MUSGAARDISM: THE ANTI-CORRUPTION MODEL FOR SIERRA LEONE

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By

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MUSGAARDISM:
THE ANTI-CORRUPTION MODEL FOR SIERRA LEONE

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a study of corruption in Sierra Leone, one of the most egregious cases in Africa. I have developed and applied a rigorous anti-corruption strategy to combat the present condition in Sierra Leone. This approach draws heavily on history, economics, and political science. The thesis first examines the history of corruption in African governments. By elaborating on past corruption in the continent and showing the high price the people have paid – including civil wars, widespread deaths, economic destruction, and spreading a culture of corruption – I demonstrate the need to end the cycle of corruption. I then undertake a case study of Sierra Leone, documenting its nature, extent, and adverse consequences. Next, I introduce an original, comprehensive anti-corruption framework that I call Musgaardism, which will work to end the cycle of corruption in Sierra Leone. Robert Klitgaard’s book Controlling Corruption argues that corruption is caused by individuals having the freedom to use their discretion while not being held accountable for the decisions they make. Klitgaard’s formula (Corruption = Monopoly + Discretion – Accountability), combined with relevant elements of additional anti-corruption models, define the term Musgaardism. I look at the tentative benefits such a framework will bring to Sierra Leone if implemented. Civilians will gain from changes such as better healthcare, a reduction in poverty, and the creation of jobs. This thesis
concludes with reasons why Musgaardism is necessary in preserving and elevating the African continent.
DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this thesis to my father, Abdul Naffieu Mustapha, for giving me the inspiration through constant pep talks about the importance of education; and providing me with the necessary tools through private tutors and motivational tactics like promises of chocolate and ice cream if I studied hard. You paved the way for me to pursue a graduate degree and you continue to inspire me, even in your death. I love you and miss you terribly.
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EPIGRAPH

When corruption takes over, good people go underground, but when the crooks are thrown out, it's safe to come out.

—— Proverbs 28:28
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INTRODUCTION

As time progresses, so should a nation. But Sierra Leone has regressed and remained at a halt as political instability has become part of the political order. The frequent change of governments Sierra Leone has experienced due to the coups d’état has devastated the development of the country. The brutal civil war of the 1990s plunged the political and economic situation of the country into total disarray, reducing all national activities into complete disruption. The country is rich with natural resources, including diamonds, but has one of the worst economies in the world. Basic needs such as clean water, food and healthcare are considered luxuries to the poor. At the core of the country’s problems is pervasive corruption.

This thesis contends that corruption can be substantially reduced in Sierra Leone by implementing Musgaardism, a term I have invented to describe an anti-corruption framework that combines different models into a workable solution. Poor governance and rampant corruption are common in African states. These conditions have had a negative impact on efforts to attract investments, while widespread poverty, rapid population growth, rising unemployment rates and strained welfare services have long posed problems. Nevertheless, there are countries such as Hong Kong, Singapore and Georgia which have been successful in the fight against corruption and their economies have grown. This thesis examines the roots of corruption in Sierra Leone, including popular passivity towards it, and offers Musgaardism as the solution. The argument of the thesis is that the successful implementation of the Musgaardism framework will yield real results in uprooting corruption in Sierra Leone.
It will address human values issues as it analyzes the corruption in the Sierra Leone government and constructs a working model to reduce—if not eliminate—illegal and unethical practices that have impeded peace and development. Creating a solution to the corruption in the government will contribute toward a peaceful, just and sustainable livelihood for all Sierra Leoneans.

Chapter 1 focuses on the history of corruption in Africa, highlighting notorious incidents of government corruption across Africa. The connection of how the betrayal of the government caused civil wars and numerous deaths is examined. Robert Guest’s book, *Shackled Continent: Power, Corruption and African Lives* is used to show the extent to which corruption and its consequences have affected many African governments, thus reaffirming the importance of confronting it. To further illustrate a needed change in the corrupted system of Africa I draw from John Mukum Mbaku’s book, *Corruption in Africa: Causes, Consequences and Cleanups*. Mbaku writes that there is a destructive relationship between corruption and progression in African governments, and that corruption is the major cripper to such afflicted countries.

Chapter 2 will be a case study of the history of corruption in Sierra Leone. Here I will pull from William Reno’s book, *Corruption and State Politics in Sierra Leone*. Reno writes that the relationship between foreign firms and African rulers in Sierra Leone allows politicians and warlords to use private networks that exploit relationships with international businesses to buttress their wealth and so extend their powers of patronage. Peter Sorie Mansaray’s book, *Combating Corruption in Sierra Leone* is also an important source for Chapter 2. Mansaray brings light to the Sierra Leonean paradox -- a country
rich in mineral and marine resources but ranked the poorest country according to the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) Human Development Index of 2007. He lists corruption as one of the major causes of poverty in Sierra Leone. Reno and Mansaray show that corruption contributes significantly to the state of economic bankruptcy in Sierra Leone. *The Political Economy of Corruption in Sierra Leone* by Kelfala Morana Kallon is also a great addition to Chapter 2. It explains why corruption is preferable in countries like Sierra Leone, because it is more profitable for the political leaders who engage in it. Another important source in drawing the close relationship of Sierra Leone and corrupted governance is *Politics and Corruption in Africa: A Case Study of Sierra Leone* by Sahr John Kpundeh. This work is especially important to this chapter because it shows the pattern of corruption in the African government. Kpundeh argues that the lack of accountability in Sierra Leone is responsible for the gross misuse of public funds for private gain, and that an anti-corruption framework (like Musgaardism) must be constructed to ensure public accountability and transparency.

In Chapter 3, I introduce a new term, Musgaardism. This concept is a combination of the methodology advocated by Robert Klitgaard in his book *Controlling Corruption* in addition to ideas from the UN, World Bank, IMF and professor Stuart Yeh. Klitgaard provides a framework for designing anti-corruption policies, and describes through five case studies how courageous policymakers were able to control corruption. He believes that corruption almost always follows this formula: Corruption = Monopoly + Discretion – Accountability. His book plays an enormous role in this thesis because he illustrates the need for a working anti-corruption framework and he then proposes one.
Chapter 4 applies Musgaardism specifically to Sierra Leone. My elaboration and application of Musgaardism to meet the specific needs of Sierra Leone constitutes the originality of the thesis. In order to do this effectively, I draw from *Fighting Corruption in Developing Countries: Strategies and Analysis* by Bertram I. Spector. Specifically, his work examines the dynamics of corruption, which is essential to this chapter’s argument. Spector offers policy considerations to design effective anti-corruption strategies. Another work of Spector’s, *Negotiating Peace and Confronting Corruption: Challenges for Post-Conflict Societies*, will also be utilized in Chapter 4. In this work, he focuses on how societies emerging from conflict are particularly susceptible to corruption because their governing institutions typically are weak and inefficient. This book is vital in order to understand the challenges that Musgaardism faces in a system that has been corrupted for so long. It equips Musgaardism to defeat these challenges by assessing the effectiveness of anticorruption measures and outlining best practices to build legitimate criminal justice systems, transparent and accountable legislative and political systems, effective governance practices, independent media, and sustainable economies in post-conflict societies.
CHAPTER 1
THE ART OF AFRICAN CORRUPTION

The words “corrupt,” “government,” and “Africa” have become widely accepted as synonymous, as the cost of corruption in the continent totals to a disconcerting $148 billion.¹ This alarming amount is due, in part, to the casual, business-as-usual manner with which the realm of politics in Africa treats the practice of corruption.² Nonetheless, it can be argued that every government, including western polities, at some point or another engaged in practices that are considered unbecoming of a democratic government. However, Africa stands out because of the blatant lack of development and the high level of poverty that has overwhelmed the continent for decades.³ Some African nations have taken strides towards minimizing corruption, but officials remain entangled with a long tradition of dishonesty passed down from their predecessors.⁴

The practice of political corruption in Africa reared its head during the colonial occupation that introduced compulsory taxation.⁵ The taxes were collected by leaders of the community (mostly chiefs) who kept a percentage. This enrichment practice

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² Susan Ackerman, Corruption and Government: Causes, Consequences, and Reform (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 9.


