteure bei der Bekämpfung von Korruption in verschiedenen regionalen Kontexten spielen müssen.

Das Bewusstsein über die Existenz und die Auswirkungen der Korruption vor Ort ist entscheidend für

- den Aufbau guter Regierungsführung im Interventionsland,
- die Sicherheit aller an einer Mission Beteiligten und
- die globale Sicherheit.

Die Verringerung von Korruption in (Post-)Konflikt-Staaten erhöht Sicherheit weltweit zum Beispiel durch Entzug des Nährbodens für Terrorismus und organisierte Kriminalität.

Die Bereitschaft und der Wunsch der internationalen Gemeinschaft ist gewachsen Korruption durch politische, personelle und operative Maßnahmen entgegen zu wirken. Bisher haben allerdings nur wenige Länder das Thema Korruptionsbekämpfung in Doktrinen und Fortbildungsprogrammen festgeschrieben.

Nützliche Lehren können aus den bisherigen Erfahrungen bei Friedensmissionen gewonnen werden. Bei laufenden und zukünftigen Friedensoperationen in (Post-)Konflikt-Staaten bieten sie vielversprechende Ansatzpunkte zu wirksamer Korruptionsbekämpfung. Hierfür ist insbesondere in folgenden Bereichen Vorsorge zu treffen:

PERSONAL: Ausbildung um den Schwerpunkt Korruptionsbekämpfung in Einsätzen erweitern; Sensibilisierung durch internationalen Austausch;

FINANZEN: Gegenzeichnungspflichten von internationalen Gebern bei finanziellen Ausgaben öffentlicher Institutionen; bessere Abstimmungsmechanismen bei der Verwendung von Hilfsgeldern in den Konfliktländern;

BESCHAFFUNG: bessere Kontrolle aller Beschaffungsvorgänge, insbesondere bei der Vergabe von Unterverträgen; effiziente Systeme zur Angebotsprüfung;

OPERATIONEN: bessere Berücksichtigung von Korruptionsbekämpfung bereits bei der Planung von Operationen und deren Durchführung, insbesondere auch mit Blick auf die Beteiligung privater Sicherheitsunternehmen;

POLITIK: Anti-Korruptionsstrategien müssen aus Gründen der Stabilität sowie der Sicherheit und des Friedens hoch auf die Agenda der internationalen Gemeinschaft sowie nationaler und zivilgesellschaftlicher Akteure gesetzt werden. Dazu gehören u.a. die Einrichtung unabhängiger Monitoring- und Evaluationsausschüsse sowie spezialisierter Arbeitsgruppen mit Investigativrechten.

Executive Summary

Corruption has been increasingly acknowledged as a major threat to stability and peace. A number of useful tools to tackle it have been developed and some initial progress has been made in different (post-)conflict environments. It is therefore crucial that governments, international organisations, and civil society continue to work together as well as separately to implement the lessons learned from these experiences. It is not an easy task to address corruption while trying to balance stability, security, and legitimacy, but there can and needs to be further progress.

Corruption increases the risk of conflict and conflict increases the risk of corruption. The two have a symbiotic relationship that threatens peace and stability in states already besieged by violence. Corruption has become further entrenched into the very fabric of how these countries function. Often, by the time international actors have become aware of the situation and realise how corruption impacts on mission success, it is difficult to counter the vested interests of those that have solidified power for personal gain.

The negative impact of corruption on the protection of human rights and on development is clear. As the United Nations have pointed out, states are for example unable to comply with their human rights obligations because of corruption. Corruption is harmful to all human rights: civil, political, economic, social, and cultural; and to the right to development. Corruption is most harmful to the poor and marginalised, who are particularly dependent on public services.¹ Corruption also creates a culture of impunity. Growing threats to and restrictions on civil society space around the world are of particular concern as civil society organisations play an essential role in the fight against corruption and are best suited to giving a voice to its victims.

This is also crucial for global security. Reducing the level of corruption in (post-)conflict states increases the overall security of citizens in those states and facilitates, for example, the effective and accountable use of national resources. Violent conflict generates enormous costs not only to the country in question but also to the international community: “Lives are lost, people displaced, trade links cut, and organised crime groups or terrorists are given an opportunity to take root, exacerbating instability.”² Early conflict prevention with a particular focus on anti-corruption is therefore in the national interest of all states, so that challenges in (post-)conflict environments can ideally be addressed before their consequences have an even broader impact. While the international community has trialled various methods of tackling corruption, success has been limited. A recent study uncovered that, of all the counter-corruption mechanisms used, public financial management demonstrates the strongest evidence of effectively reducing corruption levels.³ But even here, especially in post-conflict countries, challenges remain high. It is time for the international community to take stock, focus increased attention on understanding the nature of the problem, and develop innovative ways to reduce corruption risks.

This study discusses the threats corruption can pose to fragile and conflict affected states. It further explores the complex relationship between corruption, instability and conflict, which helps to examine the roles that external security actors in particular can play and have played in addressing corruption in such environments.

¹ See the United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights on “Human Rights and anti-corruption”: <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/Development/GoodGovernance/Pages/AntiCorruption.aspx>.

² Government of the United Kingdom, *Building Stability Overseas Strategy (BSOS)*, London, 2011.

³ Johnson, Taxell, Zaum, *Mapping evidence gaps in anti-corruption: Assessing the state of the operationally relevant evidence on donors’ action and approaches in reducing corruption*, Chr. Michelsen Institute (U4 Issue 2012:7).

To this end, the study addresses these issues from three perspectives:

- First, it looks at the wider evidence on the link between corruption and conflict as well as instability.
- Second, it examines these relationships in more detail through three brief case studies which underline the complexity of the challenges in different contexts: Afghanistan, where corruption problems have festered in the context of an ongoing insurgency and counter-terrorism campaign; Kosovo, where international disagreement over the political and legal status of the territory has for a long time entrenched the territorial division of Kosovo and structures of criminal governance where corruption is rife; and West Africa, where the burgeoning narcotics trade has fuelled transnational organised crime and the rise of the first “narco-state” in Guinea-Bissau.
- Third, based on Transparency International's earlier work on corruption, conflict and peacekeeping, it examines the structures and practices of international organisations for addressing corruption in fragile and conflict-affected environments.

Policies and Measures, and Lessons to be Implemented

Over the last few years, as the effects of corruption have become apparent in environments such as Afghanistan, the international community has begun to take corruption more seriously. Whilst no mechanism or process is perfect, there is nonetheless a willingness and desire to confront the problem. This section highlights well-intentioned initiatives. These have been designed with a particular context in mind, but similar instruments should be present in one form or another. Both of these experiences as well as related and additional lessons to be implemented have been grouped into six categories:

1. POLITICAL

Despite the enormous challenges remaining, three tools focused on Afghanistan provide valuable lessons:

Independent monitoring and evaluation committees, that have both local and international buy-in and representation, can be deemed good practice in the fight against corruption. The Independent Joint Anti-Corruption Monitoring and Evaluation Committee (MEC) in Afghanistan was formed in 2011 to challenge corrupt practices and disseminate its ideas more broadly to the public, parliament, president and various members of the international community. The committee is tasked with developing anti-corruption recommendations and benchmarks and monitoring the behaviour of both local institutions and that of the international community in the fight against corruption. The committee comprises of six senior anti-corruption experts – three Afghans and three internationals – who are selected through a nomination process overseen by both the host country and international organisations. On a six-month basis, the chairmanship of the committee rotates between an Afghan and international appointee. The MEC, funded by the UK, Denmark and the US has had successes such as encouraging the Ministry of Mines to publish contracts. By 2012, the Committee has made 57 recommendations and established 58 benchmarks. Of the recommendations, approximately 80% were either partially or fully implemented.

Taskforces have also led to some notable achievements:

Again in Afghanistan, and despite some of the limitations discussed below, ISAF **Taskforce Shafafiyat** (Transparency) has proven to be an invaluable tool in the fight against corruption. By analysing how corruption manifests, investigating particular cases of corruption, and forwarding evidence for prosecution, Shafafiyat has advanced the conversation of how corruption in Afghanistan can be addressed. Yet for such organisations to function successfully, two components are necessary: First, it requires strong leadership to set the tone from the top and encourage subordinates to drive the fight against corruption. Second, the mandate of such an organisation must be clear. One of the reasons why Shafafiyat has not been as effective in Afghanistan after the first few years was that it stretched itself quite thin and attempted to investigate and study corruption in

sectors of the Afghan economy beyond defence and security. However the organisation was not resourced for an undertaking of this scale.

The **Office of the Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction** (SIGAR) was established by the United States Congress to provide independent oversight of Afghanistan reconstruction projects. Reporting directly to Congress, it has energetically conducted audits to promote efficiency in reconstruction programmes and to detect waste and fraud in contracting. Its investigations directorate carries out criminal and civil investigations directly related to US funded programmes. Yet, despite being quite proficient in highlighting numerous instances of waste and fraud through a high degree of buy-in from the media, there has been a lack of follow-up to investigations by the US government. Nonetheless, despite its limitations, such an organisation can prove invaluable.

Civil society has a central role to play in demanding integrity and ensuring that government establishments in (post-)conflict countries are accountable to citizens. Civil society activities are not limited to external monitoring and activism but, to be effective, should also include active engagement and collaboration to catalyse and support reform within such establishments. Ways for civil society to work with the intervention force(s) should be explored by both.

2. PERSONNEL

The 2013 Transparency International Government Defence Anti-Corruption Index found that only three countries, Australia, Sweden and Spain, provided **training in counter-corruption** for commanders at all levels to ensure that they were clear on the corruption issues they may face during deployment. A further two countries, the United States and Greece, had **military doctrine** addressing corruption as a strategic issue on operations. This, amongst other demands, has also led to Transparency International producing a report on stabilisation operations and doctrine which will be published later this year.

In 2010, NATO started the second phase of its Building Integrity Programme to help Allied and Partner nations to reduce corruption risks in the defence and security sector. One particular focus of the programme is the inclusion of corruption-related issues in both **pre-deployment and in-theatre training**. By making soldiers aware of the risks they face and providing them with practical tools to counter it, the international community has attempted to institutionalise good practice.

In Afghanistan, and in addition to Shafafiyat, NATO has also responded to corruption in the security sector through the Building Integrity Programme. The Building Integrity training not only looks at building capacity within security forces to counter corruption and promote good governance, but also provides tools for these forces to adequately engage with the public and civil society. The concept of inviting a number of stakeholders into the decision making process has been well received by Afghan participants, as it promotes the idea of an inclusive society and governance structure.

Transparency International has also been involved in building capacity within the Ministry of Defence in Ukraine since 2007, and the Ministry of Defence in Georgia since 2013. There are three main components to the work:

- Developing/ delivering a training course (e.g. with NATO)
- Dealing directly with officials through a permanent interlocutor at leadership days and regular in-country visits
- Hosting secondments at Transparency International's London offices

Over the last few years, Transparency International has hosted more than 10 **secondments** from Ukraine and Georgia to help them to develop an understanding of corruption and the various ways it can be tackled. A network of "change agents" that understand corruption can be a vital cog in pushing the ministry to recognise this as a serious issue. Such exchanges can help countries build internal capacity and take the lead in

instituting local reforms. It would be beneficial for more organisations, be it local and international NGOs or international and regional organisations, to document their particular approaches to building capacity so as to share knowledge and improve practices.

These initiatives show that positive personnel measures exist in relation to corruption prevention and understanding. However, they are all still at the margins: understanding and preventing corruption is not yet mainstream in conflict environments.

3. IN-COUNTRY SECURITY INSTITUTIONS

A central part of establishing a functioning state is **minimising corruption in the defence and security forces, often the largest recipients of government funds in most fragile countries**. As far as corruption risks in defence and security are concerned, the risks are much higher in conflict states. This is particularly pronounced for financial and significant for political and procurement corruption risks. To a lesser degree, this is also true for operational and personnel corruption risks.⁴

Establishing transparency and accountability in these two institutions can send a powerful message to other departments. Yet, most countries' defence and security forces suffer from low competence, be it in procurement, operations or personnel policies, which further increases the risks of corruption. As responsibilities are transferred from the international community to the Ministry of Defence and Ministry of Interior, these gaps are only magnified. International engagement through capacity building and training can help alleviate some of the corruption risks.

4. FINANCIAL

In Liberia, corruption was perceived by donors as such a challenge to the peace- and state-building process that they established the Governance and Economic Management Programme (GEMAP) in 2005, two years after the comprehensive peace agreement had been signed and a transitional government had been established. GEMAP **placed international officials in key public institutions** such as the treasury, the central bank, state enterprises, or the port authority, where they provided training and helped to reform processes, but also had **counter-signing authority for expenditures**, to drastically limit corruption.

Aid can distort the economies of conflict-affected countries, especially if it exceeds the country's capacity to absorb these funds, fuelling rent-seeking and providing incentives for corruption in the process. In some conflict-affected countries, like Afghanistan or Liberia, aid has exceeded local GDP by multiples. This is often exacerbated by the need to disburse funds quickly to address emergency situations or achieve highly visible "quick wins" through quick impact projects, and to proceed without robust procurement and auditing procedures.

Research into **the impact of aid and informal social service delivery by NGOs** or communities at a local-level has shown that this often revives and reinforces the patronage power of local elites, who become the gatekeepers to aid and services.⁵ This is one important example of the need for civil society to implement lessons learned, and to work constructively with international and local government actors.

⁴ See Annex 1.

⁵ Jackson (2005), 'Chiefs, Money and Politicians: Rebuilding Local Government in Post-War Sierra Leone', *Public Administration and Development* 25/1, 49–58. Nakaya (2008), *Aid in Post-Conflict (Non) State-building: A Synthesis*, New York: Program on States and Security.

