SECURITY ASSISTANCE MONITOR

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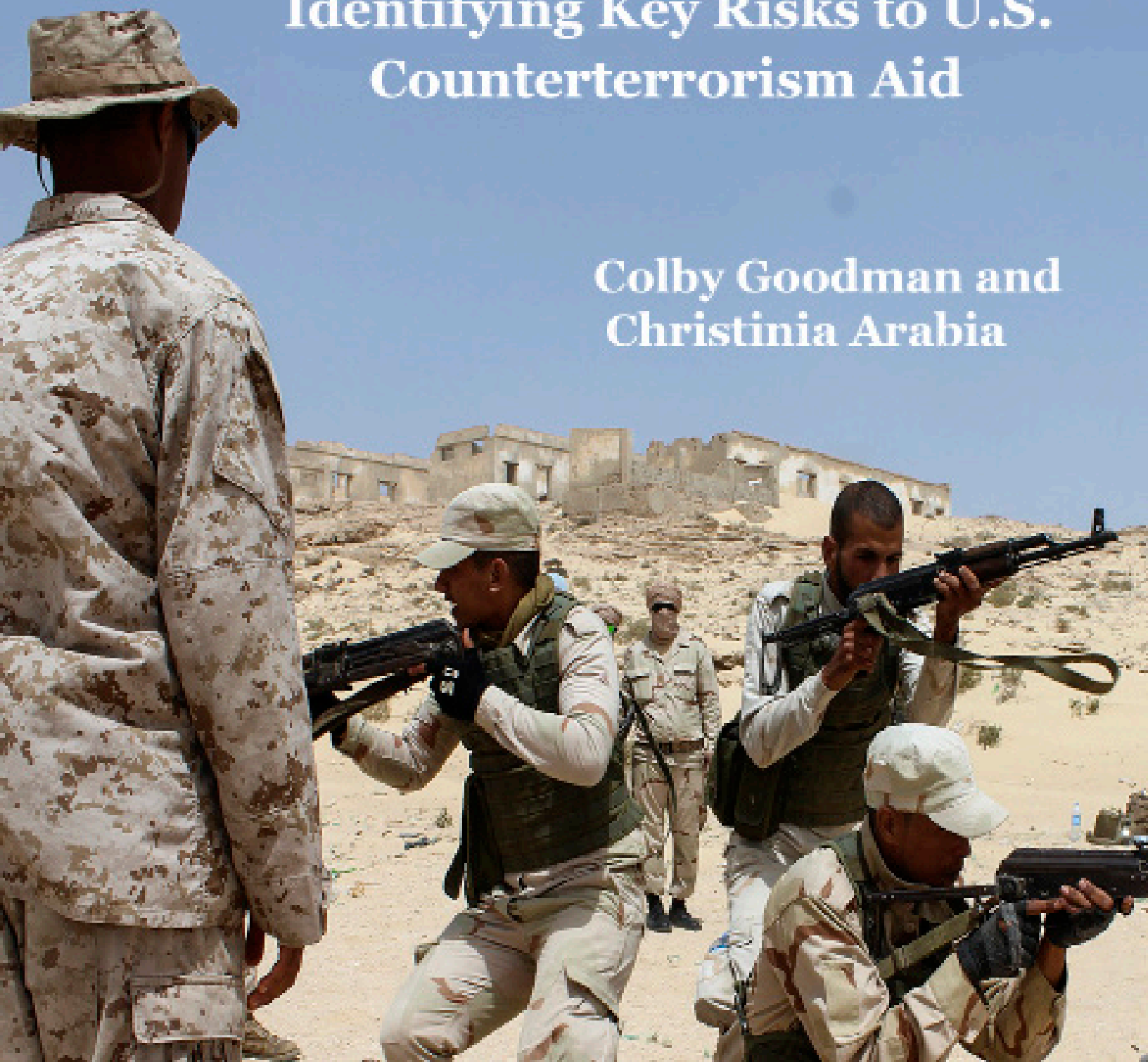
Corruption in the Defense Sector:

Identifying Key Risks to U.S. Counterterrorism Aid

Colby Goodman and Christinia Arabia



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The Security Assistance Monitor (SAM) is a program of the Center for International Policy focused on enhancing transparency and oversight of U.S. foreign security aid and arms sales. By providing comprehensive U.S. security assistance data and by conducting independent, data-driven research, we seek to inform and elevate the debate among civil society, journalists, scholars, and policy makers in the United States and abroad about the risks and best uses of U.S. security assistance to improve human security.

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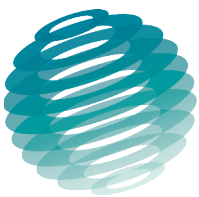

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Front Cover: A U.S. Marine rifleman observes Mauritanian Fusiler Marins practice movement formations (U.S. Marines Corp Photo)

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Executive Summary

As the United States enters its 18th year of the global war on terrorism, it is becoming increasingly clear that corruption is one of the most significant stumbling blocks in U.S. efforts to tackle terrorism around the world. In April 2014, Ret. Gen. John Allen, former commander of NATO International Security Force and U.S. Forces in Afghanistan, reportedly told a U.S. Senate subcommittee that "for too long we focused our attention solely on the Taliban as the existential threat to Afghanistan," but "they are an annoyance compared to the scope and the magnitude of corruption."[1] In a September 2017 report, the U.S. Special Inspector General for Afghan Reconstruction (SIGAR) describes some of the key corruption challenges the United States has faced in supporting Afghan military and security forces to combat the Taliban. These include their "participation in the drug trade, extortion, pay-for-position schemes, bribery, land grabbing, and selling U.S. and NATO-supplied equipment, sometimes even to insurgents."[2]

In the last 16 years, the United States has increasingly relied on U.S. grants of equipment, training, and advice to foreign military and security forces to help lead the fight against terrorist groups operating in all corners of the globe. From FY 2002 to FY 2016, the United States allocated approximately $265 billion in U.S. security aid to over 180 countries with a roughly estimated $125 billion of this amount focused on U.S. efforts to build the capacity of foreign military and police forces to address terrorism.[3] While this aid has attempted to support military and police forces to be an effective defense against terrorist threats, the United States has consistently encountered major challenges with foreign political leaders and military and police forces that have engaged in corrupt and predatory behavior. These actions have often been a significant barrier to efforts to reduce terrorist threats and in some cases actually contributed to increases in terrorist threats.

In Iraq, Mali, Nigeria, and Yemen, corruption was at the root of why U.S. supported military and security forces were often unable to effectively respond to terrorist threats. According to a report by Transparency International Defence and Security, corruption was behind "one of the most spectacular defeats of the 21st Century: 25,000 Iraqi soldiers and police were dispersed by just 1,300 ISIS fighters in the northern Iraqi city of Mosul in June 2014."[4] Instead of creating a military that was inclusive of the population, former Prime Minister Nuri al-Maliki "sought to cement his control over Iraqi political and military institutions by appointing officials loyal to him, frequently with Shia supremacist convictions."[5] Many of these military leaders were more interested in "amassing personal fortunes through corrupt practices, including through embezzlement of public resources and extortion of those under their command, than on maintaining an effective fighting force and assessing intelligence accurately."[6] As a result, the Iraqi military and security forces were unable to defend their citizens in Mosul and lost or diverted millions worth of U.S. weapons and equipment to the black market or ISIS fighters.

Corruption has contributed to the theft or major delay in critical equipment and support needed for soldiers on the front-lines battling Islamic terrorist or militant groups. As Nigerian soldiers engaged Boko Haram in 2013-2014, some Nigerian military officers reportedly "withheld ammu-

nition and fuel from frontline soldiers, leaving them with no alternative other than to flee when attacked."[7] In apparent frustrations with their commanders over the lack of equipment, some Nigerian soldiers even "fired on the car of the 7th Division commander, Major General Ahmadu Mohammed, whom they blamed for the deaths of fellow soldiers." In Mali, the U.S. military-trained Captain Amadou Sanogo led a contingent of green beret soldiers to overthrow the Malian President Amadou Toumani Touré based in part on frustrations with corruption within the military, including factional divisions and the theft of equipment and salaries.[8]

U.S. counterterrorism aid intended to strengthen U.S. partner efforts to combat terrorist groups has also had the unintended effect of fueling corruption and terrorist group activities and recruitment. In Mali, U.S. supplied training and equipment to the presidential guard or red berets likely played into factional divisions within the Malian military instead of helping create a more cohesive military community.[9] In the book "With Us and Against Us: How America's Partners Help and Hinder the War on Terror," Stephen Tankel describes how former President of Yemen Ali Abdullah Saleh used "al-Qaeda members to eliminate political opponents" and at times provided them with protection from U.S. counterterrorism efforts while receiving millions in U.S. counterterrorism aid.[10] Frustrated by the corruption, injustice, and abuse by security forces, many young males have joined terrorist groups in countries such as Afghanistan, Iraq, and Nigeria.

In response to some of the serious challenges posed by corruption in U.S. counterterrorism aid, the U.S. government has initiated new efforts to comprehensively assess the risks of U.S. security aid around the world. In 2016, the State Department developed a new "Framework for Policy Review and Risk Analysis of Proposed SSA [Security Sector Assistance] Activities," which recommend that the U.S. government ask several key questions about corruption. These questions include whether or not the intended recipient of U.S. security aid is "known to be or reported to be corrupt, through acts such as permitting illicit trafficking across borders, buying and selling positions or professional opportunities, stealing government assets and resources, engaging in bribery, or maintaining rolls of ghost soldiers." In early 2017, the Defense Department (DoD) also published a new directive aimed at improving their efforts to assess, monitor, and evaluate (AM&E) U.S. security aid to foreign countries abroad as required by Congress.[11]

Although the United States has for years included mechanisms to try to prevent the diversion of U.S. weapons and other major infractions using U.S. security aid, there are still important gaps in U.S. government efforts to assess, monitor, and evaluate U.S. counterterrorism aid, particularly related to corruption risks. According to a former State Department official, U.S. "embassies and intelligence agencies are not regularly tasked with assessing security sector corruption in advance of new assistance agreements."[12] The State Department has yet to implement the above framework for risk analysis that incorporates key corruption risk questions. It does not appear that the Defense Department has fully incorporated the range of corruption risks in the new directive on AM&E. However, the Pentagon is working on developing a new directive, which presents a unique opportunity to establish a more comprehensive system for assessing and mitigating risks to U.S. security aid.

Starting last year, we began research to help the U.S. government and policy community begin to

answer some of the corruption risk questions included in the 2016 State Department framework for each country and to identify key elements needed in U.S. counterterrorism aid risk assessments. In particular, we sought to answer these four main questions: 1) what are the key types of corruption that have led to major setbacks in U.S. counterterrorism aid to Afghanistan, Iraq, Mali, Nigeria, and Yemen; 2) in which U.S. counterterrorism partners in the Middle East, Africa, and South and East Asia have these types of corruption been present; 3) what are some of the specific corruption-related risks based on the nature of U.S. counterterrorism aid the United States is providing and the types of corruption present in these countries, and 4) what can the United States do to better to mitigate the negative effects of corruption?

In order to help answer these questions, we interviewed U.S. government officials, U.S. and international specialists on corruption in the defense sector and counterterrorism aid, and academics that focus on coup d'états and military effectiveness. Combining research on past corruption problems in U.S. counterterrorism aid in select countries, Caitlin Talmadge's framework for assessing military effectiveness in her book entitled *Dictator's Army: Battlefield Effectiveness in Authoritarian Regimes*, and the defense corruption risk assessment framework underpinning Transparency International Defence and Security's Government Defence Anti-Corruption Index (TI Defense Index), we developed a new framework of questions and methodology to begin to identify the countries where the United States will most likely experience problems with corruption in the future.[13] We largely relied on the TI Defense Index and other worldwide governance indicators to answer these questions. We also hired outside country specialists to provide insights on certain corruption issues or countries, including on Chad, Somalia, Togo, and mutinies.

The below report is divided into five sections. The first section is focused on identifying some of the common types of corruption within the defense sector that have negatively affected U.S. counterterrorism aid by examining five countries: Afghanistan, Iraq, Mali, Nigeria, and Yemen. The second section provides a more detailed overview of our research questions and sources. The third section provides an overview of proposed U.S. counterterrorism spending, including the estimated amounts for each country and the types of aid. The fourth section attempts to identify where these common types of corruption may exist in other U.S. counterterrorism partners around the world and highlights some continuing issues with Afghanistan, Iraq, and Nigeria. The fifth section brings all of the above sections together to highlight some more specific corruption risks to U.S. counterterrorism aid in the future. The report ends with a conclusion and recommendations.

Key Findings and Recommendations

Findings

The United States is continuing to authorize high levels of U.S. counterterrorism aid. The United States has proposed an estimated $24 billion in U.S. counterterrorism aid to 36 countries in Africa, the Middle East, and South and East Asia for FY 2017 through FY 2019, of which $15 billion is for FY 2018 and FY 2019. While the U.S. Senate has proposed to decrease some of this funding for Afghanistan, Iraq, and Syria, it has also proposed increases in U.S. counterter-

rorism aid to other countries such as Bangladesh, Indonesia, Lebanon, and multi-country peacekeeping efforts in Somalia. The main types of counterterrorism aid are focused on enhancing the abilities of foreign military and security forces in combat operations, aircraft surveillance, logistics, command and control, and border and maritime security aid. In April 2018, the Defense Department proposed for the first time to provide $58.6 million in border and maritime security aid to Azerbaijan. The United States has also doubled its border security aid to Mauritania.