⁴ Ackerman, Corruption and Government, 2.

⁵ Martin Meredith, The Fate of Africa (New York: Public Affairs, 2005), 221.
continues to be the status quo as Africa’s resources are exhausted to increase the wealth of domestic and foreign exploiters.\textsuperscript{6} Colonial leaders used favoritism of one tribe to bring division among tribes in an effort to divide and conquer the region.\textsuperscript{7} Sadly, the effects of this strategy are still seen today as members of different tribal groups find it difficult to trust or sympathize with members of other tribes. Many African countries in one way or another are still dealing with consequences of corruption birthed during the colonial era.\textsuperscript{8} Due to these struggles, African governments find themselves under the world’s microscope because they are guided by agendas that make them “world leaders” in stealing from their people to serve themselves.\textsuperscript{9} The consequences of the betrayal are all too deadly and the blow to the development of the region is costly, yet politicians continue in their trend of accepting bribes and using their government positions for their private gain. A practice that began with the chiefs and has now been perfected by African presidents.\textsuperscript{10}

Socrates sheds light on the mind frame of the corrupt leader (the tyrant), stating that he rules ruthlessly because it is the only way he knows how. Gaddafi of Libya, Amin of Uganda and Taylor of Liberia all gained access to power through military coups and

\textsuperscript{6} Guest, \textit{The Shackled Continent}, 14.

\textsuperscript{7} Meredith, \textit{The Fate of Africa}, 311.

\textsuperscript{8} Ackerman, \textit{Corruption and Government}, 75.

\textsuperscript{9} Guest, \textit{The Shackled Continent}, 46.

\textsuperscript{10} Ackerman, \textit{Corruption and Government}, 30.
dealt their civilians years of violence and brutality. They showed little concern for their citizens and did not tolerate opposing views; they gave orders and expected them to be executed. These rulers led with an iron fist, believing that they must kill their opposition or suffer the fate of their predecessors. They were willing to enslave an entire state in order to maintain their grip on power, while in the process the well-being of their citizens remained compromised and their “leadership” failed them repeatedly. Although there are instances in government when military regimes have restored civil rule, these are few and far between in African governments.11

Sierra Leone, for instance, has seen its share of poor leadership under both military and democratically-elected rulers who have dealt the people the merciless hand of corruption. This form of governing is familiar territory in numerous African nations where the battle against corruption continues to be a losing one.12 This chapter will illustrate this point by using a series of brief surveys of selected African countries to establish the need for Musgaardism, an anti-corruption model which constitutes anti-corruption initiatives drawn from institutions and experts within the international development field. Musgaardism is named after two men, Abdul Mustapha (whose politically-driven killing triggered the research of this topic) and Robert Klitgaard (upon whose corruption formula this work greatly relies). Its concepts are workable guidelines that present a viable resolution tailored towards significantly decreasing the political


corruption that has left struggling democracies susceptible to embezzlement schemes. The net of corruption has been widely cast across the African continent, the consequences of this unethical phenomenon are incontestable, and the necessity of uncompromising strategies like Musgaardism is clearly required for the preservation of Africa. The history of bribery and fraud in the examined countries of this chapter illustrates the pattern of corruption presented by Robert Klitgaard in *Controlling Corruption*, and underscores how critical it is to eradicate the present conditions.¹³

The cycle of dishonest governing has cost African governments their reputation as they are viewed by other nations as crippled systems the leaders of which play a big part in the unstable economy.¹⁴ Western donors have made threats of withdrawing funds until humanitarian aid could be accounted for but this has not resulted in any major changes in the corruption-instilled system.¹⁵ Business investors have also turned their interest to other continents in fear of the high cost of bribery in Africa. Companies that have ventured to conduct business in the continent have done so with the motive of using the dysfunctional system to their benefit but unfortunately at the cost of the people. Throughout the continent stories of bribery persist, leaving other companies skeptical and discouraged from partaking in business ventures in the region.¹⁶

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¹⁴ Guest, *The Shackled Continent*, 47.


The outburst of civil wars and coups has been as a result of the frustration of the governed as they watch their leaders self-enrich with the wealth of the nation.17 Countries like Rwanda and Sierra Leone have been impossible to ignore as their atrocities have been plastered in the headlines of newspapers and broadcast around the world. The telling role that tribalism has played in these conflicts is undeniable, but corruption in government has made it necessary for the people to feel they must have their “own kind” in power in order for them to benefit. This is not how a democracy is intended to operate. Civilians should have confidence in their government and should feel assured that those they elect are fighting to make their lives better, and a good start towards this would be establishing a system that significantly reduces corruption within the political atmosphere. The mayhem that civilians have suffered at the hands of their government is of such inhumane conditions that they leave foreigners startled, but many Africans are accustomed to the violence. The unprincipled behavior of the governments begs the question - how long will the natural resource well be drawn from until it becomes completely dry? Because officials steal from the people they claim to serve, it is difficult to foresee a government that can produce for its citizens and bring about a much needed improvement to the grim living conditions. The commonly played game of who can steal from the people the most becomes old after a while and encourages opposition to take up arms with promises to bring change, but the reality yields more of the same.18

17 Mbaku, Institutions and Development in Africa, 44.
18 Ibid., 49.
While in the process of replacing one dysfunctional government for another, the economy remains at a standstill as it waits to be revived from another episode of violence caused by a need to replace government officials that have fallen short of meeting expectations. In the midst of these coups and civil wars, and even elections, there is the constant reshuffling of governments and the price of corruption results in another ineffective leader who ultimately will have to be replaced. This cycle of government transitions continues to bring death to countless Africans who lose the little livelihood they are already struggling to maintain. Officials repeatedly exploit the civilians by embezzling the country’s natural resources and prove to be similar to the old governments they proclaimed they would improve upon.19

In examining the cause of a grossly and severely undeveloped Africa it is necessary to take a long and hard look at the role government embezzlement and bribery play.20 A land rich in natural resources but poor in leadership continues to be the problem in winning back Africa for its people.21 Natural resources such as Nigerian oil and Sierra Leonean diamonds have brought civil wars and death to the population, proving to be a curse for its citizens. For a continent that earns billions in revenue from natural resources, its citizens still struggle for basic necessities such as clean water and electricity. It is a painful but indisputable truth that the lack of success in changing the corrupt nature of the

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19 Ibid., 177.

