

*Parliamentary Accountability and the Control of Corruption Part II:
The Challenge of Globalisation*

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Parliamentary Accountability and the International Financial Institutions

By

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Parliamentary Accountability and the International Financial Institutions¹

Condemning corruption is like shouting from the basement. If you shout loud enough and long enough, those on the ground floor or higher will pay attention. - *Anonymous*

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1. Introduction: the issues at hand

Two prisoners, Jacob and Cain were having a conversation after an unfamiliar meal of corn bread and beans. Jacob was a former minister of Transport and Cain a former accounting officer (permanent secretary) in the Ministry of Health in the Republic of Korona, a coup-prone island in the Atlantic Ocean. What follows is an abridged version of their conversation. Jacob, was known for his characteristic grey goatee beard and big tummy, which was rapidly shrinking due to bad prison diet. Cain was young, flamboyant and ambitious, and was always bribing the prison warders to allow him to talk to his many former girl friends.

Cain: With your immense wealth, how come you ended in prison, what did you do?

Jacob: You know the standard 10% “take-home” from all World Bank funded projects in the Ministry of Transport. This time, the people to share the money were many, so we demanded 30% from the contractors, who then built substandard roads with our blessing, and a few “bridges” even where there were no rivers. Then a new Parliament was elected as that Australian cowboy, James Wolfensohn (JW) was taking over as World Bank President. You know how tough our new Parliament and that JW are. I did not survive a parliamentary commission of inquiry, and that is how I ended in this miserable place.

Jacob: Maybe you could put down that borrowed mobile phone and tell me how you ended in prison like me.

Cain: For me it was a case of misfortune. Four years after graduation, I had acquired five houses, six cars, and a small plane. I did not earn the name Speedy Cain for nothing. Unfortunately following a cabinet reshuffle on the island, a mean woman was made minister of health. She immediately stopped all World Bank projects and opted for projects funded by loans and grants from Canada and Scandinavian countries. To maintain my lifestyle, I needed the traditional 10% of all project funds. Unfortunately, a combination of our noisy parliamentarians, a mean minister and alert donors led to my misfortune and my ending here.

Jacob: But this is unfair. The whole Corona cabinet is corrupt, many bureaucrats still take their cut, but none of them is arrested. Damn the Canadians, the Scandinavians and those noisy parliamentarians. I wonder when the next coup is going to be!

The Jacob-Cain story would be funny if it did not depict what happens in many countries of Africa and beyond. Many cases of corruption occur in the full knowledge of the lending institutions, and it is only recently that the World Bank has put its foot down to condemn corruption or even to suspend aid to corrupt regimes. Unfortunately, it is the poor in developing countries who have to pay for the greed of just a few corrupt officials.

1.1 Corruption defined

Of the many definitions of corruption, the one by Transparency International is perhaps the best: **corruption is the abuse of public office for private gain.** Corruption includes bribery and extortion, embezzlement, nepotism and tribalism, fraud, neglect of duty, and misuse of government assets such as motor vehicles. This definition does not reflect private sector fraud. Some definitions also further divide corruption into petty (small-scale corruption to survive) and grand corruption - greed-driven corruption where large amounts are involved. Surprisingly, according to Transparency International, this distinction is only academic since countries with grand corruption tend to have plenty of petty corruption too. Moreover, mechanisms to combat both types are the same. So it is safer to fight both forms of corruption. Corruption also has a global dimension, made more efficient by recent discoveries in information and communication technology such as the Internet. However, even on a global scale, corruption has local players and collaborators. Controlling corruption on a local level contributes or strengthens efforts to control corruption at a global level.

The World Bank is an institution that should know a thing or two about corruption. The World Bank defines corruption as the offering, receiving, or soliciting anything of value to influence the action of a public official in the preferment or in contract execution.

1.2 Corruption: a threat to good governance

Corruption inhibits good governance and cripples development. The pillars of good governance include democracy, human rights, the rule of law, efficient and effective government, accountability and transparency, economic and social justice (Table 1). Uganda is one country which has tried hard to promote good governance. Even there, corruption is a threat to these efforts. The table shows how this young country is measuring up and where it is not. Ideally, each country should do this type of analysis as it combats the evil of corruption.

Table 1: Good governance: how does Uganda measure?