Many U.S. counterterrorism partners show key corruption and governance concerns. According to an analysis of the TI Defense Index and other sources, 24 of the 36 U.S. counterterrorism partner countries have engaged in at least three of the five key types of corruption that have fueled serious challenges to U.S. counterterrorism aid in the past. These types of activities include favoritism or nepotism within the recruitment and promotion system, ghost soldiers, theft or delays in soldier salaries, bribery, and illicit military economic activities. There are nine countries that participated in all of these types of corruption, including Chad, Libya, and Uganda. There are 24 countries where it appears the ruling elite have captured state functions for their personal or group benefits based on analysis of an outside index on kleptocracy and 29 countries where their government institutions are likely fragmented along ethnic, class, clan, racial or religious lines. There area at least 24 countries that have weak oversight systems for defense equipment procurement.

Corruption will continue to elevate poor military leaders among U.S. partner countries. The United States will face obstacles in finding qualified and motivated military personnel to lead effective counterterrorism missions in Afghanistan, Burundi, Cameroon, Chad, Egypt, Iraq, Nigeria, Somalia, and Uganda. In all of these countries, there have been high levels of favoritism within the military's recruitment and promotion process as well as two or three other types of defense sector corruption activities. There are also risks of fragmentation within government institutions, elite capture of some state functions, past military coups, and alleged involvement in human rights violations. Mass firing or purges of soldiers in Bangladesh, Burundi, and Turkey has also reduced some qualified senior military officials. In Azerbaijan, Togo, and Uganda, there are reports of bribery affecting the quality of individuals selected for certain posts.

Factional divisions within militaries may complicate some U.S. counterterrorism aid efforts. Corruption within the defense sector is a big driver of factional divisions in military and security forces, which can fuel mutinies, military coups, reduce morale, and limit the effectiveness of complex operations. In Chad, President Idriss Deby has systematically supported some military units and individuals and marginalized others to help maintain his power, which has helped create factional divisions within the military. These actions run the real risk that unfavored Chadian military units involved in counterterrorism efforts in Chad or Mali may protest or even mutiny because of a lack of needed equipment, salaries, or support and leave checkpoints unguarded. In Cameroon and Somalia, the conditions for future mutinies remain. It appears there are marginalized military units or individuals in Azerbaijan, Bangladesh, Burundi, Turkey, and Uganda.

Several U.S. counterterrorism partners show clear risks for indirect support to terrorist or criminal groups. Some U.S. counterterrorism partner militaries have reportedly

been involved in smuggling activities and widespread bribery. This combination of corrupt actions can provide clear risks to U.S. efforts to strengthen border security. In Egypt, there are reports that low-ranking Egyptian soldiers are accepting bribes on the Libyan border to allow fighters "to smuggle money, people, and commodities across the border," which could be used to help support or finance the terrorist groups in Libya or Egypt. There have also been reports of the military in Mauritania being directly involved in drug trafficking. In the past, it appears that al-Qaeda and other Islamic groups in Mali have benefited financially from drug and other types of trafficking. U.S. support to the Nigerian navy may also be at high risk of fueling criminal activity in the Gulf of Guinea, including oil bunkering and drug trafficking.

Corruption will likely continue to fuel terrorism recruitment. While terrorist groups fuel corruption within the government to help finance their activities, they also exploit it for recruitment. In Azerbaijan, Bangladesh, and Burkina Faso, it appears that terrorist groups benefit from popular grievances against corruption to help encourage new recruitments or support from others for their cause. Some terrorist groups in Bangladesh are reportedly "seeking to exploit resentment among some Bangladesh soldiers" that feel marginalized by the purges of soldiers.[14] In Burkina Faso, corruption and the marginalization of one ethnic group in government institutions may be contributing to why some civilians are open to terrorist group narratives. Corruption in Azerbaijan may also help Islamic movements in the country gain traction in prisons. There are also continuing reports about terrorist groups using corruption in their recruitment messaging in Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya, Mali, Nigeria, and Somalia.

Iraqi border guard forces member during vehicle check point training (U.S. Army photo by Spc. Zakia Gray)

Recommendations

Strengthen U.S. security cooperation risk assessments to better incorporate corruption risks. As the Defense Department continues to develop a revised directive to improve assessments, monitoring, and evaluations of U.S. security cooperation, it will be important to fully incorporate consideration of corruption risks within this new effort. Given the corruption risks and the nature of U.S. counterterrorism aid in Afghanistan, Azerbaijan, Cameroon, Chad, Egypt, Iraq, Kenya, Nigeria, the Philippines, Somalia, and Uganda, it would be helpful to have a more indepth assessment in these countries. This assessment would need to map the structure of corrupt networks in the countries, including main revenue streams, external enablers and facilitators, and connections with the military as well as provide a deeper analysis of the severity and nature of the corruption risks identified in this report. U.S. embassies and intelligence agencies would be key partners in these assessments. Target corruption risk assessments would be key for other U.S. partners.

Improve U.S. aid to government and military structures to help reduce corruption. The United States provides significant amounts of aid to improve foreign military and security forces tactical combat skills, but it provides very little aid and political support to encourage countries to better address corruption. This needs to change. The United States could increase its efforts to identify individuals, units, or offices within the defense sector that are supportive of reform and provide them with knowledge and tools to help make incremental improvements. This includes government offices and parliament committees that oversee the military and security forces. Increasing transparency in defense budgets can be a critical tool. Based on recent changes in political leadership, it appears there are some unique opportunities for larger anti-corruption efforts within the defense sectors of Burkina Faso, Mali, Nigeria, and Tunisia.

Enhance the use of restrictions and conditions on U.S. counterterrorism aid. For many of the U.S. counterterrorism partners with serious corruption risks, it will also be critical to build in restrictions or conditions on the use of U.S. counterterrorism aid to prevent some of the more serious negative impacts of past aid efforts. The United States could limit the types of aid and training to help protect against certain corruption risks based on the identified risks in the assessments. There are also important lessons to learn from U.S. government efforts to condition aid in Afghanistan. As part of this effort, it would be important to identify triggers that could spark a possible revision or termination of certain types of counterterrorism aid. These triggers could include the diversion of U.S. weapons, cooperation with criminal organizations, dangerous rises in factional divisions, and serious human rights violations.

Box 1: What is Defense Sector Corruption?

According to Transparency International, corruption is defined as "the abuse of entrusted power for private gain."[134] They go onto to indicate that this definition "includes an element of subversion, or illegitimate use of resources meant for a particular purpose to further another goal. It involves a benefit that should not have been obtained, as well as harm to someone who was entitled to a benefit they did not receive."[135] Within the defense sector, which is broadly defined as the civil-military structures and personnel that are responsible for the protection of the sovereignty of the country, [136] some of the common corrupt practices within the defense sector include the following:

- Nepotism and favoritism in hiring and promotions;
- Bribery and extortion;
- Embezzlement or theft of government funds and resources; and,
- Ghost soldiers or people whose names appear on military rolls, but are not in military service.

Transparency International also notes that there are different scales of corruption. At the highest level, the government is largely repurposed for the enrichment of a person or group. This is often called kleptocracy or state capture. Petty corruption can often feed into this government-wide corruption. In the defense sector, political leaders or elites that engage in state capture often repurpose elements of the military to serve their interest and weaken other parts of the military to to prevent a military coup. At the lower level, individuals engage in activities such as bribery.

Section 1: Past Corruption Risks to U.S. Counterterrorism aid

Over the past 15 years, the United States has faced serious challenges in achieving U.S. counterterrorism aid goals in many countries because of defense sector corruption. It was in Afghanistan, Iraq, Mali, Nigeria, and Yemen though that corruption helped fuel some of the most devastating setbacks in U.S. government efforts to build the capacity of foreign military and security forces to combat terrorist groups. In all five of these countries, military and security forces lost battles against foreign terrorist organizations, sometimes without a fight. U.S. supplied weapons worth millions of dollars fell into the hands of terrorist or insurgent groups. At the same time, some U.S. counterterrorism aid seemed to fuel rather than reduce corruption with the defense sector. Corruption also made it easier for terrorist groups to obtain needed financial resources and new recruits. However, what are the common types of corruption activities and combination of activities that have helped fueled these serious challenges?

Poor Military Leadership

In Afghanistan, Iraq, Mali, and Nigeria, corruption has played a key role in why the United States has consistently seen poor military leadership. Political leaders have widely used patronage-based promotions and distorted recruitment processes to help consolidate or maintain their power in these countries. Theses practices have elevated military leaders with little experience or interest in pursuing conventional war or standard counterinsurgency practices, fueled a permissive environ-

ment for corruption, and curtailed efforts to create a new generation of military leaders. They have also complicated U.S. counterterrorism efforts to build the capacity of foreign militaries to plan and execute effective combat operations against terrorist groups.

In Iraq, the United States spent over $24 billion from FY 2004 to FY 2014 to help create an inclusive and effective military and security forces as part of U.S. efforts to build a stable democracy and counterterrorism ally. However, U.S. efforts were undermined by Iraqi political leaders who had little interest in promoting military commanders that were supportive of a "strictly non-sectarian nationalist platform with respect for a disinterested state security force."[15] According to a study in the Journal of Strategic Studies, former Iraqi Prime Ministers Ibrahim al-Jaafari and Nuri al-Malki regularly promoted military commanders and soldiers loyal to them to help them secure their "position in a mostly intra-Shiite struggle for political power."[16] This deliberate cultivation of corruption within the officer corps elevated many military leaders with stronger Shia convictions and established a strong incentive for them to learn only those skills required to be a "good loyalist militia."[17] As a result, the Iraqi military was unable to "independently plan and conduct even medium-scale combat operations effectively" and consistently performed poorly on the battlefield.[18]

Several other U.S. counterterrorism partner countries have also limited the number of qualified military commanders by prioritizing factional loyalty over professionalism and integrity within their militaries. Before President Muhammad Buhari was elected in Nigeria in 2015, powerful political and senior military leaders, often known as godfathers, had systematically captured their defense sector for their own political and financial purposes. These leaders often selected and appointed personnel to defense sector positions in order to control the defense budget instead of cultivating a military able to effectively combat national security threats.[19] This system not only produced highly incompetent military leaders, it also created the possibility for military leaders to steal as much as $15 billion from the Nigerian treasury. In Mali, nepotism within the military was so extensive that nine out of ten officers were sons of officers. Former President Toure had also promoted so many generals that the Malian army had more than 50 generals for about 20,000 troops or 1 general for every 400 men. By contrast, "Niger had 1 general for every 600 men" and a typical NATO infantry brigade has just one general or senior colonel for approximately 3,200-5,500 troops.[20]

Corruption at the top of the chain of command has also undermined efforts to recruit committed, disciplined, and talented soldiers to become leaders in the future. In Nigeria, nepotism and favoritism in the recruitment process allowed for unqualified personnel to enter the ranks of the Nigerian armed forces. Priority was given to applicants on the President's List, First Lady's List, Honourable Minister's List, the Emir's List and so on, with little regard for martial potential or merit. Similarly, new recruits with connections in high places could negotiate to be exempted from the more rigorous physical training. The lack of a true merit-based personnel promotion and assignment system within the Afghan security forces also fueled grievances amongst the rank and file that felt there were no opportunities for advancement. This in turn drove high attrition rates amongst new recruits and negatively impacted the development of a new generation of army leaders.

GEN. JOHN W. NICHOLSON SHARES TACTICS AND TECHNIQUES FOR COUNTERING TERRORISM AND CORRUPTION WITH AN AFGHAN CRISIS RESPONSE UNIT (PHOTO BY SUN VEGA, NSOCC-A)

Factional Divisions

Several U.S. counterterrorism partners have been crippled by divisions within their security forces brought on by corruption. These divisions were particularly striking in U.S. support to security forces in Mali and Yemen. In Yemen, former President Saleh fueled divisions within his military and security forces by increasing funding, training, and access to economic rents for some military or security force units, including special new units, that were loyal to him. He simultaneously restricted these sources of support for other parts of the Yemeni military that might have posed a threat to his power or lay outside his patronage network. As a former Yemeni leader indicated "since 2000, no new weapons or real training went to the regular army. Everything went to the Republican Guard, which was built as Saleh's alternative army."[21] Saleh's actions led to a military and security sector that "had become an internally divided set of organisations akin to competing fiefdoms."[22] These divisions complicated U.S. counterterrorism aid efforts in Yemen in at least three key ways.

Starting in the early 2000s and moving through 2014, the United States invested heavily into presidential guards and special units to combat terrorist groups, including first the Yemeni Special Operations Forces (YSOF) and the Republican Guard and then later the Central Security Forces Counter-Terrorism Unit and Ahmed Ali's Special Forces. However, President Saleh "came to consider these forces too valuable for counterterrorism and rarely used them for this purpose."[23] Instead, President Saleh sent "poorly trained regular army troops [and militias] to fight al-Qaeda," which contributed to lackluster efforts to combat terrorist groups.[24] He also kept most of the sophisticated weapons systems in the capital to protect the presidential palace.[25] The United States also experienced problems with some Yemeni units failing to transfer U.S. equipment to

other units as requested by the United States.[26] When President Saleh was removed from power in 2012, there was significant U.S. hope for improved combat efforts against al-Qaeda. However, the divisions within the military severely complicated the next President's efforts to stop an insurgent attack by the Houthis on the capital, and the new government essentially collapsed with U.S. weapons falling into the hands of the Houthis.[27]

The former Malian President Toure also set up a strong patronage system within the military, which created a clear division between soldiers who were able to benefit from the patronage system and those who were not. According to a report by Transparency International, President Toure regularly promoted military officers to the rank of general based on their loyalty and included some senior military officers in his party and in various ministries.[28] "At the same time, lower officer ranks– from where the 2012 coup leaders hailed– were overlooked."[29] While President Toure purposely provided few resources to the regular military to keep it weak, it seems he provided clear benefits to his presidential guard (or red berets). Some senior military officers who were part of the patronage system also enjoyed impunity from the laws and their consequences. These divisions seriously hurt an esprit de corp and weakened "cohesion and operational readiness."[30]

The United States faced some of the same challenges in Mali as in Yemen because of strong factional divisions within the military. In an effort to support a cohesive military unit to fight terrorist groups, the United States provided aid to parts of the red berets. While some of these red berets reportedly fought "respectably," it is likely that U.S. counterterrorism aid also fed into some of the divisions between the red berets and another Malian military unit, the green berets.[31] It appears the green berets (including Captain Sanogo) were usually sent to the frontlines in the battle against al-Qaeda and other militant groups in Mali more often than the red berets. This division was likely intensified by the fact that "bribes would frequently help soldiers to avoid combat postings in the North, making it more likely that those without financial resources and/or backing among the upper echelons of the army would be deployed to dangerous assignments."[32] In fact, the protests and the military coup led by Captain Sanogo were fueled in part by regular army personnel's feelings of injustice about the way they were treated compared to the red berets.

