



Transparency Watch

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INTERVIEW OF THE MONTH



Kenya's anti-corruption tsar

Transparency International interviews anti-corruption tsar John Githongo on his experience with corruption in Kenya, the values that spurred him to expose corruption at the highest levels of government, and life after blowing the whistle... >> read more

SPOTLIGHT STORY



Corruption in Kenya's National AIDS Control Council

HIV/AIDS is one of the biggest challenges facing the health sector in Kenya, and was declared a national disaster in 1999. Today it is estimated that 1.3 million Kenyans are infected, that 300 of those infected die every day, while 250 new people contract HIV/AIDS every day. The National AIDS Control Council (NACC) was established to coordinate the prevention and control of HIV/AIDS, but has been plagued by corruption since its inception. This article combines an excerpt from the Global Corruption Report 2006, which describes the corruption in this institution, with developments since its publication. >> read more

TRANSPARENCY & ...

Simon Channing-Williams talks about producing the film *The Constant Gardener*: what attracted him to the project, the reaction of the pharmaceutical industry, and how filming in Kenya prompted those involved to set up *The Constant Gardener Trust*.

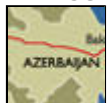


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CORRUPTION Q & A

The U4 Helpdesk, located at the TI Secretariat in Berlin, provides expert answers to questions regarding corruption. Here they put the relationship between corruption and HIV/AIDS into context.

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INTERVIEW OF THE MONTH

Kenya's anti-corruption tsar

By Amber Poroznuk, Jesse Garcia



"The most serious corruption taking place in many African countries is taking place under the shroud of what they call national security. National security and the extractive industries have become the last refuge of grand corruption in Africa." John Githongo

John Githongo spent the week of 13-19 March giving evidence to the Kenya Anti-Corruption Commission and the Public Accounts Committee in London. He speaks now to two representatives of Transparency International.

1. In an article in the *New York Times* last Saturday, you are quoted as saying that the implications of public release of your dossier on the Anglo Leasing scandal are just beginning, that in fact only 30 percent has come out. What is still to come? Who will go down next and how high will it go?

Well, the point I was trying to make is that this particular scandal is only one of several that I now believe are under investigation by the anti-corruption authority. In fact, the Public Accounts Committee will hopefully be tabling its report in Parliament tomorrow [21 March 2006].

2. You have also stated that the Anglo Leasing deals under the Kibaki administration amount to 50 billion Kenyan Shillings (US\$ 700 million). Is that still an accurate guess? How inflated would that make the contracts?

In my estimation, the inflation would be between 25 and 100%. However, here we are talking about transactions that stretch back to the previous administration, really from the middle of the year 2001 until the end of 2004; about US\$ 700 million.

3. In your view, what opportunities has Kenya missed out on because of this?

The most important thing about these kinds of scandals is that they cause the general public to lose faith in their own institutions of democracy. It is even more damaging than the direct financial loss. As you know, Kenya is in the middle of a severe drought, and obviously people have said one of the connections that can be made is between the amount of money that may be being misappropriated and the drought and the way it is affecting Kenyans. However, I always assert that the biggest impact of these kinds of issues is usually on democratic institutions and causing people to lose faith in them.

4. You mentioned the drought. There are probably a lot of ways you can make real concrete equivalences with losses. Take, for example, the recent document from Transparency International's chapter in Kenya, "Living Large", which details the waste and abuse of public funds. They suggested that the equivalent of US\$ 12 million wasted could have provided anti-retroviral treatment for an entire year for nearly 150,000 HIV/AIDS patients.

That is the truth about the matter, that these resources are fungible. If one looks at where these resources could have been better spent, one sees that the impact is actually very severe.

5. There are those who have equated your whistle blowing on the grand corruption and looting in the Kenyan government with treason. Former Cabinet minister Chris Murungaru claims in the *East African Standard* that your activities "bordered on spying on the Government of Kenya on behalf of the British government". What do you think of these allegations? Are you still worried about such charges? Does this hamper your ability to return to Kenya?

That is a calculation that I took, that this kind of charge would be made against me, and I am comfortable with that. I shall be returning home as soon as possible, but I don't intend to stop this fight.

6. Kenya is a democratic country. Why should speaking out against the government be equated with treason?

The most serious corruption taking place in many African countries takes place under the shroud of what they call national security. National security and the extractive industries have become the last refuge of grand corruption in Africa. As corruption has slowly been removed from public procurement processes - for example roads and large infrastructure projects - the last little hole where corruption is hiding is in the area of so called "national security", which means that any whistle blower who causes malfeasance in that area can be very easily charged with treason.

7. You have recently spoken out against British citizens who were complicit in the Anglo Leasing scandal, for example, people living in the UK who helped set up ghost companies. What action should be taken against these people and who should be working on this? From what angle?

Ever since the publication of the Commission for Africa report, there has been a lot of political will in Britain to take action against these parties. What we found, when we were looking into corruption in Kenya, is that there were key players behind this who were able to move in and out of the UK with ease, to use British firms and lawyers to assist them, etc. And this is the kind of thing we are seeking assistance with.

8. Who should assist them? Who should be working on it?

The British government should, first of all, take up this issue as a matter of seriousness, which I think they have started to do. I think Transparency International can also play a very useful lobbying role. I know they are doing that at least with regard to the Defense Sector here [TI-UK is addressing this issue]. I think there is a role to be played by both civil society and government.

9. There are voices that defend the Kibaki government by claiming that many of the contracts in question were in place before Kibaki came to power. How much do you believe that the government's hands are tied due to contracts signed under Moi?

That's rubbish. The issue is that some of these dodgy contracts were entered into by the previous administration, but there was something very unusual about the way we came to power. We assumed ownership of those contracts without asking any questions, without doing any due diligence. We entered into arrangements with individuals who we knew had a terrible record in terms of providing services to the government, who had been cited repeatedly in government documents as being corrupt, public accounts committee reports, reports of the comptroller, the notary general.

That is no excuse. It is like blaming Africa's problems on colonialism. Colonialism has something to do with it, yes, but that is no longer an excuse which holds much water.

10. So there would have been no legal constraints that would have kept the Kibaki government from breaking these contracts on the ground that they were corrupt?

No, there are no legal constraints. If you investigate something and find it to be corrupt, then it is very easy to be able to escape it. This is number one. Number two, the US\$ 12 million which had been returned when the investigations into Anglo Leasing started - that was money which was supposedly based on secure contracts. So why did those people pay back the money? They should have taken them to court. If someone has given you a large contract, you don't just give the money back.

11. In early March, it was reported that a special elite, rapid response unit of the Kenyan police, the Kanga squad, shut down a Kenyan television station, disabled a printing press and burned thousands of newspapers in a midnight raid. The trigger was ostensibly an article claiming that Kibaki had secretly met with an opposition leader. How do you explain this behaviour? Did your dossier do anything to inflame the situation?

I don't know whether my dossier had anything to do with it. What I do know is that it was outrageous. If it wasn't so serious in its implications for Kenyan democratisation, freedom of the press and freedom of expression, this would have been a completely hilarious, comical kind of event, because it was carried out in the most ridiculous fashion. But of course its implications for freedom of the press in Kenya are very serious. We may be in a situation where one arm of the state does not know what the other is doing, and I think this is perhaps part of the problem.

12. With coalition government, like the Rainbow Coalition, beholden to so many stakeholders, can it realistically fight corruption in an environment like Kenya?

It depends on whether the top leadership of the administration wants to base the coalition primarily on a coming together of the ethnic interests of the members of the elite. Or whether they want to unite people around a genuine reform agenda, and use that reform agenda to drive politics forward and to fight corruption. In other words, you use the fight against corruption to unite, rather than to divide. Even the most corrupt person would not say in public that they support corruption, and if you have a generalised anti-corruption campaign, what you will find is that even in a coalition, it will have the impact of cleaning out the coalition.

13. So you wouldn't say they were necessarily at a disadvantage, compared to a unified group?

No, (laughs) we had a very corrupt government under a one party state. It's just an excuse. It's complicated. Coalition is complicated. But that is no excuse.

14. What kind of special interests hamstring the Kenyan government? Who is the government serving with its questionable activities?

The excuse given for a lot of these issues is the need to raise money for political party finance. That is the most commonly used excuse, but because there is no transparency about it. You can't tell whether this is going into people's pockets, or whether it actually funds parties.

15. But of course, you were a part of the government; you had a role in the government a few years ago. Knowing what you do now, looking back, do you think it was realistic to have taken on the tasks that you did when you joined the government?

It is not a question I could even begin to answer unless I had tried it. I think one has to have high expectations: one has to have aspirations to do that kind of job.

16. In that vein, obviously the current government is not proving effective at tackling the problems it has. What would a Kenyan government look like that was able to successfully tackle embedded corruption? What features would it have that it currently does not have?

The most important thing would be top level commitment on the part of the heads of state in the fight against corruption.

17. In a related question, where do you hope the country will be in five years?

In five years' time, I would hope to see Kenya in the middle of a united East Africa, as one key element of that united East Africa, providing the engine for economic growth for the entire integrated region.

18. In some ways it has been a shock to the anti-corruption movement that some of the initial approaches to fighting graft seem to have not been so effective. Do you think Transparency International is too technocratic in nature? That we ignore the human aspect of corruption?

I think the key thing that we have to re-think in TI is the philosophy of not naming names, especially in cases of egregious corruption. It is a big challenge and will require a lot of analysis and so on, but I think the technocratic component is very important. But more can be done in terms of direct advocacy.

