

## Introducing the new book on graft, kick-backs, bribery – **CORRUPTION**

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### **Waging War on Corruption – Inside the Movement Fighting the Abuse of Power** by Frank Vogl

“The Arab Spring was the trigger that prompted me to finally start writing a book that I had long been thinking about – a book that aims to change the conversation about one of the gravest problems facing most countries: corruption in government. I have been involved in civil society organizations dedicated to fighting corruption for more than 20 years and seen remarkable progress in this period. The achievements have been formidable. It is time to convert discussion about the prospects of curbing graft and bribery from one of skepticism, indeed cynicism often, to one of cautious optimism and hope.

The upbeat conclusion of this book rests, above all, on the remarkable – often exceptionally courageous – work of many heroes in many countries, from the civil society activists on the front lines, to the public prosecutors, investigative journalists, outstanding political leaders and former leaders of the United Nations and World Bank, “think tank” academics, and philanthropists. I believe individuals do change history. The heroes in this book are changing history.

*Please see:*

*Progress on curbing corruption page 3*

*Issues & policy recommendations on pages 4-5*

*Endorsements from page 5*

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But, all of the work of these remarkable people would be in vain without massive public engagement. In the Arab Spring we saw tens of thousands of people overcome fear of vicious security forces to go into the streets and the town squares in the name of their personal dignity and self-respect and to protest illegitimate governments. The valor seen in Tunisia and Egypt, replicated in many countries now, represents a tipping point in the fight against the abuse of office by politicians and government officials for their personal enrichment.

And, the anti-corruption movement, which overlaps so closely with efforts to promote human rights, protect journalists and build democracy, has been enormously powered in most recent times by the Internet in a hyper-connected age of transparency where the villains have ever fewer places to hide.

I believe that if more people are made aware of the progress being seen in many countries today in the war on corruption then that in itself will further power vital efforts for reform and improve the human condition.

This book does not minimize the challenges. The anti-corruption movement has reached base camp, but still has an Everest of corruption to climb. But for the skeptics, let me say bluntly there is a powerful momentum now in campaigns for transparency, accountability and justice and, as I note in the final line of the book, it is important for people now to stand on the right side of history.

Frank Vogl, September 2012

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Frank Vogl is a former international economics journalist (Reuters, and The Times, UK). He served as Director of Information & Public Affairs at the World Bank.

Frank is President of Vogl Communications, Inc. in Washington DC – a financial and economics public relations firm.



This new book is dedicated to two organizations: Transparency International (TI) and the Partnership for Transparency Fund (PTF). Frank is a co-founder of both of these organizations. He served as Vice Chairman of TI for its first 9 years, was a Board director for 12 years, and now serves on its Advisory Council and as the Advisor to the Managing Director. Frank is the Vice Chairman of PTF.

Born in the UK and a graduate in politics from Leeds University, Frank Vogl is both a citizen of the UK and US. He has written extensively about economics, business ethics, governance and corruption. This is his third book.

**Progress:  
Corruption is universal**

Corruption is a political, social and economic issue of global proportions. Today, as never before, it is a major cause of the global crises of poverty, human rights, justice and security. It impacts us all.

All governments are vulnerable to corruption and no government can claim that it does not harbor officials who abuse their office for their personal gain. While it is almost certainly true that corruption in government will never be ended, it is equally true that much can be done to reduce its prevalence.

The bad news on corruption always overshadows the good news on anti-corruption. Nevertheless, there is a lot more progress being made towards curbing corruption than is widely realized. As more people understand this, so popular cynicism that argues there has always been corruption and there always will, may be reduced. Instead, we may see heightened levels of public engagement dedicated to the goals of increasing transparency and accountability in all aspects of government.