Equipment and Personnel Deficits

In several U.S. counterterrorism partners, the theft of defense resources and procurement fraud have been key reasons behind shortages in equipment or personnel needed to fight terrorist groups or defend cities. In Nigeria, the deficiencies in arms and ammunition were serious during combat operations against Boko Haram in 2013-2014. According to a report by the International Crisis Group in 2016, "many [Nigerian] soldiers deployed to fight Boko Haram in 2013-2014 reported their equipment broke down frequently, and they had severe shortages or lack of body armour, radio equipment and night vision goggles."[33] A former Nigeria soldier reportedly said, "sometimes, we had as little as 30 bullets each, facing Boko Haram fighters whose ammunition seemed inexhaustible."[34] Nigeria's air force was also severely weak. According to President Buhari in 2015, "the [Nigerian] air force is virtually non-existent. The fixed wing aircraft are not very serviceable. The helicopters are not serviceable, and they are too few."[35] These weakness made it very

Box 2: Somalia

By Paul D. Williams

For the last decade, the United States has been one of dozens of external actors trying to stabilize Somalia and to "neutralize" al-Shabaab militants.[137] Washington's approach has been to support both the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM)[138] and engage in various security aid activities, including defense institution building with the Somali security forces, principally the Somali National Army (SNA).[139] In FY2017-19 alone, the United States proposed over $500 million to support these activities. This included providing stipends and equipment to some SNA soldiers and improving SNA tactical logistics capabilities. The United States has taken the leading role in developing the new Somali commando units known as Danab ("Lightning"). In December 2017, however, citing concerns about corruption, the United States paused its security aid to almost all SNA units apart from Danab.

Corruption has long been one of "biggest challenges" the United States and other international actors faced when trying to improve the Somali security sector. Not only has the Somali Federal Government failed to generate sufficient revenues, it has also failed to prevent the theft of soldier salaries.[140] This encouraged troops to find alternative sources of income and support, including extorting money or food from alternative sources, taking multiple jobs in the private sector, obtaining two or more identification cards to draw multiple salaries, or selling their equipment.

Before the U.S. government suspended its program to provide SNA soldiers with monthly stipends and other types of aid, the United States reportedly discovered that its funds were used to pay a 259-strong ceremonial brass band instead of SNA soldiers fighting on the frontlines.[141] There have also been serious concerns about the lack of Somali government checks to ensure that U.S. stipends do not end up supporting militants and lackluster efforts to weed out ghost soldiers, pensioners, and dead on the payroll.[142]As the UN Monitoring Group's 2012 report put it, "pervasive corruption" and "the systematic misappropriation, embezzlement and outright theft of public resources have essentially become a system of governance, embodied in the popular Somali phrase "Maxaa igu jiraa?" ("What's in it for me?").[143] It estimated that $7 out of every $10 received by the Federal Government never made it into government coffers.

In this context, opportunities for corruption – by senior officials and the rank-and-file troops –increased because salary payments to the SNA were usually made in cash. At the behest of international partners, the Somali government promised to use a PricewaterhouseCoopers mechanism to disburse funds using the mobile phone network, once the soldier's identity and bank details were verified. However, this system has still not been extended across the entire SNA and cash payments of salaries are still made.[144] Attempts to develop electronic systems were hampered by commanders who would lose their cut if they could no longer directly disburse cash payments to the troops. Today, the systems and controls in place to oversee the payment process remain extremely weak, which encourages leakage.[145]

Clan dynamics have added to this problem. Not only do clan leaders that provide fighters to serve in the SNA usually demand a kickback on the soldier's pay but clan favoritism within the SNA has meant troops outside of Mogadishu and Middle and Lower Shabelle regions have received little if any salary support.[146] These are crucial regions in the fight against al-Shabaab. The monies skimmed from the intermittent salary payments have sustained an old guard of corrupt SNA senior officers.

difficult for the Nigerian military to gain valuable intelligence on Boko Haram movements.

While there are many reasons for Nigeria's equipment shortfalls, there are at least three key corruption activities that contributed to this problem. In some cases, it appears "corrupt senior offi-

cers withheld ammunition and fuel from frontline soldiers, leaving them with no alternative other than to flee when attacked."[36] In apparent frustrations with their commanders over the lack of equipment, some Nigerian soldiers even "fired on the car of the 7th Division commander, Major General Ahmadu Mohammed, whom they blamed for the deaths of fellow soldiers."[37] There have also been concerns about Nigerian soldiers selling arms to Boko Haram soldiers. In September 2016, the Nigerian army reportedly court martialled several officers for selling weapons to Boko Haram.[38] The Nigeria arms procurement process has also been notoriously corrupt. In 2016, a Nigerian audit of military equipment procurement found numerous irregularities and fraud, "with procured items often not meeting intended purposes."[39] "The investigative committee is said to have established that between September 2009 and May 2015, the air force spent about 15 billion naira (about $75 million) maintaining its Alpha Jets, C-130H aircraft and Mi-24V/35P helicopters. And that of this amount, 4.4 billion naira (about $22 million) was paid for contracts not executed."[40]

In Iraq, corruption also played a key role in the failure of the Iraqi Army failed to secure the necessary equipment and personnel needed to effectively defend Mosul in 2014. In a report titled the "Big Spin: Corruption and the growth of violent extremism," Lt. Col. Dave Allen describes how former Iraqi Prime Minister Maliki's actions created a "permissive environment" for corrupt practices by "prioritising factional loyalty over professionalism and integrity."[41] These actions reportedly encouraged military leaders and soldiers to engage in profit seeking opportunities, including creating ghost soldiers to obtain extra paychecks and pursuing "black market sales of military fuel, ammunition, and spare parts, and service tools required to keep military equipment running."[42] As a result of these actions, the Iraqi armed forces that purported to be 25,000 strong was really only comprised of around 10,000 soldiers. "One of the brigades, supposedly comprising 2,500 men, turned out to have been 500 strong when it mattered." When a new Iraqi commander joined the fight against ISIS in Mosul, he reportedly also found "broken-down equipment, undermanned checkpoints, and one unit which in theory had 500 men only had 71 present."[43]

Direct or Indirect Support to Terrorist or Criminal Groups

The United States has also provided counterterrorism aid to military and security forces that were involved in directly or indirectly supporting terrorist or criminal groups through various activities. In Afghanistan, U.S. officials working to address terrorist or insurgent threats there began to realize that "U.S. money was flowing to the insurgency via corruption," according to a report by the Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction in 2016.[44] In August 2009, General McChrystal reportedly said: "There are no clear lines separating insurgent groups, criminal networks (including the narcotics networks), and corrupt GIROA [Government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan] officials. Malign actors within GIROA support insurgent groups directly, support criminal networks that are linked to insurgents, and support corruption that helps feed the insurgency."[45]

There were also reports that some Yemeni security force personnel were directly supporting terrorist groups when former President Saleh was in power. According to Stephen Tankel," for-

mer President Saleh in fact may have had an agreement with al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) at times to fight the Houthis in return for Yemeni security forces to "ease the persecution" of its members.[46] He apparently used "al-Qaeda members to eliminate political opponents as well." Whether or not there was an agreement, "various elements of the security services, including the PSO [Political Security Organization], Republican Guard, and the Central Security Forces, are alleged to have provided jihadists with supplies, safe houses, and intelligence."[47] In 2002, U.S. intelligence reportedly "intercepted a call to the al-Qaeda commander's phone from the Yemeni defense ministry, warning him about the impending operation [against al-Qaeda operative Harithi].

The United States also realized that former President Tourne was supporting terrorist groups operating in northern Mali, including the Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat (GSPC) and then al-Qaeda in the Islamic Magreb (AQIM). After moving to Mali from Algeria, the GSPC and later AQIM sought to raise revenues in Mali through various illicit trafficking activities and kidnapping for ransom. Instead of seeking to curb or eliminate these activities, President Toure sought to benefit personally from them in part because he did not see the terrorist groups as a threat. In one illustrative example of this connection, Tankel highlights that "Toure's wife was reportedly detained while shopping in Paris with marked euros from one of the hostage exchanges."[48] According to Transparency International, Malian security forces also supported illicit terrorist illicit by offering protection to traffickers in return for monetary compensation. At times, some Malian soldiers may have even leaked information to contacts in AQIM.[49]

Terrorist Recruitment

Corruption within in Afghanistan, Iraq, and Nigeria has also been one of the key reasons individuals have joined terrorist groups. According to a survey from 2010-2012, corruption was one of the main reasons why some Afghans chose to support the Taliban over the government and armed forces. In a 2017 poll conducted in Iraq, respondents pointed to corruption as the main reason for the rise of the so called Islamic State (ISIS).[50] Among ISIS members, corruption was one of the top five reasons for joining the group. Similarly, corruption has been a central theme terrorist groups have used to recruit new members in Nigeria. Generally speaking, corruption has allowed terrorist groups to craft a more effective narrative to recruit new members or to encourage others to support their cause. Within the security sector, terrorist groups have often focused on corruption in the recruitment and promotion of soldiers and police, bribery, and security force abuses toward marginalized communities.

In Iraq, ISIS created narratives based on "corruption, nepotism, bribery, and theft of public funds to justify its activities."[51] One key theme was the Iraqi government's discrimination towards the Sunni population. In 2012, anti government protests broke out in the Sunni stronghold of Anbar province over sectarianism and injustice within the al-Malki government. They demanded, among other things, "balance in all institutions of the state, especially the military, security services, and judiciary."[52] The government was slow to act, and these demands put forward by protesters were quickly adopted by ISIS.[53] Some ISIS tweets reference past abuses by Shia militias, and they highlight the group's ability to protect Iraqi Sunnis from future atrocities and provide them with basic

social services such as trash collection.[54] In tweets to supporters, ISIS also highlighted the widespread practice of Iraqi officials using bribery. Many Sunnis had been forced to pay a substantial bribe for the release of an arbitrarily detained family member.[55]

Many other terrorist groups across the world have used corruption to galvanize support for their cause and to recruit new members. In Afghanistan, the Taliban have used the continued marginalization of southern Pashtuns from the Afghan army as a recruitment tool. In Nigeria, corruption is central to Boko Haram's history and growth. Many Nigerians that were living in poverty in the north felt "abandoned" by Muslim elites and by the Nigerian government in Abuja and "largely unprotected by security forces, plagued by corruption and institutionalized extortion and bribery." Starting in 2000, Mohammed Yusuf, the founder of Boko Haram, used these grievances and the corruption within the Nigerian government in his sermons. The killing of 17 Boko Haram members on motorbikes, ostensibly for not wearing helmets,[56] in combination with "Yusuf's brutal killing by security forces in front of a public that had massively supported him pushed the group towards increased violence."[57]

Section 2: Methodology and Purpose

Given the above serious corruption risks to U.S. counterterrorism aid, it is critical to identify where the United States might face these risks in future U.S. counterterrorism aid around the world. The U.S. government's past challenges with corruption provide critical information to develop questions on where the United States may face risks with corruption in the future. As illustrated above, these types of corruption have seriously limited U.S. counterterrorism partner efforts to combat terrorist groups militarily, caused U.S. aid to be diverted or wasted, and in some cases fueled terrorist recruitment. However, these examples lack the academic rigor to better predict when corruption may impede foreign security forces operational capabilities and hurt other U.S. counterterrorism aid activities and goals with a tested research framework.

In order to have a more robust framework for our analysis, we have borrowed many framing questions from Caitlin Talmadge's 2015 book entitled *The Dictator's Army: Battlefield Effectiveness in Authoritarian Regimes*. In her book, Talmadge identifies a set of questions to help explain or predict military battlefield effectiveness and tests her theories on several historical case studies, namely South and North Vietnam during the Vietnam War and Iraq and Iran during their war against each other in the 1980s. She defines battlefield effectiveness as how well a government or military can give its military units the ability to conduct complex operations in battles over territory. We believe this framework is useful for not only predicting foreign military battlefield effectiveness but also for identifying the severity of corruption within foreign military forces. In particular, many of her questions are focused on actions foreign leaders take to purposely weaken the military as a whole or in parts to prevent military coups or to secure their hold on power. While foreign leaders can take good governance approaches to secure their power, the reality is that many of

them use corrupt practices highlighted in the previous section for this purpose.