19. Just following up on that, what kind of activities would you like to see in place to help resolve issues more quickly? Is there anything else you can add where TI or other institutions would be able to provide support to people like you who are willing to expose corruption?

To start with, I think for Transparency International to have a designated small team in Berlin with a capacity to do research in the West, that would assist people who are looking into corruption in the developing world, and be able to pick up a phone and check a company's register in Lichtenstein to see if a company exists or not, that is very important. However, TI does not conduct investigations. There is a broader question there of mandate, which perhaps can be examined along with other broad governance issues that TI has been looking at.

20. To change tracks a little bit, I would like to ask you about aid and corruption. There are those who say that exposing corruption supports the argument that governments and donors should withhold aid, as it will only find its way into the pockets of corrupt leaders. So exposing corruption in Kenya could have negative ramifications in terms of aid and perceptions, not just for Kenya, but also for the rest of Africa. What do you believe exposing the Anglo Leasing scandal has done for the rest of Africa?

I believe it has introduced political accountability into Kenyan political culture, number one. Number two, I am not enthusiastic about the development cooperation partners who, by giving that argument, sometimes are essentially arguing for a cover up of corruption, so they can maintain higher levels of lending to a country. I think that is for the people of a country to decide. If corruption is not important to people within a country, then they will not respond enthusiastically or with outreach when instances of corruption are raised.

21. What do you think of donors or donor governments who would make this claim?

I think that for donor governments, the key challenge is how to remain effectively engaged. I don't think it is possible at all to be effectively engaged in a situation where you still have high levels of corruption. The challenge is to understand that, in a country, you have various stakeholders, whether it is civil society, the media, the government, etc. and one cannot get a holistic picture of a situation of corruption without engaging with all those stakeholders.

22. In a *New York Times* article from 18 March 2006 you were likened to an African Lenin. That is a powerful image. I am curious to know what went through your mind when you read that?

Well, you know, I am a traitor or a Lenin, I don't know which is better of the two. You know the point I was trying to make in that interview is that I know that what I have done has caused some problems for me, and for many other people. But I think it needed to be done. You can't keep secrets, and you can't keep secrets forever. And it has implications, it has repercussions, and I am a piece of that.

23. We've talked about a couple of comparisons, names, labels that have been attached to you. Who would you liken yourself to? Do you have mentors or idols you aspire to be like?

I don't like comparing myself to anyone because it would demean the other person. So I leave it alone. The New York Times chose Lenin - I will have to read more about Lenin and make up my mind if this is a comparison I should use more regularly.

24. Do you have any people you would describe as heroes or role models?

I have always been a great admirer of people like Dr. Peter Eigen, and what he has done - leaving the World Bank, starting TI. Now, more than ten years later, look at it. It has become the premiere anti-corruption agency in the world, pushed corruption into the centre of the global development agenda, and I know it hasn't been easy. So, I am very lucky to know a lot of people I have admiration for. I have seen them face difficult things and just push on and do it.

25. We interviewed Simon Channing-Williams, producer of *The Constant Gardener* earlier this month, and he told us about the Constant Gardener Trust, a charity which was set up following the release of the film. What do you think of the Trust and the work that it has done? What is your role with the Trust?

I think it is a wonderful idea: this is really, really special. Film companies usually come into exotic locations in Africa. They change the surroundings, they make their film and then they disappear. This is a very special initiative, a special side of the film industry that has decided to remain engaged in Kenya to reduce poverty. And this is something that should really be able to make things work, and to get others to follow this example.

26. You originally left Kenya fearing for your personal safety, after receiving warnings from colleagues and ministers that pursuing your line of questioning on the Anglo Leasing scandal was dangerous. Do you still feel unsafe? Are you still receiving death threats?

No, it goes up and down. I feel reasonably secure.

27. One last question. We have been hearing a lot of rumours - are there any plans in the works for a 2007 presidential campaign?

No, (laughs) I am a simple student at St. Anthony's College.

SPOTLIGHT STORY

Corruption in Kenya's National AIDS Control Council

By Amber Poroznik



The following is an excerpt from Transparency International's Global Corruption Report 2006, published in February 2006 by Pluto Press. Corruption in Kenya's National AIDS Control Council

Written by: Kipkoech Tanui and Nixon Ng'ang'a

HIV/AIDS is one of the biggest challenges facing the health sector in Kenya, and was declared a national disaster in 1999. The National AIDS Control Council (NACC) was set up later that year to coordinate the prevention and control of HIV/AIDS. Its role became even more critical when the current government placed at the centre of its 2003–07 development plan the goal of achieving 90 per cent awareness of the disease and its effects across society.

The NACC was given control over funds pooled under the Kenya HIV/AIDS Disaster Response Project (KHADREP), financed by the World Bank, the UNDP, and the UK and US development agencies. In the 2004–05 financial year, the NACC was allocated just under KSh4 billion (US \$41 million). The most significant portion of its budget is channelled into community-based organisations. It claims to have channelled KSh1.8 billion (US \$24 million) to community-based organisations during 2000–03.

The NACC was set up under the Office of the President (OP). However, a more natural home for it is the health ministry, which is also a recipient of large amounts of bilateral funding and runs the National AIDS and STD Control Programme (NAS COP). The choice of the OP as home for the NACC was made ostensibly out of the government's desire to control the sizeable budget it manages. The OP's record belies the wisdom of this decision, however. It has been the focus of some of Kenya's most egregious acts of corruption, often perpetrated by well-connected officials who have proved almost impossible for prosecutors to touch.

In April 2003, the OP was enveloped in scandal when it was revealed that the head of the NACC, Margaret Gachara, had been receiving a salary seven times what she should have been entitled to as a senior civil servant. She had negotiated the salary based on a fraudulent letter from her previous employer that exaggerated her earnings there. Once in office, she raised her salary even higher than the already inflated amount she had been offered. In August 2003 she was ordered to refund US \$340,000 to the NACC.

Fears that the corruption did not end with her high salary were confirmed in April 2005 when a report by the Efficiency Monitoring Unit (EMU), also based in the OP, revealed that for years high-level public servants had used the NACC as their personal cash cow. There had been a number of early warning signals. An internal audit in June 2002 found irregularities in procurement procedures and in June 2003 the Global Fund to Fight HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria withheld a US \$15 million AIDS grant until the government addressed corruption in the NACC.

The 300-page EMU report revealed that Kenya could not account for KSh3.64 billion (US \$48 million) donated by the United Kingdom over five years since 2001. It put a figure of more than KSh37.3 million (US \$490,000) on the amount used by NACC employees to pay themselves inflated salaries and fraudulent allowances, such as the payment of private water, electricity, telephone and home security bills. The largest sum was the money embezzled by Gachara, but others were also involved, including eight permanent secretaries or their representatives, and NACC Chairman Mohammed Abdallah, who was charged with embezzlement but later acquitted due to 'lack of evidence'.

Corruption and HIV/AIDS

Even where money did find its way out of NACC to the community organisations it was intended to

support, the report into its use was damning. The EMU found that on a sample examination of the community-based organisations funded by the NACC, at least half of the money allocated has been squandered.

Investigators probed three of the 10 national NGOs funded by NACC and several provincial, district and constituency-level organisations. They found wanton theft of the NACC money granted to noble-sounding projects that turned out to be sham. The worst cases involved shell organisations purposely formed to cash in on the NACC windfall. The NACC itself had cracked down on some of the so-called 'briefcase' NGOs cited in the report, including the Neema Children's Centre in Nairobi. The NACC awarded Neema US \$14,000 out of a World Bank grant to finance grassroots work on HIV/AIDS. It was closed down in mid-2003 after inspectors could not find a single Neema worker or a single orphan who had benefited from the children's centre.

Money was squandered by almost all the AIDS Control Units (ACUs) formed in each ministry to sensitise staff to the disease. Grants were spent on needless seminars, usually involving the same participants. Of the US \$205,000 given to the Ministry of Agriculture, for example, more than 75 per cent was spent on staff accommodation, allowances and participation fees at various awareness-raising shows, the EMU report noted. Almost one-third of the amount spent was not accounted for and was presumed wasted. Investigations into the three national NGOs revealed similar misdeeds. Par Aid, a well-connected organisation based in Eldoret, received US \$100,000 for a proposal to study the efficacy of Par Aid herbal medicine in the treatment of HIV/AIDS infection.

The chairman of the Institutional Research and Ethics Committee at Moi Teaching Referral Hospital, which is part of Moi University, withdrew a letter approving the project because he was concerned that Par Aid was not serious about the study, but his decision was quickly overturned with no explanation given by the hospital's director. The study went ahead, and the EMU report found that most of the money was spent on trips to collect the medicine, or on fuel. The medicine that should have been used in free trials was sold to desperate patients, leading the EMU to conclude that Par Aid was conducting a profitable business with NACC funds.

Corruption in the case of the AIDS Prevention Forum of Kenya (APFK) is even more blatant. Also given US \$100,000 in NACC funds, its directors appear to have gone on a spending binge under the guise of organising seminars and workshops. EMU noted a claim by the organisation that it spent US \$16,000 hosting school pupils at a seminar in the Chania Tourist Hotel. The schools said to have been involved denied any knowledge of the activity and said some of the pupils alleged to have participated did not even exist. Similarly, hotels refuted several account entries, saying they were either paid considerably less, or did not host the seminars at all. For example, the Hotel Big Five in Homa Bay, which was said to have hosted 150 students at a cost of US \$6,200, consists of just 12 rooms and denied ever accommodating the group.