20 Guest, *The Shackled Continent*, 68.

African system is a direct result of the reluctance of African leaders to change it.\textsuperscript{22} The market of corruption continues to be a profitable one for the leaders, the interest for the people is at zero. Government officials get to take it all home so they will go to any degree to monopolize power. Monopoly ensures that no one will remain to question their discretion or hold them accountable as they uninterruptedly auction off the future of Africa’s children to the highest foreign bidder.\textsuperscript{23} Nelson Mandela once said, “I dream of the realization of the unity of Africa, whereby its leaders combine in their efforts to solve the problems of this continent.” It appears that the time is still not here for Africans to wake up and make this dream a reality. An anti-corruption model must be implemented across Africa to make Mandela’s dream a reality and bring Africa out of the deep hole that has been dug by its leaders for so many years.

A Look at Corruption in Different Regions of Sub-Saharan Africa

\textit{Angola}

Angola ranked 148 out of 187 countries in the United Nations Human Development Index and 168 out of 182 countries in Transparency International Corruption Perception Index in 2011.\textsuperscript{24} As the second largest oil producer in Africa, it is viewed as a country so immensely knotted in corruption that its people do not benefit

\textsuperscript{22} Mbaku, \textit{Institutions and Development in Africa}, 179.

\textsuperscript{23} Mbaku, \textit{Corruption in Africa}, 90.

from the profits of the oil revenue.\textsuperscript{25} The country’s oil output of 1.79 million barrels a day has been the main source of income, but the misuse of funds by government officials has left its people in shambles from the effects of its civil war.\textsuperscript{26} President Jose Eduardo dos Santos has been in office since 1979, and his political party the People’s Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) has been accused of fraud and preying on the country’s oil revenue.\textsuperscript{27}

Global Financial Integrity (GFI), an anti-corruption advocacy group, states that $6 billion (nearly a sixth of Angola’s entire annual budget) was removed from Angola in 2009. The Angolan government has tried to revive the economy by improving the damaged infrastructure and enforcing business laws that present promising results for investors, however the investment opportunities are still intoxicated by a system which is filled with bribery.

The Angolan government encourages overseas investors to partner with Angolan companies which are usually companies that are run by corrupt political figures. The diamond sector in Angola is also widely used by politicians as a means to control foreign investment in order to acquire payoffs from the diamond sales.\textsuperscript{28} The International Monetary Fund (IMF) report in 2011 disclosed that the government had a major

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{25} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{26} Ibid.
\end{footnotesize}
accounting gap from 2007 to 2010. The report showed contradictions in how the
government spent $32 billion. Human Right Watch asked that the scheduled $130 million
loan payment, which was part of the 2009 progress loan agreement, be withdrawn until
Angolan officials can explain the spending inconsistencies found in the report. The
Angolan government did acknowledge the discrepancies in the report but argued that it
was as a result of inadequate uses of oil revenue.²⁹

**Cameroon**

Transparency International’s corruption perception index on two different
occasions ranked Cameroon as the most corrupt country in the world.³⁰

Even though Cameroon is rich in oil, minerals and timber, most of its people live
in poverty.³¹

Paul Biya, Cameroon's President and leader of the ruling Cameroon People's Democratic
Movement (CPDM), has been in power since 1982. President Biya’s regime is widely
associated with significantly minimizing the economic growth of the country due to the
rampant corruption exhibited across government offices.³² Cameroon's National Anti-
Corruption Commission (CONAC) financial report released in November 2011 revealed

²⁹ Human Rights Watch, “IMF: Withholds Funds to Angola,” March 27, 2012,

³⁰ George Fominyen, “Cameroon Plans Special Court to Handle Graft,” Trust Law, December 2,
July 8, 2012).

³¹ BBC News Africa, “Cameroon Election: SDF Accuse Paul Biya’s CPDM of Fraud,” October 10, 2011,

³² Business Anti-Corruption-Portal, “Cameroon Country Profile,” http://www.business-anti-
corruption.com/country-profiles/sub-saharan-africa/cameroon/general-information/ (accessed July 21,
2012).
the results of an investigation directed by CONAC in 2009 that $62 million in public monies had been lost or embezzled.\(^{33}\) The police arrested former Prime Minister Inoni Ephraim on charges of corruption. Ephraim was prime minister between 2004 and 2009 and he was accused of stealing funds. His arrest came about as a result of Operation Epervier (Sparrowhawk), an anti-corruption operation launched in 2004 by President Biya. The President’s purpose for forming such an organization is itself considered corrupt by critics who believe the move is politically driven.\(^{34}\)

The presidential election in 2012 held no exception for the fraudulent reputation that is widely associated with the country. The Social Democratic Front (SDF) accused President Biya of deceitful behavior to sway the election results in his favor. SDF reports that individuals were caught voting more than once, votes were not counted, and people were intimated not to vote or to vote only for President Biya. The reports show that many civilians reported going to vote but were sent away because someone had apparently already voted on their behalf.\(^{35}\)

**Kenya**

In the 2007 general elections, Kenya was in the world headlines again when violence broke after the opposition accused President Mwai Kibaki of rigging the reelections results. The political riots quickly turned violent and targeted killings left


\(^{34}\) Ibid.

members of Raila Odinga’s (the chief of opposition) tribe dead. As a result riots broke out across the country, leaving homes burned to the ground and civilians dead.\textsuperscript{36} Transparency International reported that the 2011 drought in Kenya was worsened due to the corruption that accompanied the distribution of food aid. The government deliberately withheld food from certain areas while providing to other section where they had political backing. This inhumane attempt at obtaining the victory in an election cost lives and widened the bridge of trust between Kenyans and their officials. There was political meddling throughout the process that cost the loss of many lives at a time that 4 million Kenyans needed assistance in the drought. Richard Leakey, chair of Transparency International-Kenya, said at the launch of a report in the capital Nairobi: “It is one of the most vile, disgraceful, appalling acts to set aside food for the hungry in one place to benefit your election or your bank account in another place.”\textsuperscript{37} In September 2011 a district commissioner in West Pokot, Kenya was arrested for stealing $13,000 of maize meant for distribution as food aid.\textsuperscript{38}

Law enforcement has played a minimal role in intervening during the times of controversy as police officers and senior officials themselves are accused of being


\textsuperscript{38} Migiro, “Food Aid Graft Worsened."
culprits in the dysfunctional system. The police participate in the criminal activities rather than combating crime, adding to the corrupted system.\textsuperscript{39}

Kenya’s education sector has also faced ethical challenges as it battled numerous charges of larceny in recent years. The situation is increasingly an issue as Kenyans call for officials to be replaced and prosecuted for the years of theft that led to the deterioration of the educational system. The former Deputy Director for Education, Enos Magwa, was convicted of stealing 1.3 million shillings and fabricating the spending of 1.9 million shillings in 2008. The education minister and his permanent secretary were also under scrutiny, but the Kenyan government refused to investigate the disappearance of 4.2 billion Kenyan shillings ($51 million), which corresponds to Kenya’s 2005-2009 education budgets. With the reputation of corruption associated with Kenya’s educational system, Great Britain, Kenya’s biggest financial donor, cut the aid to Kenya that provided free primary education for the children. In 2006 the World Bank postponed the distribution of $80 million loan to support the education sector following initiatives aimed at combating corruption and ensuring that resources were utilized for the purpose intended.\textsuperscript{40} The African Union Panel of Eminent African Personalities commented that the lack of progress in combating corruption in Kenya was because of reluctant leaders.\textsuperscript{41}

\textsuperscript{39} Kermeliotis, “Activists Use Web.”