Combining Caitlin Talmadge's research questions, research on past corruption problems in U.S. counterterrorism aid in select countries, new academic research on coup-proofing, and the defense corruption risk assessment framework underpinning Transparency International Defence and Security's Government Defence Anti-Corruption Index (TI Defense Index), we have developed the below set of measurable questions to begin to determine where the United States may face serious risks with corruption in U.S. counterterrorism aid. Since this set of questions uses many questions from Talmadge's framework, it is well-suited to help predict when the U.S. government will struggle with corruption in providing aid to the improve the operational capacity of foreign militaries in ground combat. The inclusion of other key questions from past U.S. counterterrorism aid also helps predict other corruption related concerns the U.S. government has experienced in the past, including the risk of U.S. aid fueling corruption. Reflecting the type of skills militaries need to effectively combat terrorist groups, we have added questions to examine how corruption may impact militaries' abilities to work with civilians.

In general, the below set of questions is designed to help answer two central research questions: 1) in which countries will the United States likely find serious corruption risks in providing U.S. counterterrorism aid; and, 2) how could these risks impact certain types of U.S. counterterrorism aid?

Key Research Questions

- How much U.S. counterterrorism aid is the U.S. government planning to give to countries in Middle East, Africa, South and East Asia over the next two years? What is the nature of proposed U.S. counterterrorism aid to these countries?
- Are there reports of political or military leaders recruiting or promoting military personnel based in part on ethnic, regional, tribal, family, political, or loyalty reasons instead of the merits of the individual?
- Do military personnel receive their correct pay on time?
- In the past five years, have there been any reports of the existence of ghost soldiers on the payroll?
- What is the level of bribery within the security forces?
- Are there reports of military personnel involvement in economic activities (illicit and licit) for personal gain?
- Does the political leader or political elites use corruption to significantly influence a country's policies, legal environment, and economy to benefit their own interests?
- How fragmented are state institutions along ethnic, class, clan, racial or religious lines?
- Has the country experienced a coup or coup attempt within the leader's lifetime? Did the current leader come to power in a coup?

Sources of Data

Building off a framework to calculate U.S. counterterrorism aid we created with the Stimson Center, we have used data from our security aid database to select which recipients to include in the study and to identify the nature of U.S. counterterrorism aid in these countries. This database is based on dozens of State and Defense Department reports to Congress on U.S. security aid, which we have obtained from government websites, congressional staff, or through Freedom of Information Act requests. With these reports, it is possible to obtain a much clearer picture of U.S. counterterrorism aid. In particular, the Defense Department's notifications on Section 2282 and 333 funding provide much useful data on U.S. counterterrorism aid. The State Department's descriptions on proposed Foreign Military Financing aid also provide some helpful information. However, there continue to be clear gaps in transparency on the total amount of aid going to a country and on specific types of aid, which obsurces a complete picture of U.S. counterterrorism aid to individual countries.

In order to answer many of the specific defense sector corruption questions, we have relied heavily on TI Defense Index, which was most recently published in late 2015. This Index measures the risk of corruption in the defense sectors of 120 countries (notable exceptions include Israel and many Central Asia and Latin American countries) using 76 unique questions across five main sectors -- political, financial, personnel, operational, and procurement. The Index also provides comments and sources for each of the questions to justify the score they have determined for the question. While the focus of the Index is on evaluating anti-corruption safeguards in countries to help predict corruption risks, it does provide information on actual corrupt activities in some of the questions. We have pulled out information on actual corrupt activities from certain questions or groups of questions to build data points for each country on actual corruption activities. We then transformed this data into a binary dataset that shows whether there is information on actual corrupt activities or not. As this study was published in 2015, we have also done extensive academic and news searches in English and French and to a lesser extent Arabic and Russian to update the information provided in the 2015 analysis. In many countries, the corruption issues have changed little from when the Index was published. In the next few months, Transparency International Defence and Security will publish an updated Index for West Africa, and this will include a revised set of questions.

We have used several other studies to answer the questions about state capture, military coups, factionalized elites, and human rights violations. These include in order: 1) Carnegie Endowment's Kleptocracy List; 2) Jonathan Powell's "Coups in the World;" 3) Fragile States Index's Factionalized Elites, and 4) the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute's Military Expenditure Database. For those who are unfamiliar with the Kleptocracy List, it was created by Sarah Chayes and Julu Katticaran from the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in 2016. It aggregates 16 different indices related to governance, economics, corruption, and human rights, including indices such as the African Development Bank Country Policy and Institutional Assessments, Economist Intelligence Unit Riskwire and Democracy Index, Freedom House, Global Integrity Index, International Budget Project Open Budget Index, Political Risk Services International Country Risk Guide, Transparency International Corruption Perceptions Index and Global Corruption Ba-

rometer Survey, and World Justice Project Rule of Law Index.

Use of Study

This study is intended to be a beginning guide for where the United States may find risks with corruption in future U.S. counterterrorism aid rather than a definitive list of specific corruption risks for proposed U.S. counterterrorism aid. As mentioned earlier, there are many questions we would like to systematically answer that proved too difficult within our time frame because of limitations in data availability. For example, Talmadge's framework asks questions such as "are there mass firings that amount to purges" or are there "dual command" arrangements? We have attempted to answer some of these questions in several of our country examples and country case studies with outside country experts, but we were unable to do it for all 36 countries receiving U.S. counterterrorism aid. Although we have attempted to provide the most up to date information on corruption risks, we recognize that there may be additional changes that are not reflected in the below study. As such, it will be important for U.S. government officials or independent experts to investigate further into each country to better understand the specific corruption risks presented in this study.

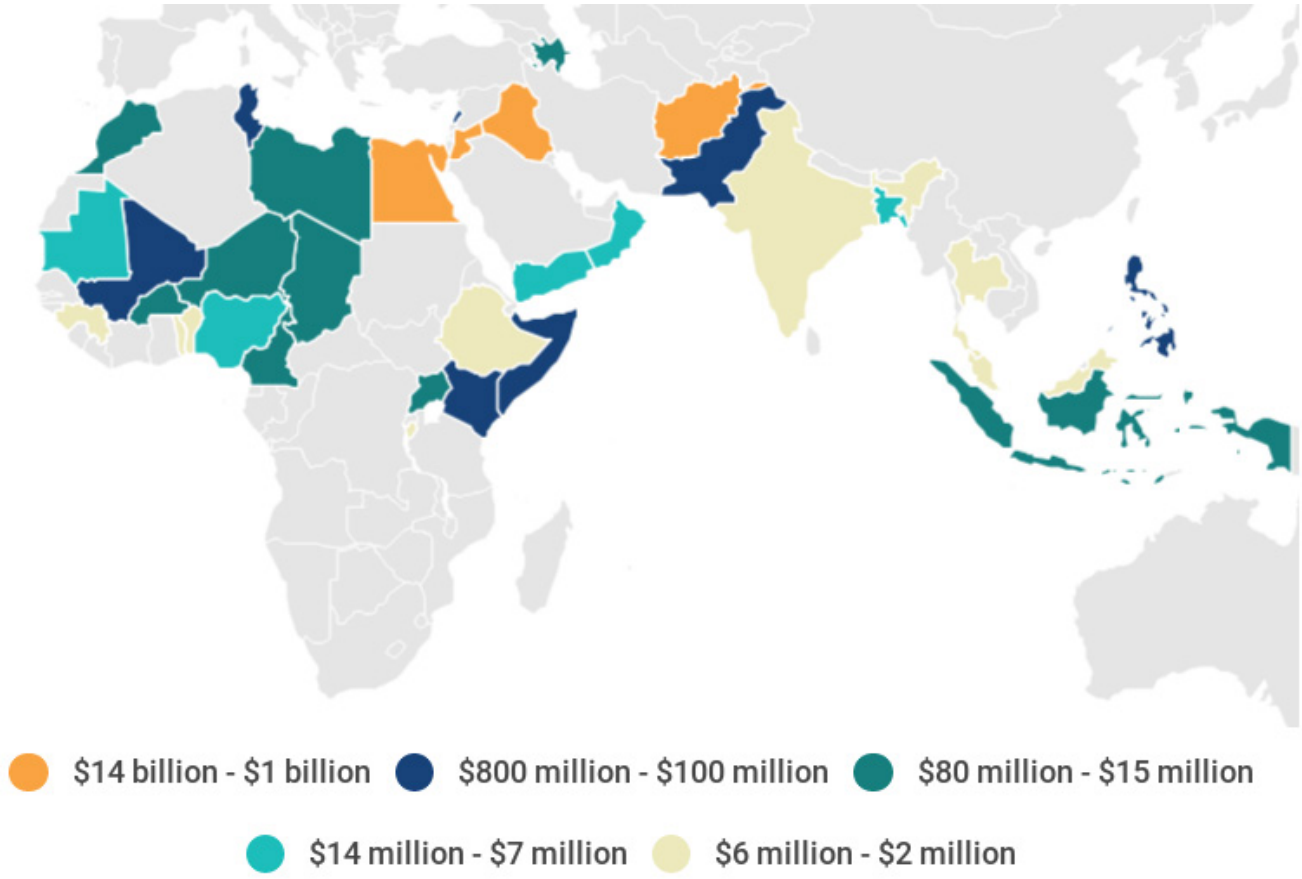
Section 3: Proposed U.S. Counterterrorism Aid

In order to determine corruption risks to U.S. counterterrorism aid, it is critical to understand the nature of U.S. proposed counterterrorism aid. The United States has proposed an estimated $24 billion in aid to foreign security forces in 36 countries in the Middle East, Africa, and South and East Asia to address terrorist groups threats for FY 2017-2019 based on available data, an estimated $15 billion is for FY 2018 and FY 2019 combined. While the Trump Administration has signaled its intent to shift some U.S. security aid towards addressing threats from China and Russia, it has largely maintained high levels of counterterrorism aid to many of these countries for FY 2018-19. It, however, is likely that Congress will cut U.S. counterrorism aid to Afghanistan and Iraq by around $500 milllion. The United States is planning to provide counterterrorism aid to four countries in Africa that are supporting the U.N. peacekeeping mission in Mali and the African Union peacekeeping mission in Somalia: Benin, Burundi, Ethiopia, and Togo. There, however, is limited data on how much U.S. aid would go to these countries. In April, the Defense Department proposed for the first time to provide $58.6 million in counterterrorism aid to Azerbaijan. This country was included in the analysis because of this elevated U.S. cooperation, even though it does not fit into one of the above regions.

The largest recipients of U.S. counterterrorism aid are Afghanistan, Egypt, Iraq, and Jordan combining U.S. proposed counterterrorism aid totals for FY 2017 through FY 2019, see first category in Figure 1. The second largest recipients of U.S. counterterrorism aid are, in order of total dollar

amount, Somalia, Mali, Pakistan, Lebanon, Tunisia, Kenya, and the Philippines, with proposed amounts ranging between $848 million to $100 million for each country. U.S. counterterrorism aid to Pakistan will most likely be drastically reduced unless the country more effectively takes action against the Afghan Taliban and the Haqqani network.[58] The U.S. government also suspended significant amounts of funding to the Somali National Army because of corruption. Importantly, U.S. counterterrorism aid to Mali and Somalia goes both to external countries supporting the peacekeeping missions and to internal Malian and Somali security forces. The U.S. Senate has proposed significant increases to some U.S. counterterrorism partners, including Bangladesh, Somalia, Indonesdia, Lebanon, Jordan, countries participating in peacekeeping operations in Somalia, and Tunisia. At the lower end of the spectrum, it is estimated that the U.S. government will likely give between $6 million and $2 million to countries such as Benin, Guinea, Togo, and Turkey.

Figure 1: Total U.S. Counterterrorism Aid for FY2017-19 by Country



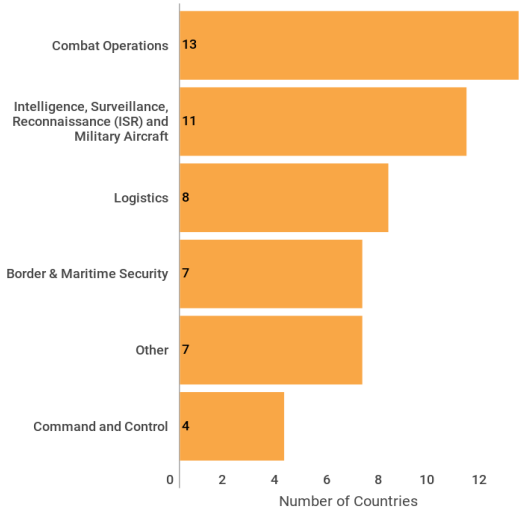
SOURCE: SECURITY ASSISTANCE MONITOR'S U.S. SECURITY AID DATASET

The overwhelming majority of U.S. counterterrorism aid is focused on providing tactical military skills and equipment to foreign security forces to combat and interdict terrorist groups. For FY 2017-18, the United States proposed at least $300 million to build the capacity of foreign security forces units to engage in ground combat operations more effectively through the Defense Department's Sections 2282 and 333 global train and equip funding accounts, see Figure 2.[59] In many countries, this aid is slated to go to foreign country Special Forces or special counterterrorism units of foreign militaries, such as in Chad, Jordan, Mauritania, Morocco, Nigeria, the Philip-

pines, Somalia, Tunisia, and Uganda. The State Department also proposed counterterrorism aid to strengthen foreign combat capabilities through its Foreign Military Financing (FMF) account in additional countries like Egypt, Iraq, and Indonesia. Through its Peacekeeping Operations account, the State Department has proposed combat-related support for countries participating in United Nations or African Union peacekeeping missions in Mali and Somalia, including Burkina Faso, Burundi, Chad, Ethiopia, Guinea, Kenya, Senegal, Togo, and Uganda.

For FY 2017-18, the Pentagon proposed over $213 million to provide military aircraft and associated training to Cameroon, Jordan, Kenya, Lebanon, Tunisia, and Uganda. The Defense Department aims to give at least $77 million in aid to strengthen countries intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance (ISR) operations and unmanned aerial vehicles (UAV) for countries such as Kenya, Lebanon, Oman, and the Philippines. In the same years, the State Department's FMF aid is seeking to support projects to enhance ISR capabilities and aircraft sustainment in countries such as Indonesia, Jordan, Morocco, and Tunisia.