A number of APFK directors were simultaneously directors of the third NGO investigated, Technologies and Action for Integrated Development (Techno Aid), where similar practices were uncovered. Techno Aid claimed to have organised seminars and workshops for the same people as APFK, consulted academic experts who denied ever working for the NGO, and paid large bills to non-existent hotels. Both Techno Aid and APFK presented receipts for stationery from the University of Nairobi bookshop, which has disowned them as frauds.

The report points the finger of blame at the lax implementation of the NACC's own funding rules and, in the worst cases, outright collusion between crooked NGOs and NACC staff. In some cases the NACC continued to finance organisations even when its own officers had expressed concerns over the accounting for previous allocations. As isolated cases, the funds may seem petty especially when juxtaposed with the huge sums that HIV/AIDS attracts. But in their consolidated amounts, and if spent on effective prevention programmes, life-prolonging anti-retroviral drugs (ARVs) or income-generating activities for the affected and infected, the sums are significant.

The fight against HIV/AIDS in Kenya attracts massive funding. The Global Fund has promised US \$129 million over five years while the United States has pledged US \$115 million. Other donors who have responded to Kenya's appeal for more funds include UNAIDS (US \$15 million) for disease mitigation initiatives and the World Bank (around US \$658,000 on top of a 2004 grant of US \$4 million). The bulk of these funds go to NASCOP, which has also fallen under suspicion for failing to deliver results commensurate with its budget. If there were no leakage or inefficiencies in the use of NASCOP funds, they should be enough to provide ARVs to 200,000 of the 1.4 million Kenyans who are estimated to be infected with HIV. The real figures are scandalously small. By November 2004 only 24,000 people were reported to be on ARVs.

The EMU is based in the OP, and was created in response to donor pressure to contain corruption in the institutions they support. Every state institution is liable to be investigated by the unit, but given its scant resources – staffed by just 50 people – it opts to probe those with sizeable budgets, often guided

to them by rumours of sleaze.

The EMU is reputed to conduct thorough and impartial investigations. Its report, 'Financial Management Audit of the National AIDS Control Council (NACC) in the Office of the President' is the culmination of a two-year investigation.

The EMU has called on the Anti-Corruption Commission to investigate all the cases of fraud and abuse of office listed in the report. Gachara, the former NACC director, was sentenced in August 2004 to one year in prison on three counts of fraud and misuse of office. She was granted a presidential pardon in December 2004, along with 7,000 'petty offenders' who had stolen from various government offices. Her release was publicly decried.

In response to the report, the NACC claims to have hired auditors to probe the accounts of the NGOs it funds. It says it will release funds in tranches, conditional on proof that the previous allocation was properly utilised. It ordered 20 NGOs to refund money that was misappropriated, or face prosecution. At the time of writing none had refunded the money and none had been taken to court.

The role of constituency-based AIDS councils has also been bolstered in response to the scandals. These had already been given a larger role in resolving the Global Fund's concerns and now have responsibility to scrutinise the expenditure of NACC money. Many MPs – who are the patrons of their respective constituency councils – have welcomed moves in this direction and some have called for the NACC to be disbanded in favour of constituency-based AIDS management committees, citing bias in NACC decisions over which NGOs to fund. Whether this will help curb corruption is questionable, however. Civil society groups and the media have levelled accusations of favouritism in appointments to the constituency councils and in their decisions over the disbursements of funds.

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ONE YEAR LATER

TI Kenya has been following developments to this article closely. One year following the submission of this article for publication they released some alarming figures:

- In Kenya, 300 people die every day due to HIV/ AIDS, approximately 150,000 annually.
- Kenyan Ministry of Health and NACC estimate 250 people contract HIV/ AIDS every day.
- Currently 1.3 million infected.

Nixon Ng'ang'a spoke with the director of the National Aids Control Council (NACC) Dr. Patrick Orege and describes developments in the NACC one year later for the TI Kenya newsletter Adili, issue 74. (<http://www.tikenya.org/documents/Adili74.pdf>)

Ng'ang'a found that changes instituted by the NACC following the release of the report of the Efficiency Monitoring Unit (EMU) and the publication of the Global Corruption Report 2006 included:

- The NACC has worked to strengthen its procurement and finance sections, particularly the internal audit section where corruption was predominant, by hiring 10 auditors.
- 4 senior managers were fired.
- Kenya Anti-Corruption Commission is pursuing Dr. Margaret Gachara to return the surcharge of money she paid herself in salary, based upon a fraudulent letter from her former employer.
- KACC is asking for former senior managers to return the 20 million Kenyan Shillings (US\$256,000) paid out in irregular salaries.
- 6 cases of embezzlement of funds meant to reach community based organisations (CBO) are currently pending in court.
- 8 new staff were recruited to work at the NACC, with Price Waterhouse Coopers contracted to do the hiring. Staff to receive better remuneration and education/ sensitisation to corruption. Staff will now be "routinely taken through a 'risk management policy' designed to inculcate work ethics that include intolerance to corruption."
- Constituency based management councils set up to decide upon priority projects and oversee project funding. This is meant to eliminate corruption in project proposal and approval stages.
- NACC has set up guidelines the CBOs must follow to help prevent corruption through the use of front or ghost companies. First, the CBOs must have an accessible and prominently displayed notice board that lists all proposed projects and allocated funds. Moreover, CBOs must have a membership of between 18-21 people from all over the community, and have a documented existence of more than four years.

- NACC has developed a manual for use by CBOs on how the funds must be utilised and accounted for.
- Auditing of the NACC has been contracted out to a financial management agency. This cannot be judged especially positive as, the EMU believes this agency to have been complicit in the earlier corruption.

Despite the changes, it appears as though Nixon Ng'ang' remains doubtful these changes are enough to seriously address the issue. The main reasons for his scepticism are the following:

It will be difficult to know whether management prudence or accountability have increased without a follow up investigation of the same calibre as the original EMU.

Directors of some of EMU's well documented fraud organisations still free.

No minimum education qualifications for organisations receiving funds up to 7 million Kenyan Shillings (US\$90,000).

It is clear that further attention must be given to cleaning up the corruption in this institution, not just to ensure the transparent use of funds derived in many cases from donor governments and institutions, but to save lives. The NACC must function effectively to ensure that those who require treatment receive it, that anti-retroviral drugs reach the sick, and that the population at large receive the HIV/AIDS prevention education that the NACC was established to provide.

TRANSPARENCY & CULTURE

By Amber Poroznuk



The film *The Constant Gardener*, a political thriller based upon the novel by John Le Carré, tackles the corruption in the pharmaceutical industry, its devastatingly human effect on the African victims of trial drugs, and the complicity of the diplomatic world of the British High Commission. Filmed on location in Kenya, the film beautifully describes the love story of Tessa (Rachel Weisz) and Justin Quayle (Ralph Fiennes) and the pursuit of truth that spurs Quayle on to an emotional and global odyssey to expose corruption and the secrets it hides. Transparency International's Amber Poroznuk spoke with the film's producer, Simon Channing-Williams, in the first of a series of examinations of the interplay between corruption and culture

1. What makes *The Constant Gardener* interesting to Transparency International is its political dimension, namely the angle on corruption. What originally attracted you as a producer to this project? Did you hold any strong political beliefs as you began? Have your beliefs changed in any way as a result of your work on the film?

When I originally read the pre-publication draft of the book, what attracted me to it was the fact it was an angry book, a passionate book, on a subject which I believed to be pertinent and relevant then, and which I perceived would continue to be relevant for many years to come. And it still is. The research that we did showed that it was absolutely clear it was still going on.

Beyond that there was the love story, there was the thriller element. But mainly it was about a subject which I believe will resonate for years to come, and sadly that is true.

2. In which ways did corruption as the political background topic of the picture influence how much attention the movie got and how it was promoted?

The truth is, I don't think at all actually. We weren't pointing the finger at the Kenyan government. If anything, it was simply pointing the finger at the UK government for being complicit in this. What is so interesting now is the fact that John Githongo, who used to be the anti-corruption tsar under Kibaki, had to leave Kenya for fear of his life, because he was exposing corruption at the very highest levels...

*And the brilliant thing from our point of view is that **John Githongo is a trustee on the Constant Gardener Trust**, and we are very proud of that: we are delighted to have him as a trust member. Equally so with Sir Edward Clay, the past British High Commissioner in Nairobi who retired last year, and who still fights the World Bank giving loans to Kenya until they sort their act out. Sir Edward Clay and John Githongo are voices that need to be heard at the moment, and need to be listened to.*

*The movie was treated as a feature film, which is what it was. It was made as entertainment, but **entertainment with a bias towards a truth**. What I found interesting is that there were two or three articles along the way, which I felt were possibly politically or corporately written with a view to slugging the film off, that we were misrepresenting the situation, but those were few and far between. On the whole, we were treated as we wanted to be treated, which was as a serious, commercial film.*

3. Bob Geldof visited Transparency International in Berlin recently to speak with the staff on the necessity of fighting corruption to help beat poverty. He stated that it had been a mistake to concentrate on economists and not on culture, because "culture plays more into corruption than anything else." Geldof would say that his experience has been to fight poverty using music. Do you think the popular aspect of culture, i.e. music, films and art can further a political cause, and do you see this as being effective?

*That is a very difficult, yet very pertinent question. I believe absolutely what Geldof says... **So our feeling is very much that film, music, the arts in general can unite people in a way that perhaps other well-intentioned mediums cannot.***

4. As a producer, do you see a trade-off between entertainment and advocacy? Is it a concern that politically-focused films will suffer at the box office?