5. PROCUREMENT

For the United States in particular, the issue of **subcontracts** has been a particular area of concern since it was the preferred model of fund distribution in Afghanistan. Whilst US federal law makes prime contractors responsible for the behaviour of their subcontractors, in practice there are a number of deficiencies in the system which have allowed a degree of waste and fraud.⁶ In particular, the widespread prevalence of “flip-ping”, through which a contract is passed on or subcontracted to others with a profit margin being extracted in the process, is widely and correctly perceived as just another form of corruption. **Security contracts** in particular have been susceptible to corruption risk and are of particular interest as most national private security contractors in Afghanistan have close links to powerful political figures.⁷ Importantly, not only has this corruption in some part contributed to funding the insurgency, but has also funded powerful warlords who have been accused of acting violently and abusively towards the civilian population. By providing them with financial support directly, and not through the state budget, it also threatens to weaken their link to the state and develop autonomous centres of power that can challenge state authority. The US dedicated a well-resourced taskforce to the analysis of corruption in US contracts in Afghanistan – “Taskforce 2010” – which represents good practice in following up theatre contracting practice.

While this provides some useful lessons learned, corruption in procurement has also been identified and addressed as a major risk, e.g. in Kosovo as well as in United Nations peace operations, which is outlined further below.

The challenge of transparent, quick, and cheap procurement requires better mechanisms, such as prior certification processes. The establishment of a database which enables the vetting of vendors and contractors to ensure that funds are not diverted and contracts are not awarded to nefarious characters is one measure that resonates with many experts.

6. OPERATIONAL

In addition to being deployed in a growing number of environments that are characterised by substantial levels of corruption, the scope of peace operations’ engagement (and of international organisations more generally), in particular with regard to reforming and strengthening institutions of governance, has substantially increased and peace operations “have found themselves involved, to an unprecedented degree, in the creation and reform of representative political institutions, the strengthening of governmental capacity, the promotion of judicial reform and the liberalisation of economies.”⁸ In that context, they have often supported direct and indirect anti-corruption reforms, or in some cases engaged directly in addressing corruption not only with regard to their own programmes but also within the countries where they work. Examples include EULEX in Kosovo, NATO in Afghanistan, and GEMAP in Liberia. It is therefore worth exploring in greater detail how key international organisations, and the peace operations they have established, have engaged in anti-corruption efforts and how anti-corruption concerns feature in their planning for operations, operational guidance, training, and activities.

⁶ Ibid, p.79

⁷ Sherman and DiDomenico, *The Public Cost of Private Security in Afghanistan* (New York: Centre for International Cooperation, 2009).

⁸ Berdal and Zaum, “Power after Peace”, in Berdal and Zaum (eds.), *Political Economy of Statebuilding: Power after Peace* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012), 1.

The use of private security companies, often with close links to local powerbrokers, to protect bases and projects has further strengthened this decentralisation of power and corruption.⁹ They can also be abused by organised crime and might not adhere to the same anti-corruption standards as state or public sector actors.

MINIMISING HARM

When intervening in foreign environments, one of the overriding principles for any country should be minimising harm. The responsibility extends all the way from politicians to troops on the ground. However, recent engagements have demonstrated that, more often than not, the presence of international troops, contractors and donors, and the substantial inflow of resources that accompanies them (sometimes multiples of the local GDP) can have a distorting impact on a country's economy and stability.

To minimise the negative impact of their presence, and to understand how they affect political and economic dynamics, peace operations need to have a good understanding of the national and local political economy, and of the different drivers of conflict. Frequently, peace operations fail to understand that violence is driven by local rather than national factors. In addition, peace operations often find it difficult to understand and address "criminal" and seemingly non-political violence. While missions often lack dedicated resources to conduct the necessary analysis, in some contexts such as Afghanistan, the military and donors have devoted extensive resources to understanding local-level political and economic dynamics, e.g. through the Helmand Monitoring and Evaluation programme.

Lessons learned studies on minimising harm should be conducted and directly feed into guidance and training.

In light of the 2014 withdrawal of NATO-led ISAF from Afghanistan, it needs to be ensured that the progress that has been made is safeguarded, and that corruption is not ignored. Efforts to develop anti-corruption strategies need to be high on the international community's agenda for the sake of stability as well as security and peace.

⁹ Sherman and DiDomenico 2009.

Introduction

Associations between corruption on the one hand, and political instability and violent conflict on the other, are increasingly commonplace in research documents, policy statements, and recent events:

- In 2011, the World Bank's landmark World Development Report on Conflict, Security, and Development suggested that "Corruption [...] has doubly pernicious impacts on the risk of violence, by fuelling grievances and by undermining the effectiveness of national institutions and social norms."¹⁰ An OECD Development Co-operation Directorate report on corruption and state-building has argued in a similar vein that "Corruption lies at the core of fragility. Certain forms of corruption can fundamentally delegitimize the state."¹¹
- In a wide range of conflict-affected countries, surveys commissioned by civil society organisations have identified corruption as one of the key concerns of the population. In an Integrity Watch Afghanistan survey, for example, half the respondents considered corruption to fuel the expansion of the Taliban;¹² and in both Afghanistan and Kosovo corruption has been identified by survey respondents as a major challenge to their country.¹³
- Corruption has been central to the narratives of the Arab spring and demands to address it a central demand of protesters, not least because of the graphic accounts of corruption and conspicuous consumption of the Tunisian ruling elite revealed by the trial focusing on the Ben Ali and Trabelsi families.

A closer look at the data (table 1) also suggests a robust correlation between corruption and violent conflict: countries with very high levels of corruption (as reflected in low scores in the Transparency International Corruption Perception Index or in the World Bank's Control of Corruption score) are disproportionately more likely to have experienced violent conflict. As a consequence, they are also more likely to see substantial peace operations on their soil.

- 11 of the 20 most corrupt countries have been affected by violent conflict, often lasting many years.
- Nine out of these 20 countries listed in table 1 have seen peace operations deployed on their territory. These have been led by a variety of international and regional organisations, including the UN, NATO, the EU, and the African Union.
- According to data from the Geneva Declaration on Armed Violence and Development, 11 of the 20 countries listed in the table suffer from very high rates of violent death, with rates in excess of 10 per 100,000.¹⁴ Two countries (Iraq, Venezuela) have violent death rates in excess of 40 per 100,000. This includes death from conflict, terrorism, crime, and state violence against civilians.

¹⁰ 2011 WDR, 7-8.

¹¹ OECD/DAC, *Integrity in Statebuilding: Anti-Corruption with a Statebuilding Lens* (Paris: OECD/DAC, 2009), 9.

¹² Integrity Watch Afghanistan, 2010.

¹³ The Asia Foundation 2011; UNDP 2011.

¹⁴ Geneva Declaration on Armed Violence and Development, *The Global Burden of Armed Violence 2011*, Geneva, p.53. The countries include Iraq, Venezuela, Sudan, DR Congo, Somalia, Chad, Afghanistan, Equatorial Guinea, North Korea, Cameroon, and Burundi.

Table 1: Highly Corrupt Countries and their experience of conflict and peace operations¹⁵

Country	CPI Score 2011	CPI score 2012	WGI score 2011	WGI score 2012	Violent Internal Conflict since 2006	Peace Operation since 2006
Afghanistan	1.5	0.8	-1.55	-1.41	Yes	Yes
Angola	2	2.2	-1.34	-1.29	No	No
Burundi	1.9	1.9	-1.12	-1.46	Yes	Yes
Cambodia		2.2	-1.22	-1.04	No	No
Cameroon	2.5	2.2	-1.04	-1.24	No	No
Chad	2	1.9	-1.26	-1.25	Yes	Yes
DR Congo	2	0.8	-1.4	-1.3	Yes	Yes
Equatorial Guinea	1.9	2	-1.49	-1.56	No	No
Haiti	1.8	1.9	-1.23	-1.24	Yes	Yes
Iraq	1.8	1.8	-1.21	-1.23	Yes	Yes
Libya	2	2.1	-1.29	-1.4	Yes	Yes
Myanmar	1.5	1.5	-1.68	-1.12	Yes	No
North Korea	1	0.8	-1.37	-1.37	No	No
Somalia	1	0.8	-1.7	-1.59	Yes	Yes
Sudan	1.6	1.3	-1.23	-1.51	Yes	Yes
Turkmenistan	1.6	1.7	-1.44	-1.34	No	No
Uzbekistan	1.6	1.7	-1.31	-1.23	No	No
Venezuela	1.9	1.8	-1.16	-1.24	No	No
Yemen	2.1	2.3	-1.18	-1.24	Yes	No
Zimbabwe	2.2	2	-1.38	-1.27	No	No

However, while we can observe a strong correlation between corruption and conflict (as well as armed violence and corruption) we cannot clearly say which one is caused by the other, or whether they are both phenomena with a common cause, such as weak state institutions. Arguably, all four phenomena – corruption, conflict and insecurity, and weak state institutions – are interdependent and feedback loops exist between them.

Corruption and Conflict

Before looking in more detail at the possible ways in which corruption might feed conflict and instability, it is worth reflecting on the ways in which weak institutions and conflict can fuel corruption. Almost all countries that are classed as highly corrupt also have weak political, administrative, and economic institutions. As a

¹⁵ The table is an aggregation of the 20 most corrupt countries according to Transparency International's Corruption Perception Index (CPI, here on a common scale from 1 to 10) and the Control of Corruption score from the World Bank's Worldwide Governance Indicators (range from -2,5 to +2,5). Data for violent international conflicts is taken from the Uppsala Conflict Database Programme. Data for peace operations since 2006 is the authors: a country is deemed to have hosted a peace operation if there has been an international security presence (military or police), normally with a UN mandate, and led by a multilateral organisation. Some of the countries listed as having no peace operation might still host UN peacebuilding offices (e.g. Guinea Bissau) or UN country teams (e.g. Angola or Yemen) that address peace consolidation issues. Two of the countries analysed in more detail below and not listed in the table are Guinea-Bissau and Kosovo. Guinea Bissau ranks 163rd in the 2013 CPI, and Kosovo ranks 111th. As the name suggests, it is important to note that CPI the measures *perception*.

result, there are few formal constraints on corrupt behaviour, and those institutions that are central to deterring corruption or investigating and sanctioning corrupt behaviour lack the capacity – and often the incentive and will – to do so.

Weak state institutions, however, are often a consequence of civil conflict and the physical destruction, displacement, and strengthening of informal parallel structures of power associated with it.¹⁶ Violent conflict creates an environment where extortion is rife and participation in corrupt exchanges is a rational choice for individuals, if only to deal with the vagaries of daily life: those paying bribes might do so to access food, healthcare, or shelter; and for those demanding bribes, it might be one of the few income opportunities. If trust between different groups is low, as is common in conflict-affected environments and in those with weak institutions, protecting the interest of an ethnic group, tribe or family through bribery or nepotism is clearly a rational response to the constraints faced.¹⁷

The link between corruption and stability

Corruption is said to fuel conflict and instability in three ways. First, corruption can fuel social and political grievances, in particular a sense of inequality and injustice, as corruption distorts government decisions and undermines the provision of public services such as education and healthcare. These grievances can be mobilised by rebels to fuel uprising against the government and to gather popular support. In the Arab Spring uprisings, corruption seems to have fuelled wider grievances, which facilitated the popular mobilisation against different governments.

Second, the rents seeking opportunities that come with corruption (especially in resource-rich states) can provide incentives for violent conflict as those excluded from power and rents use violence to seek access and control over these opportunities. If corruption has transformed the state from a set of institutions providing public goods into a set of institutions to be exploited for private gain, the state becomes a prize to be fought over.

Finally, corruption can undermine both the capacity and legitimacy of the state. By depriving state of resources and by misallocating them, corruption weakens the ability of the state to provide key public services, including security. This can directly weaken the capacity of security services; for example, if soldiers remain unpaid, or their equipment is faulty or old because procurement budgets are embezzled, their ability and motivation to defend the state is likely to decline. Corruption can also reduce state legitimacy as the government fails to fulfil citizens' expectations, increasing willingness to violently challenge the existing regime.

However, there is also strong belief that, in some environments, – especially where formal political institutions are weak – corrupt practices can contribute to stability at least in the short to medium term. Corruption is often part of the complex political realities that underpin the power structures that shape negotiated elite settlements, which are central to limiting violence and conflict in fragile states.¹⁸ The role of corruption in these agreements needs to be recognised when supporting the negotiation and implementation of any agreement.¹⁹ Corruption can support such settlements in two ways, with a prominent role for international and external actors:

¹⁶ Berdal and Zaum (eds.), *Political Economy of Statebuilding: Power after Peace* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012).

¹⁷ Philp, "Conceptualising Corruption in Peacebuilding Contexts", in Cheng and Zaum (eds.), *Corruption and Post-Conflict Peacebuilding: Selling the Peace?* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), pp.35-6.

¹⁸ de Waal, "Missions without end? Peacekeeping in the African political marketplace", *International Affairs*, Vol.85, no.1 (2009): 99-113; North, Wallis, and Weingast, *Violence and Social Orders: A Conceptual Framework for Interpreting Recorded Human History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Reno, "Anti-corruption efforts in Liberia: Are they aimed at the right targets?", in Cheng and Zaum (eds.), *Corruption and Post-Conflict Peacebuilding: Selling the Peace?* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), 127-43.

¹⁹ See Cheng and Zaum, *Corruption and Post-Conflict Peacebuilding*.

First, accepting a settlement where power is organised around corrupt relationships and opportunities for rent-seeking is often a way of literally buying support for reaching a settlement. Allowing war-time leaders to turn their military might into political power and rent-seeking opportunities has been a central element of a range of attempts to negotiate a settlement, i.e. in Sierra Leone, Liberia, the DR Congo, or Afghanistan. However, such agreements have not always provided the expected stability. In the case of Afghanistan, the 2001 Bonn agreement has been described as “an externally driven division of the spoils among a hand-picked group of stakeholders who were on the right side of the War on Terror”,²⁰ and provided an unstable, competitive elite settlement without the wider elements of a peace agreement between belligerents. The settlement also underlined the dilemma the actors involved were facing in trying to balance stability, security, and legitimacy.