Pillar	Characteristics	How do we measure, what score?
Democracy	Regular elections	Good score, enshrined in constitution

	Change easy	In transition
Human rights	Respect all rights Have institutions for this	Reasonably well Most exist
The rule of law	No arbitrary govt. Govt. subject to law Institutions to ensure this	So far so good Good score Have them
Effective, efficient government	No wasteful govt. good economic management good civil service	Good score, but some weaknesses Economic problems Improvement needed

1.3 The issues at hand

The issue at hand before this Laurentian Seminar can be summarised as:

- a) Parliaments can promote comprehensive national efforts to control corruption through reform of public and private institutes (national integrity systems).
- b) Corruption is global, and multinationals are major players.
- c) IFIs especially the World Bank have at last realised the need to fight corruption, but some of their methods of work do not promote good governance and public accountability.
- d) Parliaments need to oversee work of IFIs. Relationship between Parliaments and IFIs needs to be strengthened.

Let us look at these issues in turn.

1.3.1 Parliaments can promote comprehensive national efforts to control corruption through reform of public and private institutes (national integrity systems).

The creation of national integrity systems is *a sin qua non*, or that which must be done if corruption is to be contained or curtailed. Uganda has gone a long way along these lines and section 3 “Lessons from Uganda” discusses the key role that the Uganda parliament has played in the creation of these national integrity systems. Later, the paper will show that there is a lot that needs to be done to strengthen these integrity systems as they fight corruption.

1.3.2 Corruption is global, and multinationals are major players.

Corruption of some sort occurs in all countries, but the extent differs from country to country. The key players in the corruption game may be local politicians, bureaucrats, people and companies doing business with governments, or multinational companies. The multinationals usually claim that corrupt officials in developing countries demand bribes, but there are instances of multinationals initiating bribery in order to win tenders against stiff competition.

Corruption in the global context: the Corruption Perception Index, CPI

Corruption is a cancer with metastases (areas of spread) at local, national, and international levels. Transparency International (TI), the organisation that has been fighting corruption and has organised seminars in many countries, including Uganda on the cancer, has conducted an extensive study to establish all aspects of corruption. The organisation measures the Corruption Perception Index or CPI, and in 1998, 85 countries in the world were covered.

Transparency International uses the "poll of polls" approach to measure CPI because unbiased, hard data on the actual levels of corruption in multiple countries are not available. International surveys are therefore the most credible means available for compiling a ranking. According to TI, the CPI is the most statistically robust means of measuring perceptions of corruption.

The "poll of polls" includes assessment by 12 organisations, including Gallup International, the World Bank, Institute for Management Development (World Competitiveness Yearbook), Harvard Institute for International Development, Political & Economic Risk Consultancy, and others. They survey local and international business people, the general public, local and expatriate staff. The survey covers the extent of corruption, improper practices, and the assessment of corruption among public servants and politicians. More details are available on the Internet TI web page (references 3 and 4).

The CPI is an assessment of the corruption level in 85 countries as perceived in 1998 by business people, risk analysts, investigative journalists and the general public. The CPI does not seek to reflect perceptions of private sector fraud in countries. The scores used range from 10 (country perceived as virtually corruption-free, say Denmark), down to close to 0 (country perceived as almost totally corrupt, say Cameroon). In future, more countries will be added to the list. Uganda ranks number 73 of 85 countries surveyed, or number 13 if you start from the bottom of (most corrupt to the top (least corrupt)). This reflects what we are saying about ourselves as Ugandans, and this is also what the others are saying about us. The index shows indeed that corruption is a global phenomenon, although the degree and extent differ from country to country. Unfortunately, many countries in the developing world, some represented at this seminar score badly on the CPI ranking. This is a challenge to us to do something about corruption in our countries.

1.3.3 IFIs have at last realised the need to fight corruption

The IFIs and in particular the IMF and the World Bank Group have realised the need to fight corruption, promote good governance and public accountability, much to the delight of the silent

majority in the developing world who have seen their debt portfolio double or quadruple in just a few decades, for little development work in their countries.

The cold war years were characterised by massive looting of national coffers by leaders, especially in Africa, Latin America and South East Asia. The World Bank and IMF looked the other way, as long as the looter - Abacha, Bokasa, Marcos, Mobutu, and others claimed to be pro-West and anti-Communist.

Section 3, Lessons from Uganda, shows how IFI methods of work promote corruption.

1.3.4 Parliaments need to oversee the work of IFIs. Relationship between Parliaments and IFIs needs to be strengthened.

Uganda's case in this respect is interesting. The 1995 Constitution was written after many years of economic mismanagement by government, and the legislators who wrote the constitution made every effort to strengthen the arm of the legislature in financial control. Borrowing which used to be at the behest of the executive in collaboration with the IMF and the World Bank now has to seek parliamentary approval, and any spending from the Consolidated Fund has to be approved by Parliament. This, plus other measures at budgeting and budget monitoring have assisted Uganda restrain the hitherto uncontrolled borrowing and the spiralling foreign debt.