Well, I have already said that for me, this is entertainment in the first position, but based upon a truth. Is there a trade-off? I hope not. I hope you can be entertaining and truthful at the same time. I would hate to think that you were giving a political message through film that was blatantly and obviously untrue. Now that accusation has, of course, been put to Michael Moore for the film that he did, Fahrenheit 9/11, and I think your readers should take an opinion on that.

5. What can Hollywood do to help resolve political issues, such as the problem of corruption in the pharmaceutical industry portrayed in *The Constant Gardener*? More specifically, has there been any sort of follow-up by the cast, crew, or civil society groups to build upon the momentum of the film to deal with the issue of corruption in the pharmaceutical industry?

*I am not really certain what Hollywood can do to resolve political issues. I want to entertain, but I want to entertain on my own terms. I don't want to make blockbuster Hollywood films: nothing I have done has been a blockbuster Hollywood film. With *The Constant Gardener* we very consciously kept it a British independent film. It was one of the things I promised John Le Carré when he allowed me to take the rights for the film: that we would remain a British independent project. I would like to think that *The Constant Gardener* has in some way highlighted - pinpointed - corruption's malpractices, perhaps in a way which we don't even understand. I can't say that we are directly responsible, but I would like to think that in making the film, we might have had some small opportunity of bending in the air here or there **which might have made a difference, even though this is not what we have set out to do.***



What we have done is to create the Constant Gardener Trust. The website is www.constantgardenertrust.org. As a group we were very determined. We were filming in some very big open areas - the slum of Kibera - which has one million people living in it. There is no running water, no electricity, no sanitation, or very little. With the help of Marius Zvan, the boss at Blue Sky Films, I went to see the various community leaders. We decided we were not going to pay elders, community chiefs and leaders fees for where we were filming. But we would propose that we put the whole of the location fee into building projects that would benefit the whole community.

So in Kibera, we built a bridge over a river which is, in less pleasant terms, an open sewer. And then we built a ramp, that was essentially a temporary construction for the film, which we have now decided to build permanently.

Beyond that, we have put in three 10,000 litre water tanks. We have put in three sets of showers and toilets, and a fourth 10,000 litre water tank and a fourth set of showers will go in before Easter. When I go back next week, work will have already started on that.

For me, it is a question of making sure that none of the money is being ill-spent, and that savings that are made. The building process is very rigorously overseen.

We have additionally built a new classroom in a primary school that had holes in its roof. It was in an absolutely appalling state, absolutely appalling. But we have put in 60 double desks and a new blackboard, and now it is a nice, light, airy classroom for 60 primary school kids.

Then when we went north, 600 kilometers north of Nairobi, to the most inhospitable terrain imaginable. They don't have secondary schools in the country. There is a primary school which takes kids up to 11, and what they wanted was a secondary school. So part of what we did was to agree with everybody that our facility fee for filming up there, would go into the building of secondary schools. And that for every single person that we used [on the film] - about five or six thousand man days, as extras and as builders and local craftsmen - 50 Kenyan Schillings, the equivalent of 30 pence or 50 cents, would be deducted and paid into the secondary school fund. That would **ensure that every single person who worked on the film really felt that they had some sense of purpose** about what they were doing, and that they were really a part of building the new school. Beyond that, we have raised money through the charitable trust to build the secondary school.

I will return there in the middle of March, where I will actually open with the education people, a secondary school in Loiyangalani. And it will be fantastic, because it will be the only one for many hundred kilometres. And the government is putting in a headmaster. Twenty-three boys and five girls have turned up, and we have built dormitories for them. It has running water and a septic tank.

6. What has the response been from the pharmaceutical industry to the film?

There is a sort of dignified but stuffy silence in the main. Apart from that, there are the corporate slings and arrows which have come in our direction saying that the film is actually a pile of rubbish.

7. Part of *The Constant Gardener* was filmed in Kenya, arguably one of the most corrupt countries in the world. Were you, or any of the cast or crew, asked for a bribe while on site in Kenya? Did you come face to face with corruption personally in the making of the film?

Yes, I am sure that to a large extent that is true. Having said that, we were treated with due respect, and were helped by four specific ministers to get us filming over there. And no, we were never asked for a bribe in Kenya. And I have to say that none were offered either, at any level. We were asked to come up with more money for things, but nobody ever said, "This will not happen unless you come up with x".
Palms were greased, but no more than palms would be greased over here.

8. If your next film had to have the same type of socially conscious angle as *The Constant Gardener* but you were able to choose the issue, what would it be? In other words, what is the next story that needs to be told?

I have no idea whether I should actually tell you this, because it is a film we are probably going to make, and I don't want to blow it out of the water.

Simon Channing-Williams has produced a number of independent films, most recently the adaptation of John le Carré's *The Constant Gardener* directed by Fernando Meirelles and starring Ralph Fiennes and Rachel Weisz. In his 20-year career as an independent producer, Channing-Williams has produced 21 feature films and 13 hours of television drama, nearly half of which with director Mike Leigh of Thin Man Films. His films have won acclaim and honours around the world including two American Academy Awards, several BAFTAs, the Cannes Palme d'Or and the Venice Golden Lion. Simon Channing-Williams co-founded Potboiler Productions in 2000.

Mr. Channing-Williams has also been instrumental in establishing the **Constant Gardener Trust**, a charity committed to improving living conditions in many Kenyan communities. To read more about their work, please see the website: www.constantgardenertrust.org.

CORRUPTION Q & A



The U4 Helpdesk, located at the TI Secretariat in Berlin, provides expert answers to questions regarding corruption. Here they put the relationship between corruption and HIV/AIDS into context.

Corruption and HIV/AIDS

Question: Is corruption in HIV/AIDS different from corruption in the health sector generally?

Answer: Corruption in HIV/AIDS does not seem substantially different from between corruption and the health sector generally. They share the same major sources of corruption: procurement in health infrastructure, misuse of public funds intended to be spent on health, and informal payments by patients to health workers for services supposed to be free. These forms of corruption are facilitated by corrupt administration, poor or inexistent monitoring mechanisms, and weak enforcement of regulations in the health sector.

What *is* different, however, is the scale of the HIV/AIDS epidemic: its mode of transmission, the stigma attached to the disease, the absence of a cure and its projected negative impact on the development prospects of some of the poorest nations.

Furthermore, AIDS can be prevented, and the suffering from the effects of an HIV infection or AIDS can be alleviated effectively, provided that, among other factors, the health system is free of corruption and other malpractices.

This means that corruption can occur in the prevention stage of HIV infections as well as in the treatment of HIV/AIDS as a disease.

Issues relating to corruption in the prevention of HIV infections:

- **Misappropriation of funds earmarked for public education and awareness raising:** Levels of new HIV infections are believed to be significantly reduced through comprehensive awareness-raising campaigns highlighting the sources of transmission and detailing how people can protect themselves and others from infection. However, the effectiveness of this approach can be seriously hampered by corruption, or by misappropriation of funds earmarked for prevention campaigns (as appears to have been the case in Kenya).
- **Standards of healthcare:** HIV/AIDS can be prevented through the exclusive use of sterile needles and surgical equipment, and the screening of blood and plasma donations. While relatively low-cost, these measures are sometimes ignored by health workers, who either do not have the means to sterilise equipment in line with medical standards (due, for example, to a corrupt procurement and/or distribution process), or who use non-sterile equipment as an additional source of income (demanding illicit payments from patients, or claiming money for the purchase of new equipment but diverting the money from its intended use).

Issues relating to corruption in the treatment of HIV/AIDS:

- **Misappropriation of funds earmarked for treatment:** Misappropriation of funds earmarked for HIV/AIDS treatment can happen on both the petty (small) and the grand (large) scale, with actions ranging from corruption in allocation of contracts for the building of new centres to corruption in procurement of medicines. In Zimbabwe, the director of the National Network for People Living with AIDS was found guilty, in 2002, of topping up his salary with funds misappropriated from the network. In 2003, the director of Kenya's National Aids Control Council was dismissed following similar allegations.

- **Misappropriation of medication:** The comparatively expensive nature of HIV/AIDS medication makes it vulnerable to the corrupt diversion of drugs. The market for counterfeit drugs (the replacement of genuine drugs with medically ineffective substances such as sugar) and the simple theft of drugs are rife. Re-sale in the industrialised world of HIV/AIDS drugs obtained at preferential prices in developing countries (as in Uganda), undermines the availability and effectiveness of treatment and hurts those unable to afford treatment at increased prices.
- **Request for illicit payments for treatment:** Corruption in healthcare often takes the form of health care professionals requesting informal payments and bribes for the delivery of services supposed to be free of charge. In the case of HIV/AIDS, this can include the administration of drugs, counselling and testing, and the quality and availability of treatment for both HIV/AIDS and related diseases.

Corruption can impede on the effectiveness of HIV/AIDS prevention and treatment in a variety of ways. However, it is not necessarily among the prime causes for the spread of the disease, since countries like Botswana, where corruption is comparatively less prevalent than in the rest of Africa, are nevertheless among those most affected by HIV/AIDS.

Yet, Botswana is also the African country commended by the United Nations AIDS program for its effectiveness in addressing the disease, through efforts to prevent transmission from mother to child, and by making drugs available. Though this is not sufficient to suggest a link between low levels of corruption and the effectiveness of a national response to HIV/AIDS (which will depend on a variety of factors), the effectiveness of public service delivery more generally does depend on the extent to which corruption is perceived to exist.