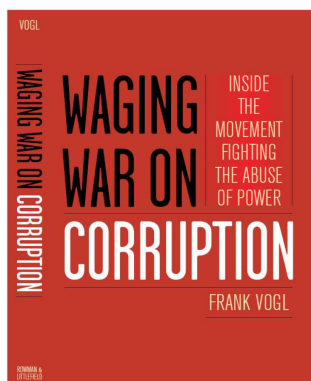
The pace of anti-corruption action is accelerating. Over the last generation we have seen developments that are transforming the once hopeless cause of fighting corruption into a viable proposition. We are now seeing a powerful combination of forces:

- A robust set of civil society organizations operating nationally and internationally – headed by courageous and professional individuals - that are dedicated to curbing corruption;
- A complex of national and international anti-corruption laws and conventions, backed by world leaders, which set benchmarks and standards for enforcement that are being monitored with mounting impact. The conclusions of the Group of 20 summit meetings in 2010 and 2011 with specific anti-corruption agendas, illustrates the momentum behind official level anti-corruption actions today;
- The rapid development of new information and media technologies that are creating a level of interconnectivity between peoples of all ages and all countries that, by building a new age of transparency, leaves the corrupt bribe-takers and bribe-payers with ever fewer places to hide; and,
- Rising support from philanthropic foundations, plus formidable increases in academic research, which are adding greatly to the operational capacities and to the focus of those civil society organizations, large and small, that are at the core of the war on corruption.

**ISSUES:**

The crimes of corruption are not abstract issues. Every time an official steals from the public purse, then someone suffers.

This book highlights both the victims and the villains, providing illustrations of the many aspects of the outrages perpetrated by corrupt government bribe-takers and their co-conspirators, the bribe-payers.



- **Corruption is a crime against humanity.**  
It is inappropriate in strictly legal terms to equate it with genocide. But, millions of people have died in recent years in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) in large measure because of massive corruption related to the nation's vast mineral wealth. In many countries, theft of government funds leaves millions of people without clean water, decent sewage, and access to reasonable healthcare, housing and education. Similarly, the poor in scores of countries face extortion from local police, nurses, doctors and all who should be concerned with their welfare.
- **Corruption is an economic crime.**  
Bribery impacts many aspects of trade and finance. Corporate bribe-paying to government officials undermines free enterprise, distorts markets, wrecks sound public sector management. The spoils of corruption, amounting to tens of billions of dollars, are laundered through the international financial system. Repatriating the stolen assets, often on deposit in Western banks, is incredibly difficult.
- **Corruption is a crime against taxpayers everywhere.**  
From Chicago to Nairobi, taxes paid by citizens are stolen by officials, or misused in corrupt public contracting. More than \$2 billion is being spent on the 2012 US elections – what do the biggest donors expect in return? Tens of billions of US taxpayer dollars have disappeared into the pockets of officials in Afghanistan and Iraq in recent years.
- **Corruption Damages Peace and Security.**  
Countries widely perceived to be the most corrupt are also the most violent – Afghanistan, Somalia, Iraq, Pakistan. The arms trade is a prime sector rife with graft. Terrorist organizations use corruption and money laundering as key tools of their trade. Opacity in contracting in the extractive industries is yet another cause of insecurity.

Many individuals and organizations across the world are addressing each and every aspect of the multitude crimes of corruption. Never before has there been so much momentum behind the anti-corruption activism. The eradication of corruption is a global challenge. The “Arab Spring” is a call to action.

### **What can be done?**

**JUSTICE:** The manipulation of the judiciary and the widespread corruption in the police in many countries represent the single greatest obstacles to curbing corruption. This book looks at this key issue. It highlights the many productive actions being taken in many countries now to empower people to seek their legal rights, to strengthen transparency in the legal system and to expose injustice. A powerful argument is made for reform through mass public engagement and the rising power of Internet-driven legal services.

Five other areas are examined in detail, with concrete recommendations to policy-makers made for each:

- **Development assistance:** agencies need to undergo a total review of their anti-corruption endeavors. There is an Alice In Wonderland aspect to the good governance approaches of the World Bank and others who provide funds directly to corrupt governments and tell them to use it to clean up their own houses! Civil society must be accepted by aid agencies as a much more serious partner if good governance projects are to work.