This issue will be discussed further in section 3: Lessons from Uganda.

2. Recommendations of the 1998 Entebbe, Uganda Regional Workshop

This regional workshop held along the lines of the Laurentian Seminar, made recommendations in four broad areas: accountability; national integrity; committee building (the Public Accounts Committee, PAC and the Committee on Commissions, Statutory Authorities and State Enterprises, CCSASE); and budget cycle recommendations. These recommendations were based on the Uganda experience. While these did not specifically mention International Financial Institutions, these internal measures are aimed at strengthening internal financial control and accountability. Once this is ensured, then all the borrowed money will be put to good use. Moreover, strong internal control mechanisms will prevent any corrupt tendencies involving nationals and IFIs. These recommendations are discussed in details in the Handbook that was published following the 1998 Entebbe Uganda Workshop, only a summary is given below.

2.1 Accountability recommendations

- a. The PAC and CCSASE should remain active in probing financial irregularities, together with the Auditor General, the CID and the media. They should develop better links with the districts.
- b. The Auditor General and PAC should oversee classified portions of the government budget. This area is subject to abuse, as evidenced by recent cases of corruption in military procurement.
- c. Government should respond to Parliamentary Committee recommendations within a set time-frame.
- d. The Auditor General should do a value-for money audit, in collaboration with PAC and CCSASE.

2.2 National Integrity recommendations

- a. The PAC and CCSASE should be key in the building of the National Integrity System, and should involve Parliament, government, civil society, the media, police, watchdog agencies, the public and private business, in the fight against corruption. The two committees and the IGG² should enforce financial honesty.
- b. The two committees should work for a parliamentary committee that receives IGG reports, and to advocate for increased IGG funding so as to enforce the Leadership Code.
- c. Threats against freedom from libel and sedition laws should be eliminated to help fight corruption.
- d. The funding of the IGG should be increased on a long-term basis, and his office should have sub-regional offices to address local corruption.

2.3 Committee-building recommendations

- a. The PAC and CCSASE should develop strategic plans to strengthen their roles, with analysis, goals, objectives and indicators set out clearly over a 2-year time-frame.
- b. Chair leadership, information input, links with civil society and the executive, and staff and facilities should be factors in this planning.
- c. Ties should be developed with other African parliamentary committees to help in this institution-strengthening process.

² IGG stands for the Inspector General of Government. Equivalent to Ombudsman, but with extensive powers.

2.4 Budget cycle recommendations

- a. Ugandan parliamentary committees should have roles at the planning and ongoing monitoring stages of the budget cycle, so as to better shape priorities and to ensure these reflect people's needs.
- b. The greater policy flexibility now open due to the HIPC (highly indebted poor countries) debt cancellation makes such democratic input a meaningful priority.
- c. Ugandan economic committees should establish good links with civil society groups and research bodies so as to improve Parliament's budget influence.

3. Parliament and IFIs: lessons from Uganda

3.1 Concerns of developing countries e.g. Uganda

Most loans have “unfavourable strings” attached. Loans from the IMF, the World Bank, bilateral donor agencies such as USAID, CIDA, DANIDA, NORAD, Sida, JICA, and donor countries require (overtly or covertly) that goods and services be procured from the country lending money. These goods and services are not necessarily the cheapest or best quality on the market, or even indeed the most appropriate. In short, the recipient country does not always get value for money. Although literature is full of snow-removing equipment coming from the former Soviet Union as aid to the tropics, there are many cases of American or European vehicles coming to Africa when Japanese models would have been most suitable, Japanese and Chinese primary school chairs and desks coming to primary schools in Africa when the children cannot fit in them, and many instances of electrical appliances coming to rural areas in Africa which do not have electricity.

Lending conditionalities of IFIs hurt the poor most. Many IMF austerity programmes such as structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) have seen many teachers, nurses and others retired for budgetary reasons. These programmes have tended to hurt the poor, while the elite in capital cities and their IMF or World Bank counterparts (the consultants) are paid exorbitant salaries. Programmes by IFIs to mitigate the effects of structural adjustment are administered by the same officials in the Ministry of Finance and WB experts who live in paradise in the cities, and pretend that they can alleviate poverty in the villages. This is equivalent to a reckless tow truck driver who knocks you down and then offers to take you to his garage for first aid! The PAPSACA programme in Uganda, meant to assist the poor withstand the effects of SAP is one case of a programme that did not help the intended beneficiaries. the Poverty Action Programme (PAP) in

the Prime Minister's Office (PMO) is a new programme to replace PAPSCA, one can only hope that the failure of PAPSCA will be a lesson to the implementors of PAP.