\textsuperscript{41} Ibid.
Transparency International lists Kenya as one of the world’s most corrupt countries. In its 2011 East African Bribery Index it states that there is a 67% chance that Kenyans pay a bribe whenever they interact with police. A 2010 report by Transparency International highlighted Kenyans’ dissatisfaction with the government. Ninety seven percent of Kenyans viewed the government as corrupt and blamed the corruption for the years of political instability that resulted in the death of many civilians.

**Nigeria**

Nigeria is Africa’s largest oil exporter and is also known to be one of the most corrupt nations in the world. Officials of past and current regimes have been accused of bribery and embezzlement schemes. Members of the judicial body accept bribes to be lenient in probes about corruption. The executive body interferes in judicial proceedings when it involves people of importance. These interferences have aided in the downfall of the economy and have plagued the entire government while putting a strain on the people who are already struggling to survive on $2 a day.\(^\text{42}\) Corruption invades the local and state levels of government and even institutions that have been put in place to combat corruption have been found to be shady. From petty corruption on the lower level of government to the Nigerian courts, no institution seems above the theft.

The Nigerian police are also associated with corruption. X Squad, a body in the Nigeria responsible for fighting corruption, has been plagued with accusations of accepting bribery in order to dismiss cases. They only bring charges against entities that

are not favored by the ruling party or individuals who have not offered them a hefty bribe to look the other way.\footnote{Business Anti-Corruption Portal, “Nigeria Country Profile,” http://www.business-anti-corruption.com/country-profiles/sub-saharan-africa/nigeria/?pageid=217 (accessed July 20, 2012).}

The legislative body in the country has also been entwined in corruption matters. The chairman of the House of Representatives, Farouk Lawan, faced allegations that he accepted a $620,000 bribe from oil tycoon Femi Otedola, chairman of Zenon Petroleum & Gas Ltd.\footnote{Ibid.} Lawan’s committee investigated subsidy payments and uncovered in their report that $6.7 billion was illegally paid to fuel importers between 2009 and 2011 by state agencies under the Petroleum Ministry.\footnote{Maram Mazen, “Nigeria Police Investigate Subsidy Probe Bribe Allegations,” Bloomberg BusinessWeek, June 13, 2012, http://www.businessweek.com/news/2012-06-13/nigeria-police-investigate-subsidy-probe-bribe-allegations (accessed July 20, 2012).} Otedola admitted to paying the chairman but said he did so only to show how corrupt the legislative body is and not to remove his company from the report that exposed fuel marketers of keeping subsidy funds without producing any fuel.\footnote{Reuters, “Nigeria Will not Charge Fuel Subsidy Fraud Accused,” July 5, 2012, http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/07/05/nigeria-corruption-idUSL6E8158ZX20120705 (accessed July 20, 2012).} Representative Lawan in return admitted to accepting the money from Otedola but only as evidence of the challenges the committee faces in fighting corruption and not in an effort to embezzle funds. The justice ministry shortly after released a statement saying it will not prosecute individuals disclosed by the report; this decision by the ministry only intensified the fears of a corrupted justice system.\footnote{Ibid.}
Otedola is known to be a supporter of Nigerian president Goodluck Jonathan, and contributed greatly to the president’s 2011 reelection campaign. So it came as no surprise when the president’s ruling party, the People’s Democratic Party (PDP) intervened against plans to investigate Otedola’s involvement in the bribery. The party warned against any plans they deemed would be an embarrassment to their billionaire contributor.48

Protests have taken place in recent times that call for a corruption-free government. Nigerian Youth for Good Governance (NYGG) held a protest outside the national assembly calling for an end to corruption in the legislature. They rallied for the end of dishonesty in government and emphasized that combatting corruption is necessary in order to ensure a true democracy.49

South Africa

South Africa has the largest economy in Africa, but this has only encouraged government officials to participate actively in bribery, resulting in scandals both locally and nationally. The government’s anti-corruption hotline has proven to be unsuccessful, as it is in the best economic interest of those in charge to ignore the referrals. The anti-corruption departments have been ineffective because of their unwillingness to investigate the cases referred to them. In the midst of ignoring corruption, the country’s


financial growth continues to take big blows as reports have shown large volumes of unaccounted money.50

Again, abuse at the hands of law enforcement officers is rampant in South Africa. The police have widely been accused of allowing drunk drivers to get off without penalty after paying a bribe. As a direct result of this corrupt practice South Africa has one of the highest rates of road deaths in the world.51

**Sudan**

Sudan’s historical division in 2011 allowed South Sudan to become its own sovereign state. Corruption is a major problem in all of Sudan; it plagues every aspect of public institutions; government officials are involved in corruption and are not investigated. The lack of transparency in the government has been the reason why corrupt officials remain in their position and do not face charges.

Four billion dollars is the reported lost figure to corruption in southern Sudan. The country’s current president, Salva Kiir, accused former government officials of embezzling money.52 Similarly, parliament officials have not been immune to the

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massive corruption that has overwhelmed the new nation. The parliament suspended 75 senior officials accused of massive corruption.\textsuperscript{53}

Money laundering has also been a big issue in South Sudan. This has led the government to require officials to declare their income and assets in an effort to bring transparency to the government.\textsuperscript{54} However, the newly separated state remains fragile as combating corruption continues to be a work in progress as the tamers of the epidemic seem to need taming themselves.

**Uganda**

Transparency International ranks Uganda at 143 out of 182 countries in its Corruption Perception Index. The desire to combat corruption remains weak in the country and bribery is widespread in all levels of government. The president of Uganda Yoweri Museveni was accused of voter intimidation and election fraud during the 2011 presidential elections.

Corruption is also annihilating the educational institutions at it is a growing trend for students at universities to buy grades and accept sexual advances made by professors in order to secure good grades.\textsuperscript{55}


Any effort to combat corruption in the government is, more often than not, immediately shot down. In fact, when anti-corruption chief Raphael Baku pressed charges against powerful ministers of the President’s cabinet, Baku’s staff was cut back and his case thrown out of court. The constitutional court sided with the ministers, saying Baku did not have the authority to handle the case. It is this deliberate lack of regard by government branches that makes it difficult for institutions created to fight corruption to be successful.

For years the wide array of corruption in Africa has contributed to the continent’s reputation as the world’s most underdeveloped area. The constant civil wars have cost the people their lives and the political corruption has stalled the continent’s economic growth as foreign aid donated towards development is treated by African leaders as an extension of their personal bank accounts. Government officials continue to pocket humanitarian aid donated by the international community for hunger prevention initiatives or much needed health facilities that would improve the lives of the people. The mistrust for politicians among the public has grown stronger as politicians are repeatedly caught in embezzlement cases.