FIGURE 2: U.S. COUNTERTERRORISM AID FOR FY2017-18 BY TYPE OF AID



SOURCE: SECURITY ASSISTANCE MONITOR'S U.S. SECURITY AID DATASET

The United States is also looking to improve the capacity of U.S. counterterrorism partners to secure their borders and detect and prevent terrorist operations. The Defense Department's planned aid for FY 2017-18 seeks to bolster border and maritime security in Azerbaijan, Chad, Jordan, Kenya, Mauritania, the Philippines, and Tunisia. The State Department's planned aid also reflects an increased focus on securing land and maritime borders through FMF as well as its Anti-Terrorism Assistance (ATA) program in Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Egypt, Libya, Malaysia, and Pakistan. Over the past few years, the U.S. government has also sought to strengthen foreign militaries logistics and command and control functions, (i.e. the ability of a commander to exercise authority and direction over forces to accomplish a mission). For FY 2017-18, the Pentagon planned nearly $180 million in aid to build the logistics and command and control capabilities in Cameroon, Chad, Kenya, Niger, and Uganda. Through FMF, the State Department proposed similar types of aid to Indonesia, Iraq, Jordan, and Morocco.

Section 4: Defense Corruption and Governance Indicators

As the United States begins to provide counterterrorism aid to these 36 countries, it is important to identify whether several key defense corruption and governance activities or indicators exist to better assess future risks to U.S. counterterrorism aid. Based on past corruption risks in U.S. counterterrorism aid, favoritism within the recruitment and promotion of military personnel, theft of salaries, ghost soldiers, bribery, procurement fraud, and illicit activities such as drug smuggling have played a strong role in compromising U.S. counterterrorism aid goals and led to the loss or misuse of U.S. training and arms. But, do these corruption issues exist in other countries? Relying largely on the TI Defense Index as well as other key resources, it is possible to identify where these types of corruption have been present among the 36 U.S. counterterrorism partners. Several other governance-related indicators on state capture, military coup d'etats, fragmentation within government institutions, and human rights also provide useful insights into defense sector corruption and U.S. counterterrorism aid risks.

Recruitment and Promotions

In at least 33 of the 36 U.S. counterterrorism partners, political or military leaders have selected some military personnel based in part on ethnic, regional, tribal, family, political, or loyalty reasons instead of focusing on the merits of the individual, see Figure 3. In Uganda, President Yoweri Museveni has reportedly promoted hundreds of lower-ranking officers to middle-ranking positions without the proper requirements for such promotion to help maintain his grip on power and control over the military.[60] Many of these promotions have been given to soldiers from the Western region of Uganda where the President originates. At the same time, it appears the President has overlooked promotions of older soldiers who had fought with him in the 1986 conflict, which has caused resentment among these older soldiers.[61] President Museveni has also allowed some senior military commanders who have made serious military mistakes to be promoted.[62]

Box 3: TI Defense Quesitons on Recruitment and Promotions (2015)

Q 41: "Is there an established, independent, transparent, and objective appointment system for the selection of military personnel at middle and top management level?"

Q 42: Are personnel promoted through an objective, meritocratic process?

There are several other examples worth highlighting:

- In Egypt, the selection of military leaders at the level of colonel and above are reportedly often based on their "loyalty and obedience to the regime rather than their professional merits;"[63]
- In Chad, President Deby has strongly favored the Zaghawa ethnic group in his selection of key military leaders even though the Zaghawa group represents only one percent of the Chadian population to entrench his power (see Chad box below);
- In Iraq, the government is still appointing senior military leaders with a history of engaging in corrupt actions;[64] and,
- In Thailand, some senior military leaders have been hired more for political rather than merit-based reasons.[65]

There are a few countries where military personnel will purposely alter tests to ensure new recruits can enter the military. All individuals are required to take an exam to enter the armed forces in Cameroon; however, "it is common for pressure to be applied on the authorities administering tests to ensure the test is not difficult for certain selected individuals."[66] In the recent past, military commanders in Burkina Faso have also created "command lists" that allowed senior army officers to "submit names of individuals to be hand-selected based on their affiliation" and who "do not have to pass the other requirements, such as physical tests," according to a Burkinabe military source in a study by Maggie Dwyer.[67] "At basic training, the trainers know who is from the list and refrain from being too harsh on those that were selected by top officers. Those without any affiliation, however, must pass strict tests and are treated poorly. This system is understood throughout the ranks and creates major divides from the start."

Some foreign leaders in U.S. counterterrorism partner countries have also engaged in mass firings or purges of military personnel to help consolidate their power. In the past few years, there have been purges of soldiers in countries such as Bangladesh, Burundi, and Chad. President Erdogan's action in Turkey have perhaps been the most extensive. Following the military coup attempt in 2016, Erdogan has reportedly removed over 17,000 military officials and more than 33,000 police officers that either participated in, or espouse the ideology behind, the coup attempt.[68] The sheer size of the military purge suggests that Erdogan's aim is more about creating a Turkish military that is entirely loyal to his political vision than simply punishing those involved in the coup attempt.[69] Since 2016, the lack of Turkish generals, staff officers, and special operators, such as pilots and special forces has raised serious questions regarding Turkey's military effectiveness.[70] One dismissed Turkish officer said "the capacity for the Turkish Air Force has collapsed…to be very blunt here [the] Turkish military…has lost their war-fighting capacity."[71]

Box 4: Chad

By paul thissen and colby goodman

In the last decade, Chad has emerged as a salient counterterrorism partner for the United States. Wedged between Boko Haram's strongholds in Lake Chad and bordering Libya, the Central African Republic, and Sudan, this large landlocked country continues to face terrorist threats from Boko Haram and remains concerned about instability in Libya. Chad plays key roles in international interventions in Nigeria against Boko Haram and in Mali against al-Qaeda-allied rebels. From FY 2017 to FY 2019, the United States allocated at least $51 million in counterterrorism aid to Chad. The bulk of this aid aims to build the capacity of Chad's special anti-terrorism groups, a command and control and intelligence fusion center, Intelligence, Surveillance, and Reconnaissance (ISR), border security, and logistics.

Despite the increasing role Chad plays in counterterrorism efforts, the country's military – and the government at large – is rife with corruption. One of the key ways President Idriss Deby seeks to maintain his power is by selecting military leaders based on their ethnicity or loyalty. While some senior military leaders are from other ethnic groups, the President's own Zaghawa ethnic group dominates key military forces. According to one estimate by Tubiana and Debos, 50 to 60 percent of the powerful presidential guard (DGSSIE) is from the Zaghawa group.[147] In many cases, the commanders of military units, including the presidential guard, the National Nomadic Guard, Military Intelligence, and others, are President Deby's sons or cousins.[148] Informants in Chad emphasized that Zaghawa individuals have control over all military units with sophisticated weaponry. It also appears President Deby has created dual-command or unwritten command structures within the Chadian military to help maintain control of the military.

Strong favoritism in the selection of military leaders and in the distribution of quality training, equipment, and salaries to military units can fuel divisions within the military. According to Tubiana and Debos, there are clear ethnic inequalities between the Chadian elite forces and some of the military units deployed to peacekeeping missions.[149] Some of these peacekeepers appear to be "poorly paid, equipped, and motivated," which has contributed to Chadian peacekeepers abandoning their posts in Mali and protesting in Chad in the past few years.[150] The risks of soldiers failing to receive their pay may also be increasing as the Chadian military is recruiting thousands of new soldiers more loyal to Deby in the midst of a serious economic recession and a dwindling defense budget. Some of these new soldiers are also reportedly fictitious soldiers despite earlier attempts by President Deby to remove ghost soldiers.[151]

Salaries and Ghost Soldiers

In the past five years, there have been reports of the existence of ghost soldiers or major delays in the delivery of salaries or benefits in at least 15 countries slated to receive U.S. counterterrorism aid. In many countries, the existence of ghost soldiers has contributed to salary delays; major salary delays are also a good indicator of the theft of salaries. When the transitional government in Libya took over from Qaddafi in 2011, they put tens of thousands of armed group members on its payroll to "project its authority and police the country's periphery and towns."[72] However, the government's unregulated payroll system, including direct payments to commanders of armed groups, provided opportunities for Libyans to register with multiple security force units, creating a serious ghost soldier problem. According to a 2014 report, "a young man[in Libya] might be a member of a Shield [government supported security force], his local armed group that had been subsumed under the Shield but still operated independently, and the police all at the same time."[73] There continue to be reports of delays in the delivery of salaries to civil servants and security forces in Libya.[74]

Figure 3: Summary of Key Defense Corruption Indicators By Country

Country	Non-Merit Promotions	Delayed Salaries	Ghost Soldiers	Widespread Bribery	Military Business
Afghanistan	✓	✓	✓		✓
Azerbaijan	✓	✓		✓	
Bahrain	✓			✓	
Bangladesh	✓				
Benin				✓	
Burkina Faso	✓	✓		✓	✓
Burundi	✓			✓	✓
Cameroon	✓	✓		✓	✓
Chad	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Egypt	✓			✓	✓
Ethiopia	✓			✓	
Guinea	✓			✓	✓
India	✓			✓	✓
Indonesia	✓			✓	✓
Iraq	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Jordan	✓			✓	✓
Kenya	✓			✓	✓
Lebanon	✓				
Libya	✓	✓		✓	✓
Malaysia	✓			✓	
Mali	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Mauritania	✓	✓		✓	✓
Morocco	✓			✓	✓
Niger	✓			✓	
Nigeria	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Oman				✓	
Pakistan				✓	✓
Philippines	✓		✓	✓	✓
Senegal	✓			✓	
Somalia	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Thailand	✓		✓	✓	✓
Togo	✓	✓		✓	
Tunisia	✓			✓	
Turkey	✓				✓
Uganda	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Yemen	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

SOURCE AND NOTES: A CHECK IN THE TABLE INDICATES THAT THERE IS INFORMATION OF ACTUAL CORRUPT ACTIVITIES IN THIS CATEGORY. TRANSPARENCY INTERNA-

Box 5: TI Defense Quesitons on Salaries and Ghost Soldiers (2015)

40) Do personnel receive the correct pay on time, and is the system of payment well-established, routine, and published?

45) Is there evidence of "ghost soldiers', or non-existent soldiers on the payroll?

There are several other examples worth highlighting:

- In Thailand, it appears the Thai government has been slow to effectively address the existence of ghost soldiers in the south of Thailand where the military is engaged in a low-level fight against a Malay-Muslim insurgency;[75]
- In a recent report on Mali, soldiers from the Waraba battalion reportedly "refused to attend their own graduation ceremony because they thought their officers had pocketed funds meant for them;"[76]
- In many countries in Africa, soldier complaints about late or inadequate salary payments have led to mutinies (see box on mutinies); and,
- In Cameroon, Kenya, and Mauritania, the governments have found thousands of ghost workers within their civil service, which could indicate a similar problem within the militaries.[77]

In most of the U.S. counterterrorism aid partner countries that have had problems with ghost soldiers, the governments have taken some action to help reduce the problem by introducing biological verification measures for their personnel payrolls, implementing bank instead of cash payments, conducting census surveys, among others. President Museveni in Uganda created a presidential commission and introduced a new nationwide computer system to keep track of the payroll system to remove ghost soldiers in the past ten years.[78] Before the government collapsed in Yemen in 2015, the government had established bank payments and a biometric registration system for Yemeni security forces. However, in some countries it does not appear that the risks of ghost soldiers have gone away.[79] In most countries, the governments do not publish information on the total number of soldiers, which limits oversight and accountability efforts. In Chad, it appears some of the soldiers that President Deby removed from its military payroll in the past few years were in part a ploy to eliminate soldiers who may not fully support him.[80]

Bribery or Facilitation Payments

The United States has proposed to give counterterrorism aid to at least 32 countries where the security forces or government officials have engaged in bribery. Foreign security forces have accepted bribes to allow individuals to pass at checkpoints and borders, be released from prison, approve certain procurement deals, and obtain or avoid positions within the military. In at least twelve countries, U.S. counterterrorism partner security forces have sought or accepted bribes at checkpoints and borders such as Cameroon, Guinea, Egypt, Kenya, Mauritania, Morocco, Kenya,

Box 6: Mutinies in Africa

By Maggie Dwyer

Over the last decade, there have been roughly two dozen mutinies in West Africa, which have taken place in at least nine different countries.[152] Several of these countries are key partners in U.S. counterterrorism efforts, including Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Chad, Nigeria, and Mali. Across Africa, mutinies have challenged political and military leaders, spurred social unrest, led to civilian casualties, threatened international missions, challenged counterterrorism efforts, and in extreme cases resulted in international interventions. They involve collective insubordination in which military personnel, usually within the junior ranks, revolt against their authorities to express grievances and make demands. Through an examination of 70 cases of mutiny in West and Central Africa and interviews with over 200 informants, it is possible to identify common patterns seen in mutinies, including accusations of corruption.[153]

Mutinies among West African troops following or during recent counterterrorism missions reveal grievances and concerns among the rank and file soldiers. In Mali (2012), Nigeria (2014) and Cameroon (2017) soldiers staged mutinies to express objections to the lack of equipment and poor conditions they endured during deployments to counter Islamic extremist organizations.[154] Soldiers in these countries demonstrated that they were unwilling to further carry out their role in counterterrorism operations unless their demands were addressed. Many mutinies involve soldiers claiming that they have not received their pay or that their pay is too low. Pay grievances have been particularly prevalent in deployment-related mutinies. For instance, soldiers on deployment have argued that they deserve much higher salaries due to the dangers they endure. Deployments on multinational peacekeeping operations have spurred a series of revolts drawing on claims of vast differences in pay between contingents and discrepancies between the rate the U.N. reimburses countries and the amount that individual soldiers receive.[155]

In many cases, pay grievances are accompanied by accusations of corruption within the officers corps. For instance, when salaries are not paid regularly, soldiers often claim that their officers are 'hiding,' 'slicing,' or directly stealing their pay. Likewise, demands for better pay often involve comparisons to the lifestyles of senior officers. Mutineers have accused senior officers of living lavishly and have alleged that their financial status is a result of corruption or other illicit activity. In some cases, such as mutinies in Burkina Faso and Guinea, soldiers have set fire to the private residences of senior officers to express anger at their style of living.[156] Accusations of corruption extend beyond monetary issues and include claims that recruitment and promotions are based on personal connections rather than merit. In interviews, mutineers explained that a goal of their revolt is to 'expose' the alleged misdeeds of their officers to wider audiences. In most cases, it is very difficult to verify if mutineer's accusations are correct, especially as military corruption is rarely prosecuted. This too has at times led to further grievances, with soldiers complaining about impunity in the officers corps.