The needs of the poor do not rank high on the agenda of IFIs. In addition to examples cited about structural adjustment, there is a general belief in many countries that IFIs especially the World Bank Group does not listen to the poor or their representatives in the developing world. However, of late, with the new President of the World Bank, the institution seems to have put social issues on the agenda. However, IFI experience in this field is limited, and moreover the change of heart is recent and will need years to yield results. For these IFIs to really look at the interests of the poor, IFIs need to operate openly and transparently, and to consult the poor or their representatives, rather than their traditional allies - the officials in the Ministry of Finance, Planning, banking, or economic monitoring.

The work methods of the IFIs promote corruption. These methods need revision which should reflect the needs of the borrowers and the poor in those borrowing countries. Typically, the IFIs have these undesirable work methods:

- * Projects are conceived with little input from the beneficiaries. Usually the WB experts use a project design that failed in one country, say Philippines, in another country, say Uganda, hoping that avoiding mistakes made in Philippines will ensure project success in Uganda.
- * They tend to go for short term projects, such as power dams that have immediate impact and quick return on investment, rather than long term programmes, such as health and education.
- * The projects are designed in a hurry, there are emergency deadlines to beat and legislators are told to approve loans in a hurry.
- * Huge reports, many of them hard to read or understand are common.
- * Strings attached to the loans and even grants, are not always favourable to the borrowers, in particular the poor in society. Rather, the strings tend to favour the donors.
- * Expatriates and consultants are a feature of IFI projects. They tend to be from outside, are paid 10 times as locals of the same education, expertise and experience. Many in the developing world see these consultants as job seekers moving from one project to another. They may call these projects different names - "initiatives", "interventions", "efforts", "dialogues" or other exotic names, but to the intended beneficiaries, they all look like the old projects.

3.2 What the World Bank and IMF say they are doing

Reform at the World Bank and IMF has been taking place, though slowly. According Peter Lewis writing in the *New York Times* of 11 August 1997, (available on Vinnie's Home Page on the Internet), "At their annual meeting for the world's finance ministers, the World Bank's president, James Wolfensohn, and the IMF managing director, Michel Camdessus, announced that for the first time they would use their leverage with poor nations to stamp out corruption and to promote better governance" As the finance ministers prepare to gather in Hong Kong ... the first fruits of that new policy are starting to become visible"

The first fruits of this new policy included: The World Bank did the following:

- * It persuaded and convinced Romania to cancel a planned purchase of 96 Cobra attack helicopters from Bell Helicopter of USA. Romania wanted to use the purchase as leverage to join NATO, although the purchase would have diverted funds from health and education to defence.
- * It suspended a \$ 220 million loan to Kenya because President Moi had failed to create an anti-corruption authority and to re-instate the dismissed Commissioner for customs and excise, Samuel Chebii, who was known to combat graft to the discomfort of government.
- * It suspended its operations in countries where it believed its money was not likely to benefit ordinary people because of endemic corruption and inefficiency. These countries include Nigeria, the Sudan, Congo and Afghanistan.

These measures are encouraging and more needs to be done. By strengthening the EDI unit, the World Bank is beginning to show commitment towards fighting corruption.

3.3 *What Uganda has done*

Uganda has instituted a number of measures aimed at good governance, and these have helped curtail corruption. Many of these measures were not intended to fight corruption, but good governance necessarily means punishing illegal activity, including corruption. Some of the measures include constitutional provisions, the setting up of anti-corruption agencies, and setting up a national integrity system. The paper will examine these in turn.

Constitutional provisions: As discussed earlier, the 1995 Constitution restricted borrowing by the Executive without approval by Parliament. Since 60% of the budget in FY 19999 was from borrowing, this exerts considerable control by the legislature on the input side of the budget. This has sealed the perennial loophole where World Bank and IMF experts would convince (almost connive with) officials in the Ministry of Finance to borrow huge sums of money, for projects that were neither needed nor planned and executed to give good value for money. Since 1996,

Parliament has in cancelled or modified projects for funding by IFIs and the Ugandan taxpayer is the major beneficiary.

The 1995 Constitution also provides that before money is taken from the Consolidate Fund, parliamentary approval should be sought. This has helped curtail cases of financial abuse, but there are some *lacunae* (loopholes) in the law loopholes which have been exploited. For instance, statutory self-accounting bodies and agencies such as the IGG, Uganda Revenue Authority, the Judiciary Commission, the Electoral Commission, Bank of Uganda, etc. get their money automatically from the Consolidate Fund without parliamentary approval. In theory, money can leave the Consolidated Fund via Bank of Uganda to fund a corruption-riddled project which Parliament would never have approved. Parliament plans to seal some of these lacunae in the law.

