

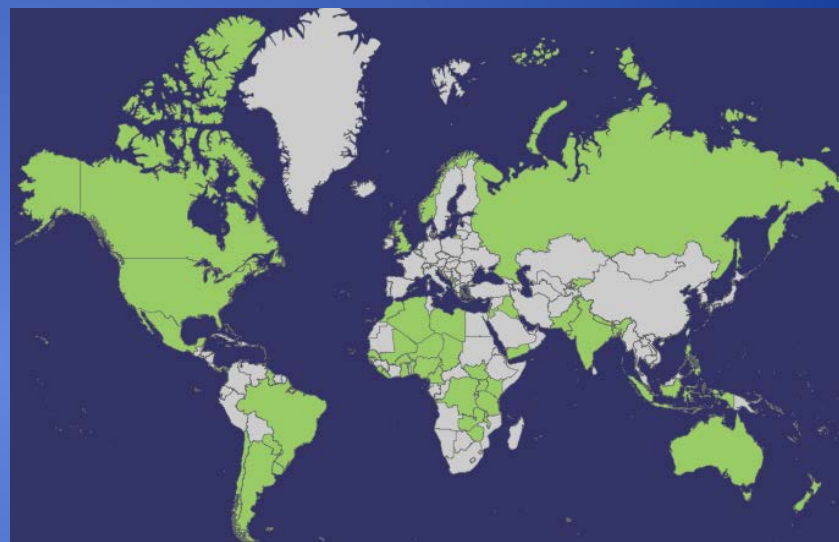
# Corruption and Afghanistan

Akaash Maharaj  
GOPAC Chief Executive Officer  
NATO Parliamentary Assembly 61<sup>st</sup> Annual Session  
Stavanger, Norway  
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# About GOPAC

- Members in most countries of the world
- 57 national chapters
- Regional chapters
  - Africa: Accra, Ghana
  - Arab: Beirut, Lebanon
  - Caribbean: Port of Spain
  - SE Asia: Jakarta, Indonesia
  - S Asia: Kathmandu, Nepal
  - Latin America: Mexico City
  - Oceania: Perth, Australia



# Principles

- All free societies are democracies, but not all democracies are free
- Corruption is now the single greatest threat to security, development, human rights
- Parliamentarians must stand between our leaders and the levers of power