- **The arms trade:** transparency must become a meaningful and operative driver of all aspects of this massive business. Western governments are not demonstrating seriousness here. The illicit arms trade is vast – everyone knows it and very little is done about it. Many concrete measures can be taken, as indicated in this book.
- **Oil, gas and mining:** the time has now come for securing extractive industries' transparency. Important progress has been made. All the same, the companies need to reveal exactly who receives their cash in host countries, where it is deposited and the banks taking the cash need to be accountable if they are co-conspirators in corruption.
- **Anti-money-laundering:** we know what needs to be done, now is the time to generate the political will to act. A full program of actions has been supported for some time by the Group of 20, but enforcement is deplorable. Total international illicit financial flows of cash each year could well be in excess of \$1 trillion.
- **Corporate bribe-paying** to foreign government officials: the laws are on the books, but enforcement is far below what it should be – it is time this changed. This remains an enormous and complex challenge to the US, France and the UK, in particular. The era where such governments could use aid of diverse kinds to win foreign “friends” for strategic reasons by enabling massive corruption are over. But the foreign policy establishments are slow to recognize how these policies – still in evidence in Afghanistan and Pakistan, for example – are counter-productive.

### **Praise for Waging War on Corruption....**

**José Ugaz**

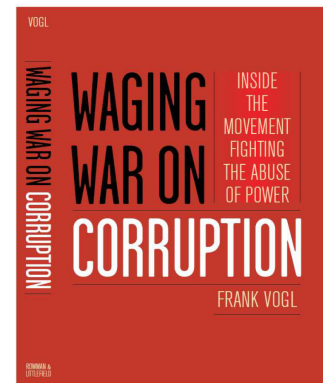
**Peruvian criminal defense attorney, professor of criminal law and former Special State Attorney for the Fujimori and Montesinos case.**

"This is a fascinating and complete source book on corruption. The author, who has committed part of his life to struggle against this human calamity, shares global stories with us about the impact of corruption; the origins of Transparency International -- the champion NGO in the anti-corruption fight; he names and shame corrupt leaders, highlights major cases; and tells us about courage. Even though fighting corruption is a huge challenge and seems like an impossible mission, Vogl presents an optimistic view of the future of what he describes as a "very long war" driven by the actions of numerous heroes around the world."

**Michela Wrong**

**Author of "It's Our Turn to Eat - The story of a Kenyan whistle blower."**

"There are few men who can rival Frank Vogl's insight and historic knowledge of the global fight against corruption. As a journalist and World Bank staffer, he saw sleaze's terrible impact up close. He went on to co-found the mould-breaking anti-corruption organization Transparency International, and can call a host of fearless activists his friends. This book is an authoritative, wide-ranging and clear over-view of a struggle the world can no longer ignore."



**James A. Thurber**  
**Distinguished University Professor, Director,**  
**Center for Congressional and Presidential**  
**Studies, Founder of the Public Affairs and**  
**Advocacy Institute, American University.**  
**Author of works on ethics and lobbying.**

*Waging War on Corruption* is a provocative and timely account of the linkage of graft, government and corporate corruption and poverty in the world and what should be done about it. As a key person in the creation, leadership, and success of Transparency International, the world's leading anti-corruption organization, Vogl is one of the most knowledgeable authorities on how to fight graft and corruption throughout the world. Whether it is corrupt local police, graft associated with the international arms trade, or the corrosive actions of political villains throughout the world, Vogl knows the topic from firsthand experience and quality data analysis. *Waging War on Corruption* should be read by government and corporate leaders, academics, reform activists, journalists, and citizens of the world that want to stop poverty and injustice stemming from graft and corruption.

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**Professor Mark Pieth**  
**Chairman of the OECD Working Group on**  
**Bribery in International Business**  
**Transactions, Chairman of the Board of the**  
**Basel Institute on Governance, former**  
**Member of the Independent Inquiry**  
**Committee into the United Nations Iraq Oil-**  
**for-Food Program; Member of the Financial**  
**Action Task Force on Money Laundering**  
**(FATF).**

Frank Vogl presents a fascinating account of the emergence of the worldwide anti-corruption story over the last two decades. It is a long missing contribution adding the personal touch to the usual fare.