The operations of the budget and the budgeting process in Uganda is still controlled by the Ministry of Finance and the strong invisible arm of the IMF and the World Bank. They operate in secret, but many legislators know about this. Parliament is about to implement the Budget Bill which will among other things, demand that the budget process be transparent, and that Parliament and other stakeholders, including civil society be involved in earlier phases of the budget cycle rather than doing a “post-mortem in a hurry”, which is the case at the moment.

There are many other instances where the Constitution has restricted the temptation to be corrupt. The Constitution also provides for the removal of a minister following a parliamentary probe (censure). This has resulted in censure of two ministers and the resignation of two.

Setting up anti-corruption agencies. These measures include setting up the office of the Inspector General of Government (IGG), strengthening the office of the Auditor General, setting up the Public Accounts Committee (PAC), and the Committee on Commissions, Statutory Authorities and State Enterprises (CCSASE) in Parliament. Recently the Ministry of Ethics and Integrity has been set up, and the Minister, Hon Miria Matembe is not only a renowned woman activist, but an anti-corruption crusader to boot. The recent cabinet reshuffle in Uganda has seen another woman (Sarah Kiyingi Namusoke) as Minister of State Internal Affairs, in charge of Police and Prisons. These departments were known to be citadels of corruption and the new minister has credentials of a no-nonsense crusader against corruption.

The National Integrity Survey: Recently, in line with the 1995 Constitution, the IGG has used his wide reaching powers to tackle corruption. But before you can fight corruption, you have to analyse it. With donor support (UNDP, DANIDA, and UNICEF), integrity survey was conducted by CIET International in collaboration with the Decentralisation Secretariat, and the Institute of Statistics and Applied Economics, Makerere. This survey was very extensive and covered all the 45 districts of Uganda. Rural and urban people, male and female, were interviewed by trained staff who used household questionnaire, focus group discussions, key

informant interviews, and a questionnaire for service workers, say medical assistants, police officers, teachers, magistrates, and Uganda Revenue Authority (URA) officials (6).

The Uganda Integrity survey revealed (Table 2) that citizens were aware that public servants were corrupt. Education was rarely rated as corrupt, but the police was seen by 60% of the households as most corrupt and only 2% as least corrupt. The IGG is seen as not corrupt, but then very few people are aware of the existence of his office, and are not likely to act as "whistle blowers" to report corruption. Sadly the judiciary is seen by 15% of the households as most corrupt and only 2% of Ugandans think the judiciary is least corrupt. Yet the police and judiciary plus the IGG are charged with fighting corruption, and yet citizens do not trust them or do not know they exist.

Table 2: Services Ugandan households rated as most corrupt or least corrupt

Service	Most corrupt (%)		Least corrupt (%)	
Police	60		2	
Judiciary	15		2	
Health	27		17	
URA	6		2	(Uganda Revenue Authority)
Education	4		28	
Local admin	25		15	
Works	1		1	
Tender boards	0			
IGG	0		0	
Post office	0.1		1	
UEB	2		0.5	(Electricity Board)
Agriculture	2		10	
Water	0.3		1	
All are non-corrupt	0		0	
All are corrupt	2		9	
Don't know	8		15	
No answer	5		11	

* Source: Cockroft and Legorreta 1998. Adapted from Tables 31 and 32.

When asked in the survey about the forms of corruption, the people listed bribery and extortion as number one, followed by embezzlement, nepotism and tribalism, fraud, neglect of duty, and misuse of government assets such as motor vehicles (Table 3).

Table 3: Household knowledge about forms of corruption in Uganda*

Form of corruption	Households	
	Number	Percentage
Bribery, extortion	13118	71
Embezzlement	4012	22
Fraud	522	3
Nepotism/tribalism	3407	19

Misuse of vehicle/equipment	392	2
Neglect of duty	879	5
Diversion of funds	494	3
Do not know	1454	8
No answer	1490	8
Total		100

* Source: Cockroft and Legorreta 1998. Uganda National Integrity Survey, 1998

Results for this table were got from the Uganda Integrity Survey conducted in 1988. Other forms of corruption not included in are forgery and false claims; payment of "ghost workers"; over-invoicing and under-invoicing; payment for work not done ("air supply"); making files disappear in court cases; and rigging of votes during elections.