Second, corruption can be central to the maintenance of such an elite bargain. In societies with weak states, stability and political order is often provided, not by public institutions autonomous from sectional interests, but by the most inclusive buy-in of elites in a “neo-patrimonial marketplace”. Corruption can be central to sustaining patronage ties and the elite buy-in that stabilises the settlement. The stability of the corrupt regimes in Angola or Cambodia today, and in Liberia or Zaire during the Cold War, is witness to that. What these regimes have in common, however, is a relatively centralised form of corruption and control over the key resources that sustain the patronage networks that supported stability in these countries. In cases where corruption and control over the resources around which it is organised is more fragmented, as in Afghanistan or the DR Congo, corruption has done little to “glue” the different conflict parties together and minimise violence, especially if the settlement has excluded key parties.

Corruption and Peace Operations

As this brief discussion highlights, corruption can pose a direct challenge to peace operations and their peace- and state-building activities. When corruption fuels social grievances and compromises state legitimacy, it undermines the emergence of stable and peaceful societies and risks renewed violence. When it deprives public services, especially security services, of financial resources, it weakens the ability of the state to maintain a minimal level of security without external assistance. Many peacekeeping forces also make a strong differentiation between the general corruption that is widespread in conflict countries on the one hand and the corruption initiated by e.g. the lack of procurement standards or the abuse of the peacekeeping forces’ power on the other hand, although linkages between the two need to be recognised.

Peace operations, however, can also unintentionally fuel and entrench corruption in fragile and conflict-affected environments. Three pathways in particular stand out through which peace operations and their activities might fuel corruption (see also the chapter on multilateral organisations).

The first is the support for particular political settlements. While inclusive elite settlements that involve as many conflict parties as possible are central to reducing the risk of renewed conflict,²¹ they can embed corruption, not least because bringing elite individuals, whose power is maintained with the help of rents from corrupt activities, into the settlement severely limits the political commitment to anti-corruption reforms.

The second is through democratic elections, supported by the presence of the international community. Democratic elections, even of contested quality (like the 2009 Afghan presidential elections) and necessary as they are to support the implementation of democratic institutions, can insulate corrupt governments from international pressure: the democratic legitimacy of the Karzai government was one of the factors that made it difficult for the US to withdraw its support for his regime despite perennial corruption concerns.²² Similarly,

²⁰ Goodhand and Sedra, “Who owns the peace? Aid, reconstruction, and peacebuilding in Afghanistan”, *Disasters*, Vol. 34/S1 (2010): 82.

²¹ Call, *Why Peace Fails: The Causes and Prevention of Civil War Recurrence* (Georgetown University Press, 2012).

²² Giustozzi and Ibrahim, “From new dawn to quicksands: the political economy of international post-conflict statebuilding in Af-

democratic legitimisation insulated the Burundian government from major international pressure after 2005, as it pushed to reduce international involvement in the country and strengthened the neo-patrimonial system of government that had characterised the dynamics of the Burundian state before the 2002 peace agreement.²³ Democratisation processes have several other features that tend to fuel corruption. The clientelistic politics associated with democratic competition, the greater openness of democratic systems and the access this gives rent seekers to public officials, and the weak institutional checks and balances associated with processes of transition to democracy increase opportunities for corruption, while at the same time reducing the risk of getting caught.²⁴

The third pathway is through the extensive amount of aid and financial assistance that tends to accompany peace operations. Aid can distort the economies of conflict-affected countries, especially if it exceeds the country's capacity to absorb these funds, fuelling rent-seeking and providing incentives for corruption in the process. In some conflict-affected countries, like Afghanistan or Liberia, aid has exceeded local GDP by multiples. This is often exacerbated by the need to disburse funds quickly to address emergency situations or achieve highly visible "quick wins" through quick impact projects, and to proceed without robust procurement and auditing procedures. However, systematic evidence of the impact of aid on corruption is lacking, mainly because of poor data especially in conflict-affected countries, but also because of the problems of meaningfully measuring corruption.

Very important, from the perspective of peace operations, is the effect of the way in which aid money is spent as this affects both the scale and character of corruption.²⁵ In fragile states, aid spent off-budget and bypassing the state (as many quick-impact projects implemented by peace operations are) is often found to further weaken state authority.²⁶ Research into the impact of aid and informal social service delivery by NGOs or communities at a local-level has shown that this often revives and reinforces the patronage power of local elites, who become the gatekeepers to aid and services.²⁷ This is one important example of the need for civil society to implement lessons learned and to work constructively with international and local government actors to make sure that aid is spent responsibly.

In conflict environments with only an informal elite settlement, where provincial and local powerbrokers compete over influence both in the provinces and with the centre, financial or other assistance spent outside the budget and at the sub-state level can fuel and entrench this competitive political order and local warlords challenging the authority of the state. An example of this has been the security-related contracting in Afghanistan. The use of private security companies, often with close links to local powerbrokers, to protect bases and projects has further strengthened this decentralisation of power and corruption.²⁸ They can also be abused by organised crime and might not adhere to the same anti-corruption standards as state or public sector actors.

To illustrate these dynamics, the next section contains three case studies that will further explore the character of corruption and the complex relationship between corruption, conflict, and instability in different country and regional contexts.

ghanistan", in Berdal and Zaum (eds.), *The Political Economy of State-building: Power after Peace* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012).

23 Uvin and Bayer, "Burundi", in Berdal and Zaum (eds.), *Power after Peace: The Political Economy of Post-conflict Statebuilding* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012).

24 Rock (2009), "Corruption and Democracy", *Journal of Development Studies*, 45/1, 55-75.

25 Von Billerbeck (2011), "Aiding the state or aiding corruption? Aid and corruption in post-conflict countries", in Cheng and Zaum (eds.), *Corruption and Post-conflict Peacebuilding: Selling the Peace?*, Abingdon: Routledge, 80-96.

26 Ghani and Lockart (2008), *Fixing Failed States: A Framework for Rebuilding A Fractured World*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

27 Jackson (2005), "Chiefs, Money and Politicians: Rebuilding Local Government in Post-War Sierra Leone", *Public Administration and Development* 25/1, 49-58. Nakaya (2008), *Aid in Post-Conflict (Non) State-building: A Synthesis*, New York: Program on States and Security.

28 Sherman and DiDomenico 2009.

Case Studies

Afghanistan – Corruption and the Primacy of Counter-Terrorism

Since the overthrow of the Taliban government by the US and allied local forces in late 2001, and the subsequent Bonn peace conference, the international community has had two overlapping – but at times competing – priorities in Afghanistan. The first has been a counter-terrorism campaign against Al-Qaeda that has increasingly morphed into a counter-insurgency campaign against a resurgent Taliban. This campaign has been fought directly by the US and allied forces, and has involved the support – financial and militarily – of a range of local militias controlled or associated with local strongmen. The second has been an effort to (re) build legitimate formal state institutions capable of providing security and public services. This has involved support for the drafting of a constitution, the establishment and strengthening of formal state institutions (including the judiciary) at all levels, support for civil society, and the holding of elections.

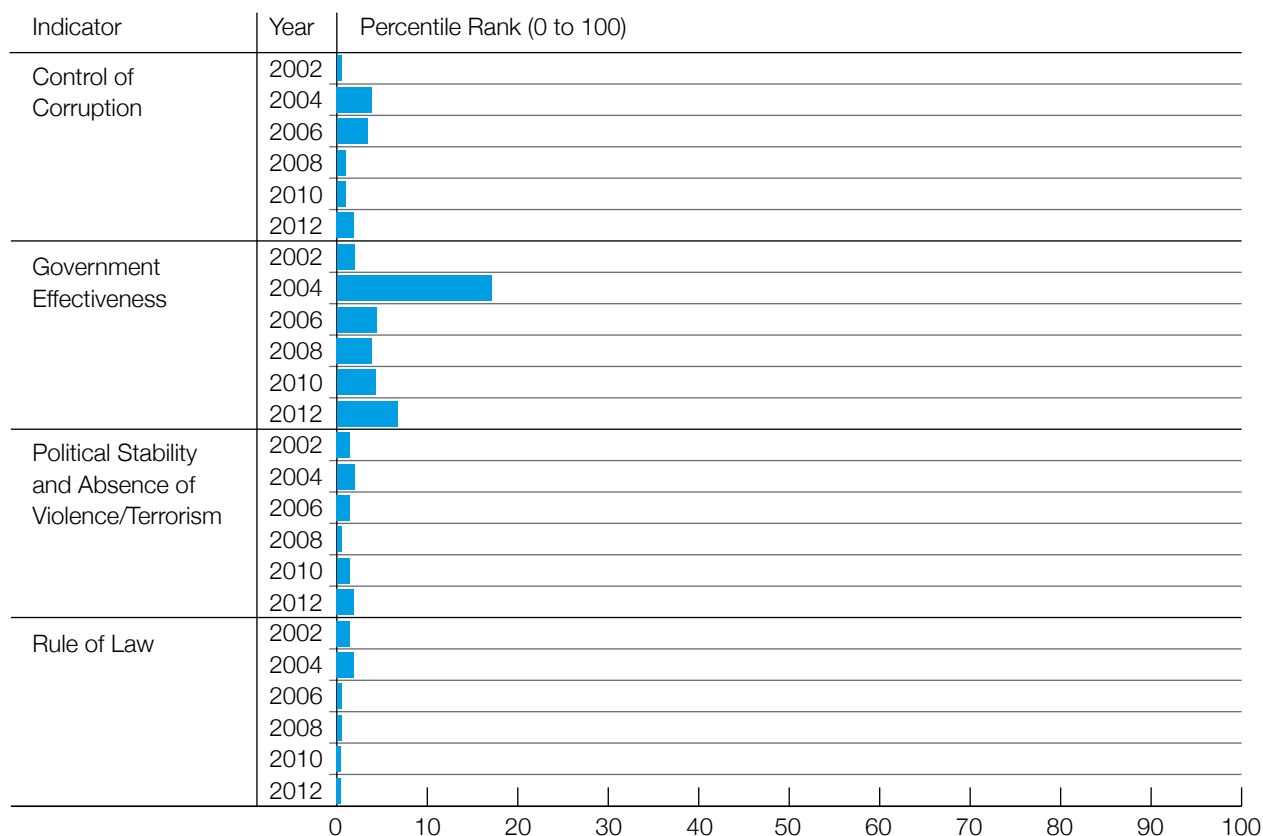
A large number of countries have invested significant resources into supporting Afghanistan and creating a state inhospitable to terrorist organisations with transnational aspirations and capabilities. Afghanistan has received more than \$6 billion per year since 2009 in Official Development Assistance (ODA) alone, making it the world's biggest recipient of ODA in recent years.²⁹ Expenditure for the NATO-led International Security Assistance Force (ISAF), which at its peak had over 110,000 troops, has been a multiple of this.

The results, both in terms of counter-insurgency and state-building, have been decidedly mixed. While concentrated in the South, the Taliban and other insurgent forces have been capable of launching attacks in almost every part of the country. The capacity of the Afghan state as well as its ability to provide security and rule of law remain extremely limited. As the Worldwide Governance Indicators for Afghanistan highlight, the country scores extremely low in key categories and there has been little improvement across the scores despite substantial international investment (figure 1).

One of the major challenges to building an effective and legitimate state in Afghanistan, and to reducing public support for the insurgency, has been the pervasive corruption in Afghanistan, which has undoubtedly been exacerbated by the production and trade of opium and the huge flows of aid and security expenditure in the country. Corruption is inextricably tied to the multiple governance and security challenges in Afghanistan.

²⁹ OECD, *Fragile States 2013: Resource flows and trends in a shifting world* (Paris: OECD, 2013), 55-6.

Figure 1: Selected Governance Indicators for Afghanistan, 2002 - 2012³⁰



Corruption in Afghanistan

Corruption pervades virtually every sphere of public and private life in Afghanistan. According to a 2009 UN study, Afghan citizens had to pay roughly \$2.5 billion in bribes in that year alone – the equivalent to around a quarter of the country’s GDP in 2010.³¹ As surveys commissioned by civil society organisations suggest, day-to-day corruption – fees for administrative procedures, to prevent the destruction of irrigation ditches, to police at checkpoints etc. – is part of most Afghans’ daily lives, and citizens’ perceptions that corruption is a problem across all levels of government have increased steadily over the years.³²

The most threatening manifestation of corruption, however, has been through the rise and dominance of what the US military has described as Criminal Patronage Networks (CPNs). These are groups of individuals, businesses, or other entities that engage in systematic corruption “*inside and outside of government and across Afghanistan’s public and private sectors*”.³³ Many of these CPNs are associated with powerbrokers and former warlords who have consolidated their power in the aftermath of civil war. Often linked to the narcotics trade, these networks engage in illicit enterprises. As many of the local powerbrokers linked to them have also been important to the international community’s counter-insurgency efforts, they have at times received direct assistance from parts of the international community, or have at least enjoyed the tacit international acceptance of their criminal activities to ensure their continued cooperation in the counter-insurgency effort. The international community’s reliance on warlords and provincial governors providing intelligence on insur-

³⁰ The figure shows the percentile rank of selected Worldwide Governance Indicators for Afghanistan. It shows that Afghanistan for the period observed (2002-2012), which covers the time of the international statebuilding efforts in the country, its governance indicator scores have remained in the bottom 1-10%, with no clear trajectory of improvement.

³¹ UNODC, *Corruption in Afghanistan*, January 2010.

³² See Asia Foundation, *Afghanistan in 2012: A Survey of the Afghan People* (Kabul: Asia Foundation, 2012), p. 108 [emphasis added].

³³ SIGAR Information Paper, June 2011 available at: <http://info.publicintelligence.net/ISAF-CJIATF.pdf>

gents has meant that these sometimes nefarious actors have become an indispensable wealth of information. Partly as a result of this questionable relationship and reliance, local perception amongst Afghans is that the West is propping up corrupt officials who wield unfettered power at most levels of government. However, as the NATO-led International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) itself has explicitly recognised, over time their actions “weaken governance, hinder economic development and undermine rule of law”.³⁴

CPNs relate to formal state institutions in complex ways. While some might openly challenge them, others are broadly associated with the ruling elite and might use their powers to support some state functions, such as maintaining stability, while exploiting their links to the state to further their private economic interests with impunity.³⁵ Through their access to and control over strategic state assets and institutions, they can generate rents through practices like the diversion of customs revenue, control over regional and local markets (e.g. petroleum), seizing government land, or manipulating public and private financial institutions for personal gain. Their corruption not only deprives the state of the capacity to provide basic public goods to its population, but more importantly also of the ability to protect Afghans against the predations of this criminalised elite.