The tensions seen in mutinies are not limited to personal disagreements between individuals but are part of a long pattern of growing divisions between the ranks. The political role that militaries in West Africa have played has often led to senior officers being among the most elite in a given country, a sharp contrast to the lifestyles and positions of the junior ranks.

While mutineers tend to make demands directly related to their conditions in the military, the events have at times led to instability that extends beyond the military realm. Mutinies in Burkina Faso in 2011 resulted in widespread looting (likely by both soldiers and others outside the military) and numerous accusations of rape.[157] Similarly, a series of mutinies in Ivory Coast in 2017 caused several major cities to shut down due to threats of wider violence.[158] African military hierarchies typically resolve a mutiny with a payment or punishment; however, rarely do they address the more complex enduring grievances such as accusations of corruption and favoritism. Therefore, it is common to see mutinies reignite, with the same complaints even after an initial resolution.

and Tunisia. There are continuing reports of low-ranking Egyptian soldiers accepting bribes along the Egyptian border with Libya (see Egypt case study below). According to an International Crisis

Group report from 2010, "manning checkpoints and guarding important government officials and officers provide opportunities for extortion and graft" for Guinean junior military officers. These junior officers must then pass their illicit takings up the chain of command.[81]

Box 7: TI Defense Quesitons on Bribery (2015)

Q. 31: Are there effective measures in place for personnel found to have taken part in forms of bribery and corruption, and is there public evidence that these measures are being carried out?

Q. 44: With regard to compulsory or voluntary conscription, is there a policy of refusing bribes to gain preferred postings in the recruitment process?

Q. 47: Is there a Code of Conduct for all military and civilian personnel that includes, but is not limited to, guidance with respect to bribery, gifts and hospitality, conflicts of interest, and post-separation activities?

Q 51: Are there effective measures in place to discourage facilitation payments?

There are several other examples worth highlighting:

- In Cameroon, the State Department has indicated that police, gendarmerie, and government authorities have sometimes arrested or detained people without charges and only allowed them to leave if they paid a bribe.[82]
- In Morocco, there have been reports that General Abdelaziz Bennani, commander of the Moroccan troops in occupied Western Sahara, was using his position "to skim money from military contracts and influence business decisions."[83]
- In Kenya, two Kenyan border guards were identified as having received bribes from members of Al-Shabaab to sneak across the border with weapons and explosives.[84]

Outside of Afghanistan and Iraq, there are reports of individuals bribing military personnel to obtain or avoid certain positions within the military or to participate in United Nations or African Union peacekeeping missions in at least eight countries. In Uganda and Togo, some soldiers have bribed authorities to obtain postings in peacekeeping missions, in some cases paying hundreds or thousands of dollars.[85] Individuals in the Azerbaijan Army have reportedly bribed their superiors to avoid "front-line duty", unpreferred placements, or military service all together.[86] In Egypt, Thailand, and Turkey, it appears individuals have also bribed authorities to avoid mandatory conscription into the armed forces.[87] According to Transparency International, in one case in Thailand a young man paid a total of 30,000 baht or $859 dollars to avoid joining the Thai military.[88]

Box 8: Military Procurement Oversight

The United States has proposed counterterrorism aid to at least 24 countries that have weak oversight systems for defense-related purchases according to an analysis of the TI Defense Index. Without an effective auditing system or a functioning oversight body, military officials can more easily misuse government finances for self-enriching purposes. In Mali, there have been continuing reports that procurement in the Armed forces is allegedly, "riddled with private deal making and profiteering."[159] In 2014, "one defence contract involved supplies budgeted at $980,000 (US) but invoiced at $4.9m (US) – a 500% increase." Under IMF pressure, "the Ministry of Defence cancelled 10 defence contracts with private companies and the central court arrested the Minister."[160] In Azerbaijan, a lack of transparency and parliamentary oversight may have allowed procurement corruption to grow. In 2008, at least 10 Azerbaijani servicemen died in accidents caused by equipment malfunctions. This led to speculations that outdated military hardware was being purchased as new, with officials pocketing the cost discrepancy.[161]

There are no functioning oversight mechanisms in Yemen, Egypt, Somalia, Chad, Morocco, Mauritania, and Somalia. Although oversight bodies are in place in Bahrain, Thailand, Oman, Saudi Arabia, Mali, Pakistan, and Cameroon, defense-related contracts are exempt from procurement scrutiny. The remaining 10 states do have oversight mechanisms; however, it appears they function inconsistently or inadequately. In Uganda, there have also been questions about the government's oversight of some arms procurement contracts. In 2011, the Uganda People's Defense Force purchased six Russian SU-30 fighter jets for $740 million (USD) despite the true price only being $327 million (USD). According to Transparency International, "there is evidence that the inflated costs [from such deals] have contributed to political campaign financing." The deal was never investigated, and the legislature was not consulted on the purchase.[162]

Illicit and Licit Military Economic Activities

In at least 24 U.S. counterterrorism partner countries, there are reports or information on military personnel involvement in illicit activities such as drugs, human, arms, or oil smuggling or other common criminal actions. Military personnel involvement in drug smuggling appears to be especially prevalent. According to the TI Defense index, it appears that defense forces from 13 different countries have participated in the illegal narcotics trade. In Thailand, military and police in the southern region of Thailand have requested bribes for around 300,000 baht or $9,152 per truck to allow human traffickers through checkpoints.[89] Some soldiers from at least 10 countries appear to have been involved in weapons trafficking. In 2012, Indian army forces stationed in Jammu and Kashmir were accused of systematically selling military issued weapons. Mere months after 73 officers were exposed for illegally selling weapons in Rajasthan, the Supreme Court found 104 cases of illicit arms sales in the extreme northern region.[90]

There are several other examples worth highlighting:

- Military personnel in Cameroon may be "involved in money laundering through the operation of casinos and illegal gaming houses."[91]
- In Nigeria, security personnel are suspected of partaking in the country's $8 billion oil theft industry and other criminal activity in the Gulf of Guinea.[92]
- In 2015, UN monitors accused members of the Kenya Defense Forces of facilitating illegal charcoal exports from the the Somali port city of Kismayu.

Box 9: TI Defense Quesitons on Military Economic Activities (2015)

Q 16: Is there evidence that the country's defence institutions have controlling or financial interests in businesses associated with the country's natural resource exploitation and, if so, are these interests publicly stated and subject to scrutiny?

Q 30: Do national defence and security institutions have beneficial ownership of commercial businesses? If so, how transparent are details of the operations and finances of such businesses?

Q 32: Is there evidence of unauthorised private enterprise by military or other defence ministry employees? If so, what is the government's reaction to such enterprise?

In at least 28 of the 36 countries, members of the security sector have engaged in various licit military economic activities, which often allows them unfair economic advantages over civilian commercial enterprises. In 18 countries, national defence institutions have ownership stakes in legal commercial businesses, such as in Pakistan, Bangladesh, Egypt, and Ethiopia. In Pakistan, the military runs over 50 commercial entities with a combined worth over $20 billion.[93] With its ventures ranging from fertiliser and cement manufacturing to travel agencies and harbour services, the Pakistani army stands as the largest business enterprise in the country.[94] Similarly, the Bangladeshi defense forces have "a stake in commercial businesses through a retired officers welfare association named Sena Kalyan Shangstha (SKS), which includes "banking and insurance, cement and flower production, and manufacturing lamps." However, the Egyptian military may be more engaged in business than Pakistan, see Egypt box.

State Capture, Human Rights, Coups, and Fragmentation

In order to better identify the corruption risks to U.S. counterterrorism aid in many countries, it is useful to understand several broader governance indicators. According to the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace's Kleptocracy List, there are at least 26 U.S. counterterrorism partner countries from our study where the ruling leaders or elite have "deliberately bent or crippled key elements of state function in order to capture important revenue streams, ensure impunity for network members, and provide opportunities to secure" gains, see Figure 5.[95] In Azerbaijan, President Illham Aliyev has reportedly "surprised many observers with his deftness and determination in consolidating power, including obtaining the passage of constitutional amendments in 2009 that abolished [presidential] term limits, and with the severity of his recent crackdowns on civil society and the media…." These actions have likely helped Aliyev to control the country's large oil revenues.[96] In many countries, such as Burundi, Bangladesh, Cameroon, Chad, Ethiopia, Iraq, Pakistan, Philippines, and Yemen, foreign or military leaders have also used their militaries or security forces in human rights violations according to the State Department's country reports on human rights.[97]

In at least 26 countries, there is a strong chance that political leaders have engaged in some activities to protect themselves from a military coup based on the country's past experience with mili-

Box 10: Egypt

Since the peace treaty between Israel and Egypt in 1979, the United States has seen Egypt as an important country to U.S. national security interests based on its "geography, demography, and diplomatic posture."[163] Bordering Libya, Sudan, Israel and the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, this populous country increasingly faces terrorist threats from an affiliate of the Islamic State, the Sinai Province, based in the Sinai peninsula. It also remains concerned about rising terrorist and insurgent activity and attacks near the border with Libya and elsewhere in Egypt. From FY 2017 to FY 2019, the U.S. government proposed an estimated $1.8 billion in Foreign Military Financing (FMF) aid to help address these terrorist threats.[164] The focus of this counterterrorism aid is to support the procurement of U.S. arms and training to increase Egypt's air, ground, and maritime capabilities with an emphasis on security for the borders and in the Sinai.[165]

Several key U.S. counterterrorism aid risks in Egypt stem from the Egyptian military's foothold in many aspects of the Egyptian economy and political governance. Starting in the 1950s, Egyptian political leaders sought to "ensure loyalty and neutralize its potential threat to their rule by offering the armed forces [especially senior leaders] a privileged economic position and other rights."[166] While there is very little transparency on the nature of the Egyptian military's businesses today, some experts have said the military's commercial activities could account for 20 to 40 percent of Egypt's GDP.[167] The military now holds stakes in nearly every economic sector, including education, energy, arms manufacturing, infrastructure, and food and agriculture. After a 2013 military coup d'etat, which took place in part because of threats to the military's economic interests, the former General turned President, Abdel Fattah el-Sisi, has started several large economic projects in which the military plays a major role. These military business ventures are also "supported by tax breaks, preferential access to major government contracts, conscript labor, secretive bank accounts, and lack of effective oversight."[168]

According to a recent Transparency International report, entitled the "Officer's Republic," the "Egyptian military's focus on economic objectives, combined with its insulation from accountability, risks undermining its own capacity to provide security."[169] The Egyptian military's narrow strategy for addressing the terrorist threat and the potential desire to showcase American tanks it continues to build with U.S. support may also be contributing to insecurity. Active since 2011, the Sinai Province is allegedly responsible for several deadly terrorist attacks, including an attack on a mosque that killed 305 people in late 2017.[170] Yet, some experts have questioned Egypt's strategy for combating this lethal group. In particular, some experts say Egypt's use of fighter jets, tanks, and artillery to attack villages in the Sinai has caused unnecessary civilian harm and is further alienating civilians there that could help the Egyptians better combat the Sinai Province. U.S. government officials have reportedly tried to encourage Egypt to buy U.S. military equipment more suited to the fight, but U.S. officials say Egypt is more interested in building U.S. tanks so they can make money by selling the tanks abroad to customers such as Iraq and other Middle Eastern countries.