This information comes from the U4 Helpdesk expert queries; it has been edited for this newsletter. To read the full response or view other questions and answers, please see: <http://www.u4.no/Helpdesk>

ANTI-CORRUPTION WORK AROUND THE WORLD

In Azerbaijan, Advocacy and Legal Advice Centre reduces extortion from prostitutes

By Amber Poroznuk, Rena Safaraliyeva



In Azerbaijan, prostitution is not a criminal offence, yet prostitutes are often asked for bribes by policemen and other public officials. Part of the problem is that, while prostitution itself is not an offence under the Criminal Code, the dissemination of venereal diseases is. Those suspected of disseminating venereal diseases are detained by police officers and sent for a medical examination at the High Security Venereal Diseases Hospital (Ramany).

With no clear legal criteria on how to determine suspects, police officers frequently threatened to take women working the streets and night bars to Ramany on suspicion of this crime. The hospital's "high security" status meant that it was guarded by security forces, creating an intimidating and frightening atmosphere for the women, and making it easier for police to keep them there by force, although women were forced to sign a document attesting that they had come of their own will.

The threat of the high security hospital was more often used to extort large sums of money than to bring cases based upon substantive evidence. If the prostitutes refused to pay the police directly, they were brought to the hospital for examination; at this point, the amount of the bribe would skyrocket as doctors also became involved in the extortion. In such a system, women were rightly concerned that their medical records would be falsified (affecting their ability to continue working) or that they would be forced to pay more bribes for 'medical treatment'. The prostitutes, largely unaware of specifics of this legislation and their legal rights, felt helpless in the face of corruption.

Transparency Azerbaijan's Advocacy and Legal Advice Centre (ALAC) provides a forum to provide legal advice and follow up complaints of corrupt activities.

On 27 July 2005, a woman came to ALAC in Baku and complained of the corrupt behaviour of police officers who had detained her and a friend in the street, fined them for prostitution (which, while not a criminal offence, can be charged under the Administrative Code, carrying a fine of \$10 to \$50), and brought them to the Ramany hospital for examination. The women claimed they were forced to pay a bribe to the chief doctor in exchange for their release from the hospital.

The relevant legislation states that no one can force a medical examination on suspects unless they are implicated in the complaint of someone reporting a disease, or if something is found by a doctor during a regular medical examination. In this case, the police charged the women with disseminating venereal diseases and detained them at the hospital for enforced treatment, something well beyond their authority.

Upon hearing the complaint, ALAC sent letters to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Ministry of National Security and the Prosecutor General. Although the official response of the Ministry of Internal Affairs was that the police acted within the limits of the law, ALAC's intervention sparked a number of changes. At the request of the Prosecutor General, the Minister of Health removed Ramany's high security status, reducing the opportunity for extortion.

In addition to demonstrating to those who feel powerless that it is possible to fight back, this will eventually contribute towards improved treatment of venereal diseases (and potentially HIV/AIDS) as they come to be seen as medical and social problems rather than merely breeding grounds for corruption.

ANTI-CORRUPTION WORK AROUND THE WORLD

Preventing Corruption in Disaster Relief and Reconstruction

By Nikola Sandoval, Andrea Santoyo



On 8 October 2005, a devastating earthquake struck northern Pakistan, killing at least 73,000 people, severely injuring another 70,000 and leaving 2.8 million without shelter. The same month, on the other side of the globe, Hurricane Stan hit Guatemala, leaving 474,821 victims in its wake - four percent of the population. The financial impact of the disaster was estimated at US\$ 983 million.

International donors led a generous outpouring of support, pledging more than US\$ 6 billion toward relief and reconstruction efforts in Pakistan alone.

Disaster situations such as this - with immense pressure to respond quickly, combined with large and rapid influxes of aid money - increase the risk of corruption in assistance and reconstruction efforts. It may take the form of diversion of relief supplies from affected communities, inequitable distribution of aid, or corruption in the procurement of infrastructure.

Conscious of these concerns from their involvement in Indian Ocean tsunami - related assistance projects, Transparency International and its national chapters saw the need to act quickly to ensure transparency following the earthquake in Pakistan and hurricane in Guatemala to minimise the risk of corruption and ensure that desperately needed aid reached its intended beneficiaries.

In Pakistan, TI and its national chapter convened a workshop to support transparency measures and curb the risk of corruption, mismanagement and waste in the country's reconstruction efforts. Held in Islamabad on 7-8 February 2006, the event was opened by H.E. Shaukat Aziz, Prime Minister of Pakistan. It brought together participants from key government agencies, donors and civil society, as well as international experts in disaster relief. The discussions built on lessons learned from previous natural disasters - including the tsunami and the Gujarat earthquake. It followed an April 2005 regional meeting on corruption prevention in tsunami relief organised by TI with the Asian Development Bank and OECD's Anti-Corruption Initiative for Asia and the Pacific.

The workshop produced concrete recommendations for a framework of good practice and stakeholder responsibilities. The recommendations focused on the importance of participatory decision making, transparency and monitoring of aid flows, monitoring and evaluation of procurement and service delivery, and effective enforcement and complaint-handling mechanisms.

In Guatemala, Acción Ciudadana, a Transparency International national chapter in formation, signed with the Guatemalan government the Integrity and Access to Information Governmental Agreement on the National Reconstruction Programme Execution. This measure assures that the government will provide easier, broader and unrestricted access to public information. Accountability actions are being promoted to contribute to transparency in the use of resources in the reconstruction following Hurricane Stan.

Acción Ciudadana will develop a social audit on the reconstruction, with the goal of an independent transparency evaluation on expenditures and public investment. The main strategy will be to build the capacity of society to monitor reconstruction through departmental networks and social municipal audit commissions led by the affected communities.

For further details on the work of TI Pakistan on disaster relief and reconstruction please contact Syed Adil Gilani, TI Pakistan at: adil.gilani@gmail.com or Nikola Sandoval at the TI Secretariat: nsandoval@transparency.org

For further information on the work of the national chapter in formation in Guatemala, please go to: www.accionciudadana.org.gt

ANTI-CORRUPTION WORK AROUND THE WORLD

Political Finance and Elections in the Americas

By Andrea Santoyo, Olwen Atanackovic



From the end of 2005 and throughout 2006, elections are being held in 18 countries in the Americas. Elections present both a tempting opportunity for corruption in political party finance and an opportunity for new leaders to make the problem of corruption a focus of their campaign and administration, and thus effect real change. Transparency International chapters throughout the region intend to use this election year to carefully monitor political finance.

A key element relating politics to corruption is the money that pours into electoral processes and campaigns. In many cases, individuals, organisations and businesses contribute money to political candidates, expecting to win contracts, political positions or policy favours in return for their financial backing. In others, governments often unlawfully use public resources to influence election results in favour of their party's candidates.

As some politicians have already experienced, confronting the corruption problem and its inherited bad practices goes beyond political speeches and expressing good intentions. For example, Brazil's government under Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva won election over the incumbent by promising ethical politics, but has since been tarnished by successive Brazilian Labour Party (PTB) scandals. Many similar cases can be found throughout the region.

Some countries in the region have reformed their electoral financing laws and introduced norms to make campaign finance information public. A report on party and election accounts has been required in Paraguay since 1990. Since 1994, Colombian political parties must submit accounts annually, and report separately on elections.

Poder Ciudadano, TI's National Chapter in Argentina, has a long record of devising projects on political finance issues. An outstanding example is agreements between electoral candidates and civil society organisations to voluntarily render accounts on campaign finance. These 'transparency pacts' are monitored through independent estimates of campaign expenditures on media advertising.

This process does not depend on a legal framework with advanced transparency requirements. Critical to its success is convincing politicians to undertake the challenge and render accounts voluntarily. Another core issue is the feasibility of independently assessing campaign expenditures.

Transparency pacts, in combination with estimates of media expenditure, have been successfully replicated in Latin America and Eastern Europe.

Other national chapters have also taken measures to keep an eye on election campaigns. TI Costa Rica launched a programme to monitor electoral propaganda and financial information during this year's elections. Transparencia por Colombia is promoting transparency in the parliamentary and presidential elections this year. They have developed the website votebien.com which contains the most recent information on curricula vitae, proposals made by candidates and campaign finances. They have also developed a tool that facilitates the monitoring of campaign income and expenses.

The TI Latin America and the Caribbean network (TILAC) launched the Disclosure of Political Finance in Latin America (DPFLA) regional project in October 2005. Designed in partnership with the Carter Center, it is a way to assess the degree of transparency in political financing. In its first phase, which runs until January 2007, eight Latin American countries will be participating: Argentina, Colombia, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay and Peru. The project's findings will be used to advise key players (such as governments, political parties, and watchdog groups) on how to foster transparency in their electoral and party financing systems.

Nevertheless, there is still work to be done in the area of transparency in campaign finance. Half of the Latin American countries have not yet set a limit on private financing for electoral campaigns. Some countries still face tasks such as balancing equity and integrity with the demand for resources to finance political competition.

CORRUPTION IN THE NEWS

Against the grain: Australia's Cole commission

By Olwen Atanackovic



Asking "Where's the outrage?" in an opinion piece in *The Australian*, Mary Kissel points out that, "While the rest of the world seems to have forgotten about the UN's Oil for Food scandal, the Lucky Country [Australia] is in uproar over the US\$ 100 billion fraud."

Australia's Cole Commission inquiry, which kicked off in January 2006 and whose investigation is ongoing, is currently the key story keeping the Oil for Food affair in the international eye.

The Volcker report, published in October 2005, revealed the involvement of more than 2,200 companies in the payment of bribes and kickbacks to Saddam Hussein's regime during the programme, which ran from 1996 to 2003.

According to the *Financial Times*, Australia has granted the Cole Commission authority to investigate claims originating in the Volcker report that AWB, Australia's monopoly wheat exporter, secured imports in Iraq via the payment of US\$ 221.7 million to a Jordanian front company that channelled these funds directly to Saddam Hussein.