In order for African countries to be prosperous it is necessary for a working model to be put in place that not only exposes the weaknesses in the corrupt system but challenges it by enforcing measures necessary to produce real change. Musgaardism confronts the challenges, and Robert Klitgaard’s formula (Corruption = Monopoly + Discretion - Accountability) provides a means to dissect the “African curse” while presenting a solid solution. For years the continent so rich in natural resources has been
the poorest in growth. Canadian journalist Naomi Klein said it best: “Africa is poor because its investors and its creditors are unspeakably rich.” This truth is still the reality today as Africa remains unable to elude the ever-present face of corruption across the continent.
CHAPTER 2
A CLOSER EXAMINATION OF CORRUPTION IN AFRICA: SIERRA LEONE

“We pray that no harm on thy children may fall, that blessing and peace may descend on us all….“ These words from the Sierra Leone national anthem could not stand further from the reality today. The CIA World Factbook states that 35 percent of the population in Sierra Leone are illiterate, with an infant fatality rate of 76 percent, and 70 percent of the population is below the poverty line. The citizens of this country have been victims of policies formulated by tyrannies they called governments. Each administration, starting with Albert Margai’s, has come with similar objectives, led by greed, power and the ever-corrupt culture of politicians before them. The civilians suffer the greatest from decisions made at the political table where they are not represented. Civilians have been voiceless as their interests are placed below the people they have selected to govern them.1 During the civil war Sierra Leoneans suffered many injustices including being forced to endure a national curfew and being the victims of violent crimes. With this violent past Sierra Leoneans must learn that like the Arab Spring protest, they too must rise up against corruption so they can replace the corrupt nature of their government with virtuous principles that will lead to a developed Sierra Leone. The people must grow tired of waiting to be rescued from the effects of war and take back their government so they can bring about the change they so intently seek.

The catastrophic civil war in Sierra Leone (1991-2000) left civilians at the mercy of rebel forces who had no comprehension of justice and order, in the midst of killing and corruption. This chapter is critical in coagulating the necessity for Musgaardism in order to abolish the corrupt elements that seek to destroy the comprehensive rehabilitation of Sierra Leone. The implementation of Musgaardism is necessary for the survival of Sierra Leone and its citizens so that they, like other citizens in recovering democracies, can regain hope in a country that has been passed off as a dying political system. The failed leadership that led to the destruction of Sierra Leone’s economy must be contained so that tyrants can no longer influence the future of the long-suffering nation.² Enough Sierra Leoneans have watched their family members and friends be crushed by the carnages of war. The lack of Sierra Leonean officials to rid the government of corrupt antics must be addressed.³ All too often civilians themselves have participated in the corruption by electing officials into office just because they speak the same language and come from the same tribes. It is about time for Sierra Leoneans to step up to the present call of their country and vote to improve their lives and preserve their country for future generations. They can accomplish this not by supporting colors of red in support of All People’s Congress (APC) or green for Sierra Leone’s People’s Party (SLPP), but by supporting ideals that will lift the country out of the shambles it finds itself and into the competitive market where it belongs.

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² Peter S. Mansaray, *Combating Corruption in Sierra Leone: A Review and An Assessment of Strategies Undertaken by Past Governments to Curb Corruption in Sierra Leone* (Saarbrucken, Germany: VDM Verlag Dr. Muller, 2008), 12.

Sierra Leoneans must stop relying and expecting the foreign aid messiah and they themselves must take responsibility to improve their lives by electing virtuous leaders. Undeniably, foreign aid to the region has assisted in deterring unspeakable humanitarian catastrophes, but how long will Africans sit back and allow aid from other countries to sustain them? This is an infuriating thought considering that Sierra Leone, as some other African countries, is rich in natural resources like diamonds and oil which can sustain them if they place the supervision of these resources in the hands of suitable leaders.

African leaders in the past have mismanaged the future of the people by juggling their greed in one hand and their responsibility to their constituents in another. Sierra Leoneans must look to themselves for the answers and look for the messiah within to bring social order and stability to a country that has lacked both since its independence from Great Britain in 1961. Political scientists have suggested initiatives to bring countries like Sierra Leone out of the developmental capacity of an 18th century country that is still without reliable supply of electricity and clean water, but unless Sierra Leoneans themselves become aggravated and infuriated by the system they helped create, the solutions will come and go but the corruption plague will persist.

**Corruption that Led to Civil War**

Sierra Leone had great potential after it gained its independence from Great Britain. It was viewed as the “Athens of West Africa” because it was the first sub-

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Saharan country to have a four-year university in Fourah Bay College. The potential of this small West African country would disappear as one corrupt political leader replaced another. The corruption began in 1964 after the death of the well-regarded Milton Margai, when his brother Albert Margai replaced him and introduced a corrupt form of governing to the highest offices in Sierra Leone. Albert Margai’s rule was challenged by political opponents who believed he did not have a claim to the office. As an effort to maintain his power, Margai attempted to use the military to keep his claim to office but he failed to get the necessary support to keep his job. Elections were later held that declared Siaka Stevens and the APC party the victors in 1971. The victory of Stevens would not be a celebratory matter as corruption under his administration increased; during the OAU Summit hosted by Sierra Leone Stevens used millions raised for the Summit to increase his personal wealth. A commission of inquiry headed by selected judges in Sierra Leone reported that the gross misuse of public office happened during APC rule, mirroring the views of many Sierra Leoneans who attribute the downfall of the country to Siaka Stevens’ administration.

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6 Amadu Sesay and Charles Ukeje, Post-War Regimes and State Reconstruction in Liberia and Sierra Leone (Dakar: Codesria Book Series, 2009), 27.

7 Time, “Sierra Leone.”

8 Ibid.

Stevens, who once opposed a one-party state, entirely changed his stance on the issue once he gained power; he argued that Sierra Leoneans could not comprehend “loyal opposition” and therefore opposed the concept. Stevens outlawed any opposition to his APC party by making Sierra Leone a one-party state. There was great concern during the Stevens administration that the regime was embezzling funds. Former CEO of the central bank, Samuel Bangura, publicly criticized the president for keeping $5 million that was contributed towards the OAU summit. Shortly after this criticism of the president Bangura was found dead outside his home in what was believed to be retaliation for his criticisms of the president. Stevens also profited greatly from illegal diamond mining and trading. He used the diamond industry in Sierra Leone as a way to increase his wealth while doing nothing but impoverishing the people and stealing from the country’s natural resources.

In 1985, Steven’s was succeeded by Joseph Momoh who followed the same immoral tactics in his administration, continuing the culture of unethical governing that was so notoriously associated with the Stevens regime. President Momoh’s political picks used their offices as a mechanism to profit by accepting bribes in exchange for providing perks that their positions allowed them. His out-of-control cabinet worsened

10 *Time*, “Sierra Leone."

11 Ibid.


the state of the country and caused a great mistrust between his administration and the people.\textsuperscript{14} Their blatant lack of concern and evasive form of embezzlement led to an armed coalition against the government. The corruption in the Momoh regime greatly crippled the efforts to fight off rebel forces that were attacking soldiers close to the Guinea border.\textsuperscript{15} Arms that were to be supplied to soldiers to fight off a growing opposition never made their way to the frontline; this same lack of accountability that lacked in the Stevens regime continued in Momoh’s presidency.\textsuperscript{16} This caused the overthrow of the APC government in 1992 and the emergence of the military regime National Provisional Ruling Council (NPRC) with Valentine Strasser as its leader.\textsuperscript{17} The NPRC government was no different from its predecessors, merely replacing one corrupt form with another.

The Corrupt Nature of Tribal Politics in Sierra Leone

Tribal politics has always been a problem and continues to cause disorder in Sierra Leone affairs. There are two major political parties; the Sierra Leone’s People’s Party (SLPP) is highly favored by the Mende tribe (the largest tribe in Sierra Leone), and the All People Congress (APC) is favored by the Temne tribe (the second largest).\textsuperscript{18} Tribal loyalty has empowered separation and mistrust among civilians and

\textsuperscript{14} John-Peter Pham, \textit{Child Soldiers, Adult Interests: The Global Dimensions of the Sierra Leonean Tragedy} (New York: Nova Science Publisher Inc., 2005), 55.