Causes of corruption in Uganda (and many developing countries)

The office of the Inspector General of Government or IGG (2, 12) gives these reasons for the rampant spread of corruption in Uganda. Ruzindana, Langseth and Gakwandi, and others (7-9) also review these reasons. They include:

- a. *Weak institutions (weak administrative controls)*. The office of the IGG admits that Uganda has adequate legislation to deal with corruption: the Penal Code, the Prevention of Corruption Act, the Finance Act and its regulations, the Leadership Code, the Inspector General of Government Statute, and Government Standing Orders. This is in addition to these anti-corruption institutions: the IGG, the Police, the Judiciary, the Auditor General, the Public Accounts Committee, and inspectorates in various ministries. But they are weak.
- b. *Inadequate salaries (income-expenditure gap)*: This is seen as a major cause of petty corruption among public servants trying to survive.
- c. *Insecure or precarious tenure of office*, especially following IFI-inspired privatisation and liberalisation of the economy.
- d. *Red tape*. To bypass filling many forms, seeing many officers, people pay bribes.
- e. *Personal greed and ambition*: This only thrives with weak institutions, and is common among young male graduates.
- f. *Weak civil society*. Civic society puts pressure and this helps to reduce corruption.

3.2 Experiences from Uganda

In the last two years, Parliament in Uganda has conducted three probes into corruption and abuse of office by ministers. As a result, two ministers resigned, and two were censured by Parliament. This censure procedure involved investigation, debate in Parliament, and recommendation to the President to relieve the affected ministers of their duties.

Privatisation probe: The first probe was in the privatisation process, where IFIs were involved. This probe has lasted about two years and three ministers have fallen victim: two resigned when they realised that Parliament was going to censure them, and one was censured in after a bitter, divisive debate. The second probe was to do with abuse of office, conflict of interest and influence peddling, where a minister was assisting big business evade the law, and bribery. This powerful minister was also censured.

The “invisible valley dams” saga: This probe involved the Minister of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries, who was also Vice-President, and at the time, head of the anti-corruption unit. One of the authors (JN) had the thankless task of being the secretary to the probe committee (select committee). This case involved misuse of US 25 million dollars from the World Bank to support the livestock sub-sector in Uganda. The case was dubbed the “invisible valley dams saga” because the many valley dams to supply water for humans and livestock were either not constructed, or done so badly that the MPs set up the inquiry following an outcry from the farmers. The outspoken Vice-President called the probing MPs functionally illiterate for not seeing valley dams when they were standing on them! As a result of this probe, the Vice-President was relieved of her ministerial duties, one minister of state moved out of the Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries to another ministry, and many public servants interdicted, pending dismissal and prosecution.

The Julia Sebutinde Inquiry: Currently there is a judiciary commission of inquiry into corruption in the Police Force, and it is headed by Lady Justice Julia Sebutinde. This fearless judge has not only shaken the corrupt police force to the bare bones, she has also re-instated cases of corruption, bribery and embezzlement, extortion and murder involving powerful business people.

The gender dimension: women fighting corruption: The anti-graft campaign has helped the women’s cause in Uganda not by design, but perhaps by accident. Many women in Uganda have stood up against corruption, but five stand out among the crowd. Uganda’s Vice-President, H.E. Dr Specioza Wandira Kazibwe launched the Integrity Movement and led the first anti-corruption unit in Uganda. This is now the Ministry of Ethics and Integrity, the main anti-corruption ministry. Winnie Byanyima, an aeronautics engineer and MP for Mbarara Municipality, has been instrumental in two of the three parliamentary probes that have seen the resignation of two ministers and the censure of two others. Miria Matembe, a lawyer and woman MP for Mbarara District is the Minister of Ethics and Integrity. She co-ordinates institutions set up to fight corruption, and was involved in negotiations with the donors (Paris Club) whom she assured of an action plan to fight graft. This was a pre-condition to Uganda’s getting the next trench of development assistance money. These negotiations, although held in Kampala, were closed to the public and even to the MPs. But her new tenure seems to have given new impetus to the fight against corruption, to the satisfaction of Parliament and the general public.

Sarah Kiyingi Namusoke is a social scientist and Minister of State for Internal Affairs. She ran the Ministry in the absence of substantive minister for about four months, during which many cases of abuse of office and other forms of corruption were unearthed.

Lady Justice Julia Sebutinde is currently heading a judiciary commission into corruption by the Police Force, and many are suggesting that her mandate be extended to tackle corruption elsewhere in public life in Uganda.

3.4 What more could be done?

A lot has been done in Uganda, although more remains to be done. What is needed at this time is consistency and firmness, and opening up the process so that there is public support for this whole process. Uganda needs to share its experience with other countries.