Given the dual political and criminal role of CPNs in Afghanistan, and the consequent central political role of corruption, understanding the influence of corruption on political and security dynamics is central to any effort to address corruption in the country. There has been extensive analysis of the political economy of Afghanistan – including the role of corruption – both conducted and funded by donors and ISAF forces, and by independent analysts. It is however less clear to what extent such analysis has influenced the policy and practice of international political and security actors. What is obvious is that in recent years the international narrative about the key challenges in Afghanistan, and consequently international attention, have shifted towards corruption. There was a cumulative understanding amongst analysts on the ground in Afghanistan that international aid was fuelling and financing insurgency. One of the most significant manifestations of that understanding was probably the “Warlord Inc.” report by the US House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform.³⁶ At the same time, however, there has been a recognition that the corrupt relationships of some CPNs with the governing elite has helped to reduce conflict as it tied them to the existing political settlement.³⁷

The impact of the international military presence and aid on corruption

The international presence has contributed to anti-corruption efforts in Afghanistan in a range of ways. For instance, the UK through its Department for International Development (DFID) will provide up to \$4 million over three years (2012 to 2015) to support the country’s Monitoring and Evaluation Committee (MEC). The organisation, which focuses on tackling corruption in the country and is made up of a combination of international representatives and Afghan nationals, also receives support from Denmark and the United States. Similarly, the High Office of Oversight & Anti-corruption has been supported by the UNDP. Certain countries have also set up oversight and accountability bodies which look at how their funds are being utilised in the country. The United States established the office of the Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction (SIGAR) for the dual purpose of promoting efficiency in reconstruction programmes funded by the US government, and detecting instances of waste and corruption. In addition, through Task Force Shafafiyat, discussed in more detail in the chapter on NATO below, ISAF directly involves itself in the investigation of corruption in Afghanistan.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ See for example Mukhopadhyay, “Disguised Warlordism and combatanhood in Balkh: the persistence of informal power in the formal Afghan state”, *Conflict, Security, and Development* 9/4 (2009), pp.536-63.

³⁶ Report of the Majority Staff: Rep. John F. Tierney (Chair of the Subcommittee on National Security and Foreign Affairs, Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, U.S. House of Representatives), *Warlord, Inc. - Extortion and Corruption Along the U.S. Supply Chain in Afghanistan*, Washington DC, June 2010.

³⁷ Mukhopadhyay, “Disguised Warlordism”.

Arguably the most significant operations-related corruption issue in Afghanistan has been international contracting behaviour. According to the Commission on Wartime Contracting “at least \$31 billion, and possible as much as \$60 billion”³⁸ of US funds were lost as a result of contracting waste and fraud in Afghanistan and Iraq between financial years 2002 and 2011. The Commission’s extensive review provides plenty of examples of how inattention to expeditionary contracting has led to massive waste and fraud, and its analysis is complemented by the findings of the House Oversight Committee’s “Warlord Inc.” report. For the United States in particular, the issue of subcontracts has been a particular area of concern since it was the preferred model of fund distribution in the country. Whilst US federal law makes prime contractors responsible for the behaviour of their subcontractors, in practice there are a number of deficiencies in the system which have allowed a degree of waste and fraud, not least as, in the words of the commission’s report, the US’s legal institutions “often have little or no leverage over foreign subcontractors”.³⁹

Security contracts in particular have been susceptible to corruption risk, and are of particular interest as most national private security contractors in Afghanistan have close links to powerful political figures.⁴⁰ Whilst there is no official estimate of the amount of US funds that have been diverted to insurgents from these contracts, it is estimated to be a significant percentage of the overall cost. Local contractors employed under the Host Nation Trucking (HNT) programme turned to Afghan security contractors, who in turn paid off insurgents and warlords to provide protection. In the Kunar province, where USAID was funding a community-development programme, the Commission on Wartime Contracting estimates that subcontractors were paying as much as 20 percent of their contract value to insurgents for protection. Importantly, not only has this corruption in some part contributed to funding the insurgency, but it has also funded powerful warlords who have been accused of acting violently and abusively towards the civilian population. By providing them with financial support directly, and not through the state budget, it also threatens to weaken their link to the state and develop autonomous centres of power that can challenge state authority.

Counter-insurgency (COIN) contracting guidance, released in late 2010, attempted to shift the focus of expeditionary contracting by requiring officers to recognise the impact of a contract on hearts and minds of locals as much as on military deliverables. One of the main aspects of COIN, apart from the “Afghan First” policy which gained traction in the popular media, was instilling the idea of knowing who the military was contracting with. The establishment of a database allowing the vetting of vendors and contractors to ensure that funds are not diverted and contracts are not awarded to nefarious characters was one that resonates with many experts.

Another important impact has been the primacy of security and stability over addressing corruption. While international rhetoric has generally emphasised the importance of anti-corruption as a contribution, in reality anti-corruption efforts have often competed with these objectives, and primacy has been given to more immediate goals.

At the start of the Afghan intervention, the anti-corruption agenda was superseded by the military objective of defeating Al-Qaeda and the Taliban and winning the conflict through the cooperation of local partners, many of whom were deemed highly corrupt. During the middle period of the intervention, the anti-corruption agenda was superseded by the need to garner local cooperation to carry out the international community’s state-building efforts, and to co-opt local actors capable of challenging state authority into the wider project. During the end stages, as we are now approaching in Afghanistan, the anti-corruption agenda has been deemed less important due to the international community’s chief concern with withdrawing from the coun-

³⁸ Commission on Wartime Contracting, final report, p.1.

³⁹ Report of the Majority Staff: Rep. John F. Tierney (Chair of the Subcommittee on National Security and Foreign Affairs, Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, U.S. House of Representatives), *Warlord, Inc. - Extortion and Corruption Along the U.S. Supply Chain in Afghanistan*, Washington DC, June 2010.

⁴⁰ Sherman and DiDomenico, *The Public Cost of Private Security in Afghanistan* (New York: Centre for International Cooperation, 2009).

try by the 2014 deadline. Increasingly, corruption is seen as a problem for Afghans to solve and forcefully pushing an anti-corruption agenda is seen as a risk given the need to cooperate with powerful local actors (including the legal façade of various criminal patronage networks) to minimise violence during the process of transition. However, a NATO lessons learned study from June 2013 shows that counter- and anti-corruption measures are now deemed essential. It stresses that further research is needed.⁴¹

Summary

It is positive that the International Security Assistance Force and the international community have increasingly recognised the devastating impact of corruption in Afghanistan, and that political economy analyses have been funded. The Monitoring and Election Committee and the Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction are good practice examples that could, if adapted to the specific local contexts, be replicated in other (post-)conflict environments. Yet in light of the 2014 withdrawal, it needs to be ensured that the progress that has been made is safeguarded, and that corruption is not ignored. Particular attention should be paid to the continued role of criminal patronage networks, and to the contracting as well as the aid and security expenditure that continues after 2014.

⁴¹ Tsamis et al, *Counter- and Anti-Corruption. Theory and Practice from NATO Operations*, NATO Joint Analysis and Lessons Learned Centre, Lisbon, June 2013.

Kosovo – Fighting Corruption Amidst International and National Divisions

The UN-authorized international presence in Kosovo after 1999 – consisting of a major NATO-led peace-keeping force (KFOR), as well as a UN civil administration and police mission (part of the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo – UNMIK), after 2008 an EU rule of law mission (EULEX)⁴² and five field offices of the OSCE Mission in Kosovo opened in July 1999 – has been among the largest peacebuilding efforts in terms of per-capita deployment and expenditure.⁴³ At some point deploying over 40,000 troops and 4,700 police in a country of less than 2 million people; and spending over €2.7 billion in development aid between 1999 and the declaration of independence in 2008 (excluding humanitarian aid and mission expenditure),⁴⁴ Kosovo has experienced one of the most intensive and best-resourced efforts of both peace- and state-building.

In some respects, these efforts have been quite successful. Since the end of the Kosovo war in 1999, there has been no renewed conflict and politically motivated violence has been limited and sporadic. There has been a string of successful and largely peaceful, free and fair elections, which have resulted in changes of government. A political process after the declaration of independence in 2008 has resulted in an agreement between Serbia and Kosovo in 2013 that recognizes the territory's de facto independence, paves the way for a more cooperative relationship, and allows both Kosovo and Serbia to proceed towards greater integration with the EU.

In other respects, the record is bleaker. Politically, Kosovo remains deeply divided, with the almost exclusively Serb-populated North of the country effectively separated from the rest. Unemployment is very high and the economy remains reliant on financial transfers from donors and the diaspora. Public disenchantment with the political class and the country's political institutions is growing, fuelled by perceptions of corruption and mismanagement. This has arguably fuelled the rise of a strongly nationalist Kosovo-Albanian opposition. Neither the political settlement nor the economic situation in Kosovo would currently support a self-sustaining peace.

Corruption in Kosovo

Corruption has certainly become a major preoccupation of Kosovo's citizens, donors, and (in arguably more than one sense) the political class. Given the original concentration of formal executive, legislative, and judicial authority in the hands of UNMIK, and the gradual handover of authority to local institutions between 2000 and 2002,⁴⁵ corruption rose gradually up the international community's agenda in Kosovo, with the first substantive effort to identify its scale, character, and impact taking place in 2003.⁴⁶ While an anti-corruption plan was drafted in 2002, Kosovo's first anti-corruption strategy was not published until March 2004, and an anti-corruption law (which included provisions for establishing an Anti-Corruption Agency) was passed and promulgated later in 2004.

⁴² In addition, from Kosovo's declaration of independence in February 2008 until 2012, the International Civilian Office (ICO) exercised a supervisory role with limited executive authority to facilitate the implementation of the Comprehensive Status Agreement, which had been accepted by the Kosovar government, but not by Serbia and the Kosovo Serbs.

⁴³ Dobbins et al., *The UN's Role in Nation-Building* (Santa Monica: Rand, 2005), xxii and xxviii.

⁴⁴ Zaum with Knaus, "The Political Economy of Statebuilding in Kosovo", in Berdal and Zaum (eds.) *Political Economy of Statebuilding: Power after Peace* (Abingdon: Routledge 2012), 236.

⁴⁵ Zaum, *Sovereignty Paradox*.

⁴⁶ The first major report on corruption in Kosovo seems to have been conducted for USAID. See Spector, Wimbourne and Beck, *Corruption in Kosovo: Observations and Implications for USAID*, Prishtina, USAID, 10 July 2003.

With a greater emphasis by the international presence on the rule of law after Kosovo's independence (reflected in the deployment of a dedicated EU rule of law mission, EULEX) the focus on corruption in Kosovo increased and the challenge of corruption has been highlighted regularly in the EU's progress reports.

The 2013 Corruption Perceptions Index gives Kosovo a score of 33, one of the lowest scores in the region (and 111th globally). On the World Bank's Worldwide Governance Indicators, it scores a -0.62 on control of corruption.⁴⁷ Both indicators, based on a range of surveys, suggest quite substantial levels of corruption. To some extent, this is borne out by corruption perception surveys: in a UNDP survey in 2013, between 30% and 59% of respondents perceived different public institutions as corrupt.⁴⁸ However, a much smaller minority of Kosovars actually *experienced* corruption and were asked for a bribe: only 8.4%.⁴⁹ While it is likely that the discrepancy partly reflects greater attention by the media to corruption,⁵⁰ another plausible reason is that grand or political corruption (which is rarely personally experienced by respondents) fuels these perceptions, and the concerns by the international community.

There is no systematic data on grand corruption (corruption occurring at the highest levels of government in a way that requires significant subversion of the political, legal and economic systems) but anecdotal accounts, journalistic investigations, and the occasional court case give an insight into its scale and organisation. In the absence of major natural resources, corruption is largely structured around public procurement at both the central and municipal level. Research by the Kosovar Stability Initiative suggests that, not only has there been an expansion in the use of so-called "special procedures", which allow for non-competitive tendering, but also evidence of pressure on procurement officials by politicians and their bodyguards to change procurement decisions.⁵¹ While prosecutions of senior political figures have been very rare, they have included the trial of UCK (Kosovo Liberation Army) commander and later Minister for Transport and Post and Telecommunications for paying and receiving bribes in the context of several tenders while he was Minister; and the conviction of the head of the anti-corruption task force who had been personally appointed by the Prime Minister, for extortion in May 2013.

In Northern Kosovo, corruption and associated criminal activity has taken a different form and has wider consequences, especially since the declaration of independence. As the almost exclusively Serb population in the Northern municipalities has rejected Prishtina's rule since 1999, and has boycotted all Kosovar institutions since the declaration of independence, the presence of the formal state almost completely melted away after 2008. Police units in the area had barely any links with the rest of the Kosovar police, the judiciary no longer functioned after 2008, and public services like education or health have been provided by parallel institutions funded by Belgrade. The North became a large "duty-free zone", from where goods were smuggled into the South and back into Serbia. The proceeds from this have sustained a criminal elite with close ties to some local political actors, and which engages in political intimidation and occasional political and economically motivated violence.⁵²

Anti-corruption measures by the international community

The international presence in Kosovo has been deeply involved in anti-corruption efforts, both the establishment and strengthening of national anti-corruption institutions, but also through the investigation and prosecution of corruption allegations. This involvement has been led by UNMIK until 2008, and by EULEX since

⁴⁷ On a scale between -0.25 and +2.5.

⁴⁸ UNDP, Kosovo Pulse 6 (Prishtina: UNDP, 2013),

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Thus, over 62% of respondents said that they receive their information on corruption from the media. Ibid.

⁵¹ IKS, Untying the Knot.

⁵² For a good overview, see Crisis Group, *North Kosovo: Dual Sovereignty in Practice*, Brussels, 14 March 2011.

then. The NATO-led KFOR troops have had little engagement with anti-corruption measures. In contrast to Afghanistan, there also seems to have been no analysis to date as to whether military procurement practices have fuelled and entrenched corruption as in Afghanistan.