The question being unravelled by the Commission is the level of knowledge among Australian government officials and AWB executives that these payments were either kickbacks or illegal under UN-imposed sanctions. *AFP* reported that the Federal government maintained that it had no proof that AWB was paying kickbacks until the appearance of the Volcker report.

As the *Sydney Morning Herald* and other national dailies report on the commission's scrutiny of increasingly senior government officials such as Trade Minister Mark Vaile and Foreign Minister Alexander Downer, no one has yet admitted to impropriety or culpability.

AWB's share price and the future of Australia's wheat export contracts with Iraq represent the most serious fallout of the commission to date. *The Australian* reported that AWB stocks are down 40 percent since the inquiry began, whilst an article in the *Sydney Morning Herald* outlined how the corruption allegations have thwarted the closure of a deal between Australian grain growers and Baghdad.

In the midst of the scandal's impact on business, the *Centre for Australian Ethical Research* (CAER) issued a report throwing light on the country's corporate culture. It revealed that only half of Australia's top 100 companies have policies prohibiting bribery. This figure compares unfavourably to the UK, where 92 percent of companies explicitly prohibit bribe giving and receiving, the United States (80 percent) and Europe (91 percent).

Noteworthy also is that the Australian stock exchange (ASX) currently does not include corruption in its Principles of Good Governance and Best Practice. The Principles demonstrably influence the issues included in public company statements of ethics.

The inquiry continues in Sydney.

For a direct link to the Cole Commission's webpage, please go to:

[http://www.ag.gov.au/agd/WWW/UNOilForFoodInquiry.nsf/\(Home+Only\)/HOME](http://www.ag.gov.au/agd/WWW/UNOilForFoodInquiry.nsf/(Home+Only)/HOME)

CORRUPTION IN THE NEWS

Hamas wins election in Palestine on anti-corruption platform

By Olwen Atanackovic



In early January, *Haaretz* reported that Fatah's election campaign in the Palestinian Authority opened with a pledge to fight corruption. Hamas did not attempt to disguise their harder line tendencies, broaching the same issue with a TV campaign ad featuring the word 'corruption' exploding into flames, according to the *Los Angeles Times*.

As exit polls provided initial indications of Hamas's election victory on 26 January, a commentator from the *IRNA* remarked, 'When Yasser Arafat died last year, he left a very noticeable legacy: widespread corruption and mismanagement in the government that he led'. This did not go unnoticed: in a survey of Palestinians, *The Palestinian Chronicle* found that "24 percent believe corruption and lack of reforms is the serious problem confronting the Palestinians today".

The *Christian Science Monitor* referred to the result as 'a sweeping mandate to root out public vice', reflecting public frustration with Fatah in a territory that has received over US\$ 5 billion from foreign investors and donors in the past five years, yet squanders an estimated US\$ 200 million a year through maladministration and dodgy dealings. When *The Australian* published the results of the first post-election poll, it backed up the media consensus that most of those (43 percent) who voted for Hamas did so hoping for an end to corruption.

Following the election win, the key issue for the new government appears to be securing future aid flows as the Palestinian Authority faces financial pressure from Israeli sanctions. Nonetheless, *AMIN* reports that Hamas has been focusing its attention on domestic issues, such as "ending lawlessness, ensuring greater respect for the rule of law, fighting corruption, and reforming Palestinian governance". Further, the *Jerusalem Post* and the *Christian Science Monitor* reported that the Palestinian Attorney General had begun post-election investigations into embezzlement and graft, indicating a positive start to addressing corruption.

The Hamas victory in Palestine not only has political repercussions within the Middle East; it may have direct corruption-related repercussions in neighbouring Arab counties, notably Jordan. The *Boston Globe* has reported that the Jordanian Islamic Action Front has been "boldly breaking with the gentlemen's rules of Jordanian politics, under which opposition parties never directly criticise the monarchy, nor point out government corruption". This change of attitude has been attributed to the so-called "Hamas Effect" and their desire to change the status quo within the Palestine Authority.

CORRUPTION IN THE NEWS

Kenya's Anglo Leasing scandal

By Olwen Atanackovic, Johanna Joerges



John Githongo, speaking in an interview with *The New York Times* on 18 March 2006, commented, "What's special about Africa's corruption is the starkness of the inequality...just how extreme the divide is between those who have and those who don't". The situation is particularly stark in Kenya. The worst drought in decades threatens famine in parts of the country, whilst Kenyan leaders stand accused of stealing millions in funds that could have been used to alleviate such problems (*The Guardian*).

The founder of Transparency International's Kenyan chapter is the catalyst behind the exposure of continuing corruption in a government whose current president, Mwai Kibaki, vowed to root out graft when he came to power in 2002. When Githongo was appointed to investigate corruption, it appears that the government underestimated how seriously he would take his job.

In January 2005, Githongo resigned from his post and went into exile in England, taking with him 'crucial papers relating to tens of millions in corrupt deals', according to the *BBC*. He then compiled a dossier detailing his anti-corruption investigations, leaked to the press in January of this year. The dossier contained details of more than US\$ 1 billion in fraudulent government deals.

Some of these sums relate to allegations dubbed the 'Anglo Leasing affair', described by the *BBC* as government money that 'was being paid to companies that exist or to others which were massively overpricing their contracts'. This cash was supposedly given to business figures close to the government, who re-directed a portion of it back to the ruling elite for political campaigning.

Africa Confidential reports that this has since caused the loss of three ministers, shattering the 'Mount Kenya Mafia' surrounding Kibaki. *The Independent* writes that this is the first time that graft allegations have claimed such high level figures. *The Guardian* writes that Kenya's former anti-corruption chief has done his country a service by revealing evidence of a multimillion-pound scam allegedly involving senior government figures'.

The US and the UK have placed travel restrictions on Kenyan figures implicated in the fraud allegations, and the World Bank froze aid to the country in the wake of the scandal, outlining a list of conditions to be met before aid will be reinstated.

Parliament was reopened on 21 March following a five-month recess. *The Standard* reported that in his address, Kibaki 'warned corrupt individuals not to test the Government's resolve to fight graft, saying the institutions put in place were alert and would spare no one.' On 7 March, *The Independent* carried a report that the Kenyan government had hired the London-based advertising agency Saatchi & Saatchi to mastermind its nationwide anti-corruption campaign.

The *Kenya Anti-Corruption Commission* (KACC) under Aaron Ringera has interviewed Githongo in London and is continuing investigations in Kenya on behalf of the Kenyan government, reported *The Standard*. On 18 March, Githongo stated in *The New York Times* that only about 30 percent of the extent of corruption in Kenya has yet been revealed, and he is now pushing British officials to investigate the involvement of British businessmen in suspect contracts (*The Guardian*).

Githongo's efforts have ensured that corruption is placed firmly on the political agenda for the Kenyan presidential elections in 2007. He has demonstrated resolve that any pledges to tackle corruption should move beyond rhetoric and into concerted actions. As he says in *The New York Times* interview, "We need to get our act together."

NEWS FROM THE ANTI-CORRUPTION MOVEMENT

Co-founder of Transparency International - Malaysia, **Tunku Abdul-Aziz**, was appointed as UN Ethics Advisor 23 February 2006. Mr. Abdul-Aziz will advise on the establishment of a United Nations Ethics Office, including the set-up, operating procedures and staff recruitment.

The Rev. **Geo-Sung Kim**, secretary general of Transparency International-Korea and member of the TI Board of Directors, was awarded the Moran Medal of the Order of Civil Merit from the Korean government for his contributions to enhance transparency in Korea, specifically his role in increasing participation from all sectors of society in the K-PACT.

Transparency International-Kenya, together with the Kenya National Commission on Human Rights, released a report entitled ***Living Large: Counting the Cost of Official Extravagance in Kenya*** in January 2006. This report investigates the purchase of high-end, luxury vehicles by senior government officials in the first year of the NARC administration, naming and shaming government officials and detailing their vehicle expenditures.

The report focused on luxury cars, because they provide an obvious symbol of government waste: they are visible, expensive, unnecessary and serve the needs of a few individuals rather than the greater good. It is based on the premise: *"Until all necessities are accessible to all members of our community, no one should live in luxury using public resources"*.

Living Large shows the "opportunity cost" of corruption, that is the goods and services that could have been purchased with the money that was squandered – resources that might have otherwise helped alleviate poverty. For example, the equivalent of US\$ 12 million spent on luxury cars could have:

- Provided anti-retroviral treatment for an entire year for nearly 150,000 people living with HIV/AIDS;
- Provided 25,000 children with eight years of schooling.

To read the report in full, go to TI Kenya's website: <http://www.tikenya.org/>

The **Transparency International Pacific Regional Meeting** in Kokopo, Papua New Guinea on 11-12 March 2006, reaffirmed the need to promote good governance to successfully combat corruption, and asked that this to be given the highest priority by Pacific Governments, civil society organisations and citizens. To support the promotion of good governance, participants committed to focus their efforts on two main areas: anti-corruption education and ensuring transparency in upcoming elections in the region.

The participants committed themselves to develop and deliver on-going civic education to give children, young people and the wider community a greater understanding of the way their government systems should operate and their rights and roles in the governance process to combat corruption. Pacific TI national chapters have additionally agreed to concurrently run a regional anti-corruption essay competition for high schools.

With several Pacific countries facing elections in the near future, participants called on governments and electoral authorities to provide greater roles for partnerships with civil society to ensure that elections are conducted freely and fairly with accurate electoral rolls and well informed constituents. It was agreed that electoral agencies place greater focus on education of voters and intending candidates to address the issue of electoral bribery. Participants also called on all parties and independent candidates to publicly declare their policy platforms and to articulate what steps they will take to combat corruption.