\textsuperscript{15} SEM, “The Rise of Corruption.”

\textsuperscript{16} Pham, \textit{Child Soldiers, Adult Interests}, 56.

\textsuperscript{17} SEM, “The Rise of Corruption.”

\textsuperscript{18} Sesay and Ukeje, \textit{Post-War Regimes}, 27.
leaders. The issue of voting on tribal sentiments contributed to countless civilian deaths during the civil war, during which time Kamajors who were Mendes attacked members of the Temne tribe; this type of resentment proved that when loyalty to tribe is placed above loyalty to country, dangerous consequences follow.

Sierra Leone voters have historically not sought to understand the policy of the candidate they support in an election; it has always been enough just to know the candidate’s tribe. They do not vote for the issues the candidate stand for but to show loyalty to a tribe which the leading candidate represents. This troubling act of tribalism has heightened the atmosphere of corruption and left civilians of different tribes with no hope because of the corrupted attitude of those in power. As a result of the frustrating political atmosphere Foday Sankoh’s Rebel United Front (RUF) gained the support necessary to become a potent power.

The loyalty to tribe and not to a party’s position on issues or the candidate’s running platform has ignited bribery and fraud that have consumed the political system for many years. This dysfunctional practice of tribal politics does not end after elections, and intensifies when the selected party has been elected into office. This results in less accountability and encourages more corruption because the candidate once in office now

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20 Sesay and Ukeje, Post-War Regimes, 29.

21 Ibid.
uses his power to repay voters who had supported them during election.\(^{22}\) This preference of one individual over another leads to more corrupt grievances in the government and increased distrust between the governed and the governor in Sierra Leone.

Anything from job favors to executions of members of opposing political parties has been the norm in African politics. It is a common practice for the most qualified candidates for a vacant job to get passed over because they belong to a different tribe than the ruling political party.\(^{23}\) This is the commonly and widely practiced interview process in Sierra Leone and more broadly Africa as a whole. In the meantime the losing party waits patiently for the next election, anxiously awaiting their time in office, their opportunity to rip-off the people. It is the injustices found in these practices that gave the RUF and forces like it the popularity and strength to start a deadly civil war in Sierra Leone.\(^{24}\)

After the civil war, one would think lessons had been learned as to how violent a nation becomes when tribalism is the main factor for promotion. This recipe leads to a flow of corruption by officials in power and others desperate to earn a buck because of the lack of opportunities. Unfortunately the consequences of such a system have not outweighed the benefits for Sierra Leone’s leaders, so they continue to stick to their ways and refuse to take heed as they engage in tribalism politics during and after elections.\(^{25}\) Throughout the 2007 elections the ugly face of tribal voting reared its ugly head in

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\(^{22}\) Foray, “Danger.”


\(^{24}\) Ibid., 58.

\(^{25}\) Ibid., 59.
determining the outcome of the elections. Experts say that the success of tribal voting has to do with illiteracy. In countries like Sierra Leone where illiteracy is high government propaganda and manipulation tend to work better.

President Ernest Koroma has been under attack for filling cabinet posts with people from his own Loko tribe; his willingness to meet in tribal settings only solidifies the point of his critics that his political choices in great part have been as direct result of loyalty to tribe as opposed to capability to perform their jobs. This very same pattern of governing and politics is what led to the 1991 civil war and the current leaders seem oblivious to this fact as they continue to toy with the very same pieces that led to the country’s destruction.

The Sierra Leone Civil War

The Sierra Leone civil war was one of the worst testaments to human injustices. Innocent civilians including women and children lost their limbs, lives, families and any hope of a better future. A war that grew out of ill judgment by leaders in power led to a standstill in the country’s economy. The developmental structure of the country has been stagnant and the progression of the people remains at a halt. The gruesome civil war that started in 1991 was under the leadership of ex-army corporal Foday Sankoh and his

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26 Foray, “Danger.”

27 Ibid.

now infamous RUF. Sankoh’s cause was heavily supported by President Charles Taylor of Liberia and was later sustained through mining of diamonds in the south and eastern parts of Sierra Leone. The rebel attacks started during the presidency of Joseph Momoh and their first conquests were cities that were closer to the Liberian border. The RUF at first claimed to be fighting for the people, but they soon turned their liberation fight into a humanitarian catastrophe by killing, raping, mutilating and recruiting young child soldiers.

The attacks on civilians intensified in 1997 when the RUF, in alliance with a rebellious group of army officers called the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC), attacked the capital city, Freetown. They overthrew the government of President Ahmad Tejan Kabbah who later regained power after one year through the efforts of the international community.

The Sierra Leone government was later under international scrutiny for poor judgment during the war, including recruitment of child soldiers and the ill-informed bombings of civilian sites which had been mistaken for rebel locations. A UN report showed that a quarter of the government’s troops were children under the age of 18 and

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30 Ibid.


32 Reuters, “Factbox.”

that the government’s air bombings did not always hit intended targets.

After the contentious relationship between the government and opposition, a ceasefire was reached in 2002. With the deployment of British army and UN troops, the RUF and their allies were defeated and in return collaborated with UN troops to disarm. In light of the peace after years of strife and thousands of lives and mutilated citizens, elections were held in 2002 that declared President Kabbah victorious.

An estimated 50,000 Sierra Leoneans lost their lives during the civil war. Sierra Leone is still trying to recover from the war with all the damages done to the minimal infrastructure that the county had at the outset. In the meantime the country has consistently ranked at the bottom of the U.N. Human Development Index. In hopes of acquiring justice from the advocates during the war against humanity, a war crimes court was set up to prosecute those who orchestrated the brutalities, most notably RUF leader Foday Sankoh and former President of Liberia, Charles Taylor. Sankoh died in prison while awaiting trial and Taylor was put on trial in June 2007 in The Hague; he was found guilty in 2012 for war crimes during the brutal Sierra Leone civil war.

The UN was criticized for its peace deal because it gave amnesty to rebels that participated in crimes against the population. RUF members were set free without

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34 Shah, “Sierra Leone.”
35 Ibid.
37 Reuters, “Factbox.”
38 Ibid.
penalties for the gross injustices they had caused the people. The UN defended its deal and stressed that amnesty to participants was the only way to ensure the end of the war.39

In 2002 Sierra Leone emerged from the depth of a decade-long civil war that stemmed in part from an era of endemic corruption at the highest levels of successive administrations. The corrupt nature of the system provoked citizens to take up arms against the misuse of the country’s natural resources wealth and government contracts while ignoring the basic needs of the people. The profitability of “blood” diamonds was essential in the longevity of the war, but the struggle to maintain diamond fields resulted in the substantial collapse of the country’s economy and reconstruction.40 A lasting impact of the atrocities committed by the rebels was their trademark of amputating the hands or feet of their victims. The UN Human Development Index, which measures the quality of life for citizens in a 185 countries, has consistently ranked Sierra Leone within the bottom fifteen countries with the worse living conditions and life expectancy. Entrenched poverty and distrust towards the government continue to cripple the social and economic development of the country.