UNMIK's engagement with anti-corruption started two years after the war with a regulation on Organized Crime in 2001, the first legislation relating explicitly to corruption, and the first institutions to address corruption, were established in 2003. Then, UNMIK was created as an investigative task force (ITF) to probe corruption allegations against both international and national officials. It also passed a procurement law and the law on public finances. In 2004, a regulation on money laundering was promulgated and a Financial Information Centre was established within UNMIK's rule of law pillar.⁵³ The Suppression of Corruption Law, which established the Kosovo Anti-Corruption Commission (ACC), was promulgated by UNMIK in 2005, and the ACC established in 2006. While Kosovo thus has a growing set of dedicated anti-corruption institutions (with the most recent addition the President's anti-corruption council) their function, however, is undermined by limited political support.

While different UNMIK bodies like the ITF investigated a range of corruption allegations, the political will both within UNMIK and Kosovo's government institutions to act upon them and take actions, in particular against senior figures, remained very limited throughout the period of UN administration. While corruption and organized crime were identified by the UN as major threats to stability and development in Kosovo, the perceived need to maintain a degree of continuity within the political class as negotiations about Kosovo's future status were ongoing arguably limited the willingness to take on high-level corruption.

When EULEX assumed the mantle of rule of law reforms after the declaration of independence, it took a strong stance on anti-corruption. Indeed, its European Council mandate explicitly tasked it to investigate and prosecute cases of corruption, and to support the strengthening of local anti-corruption efforts. Fighting corruption has thus been part of both its executive and its Monitoring, Mentoring and Advising (MMA) activities. In that, it enjoyed substantial support from the Kosovar population. With regard to both parts of its mandate, the results have been decidedly limited. Of the six MMA projects (out of a total of 36) aimed at strengthening anti-corruption and tackling organized crime, three were completed.⁵⁴ Of almost 310 cases heard by EULEX judges between 2008 and 2012, 50 concerned corruption allegations, though both the number of arrests, including of senior politicians and officials increased in 2011 and 2012, and a major investigation into organ harvesting and trafficking, in which senior political figures (including the prime minister) have allegedly been implicated, continues.

Impact of corruption on peace operations

One can distinguish between two effects of corruption on peace operations – direct and indirect. Direct effects include the fuelling of violence and insecurity by corrupt actors. In Northern Kosovo, criminal elements have strong economic interests in preventing the establishment of stronger state authority and in the persistence of insecurity within which their smuggling efforts thrive. However, this needs to be put into context: corruption and organised crime thrived in an environment of political uncertainty. With the conclusion of an agreement between Belgrade and Prishtina in April 2013, this context has changed and could provide a framework for both formalising political authority in the North, and extending the rule of law and the presence of law enforcement institutions.

The indirect effects of corruption include the undermining of wider peace- and state-building goals of the international presence: strengthening the rule of law, strengthening the capacity of the state (both to raise

53 UNMIK Regulation 2004/2 of 5 February 2004. The Financial Information Centre later became Kosovo's Financial Intelligence Unit.

54 Gippert, "How to Legitimize a Peacebuilding Mission? The Importance of Output Legitimacy", draft paper, September 2013.

revenue and to develop and implement public policy), and maintaining an inclusive political settlement. Here, the detrimental impact of corruption is more obvious: in addition to the financial costs of corruption (through lost revenue or overcharging) it has undermined the legitimacy of the state and the ruling elite. Government corruption has been identified by one report as hardening the resistance of Serbs in the northern municipalities to engage with the Prishtina government,⁵⁵ and seems to have informed the strong anti-incumbent sentiment in the November 2013 municipal elections, where ruling parties and mayors were voted out in an unprecedented half of all municipalities.

It is also worth emphasising the impact of the practices of UNMIK, KFOR, and EULEX on corruption, especially in the North. The fact that Coordination Centre for Kosovo and Metohija, a body established by Belgrade and without formal association with any of the political institutions established by UNMIK, became the de facto channel through which UNMIK and the wider international presence engaged with the Kosovo Serbs entrenched these parallel structures. The unwillingness of the international presence to challenge parallel institutions in the North (unless violently challenged by them) has further embedded informality and criminality in the effective structures of governance in the North.

Summary

Despite the deep political divisions, there has been overall progress in Kosovo. It is very good to see that corruption has become a major preoccupation, including deep involvement of the international community. The greater Rule of Law focus after the independence has been helpful and the same goes for the 2013 agreement between Belgrade and Pristina as far as the fight against organised crime is concerned. While the prosecution of some senior officials is welcome, more such prosecutions need to take place. North Kosovo remains a problematic area and the corruption scores for all of Kosovo comparatively low. Procurement should be addressed further and the legitimacy of the Pristina government amongst the Serbian minority can only improve if there is additional anti-corruption progress.

⁵⁵ Crisis Group, *North Kosovo*.

West Africa – Corruption and Transnational Crime

Corruption has long been a key aspect of political and economic structures across a range of West African countries, and has shaped dynamics of conflict and insecurity. While much of the international focus has been on the impact of corruption on conflict and violence, not least because of the role that corruption played in fuelling the civil conflicts in the “tragic triplets” of Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Côte d’Ivoire,⁵⁶ in recent years this focus has shifted towards narcotics-related corruption and the development of “narco-states” in the region, most notably Guinea Bissau.

Corruption and Civil War in West Africa

Before examining the role of corruption in fuelling the civil wars in Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Côte d’Ivoire, it is worth briefly noting how corruption, or more precisely neo-patrimonialism with concentrated patron-client relationships, characterised two of these countries, Liberia and Côte d’Ivoire. Both were politically very stable for decades and saw substantial economic growth in the 1960s and 1970s.⁵⁷ Both countries had highly centralized neo-patrimonial systems organised around the office of the presidency, which, coupled with coercion, maintained political stability. In the case of Liberia, President Tubman personally arranged marriages amongst members of the country’s political elite and was said to scrutinize expenditure for its impact on his patronage network.⁵⁸

In both countries, stability declined as the character of corruption changed – in the case of Liberia, as a result of the 1980 coup by Samuel Doe (who had not been part of the country’s elite and the old patronage system), and in Côte d’Ivoire, in the wake of the death of President Houphouët-Boigny who had led the country for three decades. The uncertainty, and the inability of the successor regimes to rely on the strong personalised ties that sustained the rule of their predecessors fuelled competition over sources of rents, and criminalised corruption.⁵⁹ This growing competition over rents increasingly became a source of violence and conflict. In Sierra Leone in the 1980s, corruption especially with regard to the mining and trade of diamonds increasingly deprived the state of revenues. This resulted in the deterioration of public services, such as education and healthcare, and gradually bleak economic prospects for a growing youth population.⁶⁰ Marginalised, urban “lumpen” youth, and rural youths who felt economically excluded and often had disputes with local chiefs, were key sources of support in the early days of the rebellion by the Revolutionary United Front.⁶¹

These three West African civil wars are therefore examples of some of different ways in which corruption can contribute to the outbreak of violent conflicts, or sustain them, that have been discussed earlier in this study. On the one hand, corruption – and the rent-seeking opportunities associated with it - provided economic incentives for some actors to engage in violence, in particular to overthrow the governing elite and control key public offices that enable access to rents (e.g. through the ability to award concessions, or trade diamonds).

56 Adebajo, “The Security Council and three Wars in West Africa”, in Lowe at al. (eds.) *The UN Security Council and War: The Evolution of Thought and Practice since 1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 468.

57 On Liberia, see Reno, “Anti-corruption efforts in Liberia: Are they aimed at the right targets?”, in Cheng and Zaum (eds.), *Corruption and Post-conflict Peacebuilding: Selling the Peace?* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), pp.126-43. On Cote d’Ivoire, see Crook, “Patrimonialism, Economic Effectiveness and Economic Development in Côte d’Ivoire”, *African Affairs*, Vol. 88/351 (1989), pp.205-28.

58 Reno, “Anti-corruption efforts in Liberia”, p.132.

59 Ibid. 133, Le Billion, “Buying Peace or Fuelling War: The Role of Corruption in Armed Conflicts”, *Journal of International Development*, Vol.15 (2003), 413-26.

60 David Keen, *Conflict and Collusion in Sierra Leone* (London: James Currey, 2005).

61 P. Richards, *Fighting for the Rainforest: War, Youth and Resources in Sierra Leone* (London: James Currey, 1996).

On the other hand, corruption fuelled social and political grievances that motivated rebellion and facilitated the recruitment of rebels, most notably in Sierra Leone.

In both Liberia and Sierra Leone, peace agreements which were supported by substantial UN peacekeeping operations (UN Mission in Liberia and the UN Observer Mission in Sierra Leone), included commitments to addressing corruption. In both countries, donors supported the establishment of dedicated anti-corruption institutions, and wider governance reforms to strengthen transparency and accountability. In Liberia, corruption was perceived by donors⁶² as such a challenge to the peace- and state-building process that they established the Governance and Economic Management Programme (GEMAP) in 2005, two years after the comprehensive peace agreement had been signed and a transitional government had been established. GEMAP placed international officials in key public institutions such as the treasury, the central bank, state enterprises, or the port authority, where they provided training and helped to reform processes, but importantly also had counter-signing authority for expenditures, to drastically limit corruption.

Table 2: Control of Corruption in Côte d'Ivoire, Liberia and Sierra Leone, 2002 - 2012⁶³

Year	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Côte d'Ivoire	-0.82	-0.98	-1.22	-1.24	-1.18	-1.07	-1.09	-1.08	-1.14	-1.09	-0.91
Liberia	-1.17	-1.22	-1.27	-1.04	-0.47	-0.33	-0.70	-0.56	-0.53	-0.61	-0.57
Sierra Leone	-0.75	-0.91	-0.88	-1.09	-1.05	-0.90	-0.96	-0.94	-0.77	-0.81	-0.94

Table 2 suggests that in Sierra Leone and Côte d'Ivoire, the anti-corruption support of donors seems to have made little impact on the overall picture, as control of corruption scores the World Bank's Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI), have oscillated but without a clear trend that would suggest an improvement. As in Kosovo and Afghanistan, this underlines that in many areas, institutional reforms in fragile states are both difficult and slow even if substantial resources are devoted to them. The figures for Liberia are interesting as they show a sudden and substantial improvement in the WGI scores for control of corruption, which coincides with the introduction of GEMAP. Liberia's control of corruption score improved, from 1.27 in 2004 to -0.47 in 2006, or from the 8th percentile to the 38th percentile among all the countries covered by the indicators.

These figures suggest that, in some circumstances, well-designed interventions that involve the direct exercise of executive authority by external actors – be they peace operations or donors – can engender substantial improvements in the fight against corruption in fragile states. Two caveats should be mentioned. The first is the question of sustainability. An evaluation of GEMAP found that “The end of GEMAP in August 2010 will be too soon to complete recently begun systems and procedures, or ensure proper implementation and sustainability.”⁶⁴ Other observers have also wondered whether corrupt officials and politicians might just patiently await the departure of foreigners and then continue their previous practices. The fact that the control of corruption scores have remained stable suggests that the end of GEMAP has not coincided with an increase in corruption and that the programme contributed to lasting improvements in governance and anti-corruption. Second, GEMAP worked in circumstances where there was strong political support from the incoming president, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, for anti-corruption measures (if not always for GEMAP) and was a programme that combined the co-signature authority of internationals with a strong reform and capacity building programme. It was also largely focussed on a quite technical area, public financial management. Other efforts relying on executive authority exercised by international actors – such as Shafafiyat or EULEX – have focussed on the judiciary and policing, where investigations are more likely to have an inherent political dimension, and where strong political support is likely to be missing. Understanding and replicating GEMAP's successes therefore requires a good understanding of the specific context and focus of the programme.

⁶² Such as USAID, the World Bank, and the EU.

⁶³ Figures from Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI). WGI scores range from -2.5 to 2.5.

⁶⁴ USAID, *An Evaluation of USAID/Liberia's GEMAP Activities*, Washington D.C., August 2010, p. iv.

West Africa and the Global Drugs Trade

Globally, the cost of transnational organised crime is estimated by the UN Office for Drugs and Crime to be between \$120 billion and \$300 billion,⁶⁵ and might make up to 10% of global GDP. However, in developing countries in particular, the main cost of organized crime is not economic. It is seen to undermine often already weak governance structures, developing an at times symbiotic relationship between transnational organised crime groups and state institutions, especially in fragile states.⁶⁶ It can contribute to the outbreak or recurrence of conflict, for example through competition over illicit markets and rents from criminal activity fuelling violence between political elites and igniting wider social conflict.⁶⁷

Western Africa in general, and Guinea-Bissau in particular, have been increasingly identified as key staging posts for drugs (especially cocaine) trafficked from Latin America into Europe, even though West African, and especially Nigerian groups, have a long involvement in the international drugs trade.⁶⁸ In addition to the obvious geographic advantage of close proximity to Latin America, low government capacity in a range of West African countries, the experience of conflict, and high levels of corruption have fuelled the trade in the last decade. Corruption and (its legacy of) patrimonialist structures, which have shaped governance across most West African states since their independence, have fuelled conflicts and affected their dynamics.⁶⁹ In recent years, much of the region, especially Guinea Bissau, Nigeria, and Mali, has been plagued by organised crime cartels growing so powerful that they challenge official government institutions, create criminal patronage networks sustained by bribery and intimidation, and institute parallel government structures. Whilst a UN report does concede that “it is highly unlikely a foreign cocaine cartel would directly attempt to topple a government”,⁷⁰ local elites, including government members, appear to be frequently colluding with drug traffickers.

In Guinea-Bissau, narcotics-related corruption has been a key driver of political instability. Given that the cocaine trade through Guinea-Bissau is valued at over \$4 billion, while its official GDP is estimated to be around \$1 billion by the World Bank, this is hardly surprising. The significant income that the drugs trade can generate fuels competition within the political elite over control of the trade. It also has engulfed the country in coup d'états and revenge killings since 2008.⁷¹

Given the small size of the formal economy, the revenue generated through trafficking is central to sustaining competition within the elite, and there are sufficient powerful actors (in particular in the army) who have a vested interest in its continuation. As the non-drug economy provides very few rents which could sustain patronage networks, the drugs trade is of central political importance. “With so few avenues through which to earn income, competition for office — and the resources that come with it — becomes more critical”.⁷² Where bribery and nepotism are not enough to secure favourable positions and access to finite resources,

⁶⁵ UNODC, *The Globalization of Crime: A Transnational Organized Crime Threat Assessment* (Vienna: UNODC, 2010).