**Devendra Raj Panday**  
**A leader of the Nepal citizens for democracy**  
**movement, former Minister of Finance.**

"If corruption is a "crime against humanity" as Frank Vogl asserts, nothing less than the future of human civilization is at stake here. Frank's authentic account of the struggle -- the challenges and the accomplishments -- should inform and inspire everyone fighting "the war" against corruption today, and tomorrow."

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**Huguette Labelle**  
**Chair of the Board of Directors of**  
**Transparency International, former**  
**Chancellor of the University of Ottawa,**  
**former President of the Canadian**  
**International Development Agency:**

"I was so caught in the text that I had to read every word - I would recommend it to Universities as compulsory reading in a number of disciplines and to staff in government and in multilateral organizations. The Board rooms of corporations could also benefit from its content...There is much more that can be said about what inspires the reader but for me it is that hope is better than despair since it can be the source of action, that fighting corruption and preventing it is a global and societal priority project and that its neglect will continue to wreak havoc in the stability of our world and the lives and livelihoods of the world's people."

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**Dr. Kamal Hossain**  
**Arrested by Pakistan in Bangladesh's war of**  
**liberation, he served as Bangladesh's**  
**Minister of Law, Minister of Foreign Affairs**  
**and Minister of Petroleum and Energy.**

"An invaluable account by one of the Founders of TI's of the organization's origins and its evolving role as a global movement, sharing his rich insights gained from continued and active involvement in the movement."



**Professor Michael Johnston**  
**Charles A. Dana Professor of Political**  
**Science, Colgate University:**

“*Waging War on Corruption* provides a much-needed retrospective, and overall assessment, concerning the contemporary anti-corruption movement. Transparency International and related groups seemingly came out of nowhere a generation ago, but Frank Vogl shows how long-term influences shaped anti-corruption agendas and strategies. Today, political events, new technology, and the movement’s own successes in shifting the global agenda are creating fresh challenges. Vogl’s book offers an essential discussion of those dynamics, and of what those concerned with justice and accountability must do in the years to come.”

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**Cobus de Swardt**  
**Managing Director, Transparency**  
**International.**

“Frank Vogl describes the global rise of awareness of the devastating effects of corruption on millions of people around the world. Through the lens of fascinating human stories, he vividly illustrates the importance of individuals standing up against corruption and making the demand for transparency and accountability in politics and public life one of the key social challenges of our time.”

*As we saw in the Arab Spring, in massive public protests from New Delhi to New York, public outrage over corruption is rising rapidly.*

*We are at a moment not unlike that several decades ago when Americans marched and campaigned for civil rights and James Baldwin wrote: “The people that once walked in darkness are no longer prepared to do so.”*

**Elena A. Panfilova**  
**General Director, Center for Anti-corruption**  
**Research and Initiative Transparency**  
**International - Russia**

"I always wished for a book like this: a book about where Transparency International came from, how we all became a part of it, what we stand for and what we all are doing to make our dreams come true. There is a big need for this story in our society - in Russia these days: because Frank Vogl's book shows that everything is possible, that civic activism has a chance to push through even the hardest of agendas, that there are heroes among us such as TI's founders, who decided to make a difference and here we are - TI chapters now actively work all over the globe; more and more people are joining our cause; and, governments in more and more countries are putting anti-corruption at the top of their agenda. I plan to buy many copies of this book and give it to my students, to my colleagues, to people in government and in business - I will give it to all those who lost hope, who think that David of civic activism is too weak to confront the Goliath of injustice, poverty and corruption. This book proves that this is simply not true."

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**Delia Ferreira Rubio**  
**Political scientist, Argentina; winner of the**  
**2011 Joe C. Baxter Award from the**  
**International Foundation for Electoral**  
**Systems (IFES)**

“Frank Vogl's book is an important contribution to the fight against corruption – it will especially help young people to see the film and not just the photo, and so recognize that although slow and difficult, change is possible. As the author beautifully describes it: "there is an Everest of corruption still to climb. Two decades ago we could look at the mountain from afar and dream. Today we have reached base camp. We are living the dream."

== [www.frankvogl.com](http://www.frankvogl.com)