Sierra Leone’s Anti-Corruption Commission

After more than ten years of civil strife in Sierra Leone the country was ready to begin its developmental process. President Tejan Kabbah, with the support of the international community, made strides toward ridding the government of corrupt

39 Shah, “Sierra Leone.”

practices. With a crippled economy, low social morale and a resentment and mistrust for the government, the best road to recovery seemed to be the combatting of past agents that had been destructive to development. The Anti-Corruption Commission (ACC) was created by the government to ensure that corrupt practices in government offices could be antics of the past and to educate the people about the dangerous dynamics of corruption. The Anti-Corruption Act of 2000 annulled the Prevention of Corruption Act of 1960, while the 2008 Anti-Corruption Act gave the ACC its much needed prosecutorial powers to overcome its past reputation as an ineffective body incapable of indicting offenders.  

The ACC’s strategy against the corruption has been to take preventive measures to combat the corruption, fighting the corruption when it is detected, and educating the public. To this end they have created three departments tailored towards outreach and public education, investigation and prosecutions and process review.

From its formation in 2000 to its prosecution empowerment in 2008, the ACC has faced a difficult path. Corruption in the Sierra Leone government has been the rule, not the exception, in regards to the way the government has been run. The ACC has kept busy during these years with officials continuously being investigated for embezzlement and bribery throughout country’s ministerial offices. In the twelve years since the Commission was formed it has investigated a wide range of cases that stemmed from the top ministerial offices all the way down to the company drivers. It seems that everyone

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42 Ibid.
was accustomed and consumed with the idea of an extra pay check that comes through bribery.

The ACC’s Investigated Cases

In 2000, Sierra Leone's Marine Resources Minister Lawrence Kamara was accused of embezzling US$45,000 in government funds.\textsuperscript{43} A year later in March 2001 the Agriculture Minister Dr. Harry Will was convicted of embezzling US$1.5 million from World Bank development funds meant to buy rice seed from Ghana for struggling Sierra Leonean farmers. The judge in the case, Mohamed Taju Deen, fined Will a mere $250 as the penalty, raising suspicions that Justice Deen himself had accepted a bribe in exchange for giving Will a gentle sentence.\textsuperscript{44} In the weeks following Will's conviction the permanent secretary at the Ministry of Education, Soluku Bockarie, was also convicted of misappropriating $1 billion from funds meant to pay the salaries of Sierra Leone's 26,000 teachers.\textsuperscript{45} A few months later, in September, forty-one police officers were suspended and later arrested for accepting bribes from motorists who had been under the influence of narcotics, and in other cases assisting diamond smugglers to leave the country.\textsuperscript{46} A month later, in October, the respected editor of the newspaper \textit{Democrat For di People} accused Minister of Justice Solomon Berewa of accepting bribes in exchange for arranging the release of an Israeli and a Russian held in Sierra Leone,

\textsuperscript{43} Anti-Corruption Commission of Sierra Leone, “Archives.”

\textsuperscript{44} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{45} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{46} Ibid.
pending extradition to Colombia on drug charges.\(^{47}\) In November President Kabbah, under great pressure from the media and the international community, suspended the Minister of Transportation Momoh Pujeh for illicit diamond mining and diamond smuggling from the Kenema district.\(^{48}\) At the time of their arrest Pujeh and his wife were found with large quantities of diamonds in their possession.

Following the arrest of his minister, President Kabbah recommended to the ACC that Paul Kamara, an open critic of his administration, be investigated for tax evasion.\(^{49}\) The charges against Kamara were later dropped as there was no evidence to support the president’s accusation of the editor, leaving the idea that it was a form of intimidation meant to silence Kamara and warn others against criticizing the regime. Shortly after this officers of the Sierra Leone Ministry of Agriculture were accused of poorly allocating $500,000 that was financed by international donors in hopes of developing an agriculture project in the country.\(^{50}\)

In May 2008, under a newly elected president Ernst Koroma, the Ministry of Education, Youths and Sports Coordinator of the School Feeding Project, David Walker, was accused of thirty-three counts of misappropriation of public funds.\(^{51}\) Walker was

\(^{47}\) Anti-Corruption Commission of Sierra Leone, “Archives.”


\(^{51}\) Anti-Corruption Commission of Sierra Leone, “Archives.”
arraigned for misusing funds that were provided by the government and the World Food Programme towards the development of the School Feeding Project. He was accused of cashing checks meant for the development program and using them for his personal gain.\footnote{Ibid.} In October it became apparent that the Koroma regime, like that of Kabbah’s, would be a political fiasco for more corruption in government ministries. The Minister of Fisheries and Marine Resources, Haja Afsatu Kabba, was found guilty of abuse of office because she misappropriated public funds close to $80,000.\footnote{Ibid.} In another highly publicized and what appeared to many as a bribery-influenced decision, the judge in the case dismissed the proceedings against Kabba, claiming that the prosecution did not have enough evidence to prosecute. Shortly after the dismissal of the case against Kabba the judicial system tried to recover from its reputation of being reluctant to prosecute top officials in March 2009 with the prosecution of the Chief Clerk at the Sierra Leone Immigration Department, Alhaji Alie Badara Sesay.\footnote{Ibid.} Sesay was found guilty of soliciting and accepting a bribe to falsify passports for individuals who needed them to obtain visas for entry into countries overseas.

In April the ACC brought new headaches for the Koroma regime when it filed charges against the director and managing accountant of the Mining and General Service (MAGS), a government-run office for traveling services in Sierra Leone.\footnote{Ibid.} Charles
Rogers and Sylvanus Pratt were accused of misappropriation of public funds, public property, corrupt acquisition of wealth and abuse of their office by accepting bribes in exchange for favors.\(^{56}\) A couple of months later, in June, the police arrested a former government ombudsman who faced 164 counts of misappropriation of public funds.\(^{57}\)

In 2011 alone the ACC brought charges against numerous government officials who were overwhelmingly proven to have embezzled public funds meant for the development of their departments, but these officials had decided instead to use the country’s needed funds to enrich themselves. Overwhelming evidence was presented against the former Director of the Sierra Leone Road Transport Authority (SLRTA) Sarah Bendu, the Managing Director of Mabella Industries Hamza Sesay, the Sierra Leone Commercial Bank Finance Officer John Mans and Francis Komeh, and the Executive Director of the Sierra Leone Maritime Administration (SLMA) Phillip Lukulay.\(^{58}\)

The ACC has kept busy since its formation in 2000 with the investigation of many top officials in the government accused of one embezzlement scandal after another. Despite the crackdown on corrupt officials, corruption perception indices still show Sierra Leone is losing the anti-corruption and development battle. These statistics show a failing ACC whose crackdowns have been selective and all around ineffective in its aim

\(^{56}\) Ibid.


\(^{58}\) Anti-Corruption Commission of Sierra Leone, “Archives.”
of dealing a big blow to the corruptive nature of governance. As a result of the continuous cracks in government integrity and a failure in transparent government, Sierra Leoneans continue to suffer in the midst of their elected officials’ ignominious embezzlement schemes.