⁶⁶ Bayart, Ellis and Hibou, *The Criminalization of the State in Africa* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009); Kavanagh (ed.), *Getting Smart and Scaling Up: Responding to the Impact of Organized Crime on Governance in Developing Countries* (New York: Centre for International Cooperation, 2013).

⁶⁷ Keen, *Useful Enemies: When Waging Wars is More Important Than Winning Them* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012).

⁶⁸ Ellis, “West Africa’s International Drugs Trade”, *African Affairs*, Vol.108/413 (2009), pp.171-96.

⁶⁹ Keen, *Conflict and Collusion in Sierra Leone* (Oxford: James Currey, 2005); Reno, “Anti-corruption efforts in Liberia: Are they aimed at the right targets?”, in C. Cheng and D. Zaum (eds.), *Corruption and Post-Conflict Peacebuilding: Selling the Peace?* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), pp.127-43.

⁷⁰ UNODC, *Drug trafficking as a security threat in West Africa*, November 2008. Available at: <http://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/Studies/Drug-Trafficking-WestAfrica-English.pdf>

⁷¹ Crisis Group, *Guinea-Bissau: In need of a state* (Brussels, Crisis Group, 2008).

⁷² O'Regan and Thompson, *Advancing Stability and Reconciliation in Guinea-Bissau: Lessons from Africa's First Narco-State*, Africa Center for Strategic Studies, June 2013, p.4.

actors resort to violence. As the trade has grown and become more entrenched over time, the capacity of the state to provide for security or even basic public services has inevitably declined as the political elite and the security services have become beholden to the drugs trade.

Beyond Guinea-Bissau, there is growing concern that drug trafficking and the criminal patronage networks that are supported by it are facilitating coups d'états, finance elections, and the purchase of political power in the region. Narcotics-related corruption, however, manifests itself differently across the region depending on the characteristics of governance in the different countries. In Guinea-Bissau, a country largely devoid of rule of law, cartels have historically targeted the military for bribes since they are the only institution with any real power. Bribing high ranking military officials has allowed these groups to operate with an alarmingly high degree of autonomy and shielded them from potential prosecution. In Ghana, in contrast, where civilian democratic institutions have greater oversight over police and the military, cartels have worked with politicians, who seem to have increasingly relied on drugs money to fund local structures patronage and their electoral campaigns.⁷³

Efforts to address organised crime in West Africa

One challenge to addressing organised crime, in particular related to drug trafficking, in fragile states is that the financial benefits of organised crime often percolate down through patronage networks. Similarly, in environments where the state is absent or perceived as predatory, organised criminal groups sometimes provide the only (limited) governance and justice available. As a result organised criminal groups, especially if they do not prey on the local population, can have a high degree of local legitimacy.

In several West African countries, such as Guinea-Bissau and Sierra Leone, supporting efforts to tackle organised crime (including drug-related crime) has become a priority of the UN Peacebuilding Support Offices in these countries, and of bilateral donors. These have involved efforts to improve regional cooperation on organised crime, supporting security sector reform (including reform of police forces and new institutions focussed on investigating organised crime, and strengthening civilian control over security services), and support anti-corruption institutions. This reflects the recognition that pervasive corruption and patronage networks have facilitated the entrenchment of organised crime in the region. While such efforts take time and will only contribute to reductions in corruption and organised crime in the longer term, the continued prominence of drug-related corruption and organised crime across the region highlights that to date their impact has been limited.

One example of increased regional cooperation is the West Africa Cooperative Security Initiative (WACSI), established in 2011 and supported in particular by the US. The initiative takes a multi-dimensional approach to addressing organised crime in the region, focussing on the socio-economic causes, stable and accountable political and judicial institutions, building legal and political frameworks to counter organised crime, and strengthening security institutions and operations. With technical assistance from the US and other international partners, the organisation aims to develop capacity within its member countries, and build a regional network of expertise to support governments.

⁷³ Aning et al., "The Impact of Organized Crime on Governance: A Case Study of Ghana", in Kavanagh (ed.), *Getting Smart and Scaling Up*.

Summary

The international focus on (a) corruption and (b) narco-states in particular is to be welcomed, as is the fact that the UN Peacebuilding Support Offices have made this a priority. It is good that peace agreements include anti-corruption commitments, and GEMAP as well as WACSI are examples that could be replicated elsewhere, provided they are tailored to the local context. Yet it remains to be seen whether the anti-corruption support of donors demonstrates (increased) success. The collaboration between drug cartels and politicians, particularly in recent years, remains worrisome, whether it is the military in Guinea-Bissau or politicians in Ghana.

Multilateral Organisations, Peace Operations, and Corruption

Corruption is not only a major challenge to governance, security, and development in fragile and conflict affected countries, but also for the international organisations that have a substantial presence in many of these states. Organisations like the UN and its specialised agencies, the European Union (EU), and donors such as the World Bank are important sources of aid and technical assistance. In addition, the UN, NATO, and regional organisations such as the African Union, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), and the EU have authorised and deployed peace operations in fragile and conflict-affected countries to maintain security, and support governance reforms. The strong correlation between state fragility, high levels of corruption, and the experience of conflict was already noted earlier in this study, and as table 1 on p. 14 shows, 45% of the 20 most corrupt countries have experienced peace operations since 2006.

In addition to being deployed in a growing number of environments that are characterised by substantial levels of corruption, the scope of peace operation engagement (and of international organisations more generally), in particular with regard to reforming and strengthening institutions of governance, has substantially increased. Peace operations “have found themselves involved, to an unprecedented degree, in the creation and reform of representative political institutions, the strengthening of governmental capacity, the promotion of judicial reform and the liberalisation of economies.”⁷⁴ In that context, they have often supported direct and indirect anti-corruption reforms, or in some cases engaged directly in addressing corruption not only with regard to their own programmes but also within the countries where they work.

As discussed above, both EULEX in Kosovo and NATO in Afghanistan have investigated cases of alleged corruption, and (in the case of EULEX) initiated prosecutions. In Liberia, key donors such as the World Bank and the EU established the Governance and Economic Management Programme (GEMAP), which placed international officials in key economic positions and required them to sign off on the use of donor funds in an effort to reduce corruption. It is therefore exploring in further detail how key international organisations and the peace operations they have established have engaged in anti-corruption efforts, and how anti-corruption concerns feature in their planning for operations, their operational guidance, their training, and their activities.

A 2013 study by Transparency International identified five key areas of peace operations where corruption concerns regularly arise, or that are central to addressing corruption (figure 3).

⁷⁴ Berdal and Zaum, “Power after Peace”, in Berdal and Zaum (eds.), *Political Economy of Statebuilding: Power after Peace* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012), 1.

Figure 3: Peacekeeping Corruption Risks

POLITICAL FRAMEWORK	MISSION OPERATIONS	OVERSIGHT
CONDUCTING OPERATIONS IN A CORRUPT ENVIRONMENT	BRIBERY	CENTRAL OVERSIGHT
MANDATE	THEFT	FIELD OVERSIGHT
SETTLEMENT	TRUST FUNDS	WHISTLE-BLOWING
MISSION PLANNING	NATURAL RESOURCE EXPLOITATION	INVESTIGATIONS
	FIELD PROCUREMENT	
TROOP CONTRIBUTING COUNTRIES		CENTRAL PROCUREMENT
SELECTION OF TROOPS AND POLICE	SEXUAL EXPLOITATION & ABUSE	SINGLE SOURCING
COE LETTERS OF AGREEMENT	EXPLOITATION OF LOCAL STAFF	AGENTS/BROKERS
TCC/PCC REIMBURSEMENT	WITHDRAWAL OF MISSION	VENDOR SELECTION
MISSION SUBSISTENCE ALLOWANCE	ASSET DISPOSAL	COLLUSIVE BIDDERS
SKIMMING OF SALARIES		INFORMATION BROKING
CONTINGENT OWNED EQUIPMENT		
CONTINGENT OWNED EQUIPMENT		

The first is the **political framework**. Any peace agreement, and the political settlement that it gives rise to, is frequently formed in an environment where corruption is not only endemic, but also a central feature of the political relationships and dynamics that underpin the settlement. For this reason, a peace operation’s mandate that relates to the settlement is likely to have a major impact on the way in which corruption subsequently develops or is arrested. Factors that can increase corruption risk include: organised crime, perhaps linked to drugs or a scramble for natural resources; a political leadership that is prepared to put its own self-interest over the national interest; and a lack of accountability and systemic corruption in the police, military and other national institutions.

The second area is a **mission’s own operations**. Corruption may occur within the mission itself, for example in its procurement, or because of the involvement of troop contingents in illicit activities (see also the chapter on the UN). The senior leadership of the mission has a particularly important role in addressing these areas. These risks should influence the mission’s interaction with national actors and civil society, and affect its approach to the design of post-conflict programmes. In addition, peacekeeping operations can affect corruption through their presence, and the introduction of substantial resources into fragile environments. Without

75 Transparency International, *Corruption and Peacekeeping: Strengthening peacekeeping and the United Nations* (London, 2013), p. 8.

full awareness of the ways in which corruption can affect the mission's mandate, the mission leadership may risk being seen as condoning corruption or even as being complicit. Robust guidance and internal systems are needed to address these types of corruption risk. The key principles are to ensure that mission staff:

- Understand that, based on experience of many international interventions, corruption is both a cause and consequence of conflict.
- Take corruption risk into account when conducting assessments, planning programmes and undertaking operations.
- Include building integrity and counter-corruption measures in key programmes such as Security Sector Reform.
- Cultivate a culture of personal accountability and external, real-time oversight.
- Know how to identify and address corruption and be aware of the consequences of ignoring or delaying action against it.

The third area is the **Troop Contributing Countries**. Troop Contributing Countries (TCCs) and Police Contributing Countries are at the heart of peacekeeping missions. However, despite recent efforts to raise the training standards for peacekeeping troops, they come with very different levels of capacity, and often from countries which themselves struggle with corruption problems: of the 10 largest TCCs in 2013, only two (Rwanda and Ghana) had scores above 40 in the Corruption Perception Index; and only three of the 10 largest police contributing countries (Senegal, Jordan, and Rwanda) had a score above 40.⁷⁶ There is a range of corruption risks that can affect them, both in relation to personnel and equipment, and in terms of accounting for reimbursement paid to governments under assessed contributions. Strengthening their capacity to operate in corrupt environments would greatly improve the effectiveness of peacekeeping operations.

The fourth area of concern is **central procurement**, an issue in particular for the UN. Although central procurement for peacekeeping may be in a more controlled environment than in the field, it still has its inherent corruption risks.

Finally, peace operations need adequate **oversight and whistle-blower protection**. Inadequate protection for whistle-blowers and inadequate oversight can seriously undermine measures put in place to reduce corruption risk within an operation as well.

The remainder of this section examines some of these corruption risks in further detail, through the lens of the operations authorised or undertaken by the UN. The EU and NATO will be discussed in separate chapters that follow. Given the substantial differences between them in the numbers of missions, their character and mandates, and their resources, the aim is not to compare how they address corruption risks. Instead, they serve to illustrate the particular challenges that different corruption risks pose and international responses to them.

⁷⁶ Figures for troop and police contributions from the UN DPKO website. Figures for corruption are 2013 CPI scores.

UN Peace Operations and Corruption Challenges in Procurement and Troop Selection

Since the end of the cold war, the number of peacekeeping operations has substantially increased, as has their size and scope. At the end of 2013, the UN was conducting 15 peacekeeping operations (excluding the UN political mission in Afghanistan deployed alongside ISAF). A growing number of UN peacekeeping operations have wide-ranging peace- and state-building mandates, including anti-corruption, or more general governance reforms. A recent study suggests that from 1989 to 2011, the UN had authorised 29 peace operations with state-building mandates.⁷⁷ As a consequence, the cost of peacekeeping operations has substantially increased. In 2011/12, the peacekeeping budget was \$7.08 billion, up from \$3 billion in 1993. In addition, close to another \$1 billion was earmarked for political missions and peacebuilding offices.

UN peace operations have been frequently deployed within highly corrupt contexts. Table 2 lists UN peace operations since 2006 that have been deployed in environments with a Transparency International Corruption Perceptions Index score below 30. It highlights not only the scale of the UN presence in these countries but also the diversity of contexts, and with it the associated corruption risks. It includes countries with substantial natural resource wealth (e.g. DR Congo) and resource-poor countries (e.g. Haiti); as well as countries with high aid dependency (e.g. Burundi) and countries where aid makes a marginal contribution to GDP (e.g. Syria). In almost all of the countries listed, UN operations had to manage ongoing or renewed violent conflicts. Almost all of the operations are in African countries, reflecting both the greater prevalence of conflict in and the recent focus of the UN on Africa. Since a substantial share of the UN's peacekeeping resources are deployed in highly corrupt environments, it is incumbent on organisation to inculcate how troops should behave in varied environments as a tool to countering this risk.

Table 2: UN peace operations since 2006 in highly corrupt environments (CPI < 30)⁷⁸

Country	Years	Maximum Troop Size	CPI 2012
DR Congo	1999 – 2010	22,000 (2007)	21
Ethiopia / Eritrea	2000 – 2008	4,150 (2002)	33/25
Cote d'Ivoire	2004 –	9,994 (2013)	29
Haiti	2004 –	Ca.14,200 (2010)	19
Burundi	2004 – 2006	5,665 (2005)	19
Sudan	2005 – 2011	10,500 (2011)	13
Darfur, Sudan	2007 –	Ca.25,000 (2007)	13
Central African Republic / Chad	2007 – 2010	3,800 (2010)	26/19
DR Congo	2010 –	21,500 (2013)	21
Sudan	2011 –	4,075(2013)	13
South Sudan	2011 –	7,633 (2013)	14 (2013)
Syria	2012	278 (2012)	26

⁷⁷ Berdal and Zaum, *Political Economy of Statebuilding*, pp. 133-7.