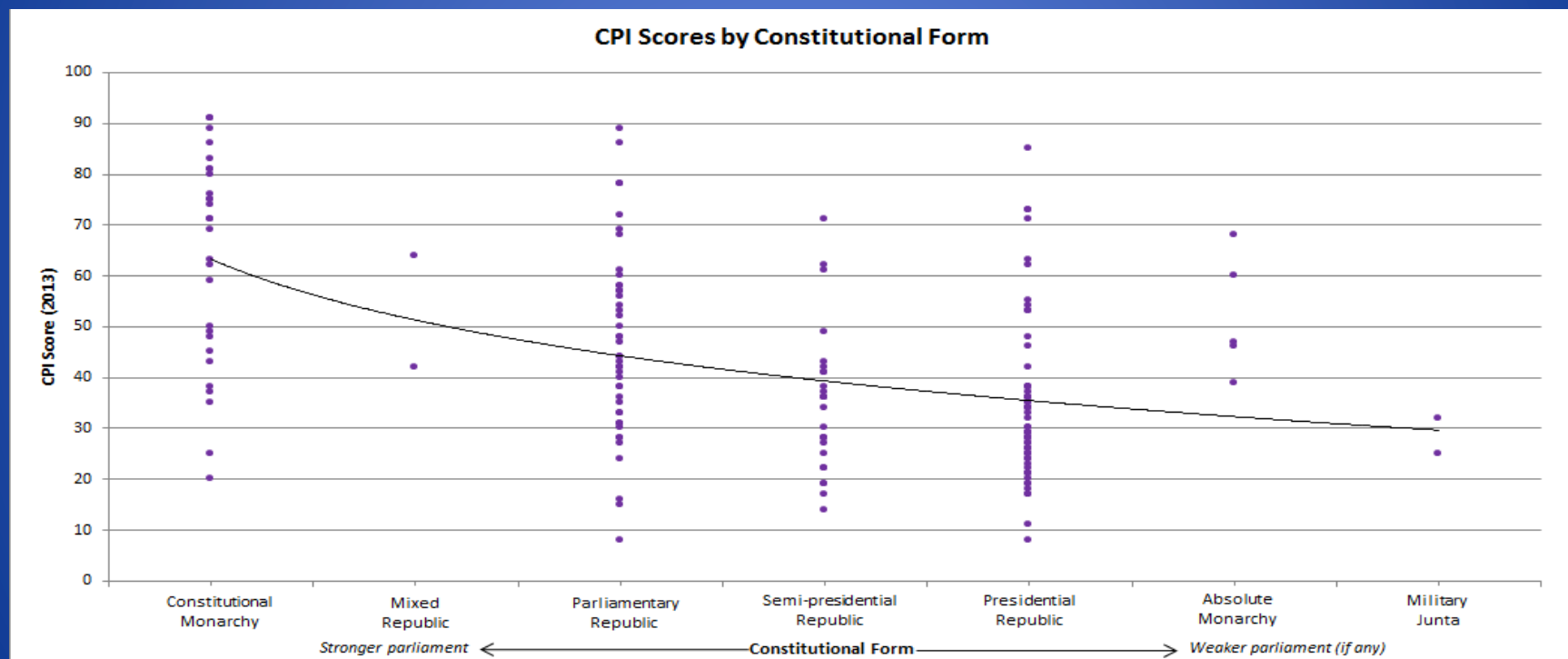
# Impact of Corruption

- Developing world loses \$10 through corruption for every \$1 in aid (UNDP)
- Corruption was the single most discussed subject on the planet (BBC World Service)
- Corruption drove the Arab Spring uprisings, a crisis of confidence in democracy itself





# Stronger Parliament, Lower Corruption



# Direct Impact on Security

- Delegitimises the state
- Foments public grievance and unrest, supports radicalism
- Damages the state's ability to detect or respond to threats



# Importance of Afghanistan

- 1<sup>st</sup> invocation of Article 5, October 2001
- 1<sup>st</sup> NATO commanded mission beyond the North Atlantic, beginning August 2003
- Longest military commitment for many states, ISAF ending December 2014
- US alone spent \$760bn, of which \$104bn was for reconstruction (greater than the Marshall Plan)
- Was the single strongest exemplar of the effect of corruption on mission success