4. The way forward: Practical steps to strengthen Parliament-IFI link

The fight against corruption should be concerned with reversing its negative impact on development and society as a whole, not just witch-hunting and countering corruption only. The crusaders and reformers should start by understanding the underlying causes of corruption, loopholes and incentives that promote corrupt practices at any level. They must reject the myth that corruption is part of the culture or the way of doing things. There is no culture which includes Swiss numbered accounts. Then corruption should be categorised: petty or survival corruption versus grand or greed corruption. Then action should follow, and this should be shared within the country and with partners outside the country since corruption often goes beyond national boundaries. Information sharing is key in the war against graft.

Transparency International (TI) has published a source book (reference 16), this is a vital guide to the fight against graft. The book is available on the Internet, another vital tool in this “holy war”. The book suggest five main areas of reform needed to implement an anti-corruption strategy - public programmes, government reorganisation, law enforcement, public awareness, and the creation of institutions to prevent corruption.

4.1 How can Parliament in the world stop this kind of corruption?

Those fighting corruption, particularly legislators should get to know about the operations and activities of these IFIs, remembering that knowledge is power, and that to be effective, knowledge has to be shared. The Internet is one powerful tool to use to fight graft, the authors can testify that they have used it and it works effectively. Recently the Parliament of Uganda has installed a modern information and communication system, and when used effectively, it should empower all those keen to see corruption in public places brought under control. Countries without such a

facility should attempt to set up one, and to train staff and MPs to use it optimally to improve parliamentary efficiency, including the fight corruption. Such information and communication systems are sometimes called Information Decision and Support Centres or Units.

4.2 Recommendations by Transparency International

This organisation suggests 8 steps to take, and the authors highly recommend them. Suggestions beyond no. 8 come from other sources. These suggestions include:

1. A clear commitment by political leaders to combat corruption wherever it occurs and to submit themselves to scrutiny.
2. Put the primary emphasis on prevention of future corruption, and on changing systems, rather than indulging in witch hunts.
3. Adopt comprehensive anti-corruption legislation, and this should be implemented by agencies that have integrity. Set these agencies up if they do not exist, strengthen them if they do exist.
4. Identify those government activities most prone to corruption and review both the anti-corruption law and administrative procedures. Procurement and IFI projects tend to be notorious in some countries and they should receive special attention.
5. Pay your civil servants and politicians a living wage, comparable to that of the private sector.
6. Study your legal and administrative remedies to ensure that they provide adequate deterrence. Many corrupt people are given “soft” fines compared to the amount looted, and they are left free to invest their loot.
7. Create a partnership between government and civil society (including the private sector, professions, religious organisations, student organisations, etc.). These partnerships should go beyond the country’s borders since corruption is now globalised.
8. Make corruption a “high risk” and “low profit” undertaking, for local and international individual and companies. The story of Jacob and Cain in this paper is a good example here.

4.3 Additional anti-corruption steps

9. Establish links and networks with others (mainly outside your country) and share knowledge and best practices in the fight against corruption. “Good donors and “reputable NGOs” should be on this network.

10. Make a list of companies that engage in corrupt practices and black-list them so that they do not get government tenders. If they are from outside your country, inform their host government and others likely to do business with them.
11. Insist that IFIs conduct their business in the open, and put this in the law. Parliament should exert its independence and resist attempts by the Executive to “approve loans in a hurry” to beat imaginary deadlines.
12. Take advantage of recent developments in information and communication technologies such as the Internet. Set up within your parliament, an Information Decision and Support Centre or Unit, and ensure its optimal use not only to manage the information overload but also to establish and maintain links across countries and respond to globalisation, a phenomenon that is driven by information and communication technology.
13. Implement other recommendations in this paper that are relevant to your situation, e.g. section 2 - Recommendations of the 1998 regional workshop in Uganda, and section 3.3 - What Uganda has done.
14. Be patient and do not lose sight of the “main picture” - the fight against corruption is a fight to establish democracy and the rule of law, not a cheap popularity contest for short term political gain. Corruption cannot be fought overnight, but a start must be made.

5. The last word

This paper started with a story of Jacob and Cain, in prison for corruption. It then analysed the issues at hand, drawing on the experience of Uganda. The paper ends by recommending steps to take in controlling corruption. Fighting corruption is a long journey, but first steps must be taken, and they must be bold and firm, and must be taken by all men and women in all countries. We as political leaders must play our part. We thank you.

6. Annotated bibliography

5.1 Articles

1. Kahoza, J., 1988. Increasing accountability and transparency in local governments. Paper delivered in Washington, DC on a conference on ethics in government.

A frank paper, blaming corruption on lack of a civil society to vigorously oppose corruption.