⁷⁸ Figures for peacekeeping operations and their strengths from the UN DPKO website. Excludes UNAMA in Afghanistan, which is a political mission administered by DPKO. Figures for 2012 CPI from Transparency International, except for South Sudan, where the value is from 2013 (as South Sudan was not included in the 2012 CPI).

The issue of corruption in peacekeeping environments is particularly complicated since forces have to balance a number of competing goals and objectives. In the short term, they may have no other viable option but to work with local actors involved in corruption to help stabilise a particular region. Yet they must also consider the reputational implications and the danger of further entrenching corruption and the power of corrupt actors; it is never politically easy to “accept” a given level of corruption and doing so can compromise the success of the force and of its mandate.

The increasing awareness of the general issue is clearly visible. In 2011 the UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) and the United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations (UN DPKO) signed “a joint plan of action to further strengthen their cooperation in the battle against drugs and organized crime in conflict and post-conflict zones and to proactively address threats to stability and security.”⁷⁹ Corruption is also mentioned in the 2012 UN DPKO Planning Toolkit, although not as a primary issue.⁸⁰

Corruption in peacekeeping procurement

The principal procurement risks in peacekeeping are vendor influence, vendor selection, and information broking (which involves illegally giving or selling valuable tender information or tender progress information to other vendors).

The case of Alexander Yakovlev, a former UN Procurement Officer who was found guilty of receiving nearly \$1 million in kickbacks from numerous contractors via the Oil-for-Food Programme in Iraq, illustrates the inherent corruption risks. The UN has significantly strengthened central procurement as a result of the Yakovlev experience. The Procurement Task Force was set up in 2006 to investigate allegations arising from this case in particular.

Following a Procurement Task Force investigation and report, measures have been put in place to provide greater oversight and monitoring of the procurement process. These new processes seem to have reduced opportunities for corruption in procurement. Peacekeeping operations are often responses to emergencies and require rapid responses. In 2007, for example, the deterioration of the situation in Darfur required the rapid expansion of the UN mission, and led to the non-competitive award of a contract to a US private company to construct camps in Darfur in 2007. This contract attracted much investigation and criticism and was portrayed by some as corruption. The challenge of transparent, quick, and cheap procurement requires better mechanisms, such as prior certification processes.

Corruption in the Selection of Peacekeeping Personnel

Corruption risks within peacekeeping forces are not restricted to when forces are deployed on the ground in a country. The selection of peacekeepers (both police and troops) by their governments can be prone to corruption for a range of reasons. There is often a lack of effective quality control by the sponsoring organisation over the personnel it receives. NATO’s unit certification process is one way of ensuring minimum military standards and the UN has made moves in this direction. However a perennial shortage of contributors and capabilities increases the difficulty of applying standards rigorously. Few other international organisations have similar systems and historically, Troop Contributing Countries and Police Contributing Countries have resisted certification standards. In addition, the selection process within individual member states often

⁷⁹ UNODC, “UNODC and United Nations peacekeeping forces team up to combat drugs and crime in conflict zones”, <https://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/frontpage/2011/March/unodc-and-dpko-team-up-to-combat-drugs-and-crime-in-conflict-zones.html>

⁸⁰ UN DPKO, Planning Toolkit, https://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/publications/Planning%20Toolkit_Web%20Version.pdf

lacks transparency. A cursory search of the major UN troop contributing countries reveals that only Canada has made its selection and training procedures for peacekeeping transparent.⁸¹

The UN whistle-blower provisions, which have long been criticised as inadequate and came under further criticism in 2013, have led the UN Secretary-General to announce an independent review of the relevant processes and provisions.

Summary

It is progress that anti-corruption in procurement receives increased attention, particularly in light of the difficult balance between engaging local actors in the short-term and anti-corruption. More states should follow the Canadian example of making the selection and training for peacekeepers transparent, not least given the often highly corrupt environments in which troops are engaged. Whistleblowing needs to receive increased attention.

⁸¹ RCMP (2008) Canada's Police Community – working together to build a more secure world. 2006 – 2008 Biennial Review: International Peace Operations Branch. Available at: <http://www.rcmp-grc.gc.ca/po-mp/rev-revue/rev-revue-eng.pdf> (last accessed 22/08/2012)

The European Union's Response to Fragile States and Corruption

The EU has been a latecomer to peace operations, deploying its first police mission in January 2003 (in Bosnia and Herzegovina) and its first small military mission in March 2003 (in Macedonia). Since then, it has deployed 9 military and 21 civilian missions under its Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP),⁸² with sixteen missions ongoing in December 2013. The ongoing military and police missions are listed in table 3. As the table shows, their size varies greatly and only three of them have more than 1000 personnel. The mandates of the various EU missions are quite different. What is notable, however, is that most of them have anti-corruption as part of their mandate.

Table 3: Ongoing EU military and police missions⁸³

Country	Years	Maximum Troop Size	GPI 2012	Anti-Corruption Mandate ⁸⁴
Bosnia – Herzegovina	2004 –	7,000 (2004)	42	No
Afghanistan ⁸⁵	2007 – 2014	310 (2013)	8	Yes
Somalia	2008 –	1,200 (2013)	8	Yes
Kosovo	2008 –	1,200 (2013)	34	Yes
Horn of Africa	2011 –	125 (67 deployed in 2013)		Yes
Mali	2013 –	550 (2013)	28	Yes
Somalia	2010 –	125 (2013)	8	No

Over the past decade, the EU has devoted considerable time and resources to develop a “security identity” and EU missions have greatly contributed to stabilisation and state-building through the deployment of security forces, the support of democratisation processes, and the utilisation of development aid to build-up state structures and capacity.⁸⁶ In many ways, the EU has managed to develop activities which have complemented military actions carried by NATO on the one hand, and/or UN peacekeeping operations on the other, such as the EU NAVFOR mission on the Somali coast, which fights piracy and armed robbery at sea alongside NATO and other international partners,⁸⁷ or EULEX in Kosovo, which focusses on strengthening the rule of law and complements the ongoing NATO-led KFOR peacekeeping force.

In 2003 the EU presented its “European Security Strategy” (ESS) which, together with the “European Consensus on Development”, became the basis for its engagement in fragile states. Revisited in 2008 in light of new security developments, the ESS identifies five key security challenges for the EU: terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destructions, regional conflicts, state failure, and organised crime.⁸⁸ Addressing state failure was given priority as it was considered both a threat in itself and also facilitating other threats, most notably terrorism and organised crime. Therefore, there has long been a close and explicit link between the

⁸² These include police and border missions, as well as a small support mission for the AU Mission in Darfur (AMIS) from 2005-2007, which included military personnel.

⁸³ These figures have been derived from the European Union External Action website which is available at: http://www.eeas.europa.eu/csdp/missions-and-operations/index_en.htm

⁸⁴ Reference in the operations mandate to address corruption or organised crime, including piracy.

⁸⁵ EUPOL in Afghanistan is a joint civilian and military mission.

⁸⁶ Gowan, “The Case for co-operation in crisis management”, 2013, p.3.

⁸⁷ European Union External Action Service, EU NAVFOR Somalia, http://www.eeas.europa.eu/csdp/missions-and-operations/eu-navfor-somalia/index_en.htm

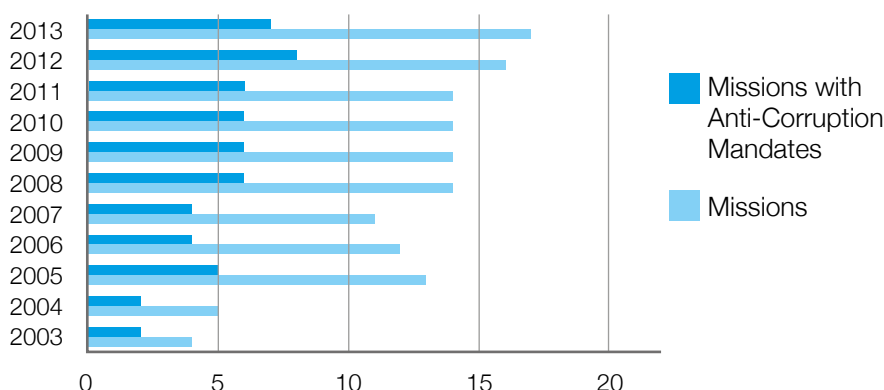
⁸⁸ European Union External Action Service, European Security Strategy, <http://www.eeas.europa.eu/csdp/about-csdp/european-security-strategy/>

EU's CSDP and its internal EU security concerns such as migration, smuggling, and organised crime, a link that has been reiterated at the most recent EU summit meeting in December 2013.⁸⁹

The EU has developed a set of tools (diplomatic, civilian, and military) to address those threats. Their focus has been on restoring the capacity, stability and legitimacy of national governments in fragile regions across the globe. From the Instrument for Stability and the European Development Fund, which finance programmes and capacity-building projects in several fragile countries and regions, to civilian and military missions deployed across the world under the Common Security and Defence Policy, the EU now has a wide variety of tools at its disposal to provide support to post-conflict and fragile states. However, there remains a distinction between countries in its immediate neighbourhood (in particular potential membership candidates like Kosovo, and countries that are part of the neighbourhood policy) and countries and regions further afar, with a wider range of instruments available for the former.⁹⁰

Although the fight against corruption is rarely the main focus of EU missions and is often part of a much broader governance-driven agenda, it has been increasingly recognised as one of the most important factors accounting for state fragility and collapse. As figure 4 below suggests, anti-corruption and organised crime have been an important aspect of EU missions mandates right from the start, and feature in a third to half of all mandates each year since the deployment of the first missions in 2003. These can range from small information or capacity building programmes (as in the EU Border Assistance Mission (EUBAM) in Moldova/Ukraine) to the exercise of executive authority and dedicated international police and justice personnel to investigate and prosecute instances of corruption, as in Kosovo (discussed above).

Figure 4: EU Missions and Anti-Corruption Mandates, 2003-2013



Processes to tackle corruption: Examples from the Sahel⁹¹

In 2011, the EU adopted a “Strategy for Security and Development in the Sahel”, which identified the key threats both to the region and emanating from the region as cutting across national boundaries, such as terrorism and organised crime, in particular drug smuggling,⁹² and thus requiring a regional answer. The inability of governments in the Sahel to fight terrorist sanctuaries (e.g. in Northern Mali) and organised crime networks across the region have been seen as threats not only to stability in the region, but also to European states, with extremists and terrorist networks threatening to infiltrate diasporas. Moreover, instability in the

⁸⁹ European Council, *European Council 19/20 December 2013: Conclusions*, EUCO 217/13, Brussels, 20 December 2013.

⁹⁰ Anastasakis, Caplan, and Economides, “Regional Approaches to Statebuilding I: The European Union”, in Berdal and Zaum (eds.), *Political Economy of Statebuilding: Power after Peace* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012), pp.158-73.

⁹¹ Sahel: The Sahel covers parts of (from west to east) the Gambia, Senegal, southern Mauritania, central Mali, Burkina Faso, southern Algeria and Niger, northern Nigeria and Cameroon, central Chad, southern Sudan, northern South Sudan and Eritrea.

⁹² EU Strategy for Security and Development in the Sahel, 2011, available at http://www.eeas.europa.eu/africa/docs/sahel_strategy_en.pdf

Sahel has been considered as a potential threat to European strategic interests, “including the security of energy supply and the fight against human and drug trafficking”⁹³.

The EU’s Sahel strategy has focussed largely on (re)building governments’ institutional capacity and security capabilities to fight terrorism and organised crime across the region⁹⁴. In its fact finding missions leading to the elaboration of the Sahel strategy, the EU identified three core countries requiring specific attention: Mauritania, Mali and Niger. They also identified corruption as a major obstacle to the fight against terrorism and to the development of an effective security sector. The fight against corruption was therefore integrated as part of the objectives of the EU’s engagement in the region over a three-year plan, and is reflected in the mandates of the two major missions under the plan – the European Union Training Mission Mali, and its Capacity Building Mission Sahel (EUCAP Sahel). While originally the plan sought to balance between the short-term component of its Instrument for Stability, focused on strengthening *security*, and the long-term *development* component, it progressively evolved towards the former and shifted the focus on to security-driven programmes. This shift was largely a response to the changing regional situation in the aftermath of the war in Libya and the instability and later conflict in Northern Mali.

The EUCAP Sahel civilian mission in Niger, which was launched in the summer 2012 at the request of Niger’s government, constitutes an important component of the EU Sahel’s strategy. Through the deployment of around 50 experts coming from EU Member States’ security forces and justice departments, the mission aims to provide training and advice to Niger’s authorities to “strengthen their framework for combating terrorism and organised crime”.⁹⁵ With a budget of € 8.7 million for its first year, the mission has trained and designed courses for more than 300 members of the country’s internal security forces, armed forces and judiciary.⁹⁶ At the request of the authorities, the EU has also been deploying a military mission in Mali since February 2013, “to support the rebuilding of their armed forces in order to help them exercise fully their sovereignty over the whole of the country and to effectively neutralise organised crime and terrorists threats”.⁹⁷

Past interventions have revealed that the EU has a more positive impact when it cooperates with other international bodies. As one analyst explains, “the EU should not be ashamed to lead from behind. It should increasingly focus on helping other actors manage conflict rather than trying to deploy EU-flagged crisis management”.⁹⁸ In the Sahel, despite some initial engagement during the fact finding missions with the Economic Community of West Africa (ECOWAS) and the African Union (AU), it did not have a direct policy input.⁹⁹ It has been pointed out that the EU no longer has the resources to “instil long-term stability” as it did in Bosnia and Kosovo.¹⁰⁰ In some regards, it will have to achieve more with less. Cooperating and coordinating with other actors will thus be even more central.

Summary

It is good that various mandates are linked to organised crime and corruption, and that tools are developed accordingly. The Sahel example illustrates why the EU was right to recognise corruption as a major obstacle in the fight against terrorism, and to security *and* development. Greater cooperation and coordination as well as ensuring that anti-corruption remains a primary concern and is part of all EU mandates should be next steps.