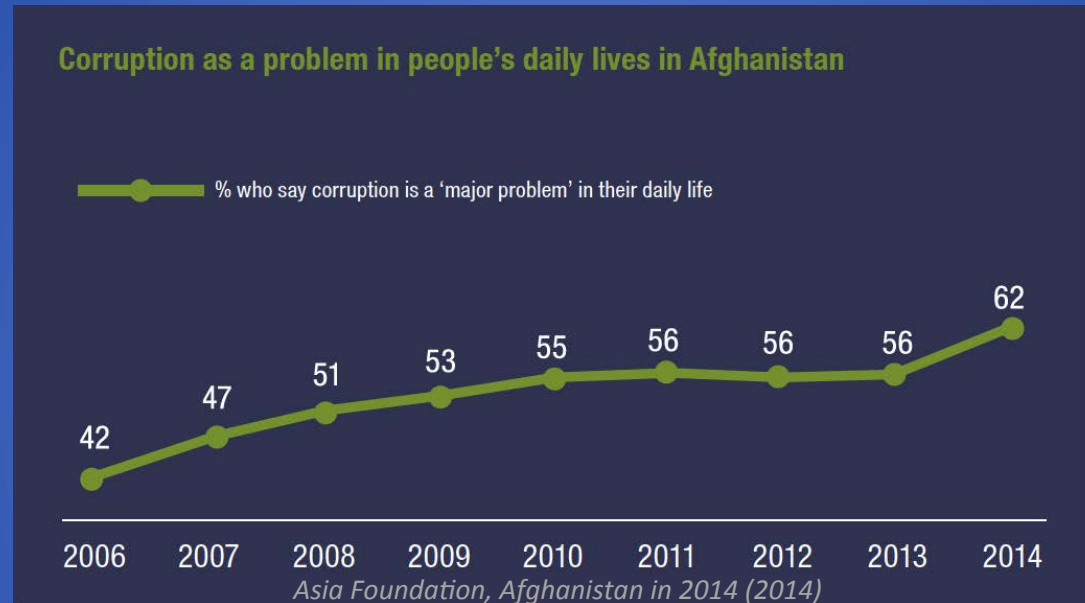
# Extent of Corruption in Afghanistan

- 172<sup>nd</sup> of 175 nations in CPI
- Kabul Bank Scandal had \$935m stolen
- 1/3 of households must pay bribes for public services, totalling ~1bn annually (Integrity Watch Afghanistan)
- \$31bn to \$60bn of US reconstruction budget in Afghanistan and Iraq was stolen (Commission on Wartime Contracting)





# Corruption Delegitimising the State



- 15 words in Dari and Pashtu for corruption, but the high levels of national, institutional corruption have grown with the ISAF mission
- “20 years ago corruption was a shame among Afghans. If you were corrupt, your life was hell ... And now that’s completely changed. A new culture has risen: if you’re not corrupt, people think you’re stupid”.



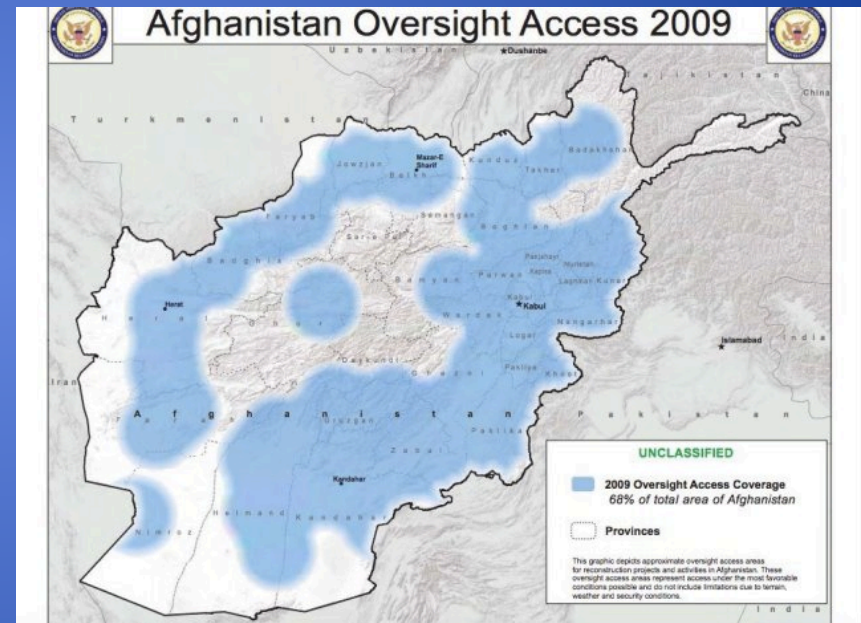
# Corruption Supporting Radicalism

- 26% of Afghans feel corruption is greatest challenge facing their country, versus only 7% for the Taliban
- Taliban “shadow courts” in 33 of 34 provinces; they receive equal crime referrals as the formal courts (Asia Foundation)



# Corruption Undermining Security

- 2015, SIGAR intercepted an attempted \$215m fuel fraud for the Afghan Defence Ministry
- Scope of SIGAR oversight is declining, without commensurate increases in Afghan oversight