2. Tumwesigye, J., 1988. Combating corruption and promoting good governance in Uganda. Paper delivered at an anti-corruption seminar, Nov 1998.
3. Transparency International, 1998. Corruption Perception Index (CPI). Internet addresses: Germany: Carel Mohan, ti@transparency.de Dr Johann Graf Lambsorff, jlambsd@gwdg.de UK: jeremy Pope, jeremypope1@compuserve.com
4. Transparency International Web page: <http://www1.gwdg.de/>

The Internet is a useful and cheap source of material on corruption and how to fight it. Free copies available in the Parliamentary Library or from any computer connected to the Internet.

5. Nkuuhe, J. 1998. Corruption: the Elusive Challenge to the Movement in Uganda. A paper given at a gathering of Movement MPs, Parliament Building, 1 December 1998.

5.2 Books

6. Cockroft, Anne and Legorreta, Jose, 1998. National Integrity Survey, 1998 Baseline, Uganda. CIET International, 1998. A revealing survey conducted recently, showing what people think of corruption in central and local government. Research detailed and covers all 45 districts of Uganda, even Gulu and Kitgum rural areas.
7. Ruzindana, A., Langseth, P and Gakwandi, A. (editors), 1998. *Fighting Corruption in Uganda: The process of building a national integrity system*. Fountain Publishers, Kampala, 1998.

Material in this book is based on a collection of papers by a number of authors. Some material similar to reference 5 and 6 below.

8. Friederich Ebert Stiftung, 1997. *The Crusade against Corruption in Uganda. A collection of papers*. FES, Kampala, Uganda, 1997.

A collection of papers presented at different workshops organised by the FES and Inspectorate of Government. The papers by J Zake of URA and Kiwanuka Musisi, LC 5 Chairperson, Mukono are very interesting.

9. Kpundeh, S. J. and Langseth, P., 1997. *Good governance for sustainable development. Uganda workshop for Parliamentarians, 13-14 March 1997, final workshop proceedings*. World Bank, Washington, 1997.

Proceedings of a workshop attended by 202 members of the 6th Parliament of Uganda. You will find your signature there.

10. Danida, ODA, World Bank, 1995. *Integrity workshop in Uganda II: Final workshop proceedings, Mukono, 27-28 Nov 1995*.

A workshop attended by a cross-section of media, government (civil), NGO, and political leaders. Contributions by the IGG, Auditor General, Prof Katorobo, Ofwono Opondo, and others from Transparency Uganda and the World Bank.

11. Prevention of Corruption Bureau (Tanzania), Transparency International, ODA, World Bank, 1995. *The National Integrity System in Tanzania in Uganda II: Workshop proceedings, Arusha, 10-12 August 1995*.

A workshop similar to one in 5, but for Tanzania. If you read this reference, the similarity to Uganda is so striking that one is tempted to debunk theories of Aminism being responsible for the corruption in Uganda. There was no Amin in Tanzania, except for that unfortunate trip to the Kagera Salient in October 1978 which he will live to regret.

12. IGG, 1998. Inspectorate of Government Report to Parliament, July 1007 – April 1998. Government Printer, Entebbe, 1998.

A routine, but useful reference. It gives the efforts of the IGG to fight corruption, listing complaints by citizens against corruption in government ministries and departments. The report details the constraints his office faces, efforts and work plan to implement the national integrity system. Useful material includes the IGG Statute, the relevant sections of the constitution establishing the office of IGG, and Chapter 14 of the Constitution dealing with the Leadership Code.

13. Africa Leadership Forum, 1996. Parliamentarians and the Sustenance of Political Liberalisation in Africa. Proceedings of a meeting of African Parliamentarians, 5-7 April 1996, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. EDI, The World Bank.

Section IV by Ahmed Mohiddin dealing with parliamentarians and the strengthening of civil society institutions covers this topic well.

14. Burkey, Stan, 1993. *People First: a guide to self-reliant, participatory rural development*. Zed Books, London and New Jersey.

Based on experience in rural Uganda, the book is not on corruption, but it deals with development in detail, and indirectly shows that social mobilisation is key to development. Corruption, by inhibiting mobilisation, is a big inhibitor to development.

15. Parliamentary Centre, EDI, and Uganda Government, 1998. *Uganda Parliamentary Committees: A members' Handbook*. The World Bank (EDI) 1998.

The handbook is based on a Parliamentary Workshop held in Entebbe, Uganda on April 21-22, 1998.

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5.3 Other relevant publications

16. The Constitution of Uganda, 1995

17. Peter Lewis, 1997. Two global lenders use leverage to combat corruption. *New York Times*, 11 August 1997.

18. Transparency International, 1999. *National Integrity Systems: The TI Source Book, Executive Summary*. Internet address: <http://www.transparency.de/documents/source-book/summary.html>

This book is all available for free on the Internet. It is a must for those combating corruption. The summary is particularly useful.