⁹³ European Union Training Mission Mali, http://www.eutmali.eu/?page_id=222

⁹⁴ EU Strategy for Security and Development in the Sahel, 2011

⁹⁵ European Union External Actions Service, EUCAOP SAHEL Niger http://www.eeas.europa.eu/csdp/missions-and-operations/eucap-sahel-niger/mission-description/index_en.htm

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ European Union External Action Service, EUTM Mali/2, September 2013, http://www.eeas.europa.eu/csdp/missions-and-operations/eutm-mali/pdf/01092013_factsheet_eutm-mali_en.pdf

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Oladiran Bello “Quick Fix or quick stand: Implementing the EU Sahel Strategy”, 2012, p.3

¹⁰⁰ Gowan, The Case for co-operation in crisis management, 2013, p.3.

NATO and ISAF

NATO has been involved in peacekeeping missions since the 1994 operation in the Balkans. Working toward good governance has however only been an indirect issue. Today the picture has changed. Civil-military (“comprehensive”) approaches have been part and parcel of today’s missions. Even though defence institution building remains its primary concern, anti-corruption has become a central issue to NATO as highlighted by recent anti-corruption lessons learned studies.

In 2013 the NATO-led International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) consisted of 87,000 troops. Apart from (re)constructing and extending the Afghan central government’s writ, its 28 Provincial Reconstruction teams have been a central component of the organisation’s strategy to establish a professional Afghan National Security Force. In comparison, there remain approximately 5,000 Allied troops (from a peak of 40,000 in 1999/2000) in Kosovo that are tasked with maintaining peace and security. Since Kosovo’s declaration of independence, the force is also responsible for creating a professional and multi-ethnic security force in the country. Fighting corruption is a topic tackled by the EULEX mission (see the chapter on Kosovo).

NATO’s involvement in Afghanistan is hence its most significant operationally, and its mandate effectively (and in absence of the EU) broader than in Kosovo. Since 2003 ISAF has been conducting not only security operations in Afghanistan and helped train the Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF). NATO has also been involved in building integrity and reducing corruption in the country. The fight against corruption is emphasised today not only as a general principle. On NATO’s 2012 Chicago Summit the Declaration on Afghanistan stressed: “As part of the wider International Community, and building upon existing mechanisms, we will play our part in developing appropriate, coherent and effective funding mechanisms and expenditure arrangements for all strands of the ANSF. Such mechanisms will be flexible, transparent, accountable, cost-effective and will include measures against corruption. They will also distinguish between funding for the army and the police as well as for further capacity development within the relevant Afghan ministries and security institutions.”¹⁰¹

Two major initiatives, the establishment of the Combined Joint Interagency Task Force-Shafafiyat, under the auspices of the International Security Assistance Force, and the Building Integrity Programme, have been the cornerstones of the organisation’s anti-corruption agenda in Afghanistan and will be looked at in further detail below.

Preventing corruption: Taskforce Shafafiyat

Task Force Shafafiyat (Transparency) was established in 2010 to foster a common understanding of corruption in Afghanistan, plan and implement ISAF anti-corruption efforts, and support Afghan-led anti-corruption efforts. Composed of over 40 civil and military staff from different nations contributing to ISAF, Shafafiyat was to oversee two additional task forces, Task Force-Spotlight and Task Force-2010, which examined the impact of U.S. contracting in Afghanistan. Shafafiyat’s initial remit was to focus on corruption in the defence and security sphere, and integrate military intelligence and law enforcement information to map criminal patronage networks and understand how they manifest.

Rather than taking the broad definition of corruption as a starting point, Shafafiyat purposefully pursued what the American military terms Criminal Patronage Networks (CPNs). The underlying ambition of most of these groups in Afghanistan is to strengthen their control over state institutions so as to establish an exclusionary political economy in their spheres of influence and over certain sectors of the economy.

¹⁰¹ Chicago Summit Declaration on Afghanistan, 21 May 2012, http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_87595.htm

Shafafiyat's decision to go after CPNs means that the task force attempts to directly tackle the nexus of drug trafficking, insurgency, and political influence in the country. To address this issue, law enforcement and military efforts needed to be integrated with those of development in order to witness the overlapping nature of insurgency, terrorism, narcotics trade, corruption and organised crime.

From the outset, Shafafiyat was designed to be a joint civil-military organisation: a civilian would manage alongside a military commander. This approach had a number of inherent benefits. First, it put into practice NATO's mission to have a joint civil-military approach in Afghanistan. Second, due to difficulties in tackling criminal patronage networks, it could be argued that the role required a diplomat to navigate the political aspects. Third, greater civilian involvement meant that Shafafiyat was able to better coordinate its efforts with the aid community and act as a sort of a translation mechanism between them and the military.

ISAF had some successes through the taskforce, most notably in the Ministry of Defence (MoD). With Shafafiyat's assistance, the MoD has made progress in strengthening transparency, accountability, and counter-corruption measures in the MoD and in the Afghan National Army. This has been propelled by political commitment at the Ministerial level over several years. Few actors outside the MoD – including diplomats, the international public, and local Afghans – seem to be aware of this progress thus underlining the need for the MoD to increase external engagement.

Continual ISAF support to the MoD, the re-focusing of Shafafiyat following external consultation (including civil society actors), and the on-going work of Combined Security Transition Command – Afghanistan/NATO Training Mission – Afghanistan (CSTC-A/NTM-A), should assist the MoD's upward trend. ISAF has re-focused the Shafafiyat team onto three areas - MoD, MoI and civil society – and onto more targeted objectives. In addition, Shafafiyat has been moved into the Ministerial Advisory Group at CSTC-A/NTM-A, which has the benefit of better aligning them with the process improvement and advisory work of CSTC-A. According to analysts on the ground, this re-alignment has had a positive operational impact.

Preventing corruption: Building Integrity Programme

In addition to Shafafiyat, NATO has responded to corruption in the security sector in particular through the Building Integrity (BI) Programme. BI was originally established by the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council in November 2007 to “raise awareness, promote good practice and provide practical tools to help nations enhance integrity and reduce risks of corruption in the security sector by strengthening transparency and accountability”.¹⁰² It was initially intended to support South East European countries but has also been implemented in Afghanistan to enhance transparency and integrity in the Afghan police and army.

The BI training not only looks at building capacity within security forces to counter corruption and promote good governance; but also provides tools for these forces to adequately engage with the public and civil society. The concept of inviting a number of stakeholders into the decision-making process has been well received by Afghan participants, as it promotes the idea of an inclusive society and governance structure.

The programme makes use of a toolkit which includes a self-assessment questionnaire that countries can fill in to map their current practices, identify areas of improvement, and develop national action plans. So far, assessments have been completed, not only for Afghanistan, but also for Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Norway and Ukraine. A number of other resources, the most notable of which is the “Building Integrity and Reducing Corruption in Defence: A Compendium of Best Practices” publication, are also made available.

¹⁰²NATO, Building Integrity (BI) Programme, http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_68368.htm

One of the distinguishing features of the programme has been NATO's willingness to engage external stakeholders: "implementing partners". These were to be drawn from NATO countries, partner nations, and civil society. Organisations including the Geneva Centre for Security Policy, the Geneva Centre for Democratic Control of the Armed Forces and Transparency International have all supported the programme's implementation by providing expert advice on training and education, and by facilitating BI activities.

The Transparency International designed foundation training course, aimed at military and defence officials at the OF5 (colonel) level, contains a mixture of presentations, workshops, exercises, case studies and discussions, both in syndicate and plenary. The content includes: an introduction to integrity building, counter corruption tools, public financial management, media, military operations, procurement, codes of conduct, personal behaviour, the rule of law, and case studies delivered by a range of senior international experts. In addition, the course promotes interaction at all levels and provides a platform for students (often from 10 or more countries) to develop networks and exchange ideas on best practice. It is very highly rated by participants. A typical comment is 'For the first time I realise I am not alone in trying to face up to serious corruption issues; and that there are real, practical measures that I can take in my unit'.

The course focuses on practical issues, different national experiences, and the role of officers and civilians in the middle of the hierarchy in effecting change.

Summary

The progress made through Shafafiyat (particularly in the Ministry of Defence) and the Building Integrity Programme are encouraging as they mirror a greater awareness of the organisation's need to factor in corruption as a threat to stability and peace. They need to be extended, safeguarded, and better communicated. This will be challenging given the 2014 withdrawal for the reasons given in the Afghanistan case study summary above. Ignoring corruption could easily sacrifice the important gains that have been made, including through the Monitoring and Evaluation Committee and the Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction.

Annex: Evidence from the Transparency International Government Defence Anti-Corruption Index 2013 Regarding Conflict States

The Government Defence Anti-Corruption Index is the first global analysis of corruption risk in defence establishments worldwide. It aims to give governments, armed forces, civil society and citizens the tools to avoid the dangers and inefficiencies that corruption in defence brings. It also contains some very relevant information on (post-)conflict states in particular.

Conflict States: according to the World Bank list of conflict states, 21 such states were included in the 2013 Government Defence Anti-Corruption Index. They are: Afghanistan, Angola, Bangladesh, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Cameroon, DR Congo, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Georgia, Iran, Iraq, Kenya, Nepal, Nigeria, Pakistan, Palestinian National Authority, Rwanda, Sri Lanka, Uganda, Yemen, and Zimbabwe. They form just over a quarter of the total set of 82 nations in the index.

Overall Corruption Risk Banding: the banding schema of the Government Defence Anti-Corruption Index differentiates between countries with varying levels of *corruption risk*, reflecting vulnerability to corruption in the defence sector in terms of both frequency and severity. The banding schema that clusters countries runs from Band A, reflecting very low corruption risk, through to Band F, reflecting critical corruption risk. The comparative frequency of conflict and non-conflict countries in each band follows:

Band	Conflict States		Non-Conflict States	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
A – Very Low Risk	0	0%	2	3%
B – Low Risk	0	0%	7	11%
C – Moderate Risk	0	0%	16	26%
D – High Risk	9	43%	21	34%
E – Very High Risk	7	33%	11	18%
F – Critical Risk	5	24%	4	7%

All conflict states are placed in the three bands reflecting greatest vulnerability to corruption in defence. The distribution shows greater proportion in Band D, reducing steadily to Band F, where nearly a quarter of conflict states are placed. In contrast, non-conflict states display an approximately normal distribution, with the highest relative frequency of states placed in Band D, though with tails on either side. Four-tenths of countries are placed in bands A, B, or C, and a quarter in Band E or F. Conflict states show clear vulnerability to overall level of corruption risk in contrast to non-conflict states, where performance is overall better, and also more dispersed across corruption risk bands.

Thematic Comparisons: the Government Defence Anti-Corruption Index examines five types of corruption risk in the sector, reflecting the five main elements of Transparency International's typology of corruption risks. They are:

- Political: The risk of defence legislation and controls being compromised by corruption.
- Financial: The risk of abuse of large, potentially secretive budgets and income.

- Personnel: The risk of corruption among armed forces and defence ministry personnel.
- Operations: The risk of corruption occurring during military operations at home or abroad.
- Procurement: The risk of corruption in the process of purchasing defence equipment and arms.

The average proportion of marks picked up between conflict and non-conflict states in the questions relating to these five areas is as follows:

	Average Marks Awarded out of 100		Differential
	Conflict States	Non-Conflict States	
Political Risk	27	47	-20 pts
Financial Risk	20	46	-26 pts
Personnel Risk	39	53	-14 pts
Operations Risk	19	32	-13 pts
Procurement Risk	26	44	-18 pts

Across all risk areas, the average scores in non-conflict states are substantially higher than those for conflict states. The difference is particularly pronounced in **financial** corruption risk, where conflict states score particularly poorly relative to non-conflict states with regard to oversight of budgets and secret budgets. States under threat are likely to want to maintain a high level of secrecy surrounding operations and budgets that are covert, for fear of disclosing information advantageous to the adversary forces. Such activity creates clear risk of budgets purported to be used for secret defence and security activity being misused.

In **political** and **procurement** corruption risk, the difference in scores is around 20 percentage points. Analysis of the data more closely in terms of political risk shows that conflict states score particularly poorly relative to non-conflict states with regard to fundamental oversight of defence policy, and scrutiny of defence income from non-government forces. The pressure of conflict appear to undermine attempts to fundamentally evaluate the direction of potentially volatile defence policy and strategy, while examination of how the conflict is funded in conditions of instability is also lacking. Meanwhile, analysis of procurement data shows that the gulf in corruption risk between conflict and non-conflict states with regard to this area is most pronounced in terms of the use of a clear and audited strategy deriving procurement requirements. This is perhaps unsurprising. In unstable conflict conditions a predetermined strategy is unlikely to be appropriate when losses to personnel and machinery are by definition unforeseen and procurement is likely to be reactive.

There is less of a gulf in corruption vulnerability between conflict and non-conflict states with regard to the **operations** and **personnel** corruption risk. In terms of operations corruption risk, there is widespread lack of understanding and lack of institutionalised measures to address corruption potential when troops are in theatre, whether a state is in a conflict situation or not. This is a particularly notable problem when countries contract and purchase on deployed operations. Finally, in terms of personnel corruption risk, fairly robust payment systems and structures, and a certain degree of anti-corruption training and disciplinary measures, appear to be shared by conflict and non-conflict states alike. Whether troops are in a conflict situation or not, there appears to be recognition across many states in differing environments that discipline and objective payment is a necessary precursor to military functioning.

List of Abbreviations

BI: Building Integrity (NATO)

CPI: Corruption Perceptions Index (Transparency International)

CPN: Criminal Patronage Network

DR Congo: Democratic Republic of the Congo

EULEX: European Union Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo

GEMAP: Governance and Economic Management Programme

ISAF: International Security Assistance Force

KFOR: Kosovo Force (NATO-led)

MEC: Independent Joint Anti-Corruption Monitoring and Evaluation Committee (Afghanistan)

SIGAR: Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction

UNMIK: United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo

WACSI: West Africa Cooperative Security Initiative

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