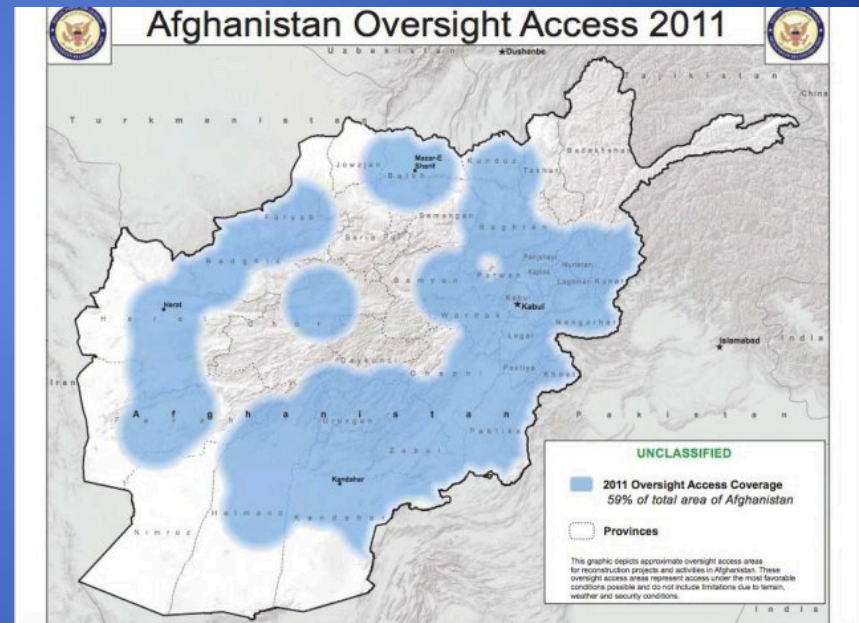
Special Inspector Gen for Afghanistan Reconstruction





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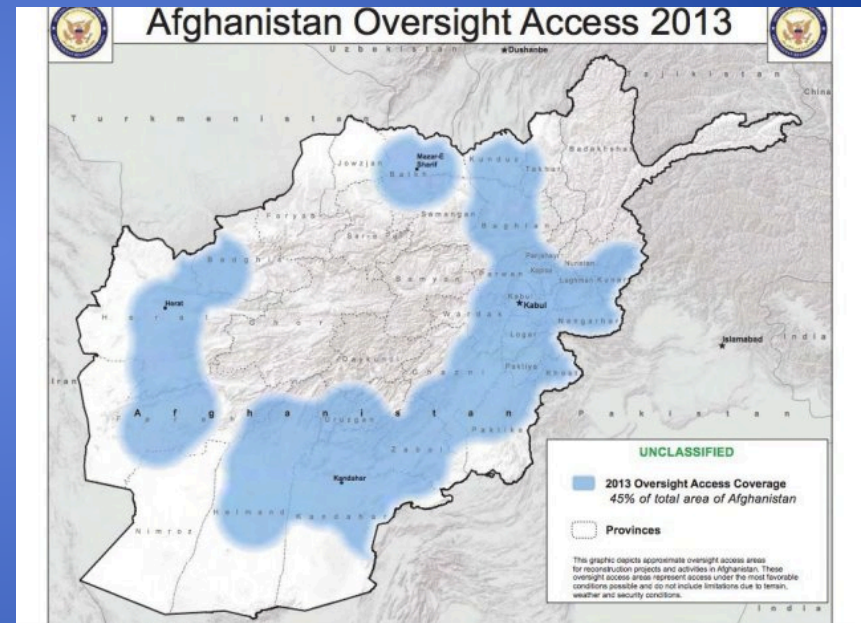