Participants included the Pacific chapters of Transparency International, from Papua New Guinea, Fiji, Vanuatu, Solomon Islands, Australia and New Zealand, with observers from the Cook Islands and the Federated States of Micronesia and the TI Secretariat from Berlin. The offer from Transparency Solomon Islands to host the TI Pacific Regional Meeting in 2007 was warmly accepted.

On 13-14 March, **TI Malaysia** and **TI Indonesia** conducted **Capacity Building and Training Workshops** on the theme of promoting transparency and accountability in local government public procurement. The workshops aimed to introduce innovative mechanisms and tools to prevent corruption in local public contracting and procurement, and were as a part of a wider European Commission funded project. A similar workshop was held in Pakistan in September 2005. In Indonesia, participants representing local governments and civil society from five districts - Wonosobo, Mota Baru, Tanah Batar, Solok, and Tandgerang - gathered to discuss diagnosis and prognosis of local corruption. The final product of this project will be a handbook for civil society practitioners and local government public officials on how to ensure transparent and accountable public procurement. The handbook and the outcomes of the project will be shared at a regional workshop on 28-28 June in Bali, Indonesia. For more information, contact Project Manager Lisa Prevenslik-Takeda at: lptakeda@transparency.org

Transparency International-UK is currently working on a **defence project** to engage stakeholders in the defense and security sector to bring about change in a sector widely perceived to be one of the most prone to corruption. One objective of this project is to increase awareness of the existence of corruption in the defense and security sector, its negative effects, the factors that make this sector particularly vulnerable to corruption, and to work together with industry and governments to create change.

TI-UK has asked John Githongo, former Kenyan Secretary of State for Governance and Ethics, to conduct a series of interviews to raise the profile of the issue. Interviews will be conducted with reformist defense ministers (such as the Polish and Latvian defense ministers) and others (such as Lord Robertson, former NATO secretary general).

Look for more on this story in next month's *Transparency Watch*. For more details now, contact Dominic Scott at TI-UK: dominic.scott@transparency.org.uk

The Ministry of Internal Affairs of Moldova highlighted collaboration between themselves and **Transparency International-Moldova** in a **20 minute video for bringing corruption to light** in certain institutions, such as District Hall. For more information contact lilia@transparency.md.

Transparencia Paraguay presented the final report on the execution of the project "**Sworn declaration of public officials' goods**" in January 2006. This report is the result of a risk map assembled by the Paraguay chapter which identifies areas and procedures that are vulnerable to corruption. The declaration of goods aims to publicly establish levels of wealth for the purpose of comparing these levels before and after an individual has held public office.

The day of the presentation of the results, María del Pilar Callizo, President of Transparencia Paraguay, talked about the importance of transparency in the public officials' sworn declarations. After the presentation, the General Comptroller of the Republic, Octavio Airalde, publicly committed to take into account and apply Transparencia Paraguay's recommendations.

Transparencia Paraguay Recommendations

- Sign a Cooperation Agreement with the Public Function Secretary to establish a mechanism for updating data of active public officers and of those who have not yet presented their sworn declaration of goods.
- Promote the regulation of the National Constitution Article 104.
- Publicise through the media, and refer to the District Attorney, the names of those public officials who have not presented their sworn declaration of goods.
- Modify the required declaration form in order to obtain detailed information on the officials' wealth.
- Optimise with technical infrastructure, and strengthen the staff (officials and auditors) of the Public Sworn Declaration Management Area.
- Carry out verification and analysis of the officials' sworn declarations of goods.
- Promote the maintenance of the sworn declaration of goods database with digital technology.

To know more about the methodology and findings, please click here:
<http://www.transparencia.org.py/upload/files/INFORMEFINALPROYECTOCONTRALORIA.doc>

Transparency International- Macedonia celebrates the adoption of new **access to information legislation** by the Macedonia assembly on 25 January 2006. TI-Macedonia has been involved in the working group on this legislation with the Ministry of Justice since 2003.

In February 2006, TI Japan Deputy Director **Toru Umeda** published a **book on business ethics** in Japanese.

The National Youth Initiative Against Corruption in **Malawi** prepared a **whistleblower manual**, released in September 2005.

Four TI national chapters in Latin America have designated **new executive directors**. Cristhian Bahamonde, having worked at CLD (TI-Ecuador) for many years, was promoted to executive director in October 2005. In January 2006 Cecilia Blondet began as ED in Proetica (TI-Peru), and in February 2006 Jacqueline Plass took over in Chile and Margareth Florez in Colombia.

Past executive directors remain very much involved in the TI movement: Valeria Merino sits on both the TI and CLD Board of Directors, Laura Puertas (Peru) now sits on the TI Board of Directors and Rosa Inés Ospina remains involved in the Governing Council of Transparencia por Colombia.

New Transparency International national chapters, accredited in October 2005:

- TI Haiti
- TI Japan
- TI Pakistan
- TI Serbia

New Transparency International national chapters, accredited in November 2005:

- TI Niger
- TI Venezuela

New Transparency International national chapter, accredited in March 2006:

- TI Vanuatu

CORRUPTION QUOTES

KENYA; LIVING LARGE

"The Kibaki government had spent \$12.5 million on luxury cars, largely for personal use by top Kenyan officials. That is enough to pay for eight years of school for 25,000 children."

Baltimore Sun, 28 February 2006

UNITED NATIONS; OIL FOR FOOD

Ahmad Chalabi said, in reference to corruption of the Oil for Food program "I'd say the Iraqi people were violated once by Saddam and again by the international community ... Administrative corruption turned into a worse problem than the security crisis ... I call on the international community to be fair to the Iraqi people. My position is that we respect international resolutions but in return demand justice and accountability for those who stole Iraq's money".

Canberra Times (Australia), 10 March 2006

ZAMBIA

"I want to remind President Mwanawasa and government officials that they all swore to protect the laws of the country. Therefore, they must uphold the laws."

Prof Alfred Chanda, TI Zambia, 9 March 2006

KENYA

President Mwai Kibaki: "Those who seek to politicise the fight against corruption should know that it is not words that will eradicate the vice, but firm and determined actions such as we are taking. And for those who may be tempted to test our resolve, let them be warned that the institutions we have put in place are alert and will spare no one."

Andnetwork.com, 22 March 2006

VENEZUELA

Agustín Blanco Muñoz, political analyst and researcher at the Universidad Central de Venezuela (Central University of Venezuela) in regards to the sugar industry corruption scandal in Venezuela where over one million dollars (and potentially more) is missing:

"It was known since over a year ago, this shameless and open theft", commented Blanco Muñoz, but lamented; "here corruption doesn't overthrow governments."

<http://www.miami.com/mld/elnuevo/news/world/americas/13970004.htm>

(translated from Spanish)

INDIA; VOLKSWAGEN

Money flowed in allegedly only from India – 2 million euros to the firm of a consultant, with whom [Helmuth] Schuster reportedly did business. The government of the Indian state of Andra Pradesh thought it had secured a VW-factory with the money. The consultant has disappeared, the money also.

[Helmuth Wolfgang Schuster was the VW representative for India, Director of VW pension funds and Director of Human Resources for the VW-enterprise Skoda at the time of the affair in question.]


http://www.zeit.de/2006/09/dossier_09?page=1

(translated from German)

SOUTH AFRICA

In January, South Africa's *Business Day* reported that a new information technology system introduced by the metro police in Johannesburg is unexpectedly helping to curb police corruption...Brought in with

the aim of recovering more than R350m (c. US \$55 million) in unpaid traffic fines, the system utilises mobile technology to query a centralised database when police submit a query about a motorist's outstanding warrants of arrest or fines. If a motorist with outstanding warrants is not charged, then the system calls on the police officer to explain why no action was taken, reducing the potential for bribe giving and taking.

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COMING UP

Call for nominations: If you know of someone whose outstanding integrity, courage, honor, or commitment to the fight against corruption nominate them for a Transparency International Integrity Award. For more information on the guidelines for nominations, please see: <http://ww1.transparency.org/integrityawards/index.html>, or contact Sarah Tyler at styler@transparency.org. The deadline for nominations is 2 June 2006 at 17:00GMT.

April 2006

OAS: First Meeting of the Conference of the States Parties

First Meeting of the Conference of the States Parties within the Follow-Up Mechanism for the Implementation of the Inter-American Convention against Corruption (MESICIC) framework.

Date:

01-02 April 2006

Contact/Organiser:

OAS

Further information:

<http://www.oas.org/juridico/english/corevents.htm>

Place:

Washington D.C., USA

Responsible Reporting: Recent Trends towards CSR Accountability

This conference will provide the latest developments in CSR reporting and assurance, and offer a perspective on the views of stakeholders. It will explore issues such as the impact of CSR reporting, the drivers for CSR reporting, the trade-off between diversity and convergence in reporting formats, the identification of issues and indicators which are material to CSR performance and the efforts to ensure credibility of CSR reports.

Date:

03 April 2006

Organiser/Contact:

EU, DG Employment, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities: csr@cec.eu.int

Further information:

http://europa.eu.int/comm/employment_social/soc-dial/csr/060403_cover_en.html

Place:

Brussels, Belgium

World Economic Forum on Latin America

The event will bring together a select group of 250 leaders from business, government and civil society to identify the key regional priorities and to generate the insights necessary to develop pertinent strategic responses. Under the general theme of Building a Stronger Latin America in the Global Economy, the programme will focus on four core themes: Managing the Impact of Global and Regional Risks, Improving Competitiveness, Continuing the Integration Agenda and Re-evaluating the Investment Framework.