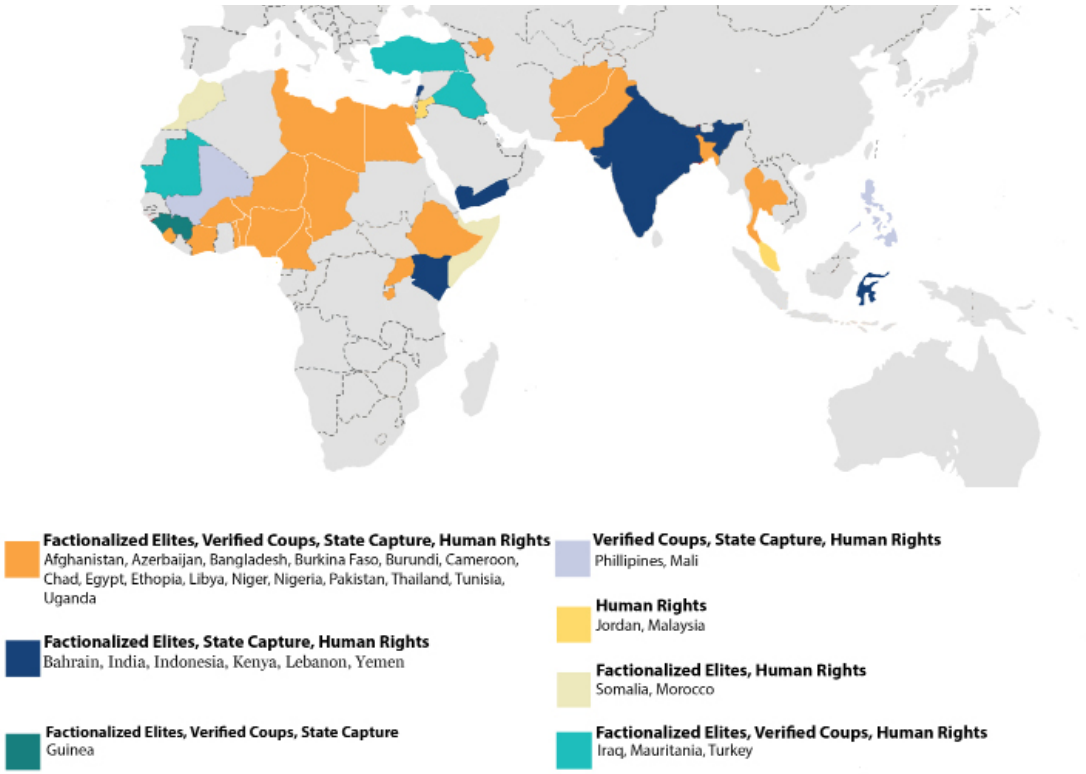
Egypt benefits not only from their investments in the legal economy but also by having a hand in or turning a blind eye to illegal smuggling across the Egypt-Libyan border. Patrolled by members of the Egyptian military in American-supplied vehicles, the border between Egypt and Libya has become a major point of smuggling of all sorts.[171] Fighters and weapons are reportedly flowing into Egypt from Libya to support terrorist groups linked to the Islamic State and al-Qaeda operating in the Western Desert area of Egypt.[172] Yet, there are continuing reports that low-ranking Egyptian military personnel accept bribes to allow "fighters to smuggle money, people and commodities across the border."[173] In one example of bribery, the Egyptian intelligence office in Siwa, near the Libya border, reportedly took a percentage of each shipment that passes through their section of the border in return for allowing illegal trafficking. It also appears that some Egyptian soldiers have been involved in drug smuggling.[174]

tary coups, according to Jonathan Powell's Coups in the World.[98] For political or military leaders in countries that have come to power in a coup or have experienced a coup while they are in power, such as in Cameroon, Egypt, Mauritania, Thailand, and Turkey, their fears of a coup are often greater. After a failed military coup against President Biya in 1984, he took several typical actions

to prevent another military coup. These included arbitrary promotions of soldiers from the President's own ethnic group, the Beti, creating two new, well-trained security forces units that report directly to him, and giving some soldiers access to economic rents.[99] At the same time, the regular military units in Cameroon felt resentment towards these new units as they received better training, weapons, and incomes.[100] In countries such as Mali and Nigeria, political leaders have also purposely reduced the defense budget to around 1 percent of GDP to reduce the risk of coups.

In many U.S. counterterrorism partners, there are high levels of fragmentation within government institutions (including the military) along ethnic, class, clan, racial or religious lines, according to the Fragile States Index's Factionalized Elites indicator.[101] These countries often experience brinksmanship and gridlock between ruling elites. As illustrated above, foreign leaders may intentionally create divisions within and between military and security forces by favoring certain groups over others in order to maintain their power and/or prevent coups, such as in Cameroon, Chad, Somali, Uganda, and Yemen. In Somalia, clan favoritism within the Somalia National Army has played a role in the theft of salaries for soldiers from outside of Mogadishu and Middle and Lower Shabelle regions have consistently seen their salaries stolen. When unfavored groups do not receive critical services or equipment, this fragmentation can lead to protests, mutinies, and/or coup d'etat attempts, as seen in Burkina Faso, Chad, Mali, and Nigeria. It appears there are marginalized groups within military and security forces in countries such as Azerbaijan, Bangladesh, Burundi, Cameroon, Chad, Guinea, Somalia, Turkey, and Uganda and potentially others.[102]

FIGURE 4: COUNTRIES WITH STATE CAPTURE, HUMAN RIGHTS, COUPS, AND/OR FRAGMENTATION



SOURCES AND NOTES: CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE'S KLEPTOCRACY LIST, POLITICAL TERROR SCALE AND STATE DEPARTMENT COUNTRY REPORTS ON HUMAN RIGHTS, JONATHAN POWELL'S "COUPS IN THE WORLD, 1950-PRESENT, AND THE FRAGILE STATES INDEX'S FACTIONALIZED ELITES INDICATOR. IF A COUNTY'S SCORE ON THE POLITICAL TERROR SCALE WAS THREE OR HIGHER, IT WAS MARKED AS HAVING A PROBLEM WITH HUMAN RIGHTS. COUNTRIES THAT ARE INDICATED AS HAVING A PROBLEM

Section 5: Future Corruption Risks to U.S. Counterterrorism Aid

The United States will likely encounter serious and diverse corruption risks in providing U.S. counterterrorism aid to the 36 countries. As shown above, there are dozens of countries that have engaged in key types of corruption activities and that have other concerning indicators. There are a total 14 countries that have participated in four or five of the key types of defense corruption activities, such as favoritism within the recruitment and promotion system, ghost soldiers, bribery, and/or illicit military economic activities. There are risks of state capture, governments purposely weakening their militaries to prevent coups, and serious fragmentation in other U.S. counterterrorism partner countries. However, where might the United States face some of the deeper corruption risks found in U.S. counterterrorism aid to countries such as Afghanistan, Iraq, Mali, Nigeria, and Yemen? Are there other corruption risks to U.S. counterterrorism aid looking at the nature of proposed U.S. aid to these countries?

Poor Military Leadership

In many U.S. counterterrorism partner countries, there is a risk that corruption will negatively impact U.S. efforts to strengthen foreign military leaders to combat terrorist groups. However, it appears corruption will impact U.S. efforts in finding qualified and motived military leaders the most in Afghanistan, Burundi, Cameroon, Chad, Egypt, Iraq, Nigeria, Somalia, Uganda, and Yemen based on the amount of planned U.S. counterterrorism aid for these countries and the number of defense corruption activities present in them. In all of these countries, there have been high levels of favoritism within the military's recruitment and promotion system and systematic bribery and at least one or two other types of corruption. There are also risks of serious fragmentation within government institutions, elite capture of some state functions, past military coups, and alleged involvement in human rights violations. The United States may also encounter challenges in finding qualified military personnel to train in Azerbaijan, Bangladesh, Ethiopia, Thailand, and Turkey due to some of the above corruption and governance issues or to the mass firing of certain soldiers.

In several of these countries there have been clear signs that the governments are promoting or removing qualified military personnel. In connection with Burundian President Nkurunziza's efforts to prevent another military coup, he has engaged in a serious and sometimes violent purge of Burundian soldiers who may sympathise with the attempted coup. It also appears he is trying to prevent or remove qualified Burundi soldiers from participating in the peacekeeping mission in Somalia. In a report entitled "Burundi: The Army in Crisis," the International Crisis Group said "some Burundian personnel have seen their candidacies to posts with AMISOM [Somalia] and MINUSCA [Central African Republic] rejected and others, already deployed, have been repatriated."[103] Political and military leaders in Bangladesh have also reportedly "sacked or forced into retirement" between 50 and 250 Bangladesh military officers since 2009 in an apparent attempt to remove

officers that sympathize with political parties other than the current ruling party.[104] In Egypt, it seems that President Sisi is attempting to thwart any resistance to his regime within the military by firing senior military or intelligence officials and arresting former military commanders.[105]

In several of these countries, individuals or soldiers have used bribes to obtain better positions or posts within the military, which could hamper U.S. efforts to find qualified and interested military leaders. In Azerbaijan, many "hiring and promotion decisions [within the military] are based on loyalty rather than merit."[106] It also appears to be common that individuals will pay bribes "to serve in a particular unit or location."[107] In Afghanistan, there have been reports of low-level officials purchasing their positions from army commanders and political leaders. They have then demanded bribes from Afghan citizens for access to government services and passed regular kickbacks to the leaders who had allowed them the privilege of participating in the system. In the past, poor military leadership in Afghanistan became so widespread that in 2015-16, 40 percent of the corps' leaders were deemed ineffective, and were removed and replaced in Helmand and Kandahar alone. It appears bribing for positions within the security forces is still a risk to U.S. counterterrorism aid in Afghanistan.[108]

BURUNDIAN SOLDIERS PERFORM TRAINING EXERCISE WITH U.S. MARINES AND SAILORS (DOD PHOTO)

Questionable Peacekeeper Selection

One of the key risks in U.S. efforts to support countries contributing troops to United Nations or African Union peacekeeping operations with a focus on counterterrorism is that "corruption and patronage relationships [may] influence troop selection."[109] In some cases, this corruption and patronage can lead to countries sending soldiers of questionable suitability for the job. In the past few years, the Togolese government has allowed dozens of individuals to go to UN peacekeeping missions that were retired from the military in apparent contravention of UN policies, according to interviews with over 60 Togolese soldiers in 2016.[110] In a few cases, it appears that these retired soldiers also lacked the physical fitness needed to perform their duties as peacekeepers.[111] Some of the Togolese soldiers from unfavored ethnic groups also reported that they were required to bribe government officials to participate in a peacekeeping mission. The United States will likely face these types of risks in countries such as Bangladesh, Burundi, Chad, Cameroon, Guinea, Kenya, and Uganda based on the existence of favoritism in their recruitment and promotion process and fragmentation within government institutions.

It also appears corruption and patronage could lead to militaries in Africa sending soldiers to be trained at U.S. supported trainings with little regard to whether they would actually be sent to peacekeeping missions. These risks have been raised in particular about the International Peace Support Training Centre (IPSTC) in Kenya, which serves as the principle peacekeeping training center for East Africans. In an article by Maro Jowell, he describes how student selection to attend training center courses at IPSTC is "highly personalized, with some slots on a course given to friends, confidants and loyalists of member states."[112] While it appears there is a small percentage of students from IPSTC that do participate in peacekeeping missions, Jowell says that the training center is "first and foremost" a source of "rewards and patronage for national and indigenous interests with concerns for peacekeeping training a secondary interest."[113]

Factional Divisions

There is a strong possibility that the United States will continue to face challenges in supporting foreign military and security forces to combat terrorist groups because of factional divisions withing U.S. counterterrorism partner country defense institutions. These risks are relatively clear in U.S. efforts to support Afghanistan, Azerbaijan, Bangladesh, Burundi, Cameroon, Chad, Guinea, Iraq, Nigeria, Somalia, Turkey, Uganda, and Yemen based on corruption within the recruitment and promotion process, high levels of fragmentation among government institutions, and reports on factional divisions within security forces. The United States may also encounter risks in U.S. counterterrorism aid to Ethiopia, Kenya, and Mali because of potential factions among military and security forces. However, the risks among the various countries differ somewhat.

In U.S. counterterrorism aid to Azerbaijan, Bangladesh, Burundi, Cameroon, Chad, and Mauritania, it appears there is a risk that U.S. aid to special counterterrorism units or other types of aid could be used more to pursue the ruling regime's agenda than combat terrorist groups, as happened in Yemen and to some extent in Mali.[114] Conversely, there is a risk that military or security

forces that see their role as largely protecting the regime will not be concerned about employing excessive use of force or other human rights violations in an effort to address terrorist threats. In both Bangladesh and Cameroon, security forces have reportedly used excessive force against individuals and groups suspected of supporting terrorist groups as well as to clamp down on unarmed civilian protestors.[115]

While it is much harder to identify the risk of some U.S. counterterrorism partner military units engaging in protests or mutinies, it appears that many of the conditions that precipitated protests or mutinies in Cameroon, Chad, and recently in Somalia remain. Similar conditions may also exist in Uganda. According to a recent International Crisis Group report on Cameroon, "troop morale seems low, especially in regular army units. The fatigue of war, logistical problems, and a feeling that officers are treating soldiers unfairly, particularly with regard to promotions, is causing frustration among the rank and file. Soldiers have as a result become less engaged and there have also been incidents such as one in October 2017 when a soldier shot his commanding officer dead."[116] Some Cameroonian soldiers have also accused their commanders of misappropriating their bonuses. As mentioned above, these protests or mutinies could result in U.S. partner countries abandoning key checkpoints or posts or challenge medium to complex combat operations because of a lack of cohesion between or within units.

Favoritism and fragmentation within the military may also pose key risks to U.S. efforts to improve command and control structures and practices and communication among different military units. In Chad, it appears some parallel command structures exist. As a result, military leaders from one ethnic group may find subordinates from a different ethnic group or with closer ties to President Deby or his family unwilling to follow the orders of their commanders. According to Debos, "actual hierarchies [in the Chadian military] do not reflect official positions and ranks." This could mean that a commanding officer's orders will not be followed unless the commander's position is understood within a largely unwritten structure of clan and family ties. The United States will also likely face resistance to any recommended changes to Chad's command and control structures that may disrupt these unwritten command connections and to certain attempts to improve communication and coordination between military and security force units. These risks could certainly exist in other countries where strong factional divisions are present.