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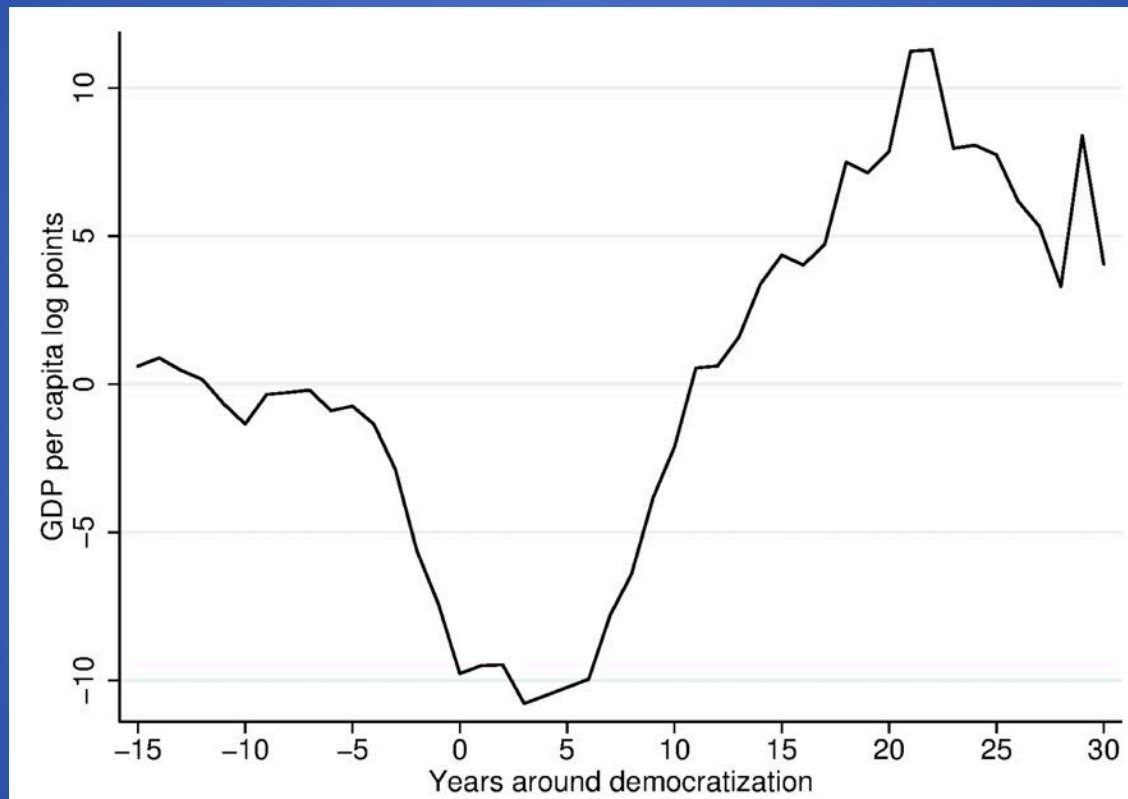
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# Precedence: Reform or Growth?



Acemoglu, D, Naidu, S, Robinson, J, & Restrepo, P (2014). "Democracy causes economic development?" Vox. Centre for Economic Policy Research.





# Lessons for Governments

- Anti-corruption must be an intrinsic part of the objectives: a genuine democracy requires more than voting
- Do not frame a conflict to domestic constituencies in terms of local allies and local enemies, but instead in terms of desired outcomes
- Measure aid by outcome, not by investment
- Aid should be conditional



# Lessons for Governments

- Only enter an engagement if there is sufficient political will to enforce meaningful oversight
- National policy should have anti-corruption tools as part of foreign policy, aid, and defence apparatuses
- Understand that reports of wasted blood and treasure can both destroy public support





# Lessons for Militaries

- Anti-corruption measures must be part of military doctrine, as important to security and success as bullets or armour
- Use of corruption as a tactic to co-opt local power brokers will always rebound against you
- If you try to trade long term stability for short term security, you will lose both





# Lessons for Militaries

- Maintain a unified command and control over anti-corruption measures
- Do not create a tyranny of unrealistic public expectations or one of low operational expectations
- Many allies and enemies can only be analysed as criminal patronage systems, not as governments



# Lessons for Intl Institutions

- Know that losing the battle against corruption means losing the war in the field
- Cultivate broadly-based civil society, rather than engage through proxies
- Flooding a theatre with too much cash is just as dangerous as mobilising an army with too few resources
- Prioritise state building from the outset



# Lessons for Intl Institutions

- Create procurement and oversight systems, before funds flow
- Be prepared to train and develop the culture of successor institutions at the outset of the campaign
- Enter a conflict with a realistic and precise vision of the departure conditions





# Contact

Akaash Maharaj  
Chief Executive Officer  
Global Organization of Parliamentarians Against Corruption

904 – 255 Albert Street  
Ottawa ON K1P 6A9  
Canada

+1 (416) 995-3275  
Akaash@Maharaj.org  
[www.gopacnetwork.org](http://www.gopacnetwork.org)