Date:

5-6 April 2006

Organiser/Contact:

World Economic Forum

Further information:

<http://www.weforum.org/site/homepublic.nsf/Content/World+Economic+Forum+on+Latin+America>

Place:

São Paulo, Brazil

Hong Kong Trade Ministerial Conference Outcomes: Implications for Poverty Reduction in SADC

This meeting intends to bring together experts and key stakeholders currently working on trade, poverty and sustainable development issues in SADC as they relate to WTO processes. The specific aims and objectives of the Seminar are (1) to review the outcomes of the Hong Kong Ministerial Conference as seen from different key stakeholders; (2) to ascertain to what extent the decisions contained in the Hong Kong Ministerial Conference Trade Ministers Declaration under agriculture, services, Non-market access (NAMA), HIV/Aids and the development package will impact on ongoing efforts on poverty reduction in SADC; (3) to review how effective and successful the strategies employed by different actors contributed to the success/failure of the Conference.

Date:

06-07 April 2006

Organiser/Contact:

SARPN: info@sarpn.org.za, +27 12 342 9499

Further information:

<http://www.sarpn.org.za/documents/d0001925/index.php>

Place:

Gauteng, South Africa

Transparency International Africa Strategy Retreat

Transparency International is meeting to develop a regional strategy for Africa

Date:

06-07 April 2006

Place:

Nairobi, Kenya

United Nations World Health Day

World Health Day. Transparency International will launch new webpages on corruption and health. See:

www.transparency.org

Date:

07April 2006

World Ethics Forum

Leadership, Ethics and Integrity in Public Life.

Together with the World Bank, IPE, founded to advance the thinking, discussion and implementation of global ethics, is responding to the growing crisis of integrity in world affairs by hosting the first World Ethics Forum in Oxford. It is designed for officials and advisors to national, sub-national and international governments, business professionals, scholars, ethics practitioners, civil society activists, academics, and public officials to reflect, facilitate and support critical thinking about the praxis of public ethics, to expose applied lessons about democratic governance processes and to help rebuild a sustainable future for an ethics culture.

Date:

09-11 April 2006

Contact/Organiser:

IPE, GIA, World Bank

Conference secretariat: iipe@iarf.net

Further information:

<http://www.iipe.org/worldethicsforum/>

Place:

Keble College, University of Oxford, UK

K-PACT International Forum

Building a Coalition for Anti-Corruption and Transparency in Society

Date:

10-12 April 2006

Place:

Seoul, Korea

African Union meeting

Date:

22-27 April 2006

Place:

Cairo, Egypt

World Bank-IMF spring meetings

Each spring, the IMF's International Monetary and Financial Committee and the joint World Bank-IMF Development Committee hold meetings to discuss progress on the work of the Fund and Bank. Plenary sessions of the IMF and the World Bank's Boards of Governors are only scheduled during the Annual Meetings in the autumn.

Date:

22-23 April 2006

Organiser/Contact:

IMF and World Bank Group

Further information:

<http://www.imf.org/external/spring/2006/index.htm>

Place:

Washington, USA

May 2006

Asian Development Bank 39th Annual Meeting

Annual meetings are statutory occasions for Governors of ADB members to provide guidance on ADB administrative, financial, and operational directions. The meetings provide opportunities for member governments to interact with ADB staff, NGOs, media, and representatives of observer countries, international organisations, academics and the private sector.

Date:

03-06 May 2006

Organiser/Contact:

ADB: annualmeeting@adb.org

Further information:

<http://www.adb.org/AnnualMeeting/2006/default.asp>

Place:

Hyderabad, India

Ethical Aspects of Management in Theory and Practice

This conference is about the relationship between economics, business economics or management studies, on the one hand, and ethics, on the other, with a focus on the ethical responsibilities arising from economic activity. The conference's focus will be on management practice, in particular on the ability of theories to contribute to problem specifications and solutions, on the one hand, and to management education, on the other. Anyone who is interested in this issue is welcome to attend our conference and to present a paper on this subject.

Date:

11-13 May 2006

Contact/Organiser:

Freie Universität Berlin: EAMTP@wiwiss.fu-berlin.de

Further information:

www.eamtp-conference.de

Place:

Berlin, Germany

African Development Bank Annual Meeting

The 2006 Annual Meetings of the Boards of Governors of the African Development Bank Group (African Development Bank, African Development Fund and Nigeria Trust Fund) will be held in Ouagadougou, capital of Burkina Faso. This year there will be joint ADB/ECA Annual Meetings Seminars, the theme of this year's seminars will be "Infrastructure Development and Regional Integration: Issues, Opportunities and Challenges".

Date:

17-18 May 2006

Organiser/Contact:

African Development Bank Group

Further information:

http://www.afdb.org/portal/page?_pageid=313,165588&_dad=portal&_schema=PORTAL

Place:

Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso

European Bank for Reconstruction and Development Annual Meeting

At the Annual Meeting, EBRD Governors representing member countries and institutions will chart the

Bank's strategic course for the coming years in the context of the five-yearly Capital Resources Review. In parallel, at the Business Forum, participants from government ministries, media, NGOs, as well as investors, corporate executives, and regional entrepreneurs will meet to exchange their own perspectives on the future of investment in the EBRD.

Date:

21-22 May 2006

Organiser/Contact:

EBRD

Further information:

<http://www.ebrd.com/new/am/>

Place:

London, U.K.

June 2006

deadline for Integrity Awards 2006 nominations

Call for nominations. If you would like to nominate someone to be honoured for their outstanding integrity, courage, honor, commitment to the anti-corruption movement, please contact Sarah Tyler at styler@transparency.org. For more information on the guidelines for nominations, please see: <http://ww1.transparency.org/integrityawards/index.html>. The deadline for nominations is 2 June 2006 at 17:00GMT.

WIDER Conference on Aid: Principles, Policies and Performance

Aid is one of the most challenging development issues facing the international community. This conference aims to discuss the emerging new policy agenda in development aid, review the progress achieved so far and identify the challenges ahead.

Date:

16-17 June 2006

Organiser/Contact:

World Institute for Development Economics Research (WIDER): aid-1@wider.unu.edu

Further information:

<http://www.wider.unu.edu/>

Place:

Helsinki, Finland

July 2006

Transparency for Better Governance: Third Regional International Conference of Administrative Sciences

The objectives of this conference are to explore and discuss whether, despite the diversity of projects and plans carried out to achieve good governance, there are principles, procedures and institutional requirements of transparency that could gain global acknowledgement and support. The following questions will be discussed: How to ensure access and openness in public governance? Do we need codes and/or laws for better administrative procedure and conduct by officials? What will best ensure a free but fair media? In what way can agencies for public accountability, as for example ombudsmen or state controllers, be strengthened and improved?

Date:

16 -20 July 2006

Organiser/Contact:

International Institute of Administrative Sciences: Véronique Fagel, fagel@iiasiisa.be

Further information:

<http://www.iiasiisa.be/>

Place:

Monterrey, Mexico

OAS: Sixth Meeting of the Committee of Experts

Sixth Meeting of the Committee of Experts of the Follow-Up Mechanism for the Implementation of the Inter-American Convention against Corruption

Date:

29-30 July 2006

Contact/Organiser:

OAS

Further information:

<http://www.oas.org/juridico/english/corevents.htm>

Place:

Washington D.C., USA

September 2006**2006 Annual Meetings of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank Group**

Each autumn, the Boards of Governors of the World Bank Group and International Monetary Fund (IMF) hold their Annual Meetings to discuss a range of issues related to poverty reduction, international economic development and finance. In addition to the meetings of the Boards of Governors, the Development Committee and the International Monetary and Financial Committee are officially convened.

Around these meetings, the Bank and the IMF organize a number of fora to facilitate the interaction of governments and Bank-IMF staff with non-governmental organizations (NGOs), journalists, and the private sector.

Date:

19-20 September 2006

Organiser/Contact:

IMF and World Bank Group.

http://www.singapore2006.org/sections/contact_us/contact.html

Further information:

<http://www.singapore2006.org/>

Place:

Singapore

Advancing Health Equity

The objective of this conference is to bring together researchers and practitioners, from both developed and developing countries, to analyse the causes and consequences of health deprivation and inequality, to examine patterns and trends in these outcomes, to evaluate alternative policy options and to identify future research directions.

Date:

29-30 September 2006

Organiser/Contact:

World Institute for Development Economics Research: Sherry-Anne Ruuskanen,

health06@wider.unu.edu

Further information:

<http://www.wider.unu.edu>

Place:

Helsinki, Finland

November 2006**12th International Anti-Corruption Conference**

"Towards a Fairer World: Why is corruption still blocking the way?" With billions of people still mired in poverty and delivery on the promises of many new governments and anti-corruption campaigns yet to materialise, it is time for the movement to ask itself some serious and probing questions. After nearly two decades of research, advocacy and reform, why is corruption still such a huge problem? There is an urgent need to reflect and regroup, to look beyond our traditional coalitions, to find new voices and new faces, to energise this vital fight, upon which justice and the welfare of the global community depends. The IACC provides an excellent context for an honest and rigorous examination of these questions, so that together we can move towards a fairer world.

Date:

15-18 November 2006

Contact/Organiser:

IACC Council and Transparency International

Contact: Roberto Perez-Rocha at rprocha@transparency.org

Further information:

<http://legacy.transparency.org/iacc/>

Place:

Guatemala City and Antigua, Guatemala

MASTHEAD

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