Equipment and Personnel Deficits

The United States may also experience challenges in ensuring several U.S. counterterrorism partner countries have competent and motivated soldiers and adequate equipment. As seen in Yemen and Mali, there is a risk that political and military leaders may send unfavored military units to fight terrorist groups either within their own country or as part of an international peacekeeping mission. According to a Danish Institute for International Studies report on peacekeeping Mali, President Deby is "exporting potentially destabilizing groups [military units] in Chad in order to prevent a state coup at home" at the same time he is sending favored military units to Mali.[117] The authors say this may be why some Chadian soldiers are undisciplined and poorly skilled. In Azerbaijan, Egypt, Thailand, and Turkey, there have been reports that people have bribed officials to

avoid conscription in the military or to avoid front line duty, which raises some risk about the quality of people sent for such duty. In Cameroon, some government-supported vigilante groups have complained that local authorities or traditional chiefs are not properly distributing needed equipment to them to address threats from Boko Haram.[118] The United States may also find that the availability of quality equipment could be impacted by corruption within the procurement process of countries such as Azerbaijan, Chad, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Somalia, and Uganda based on reports of procurement fraud and/or weak oversight systems.

Indirect Support to Terrorist or Criminal Organizations

There is a continued risk that U.S. counterterrorism aid could be used to inadvertently support criminal or terrorist groups because of corruption. These risks appear relatively clear in U.S. efforts to support partner countries to strengthen their borders and maritime security in countries such as Afghanistan, Chad, Kenya, Mauritania, Nigeria, Egypt, Libya, Pakistan, and Thailand. This is because of widespread bribery and past alleged involvement in illicit activities such as smuggling. Egypt may be one of the biggest risks given the amount of money the United States is providing in border security to the country. As mentioned above, there have been consistent reports that low-ranking Egyptian military personnel have accepted bribes to allow fighters from Libya to smuggle people and goods between Egypt and Libya. There have also been reports of the military in Mauritania being directly involved in drug trafficking, which could support terrorist and Islamic militant groups in Mali.[119] In 2013, the former chief of staff of the Mauritanian army reportedly "demanded that President Aziz (head of the armed forces) resign for his 'sponsorship of drug trafficking'."[120]

In a detailed report about the risks of U.S. support to the Nigerian Navy to combat illicit trafficking within the Gulf of Guinea, the U4 Anti-Corruption Resource Centre describes how the Nigerian maritime security sector "facilitates the very crimes that the Navy should be countering, such as smuggling, piracy, and oil theft." There have been many reports that some of this trafficking, including related to illicit drugs, is a likely income source for Boko Haram.[121] According to the U4 report, "the chief of naval staff, Vice Admiral Ibok-Ete Ekwe Ibas, the highest-ranking officer in the Nigerian Navy, complained that most of the Navy's operations designed to eradicate the oil bunkering syndicates were achieving only limited success because some personnel were themselves involved in the illegal activities."[122] In some cases, it appears that the Nigerian "Navy, customs, and port authorities on occasion inform pirates and militants of the locations of ships and their cargo." As a result, they indicate that there is a risk that U.S. aid to the Nigerian security forces may "stimulate corrupt or even criminal activity."

The United States also continues to face risks with Afghan military and security forces involvement in drug trafficking. According to a U.S. Institute for Peace study in 2017, "Afghans believed almost universally that Interior Ministry officials, provincial police chiefs, and members of the ANP [Afghan National Police] were involved with the drug trade." It appears these assertions were based on "widely reported incidents of officials accepting large bribes for protecting drug traffickers and for 'selling' senior provincial and district police positions to persons engaged in drug trafficking."

While there is some debate about the specific amount of funding the Taliban has received from the opium trade in Afghanistan, it is clear that they benefit from it. According to a recent SIGAR report, General John Nicholson reportedly said that "the drug trade in Helmand Province provided about 60 percent of the Taliban's funding."[123]

Terrorist Recruitment

There are also real risks that corruption will continue to fuel terrorist recruitment in countries such as Afghanistan, Azerbaijan, Bangladesh, Burkina Faso, Iraq, Libya, Mali, Nigeria, and Somalia. These risks are based on incidences of corruption within these countries, reports of human rights violations, and terrorist groups exploiting frustration about corruption to recruit new members. According to a report by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, "Azerbaijan's prisons contain several dozen political detainees, including purported supporters of radical Islamist movements, whose recruiters often gain traction with arguments against the corruption of secular regimes…."[124] In Bangladesh, it appears that terrorist groups in Bangladesh are "seeking to exploit resentment among some Bangladesh soldiers" that feel marginalized by the purges of soldiers that may sympathize with political parties other than the current ruling party.[125]

It appears a relatively new terrorist group (the Ansarul Islam) behind recent violent attacks in Burkina Faso has also cited corruption in arguments to help persuade some people from northern Burkina Faso to support or not oppose their efforts. A recent International Crisis Group report indicates that some local officials in the north think the central government is "more inclined to look after itself rather than look after them and that [the central government] is prepared to use force to do so."[126] The report also describes how some northerners or people from the Fulani ethnic group think that central government officials "have become rich on the proceeds of trafficking, corruption and racketeering" in the region. Others complain that few northerners are included in state institutions, including security forces.

Although it is unclear whether Boko Haram references corruption within the Chadian government as a means to persuade new people to join them in Chad, some ethnic groups or clans living in the Lake Chad basin may view insurgents more favorably because of corrupt activities by the Chadian military. According to interviews in Chad, some soldiers operate as "mobile customs" officers, locally called bogo-bogo. These bogo-bogo sometimes seize property in the border regions under the pretense that the property was illegally imported. These same soldiers may also be involved in smuggling of the same goods across international borders without paying import customs. In addition, some soldiers own herds of livestock, which graze in and destroy fields planted by Chadian farmers and often pay no restitution to the farmers whose livelihoods were destroyed.

Section 6: Conclusions and Recommendations

As the United States continues to build the capacity of foreign military and security forces to address terrorist groups threats around the world, it will be critical for the U.S. government to increase efforts to identify corruption risks and to help reduce corruption in U.S. counterterrorism partner countries. As illustrated above, the United States will likely continue to face some of the serious corruption-related challenges it has previously encountered in Afghanistan, Iraq, Mali, Nigeria, Somalia, and Yemen in future U.S. counterterrorism aid to other countries. These broad risks include incompetent or unmotivated military leaders, questionable peacekeeper selection, unused or misused special military units, mutinies, and equipment and personnel deficits. There are also real possibilities that U.S. money, training, and weapons intended to strengthen U.S. partner efforts to combat terrorist groups could be used to fuel corruption and terrorist group financing and recruitment instead.

In order to begin to address these corruption risks to U.S. counterterrorism aid, we have attempted to identify where the United States may find some of these key corruption risks in the future and to provide some further information on the nature of these risks using a new framework. However, this is only the first step in an effort to more specifically identify corruption risks to U.S. counterterrorism aid and to determine how to mitigate these risks. Upon further examination of these risks, it is very possible that these risks could be more or less severe. There may be other key corruption risks in these countries that are not captured in this study. As the Defense Department continues to develop a new more comprehensive U.S. security cooperation assessment, monitoring, and evaluation directive, it will be critical to fully incorporate corruption risks within this new effort. It appears there are also opportunities for the State Department to better integrate corruption risk assessments with their efforts to provide U.S. counterterrorism aid.

For countries where the United States has planned to provide significant amounts of aid and where there are several types of corruption risks to this aid, it would be important to include a more robust corruption risk analysis for the country. Based on the above findings on U.S. counterterrorism aid and corruption activities and governance indicators in 36 countries, the United States could significantly benefit from a deeper analysis of corruption risks in Afghanistan, Azerbaijan, Cameroon, Chad, Egypt, Iraq, Kenya, Nigeria, Philippines, Somalia, and Uganda. U.S. Embassies and U.S. intelligence could play key roles in this analysis and assessment. It would be critical for this deeper country corruption risk assessment to examine these key items and potentially others:

- Structure of corrupt networks in the country, including main revenue streams, external enablers and facilitators, and connections with the military;
- Severity and nature of corruption related to the recruitment and promotion process, salaries, ghost soldiers, bribery, procurement, military economic activities, and other issues identified within the TI Defense Index;
- Strength, dynamics, and consequences of fragmentation and power struggles within the

military and security forces;
- Extent and nature of connections between military and security services and organized crime;
- Degree to which military and security force personnel are penalized for corrupt actions;
- Ideas on how these corruption issues could negatively impact U.S. counterterrorism goals; and
- Recommendations on how these issues could be mitigated.

Some efforts by the U.S. Congress could be helpful in understanding defense sector corruption. In the House Committee on Foreign Affairs State Department authorization bill, they included a new requirement for an annual report analyzing corruption risks in every country similar to a component in the State Department annual reports on human rights. As proposed, this report would answer several key questions for each country, including whether the country has: 1) "enacted laws and established government structures, policies, and practices that prohibit public corruption, including grand corruption and petty corruption;" 2) "enforces such laws through a fair judicial process;" and 3) "investigates, prosecutes, convicts, and sentences public officials who participate in or facilitate public corruption, including nationals of the country who are deployed in foreign military assignments, trade delegations abroad, or other similar missions who engage in or facilitate severe forms of public corruption," among others.[127] This important initiative could be improved if it added some additional questions about the defense sector.

On a smaller scale, the U.S. government could use the risks we have identified above to conduct more targeted risk assessments. It would be important to do targeted risk assessments for Bangladesh, Burundi, Ethiopia, Guinea, Libya, Mali, Mauritania, Thailand, Togo, Turkey, and Yemen. Some of these assessments could be easily added to ongoing efforts to review proposed training and equipment to specific military personnel or military units. This could include inquiries as to the qualifications and motivations of these personnel, including a review of their past skills and training and their motivation for joining and remaining in the military. Are they well connected to the political or military leadership or not? How did they obtain their current position? Do they have any objections to working with people from other sections of the military or security sector? The review could also ask about their position on several key issues such as bribery and other types of corruption, diversity within the military, military engagement in economic activities, and civil-military relations.

The United States could also strengthen its efforts to support partner countries to reduce corruption within their defense sectors. U.S. training to foreign defense sectors can both help build support for anti-corruption activities and provide critical information for the United States to better assess and monitor corruption within these countries. Although the United States is increasing efforts to support partner countries with defense intuition building, there is much more the United States can do to help address corruption. The Defense Department's Defense Institute of International Legal Studies provides some specific training to foreign defense sectors on combating corruption, including a course entitled the "Legal Aspects of Combating Corruption," but it appears only a few countries have received this training in the past.[128] Similarly, the United States started the Security Governance Initiative several years ago, which aims to strengthen defense governance

in key countries, but this initiative has been limited by funding and scope.

In order to have more success, it would be critical for the United States to identify individuals, units, or offices within the defense sector that are supportive of reform and give these reformers the technical advice they need to help establish new structures and policies to mitigate corruption risks."[129] The United States could also help create a global network of like-minded anti-corruption reformers, including with military and security forces.[130] U.S. government officials could use the identified corruption risks above, deeper research into military leadership and structures, and consultations with foreign military personnel to help identify key areas to address. It appears there are some unique opportunities for anti-corruption efforts within the defense sectors of Burkina Faso, Mali, Nigeria, and Tunisia based on recent changes in political leadership. In Mali, the United States could work with the recently re-elected President to push for needed reforms in defense procurement, military personnel management, including pay and rank issues, and more balanced ethnic representation. This will likely require some higher-level political push from the U.S. government.

The United States can also seek to build support for reforms and even make some small changes in more challenging political environments. In a thought-provoking article by Scott Carlson in a National Defense University publication, he argues for a more "granular approach to combating corruption and illicit power structures" by focusing more on petty corruption through improved record keeping and transparency.[131] This approach seeks to build support for anti-corruption efforts from the bottom up. One key gap in U.S. government efforts to help strengthen defense sector governance appears to be in helping build better civilian oversight of the military's budget. According to Zoltan Barany, stronger parliamentary committees have been the key to better oversight of the military and better civil-military relations in countries such as Bosnia, Slovenia, and South Africa.[132] However, the United States has done very little to support such institutions in the past. If the United States were to successfully push some militaries to make aspects of their budgets public as well as key information on arms procurement, this would go a long way toward helping reduce corruption in these countries. Importantly, there will continue to be countries where corruption is so endemic in the system that U.S. aid will be poorly spent.

Given the serious corruption risks in many U.S. counterterrorism partner countries and the combat capacity focus of this aid, it will also be critical for the United States to build in possible triggers for when U.S. officials may want to consider possible revision or termination of a particular aid package. These triggers could include a certain level of military involvement in illicit activities such as drug smuggling and several reports of the diversion of U.S. weapons to criminal or terrorist groups. The U.S. military may also want to keep a close eye on the intensity of factional divisions within the military and security forces as these divisions could undermine U.S. counterterrorism efforts through mutinies or military coups or other a severely limited morale. It would also be important for the United States to monitor civilian sentiment on corruption within the military and security forces as this can be a helpful gauge on the risks of terrorist recruitment and the success of U.S. anti-corruption efforts.

The United States may also want to build in restrictions or conditions on the use of U.S. counter-

terrorism aid to prevent some of the serious negative impacts of past aid efforts. In the past decade, the United States has sometimes used creative means to help prevent the diversion or misuse of U.S. weapons and and other types of aid. In Syria, the Defense Department required that some Syrian rebels turn in spent ammunition rounds before they received new rounds to help prevent rebels from selling them to other groups. According to SIGAR, the United States began efforts to condition aid in Afghanistan in 2014 as a "risk-mitigating and damage-controlling" measure.[133] While these efforts have had mixed results, they have been important initiatives to help address corruption risks. Based on past U.S. efforts on some conditioning aid, it appears critical for success that the U.S. government receive support or agreement from the recipient government for the conditions and that the United States actually impose those conditions when triggered.

Importantly, without a more robust U.S. government and policy community effort to better identify and mitigate corruption risks, the United States will continue to experience some of the devastating consequences we have seen in Afghanistan, Iraq, Mali, and Nigeria.

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