The Reality

The United Nations Development Programme’s (UNDP) yearly Human Development Index (HDI) ranks countries to see the improvements or digressions of civilian lifestyle around the world. Nations with HDI scores between 0.8-1 are judged as having high human development, those with scores between 0.5-0.79 fall under medium human development, and countries with less than 0.5 are regarded as having low human development. Sierra Leone has consistently held a low ranking in the HDI, scoring as low as 0.336 in 2011 which ranks 180 out of 187 countries. Similarly, Transparency International’s Corruption Perception Index (CPI) which sheds light on the degree of corrupt governing among officials in public offices has consistently ranked Sierra Leone among the most corrupt nations in the world. Sierra Leonean officials have steadily earned less than 2.5 on a scale where 10 embodies highly transparent and ethical regimes and zero represents highly corrupt polities.

So whom or what is to blame in the midst of the development downfall in Sierra Leone? It is unrealistic to entirely tag the blame for the downfall of a society entirely on one thing. However, it is difficult to ignore the alarming fact that corruption plays an overwhelming role in important government offices that hold the key to progress in Sierra Leone; it has been this way from Albert Margai’s regime and it continues to hold
its grounds today. The widespread detestable acts of illegal drug trafficking, money laundering and illegal diamond mining are increasingly problematic in the case against corruption in the governing system and continue to frustrate those who yearn for ethical government in Sierra Leone. The unfortunate reality is that the system in Sierra Leone brings any progress in development to an abrupt halt. The government officials’ lack of will to combat corruption is evident in their obstruction of anti-corruption measures made by the ACC that would help in bringing a much needed lifestyle improvement to the people. The corruption epidemic continues to consume the daily affairs throughout political offices in Sierra Leone with officials who are unwilling to stop being corrupt or to see the damage they create. They would rather ignore or call their actions by other names while continuously blaming other regimes for the state of the country and leaving a problem that is long overdue for a solution for another day and a different generation. It appears that the truth held by the Stevens administration holds true today - the profits of self-enrichment are too tempting even for the ACC to defeat.

Sierra Leonean leaders and civilians must examine different possibilities necessary to rid the government of corruption and accomplish the development of their country. Officials must remember that the people elected them and they work for them and not the other way around. The interests of the citizens should be the most important aspect of the equation, but now the country’s interest is easily and conveniently overlooked. The citizens are most impacted by the government’s decisions but rarely influence the decisions which are made behind closed doors in government offices. It is time to change that culture and bring a new way of running a government for the country.
Sierra Leone politics has been defined by a few certainties, namely that the decisions politicians make affect the lives of everyday civilians, yet sadly, the public does not benefit from these decisions, rather they suffer because of them. Also, corruption plagued the system in the past and has become widely accepted as part of the culture, which has forced every Sierra Leonean to choose between buying into corruption or paying the price because of it.

Musgaardism aims to bring a solution to this epidemic by ending the dangerous cycle and silencing corruption by giving a voice to a people who have been robustly silenced by its effects. Sierra Leoneans have witnessed the suffering of their countrymen and experienced how destructive a society can be when it lacks, among other things, virtuous leadership. In the absence of a dedicated leader a country loses hope for the future of its people and that of its children.59 It is time for the system by which it operates to cultivate a strong passion for taking initiative and providing a voice for those who have been silenced by the war, silenced by the lack of opportunity, without food, education, jobs, clean water, electricity, reliable healthcare and what looks like a dim future.

The development of Sierra Leone depends on how well order and justice can be implemented with the goal of combatting corruption.60 The leaders must become disciplined and realize that their role is essential in bringing about a change that the country urgently needs. This will allow future generations of Sierra Leone hope and


opportunity and show them that their leaders, regardless of their shortcomings in the past, are willing to invest in their future. Actions like this will assure the youth of Sierra Leone that their future does not begin when they make it to America or England or some other western country, but it can be realized at home in the hands of a new type of leadership, an uncorrupt form.
CHAPTER 3
MUSGAARDISM

Musgaardism is comprised of elements drawn from anti-corruption initiatives, inter alia, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the United Nations (U.N.), Honk Kong’s Independent Commission against Corruption (ICAC), human and policy development Professor Stuart Yeh and economist Robert Klitgaard. The goal of this framework is to systematically reduce corruption, which continues to be a detriment to Africa’s development. Georgia, Singapore and Hong Kong unilaterally created anti-corruption initiatives that have elevated these countries from the depths of corruption to top ranking countries in Transparency International’s Corruption Perception Index (CPI). Musgaardism was constructed in this work to yield similar results in defeating corruption in the African political setting by identifying and combatting factors that enable the corruption epidemic. This framework follows through with tough reforms which will significantly eradicate corruption from the system. It addresses the factors that support the dishonest society by exposing them and proposes solutions in the form of reforms and the training of public sector employees.¹ Musgaardism consists of four steps that, if implemented, will significantly decapitate political corruption within African governments.

¹ Robert Williams and Alan Doig, eds., Controlling Corruption (Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar Publisher, 2000), 127.
Musgaardism’s plan includes four main elements:

I. Reconstructing the Anti-Corruption Commission (ACC);
II. Mobilizing citizens to combat the corruption epidemic;
III. Demonopolizing the autonomy of African leaders; and
IV. Better managing the country’s resources

The elements of Musgaardism are founded on established principles that have been demonstrated in the past to be effective. Hong Kong’s Independent Commission against Corruption (ICAC) and Stuart Yeh’s recommendations are vital in reconstructing a functional Anti-Corruption Commission (ACC) found in Article I. The U.N. calls for empowering the people in order to defeat the corruption epidemic which is examined in Article II. Economist Robert Klitgaard calls for the reduction in power of African leaders and techniques to combat the future emergence of the corruption plague covered in Article III. The World Bank and the IMF present proposals in better handling resources in developing countries which is covered in article IV. The specifics on how these parts can make a whole are the elements that make this framework unique.

Corruption in Africa has been the rule, not the exception, and although Musgaardism recognizes this, its principles are designed to deny the premise that African corruption is somehow “the nature” of Africans. The factors that contribute to widespread corruption in the region will have lasting consequences if this region does not take measures to combat corruption.\(^2\) The existence of corruption in any society is costly to the people, but to Africans it continues to be a death sentence that ensures leaders are well taken care of with the people’s money that comfortably sits in foreign banks as the

people die of hunger and curable diseases. The financial security of Africa’s corrupt leadership continues to rule the day in the region. The uniqueness in the corruption dilemma in Africa’s case is that once corruption becomes part of the culture it is not enough to reverse the policies that led to the demise of the state. Instead, it becomes necessary to create strict policies and follow-ups that aim at prevention. This is a necessary step because being ethically compromised is not just a moral dilemma; it is also economically detrimental to the struggling population. Learning from history and from countries that have managed to run a functioning, politically effective system is key to success. If African leaders and the people alike want to see progress, then measures must be implemented to modify behavior on both sides: namely it is imperative to enforce tough reforms, research capability, public awareness, decentralization of expenditure and revenue and the diversification of leadership. This process calls for the involvement of the international community to ensure that dishonest practices do not have the opportunity to reappear and that the suggested measures are fully implemented without compromise. The training of administrators by anticorruption counterparts in developed countries will aid in the process of assuring that real change in the system is taken seriously and that corruption, once combatted, has no room to reemerge. It is the


goal of Musgaardism to break the cycle of corruption through the implementation of its four steps.

Article I. 
Reconstructing the Anti-Corruption Commission (ACC)

The ACC must be unwavering in its discipline and resilient in its mission. No exception should be made and it should be completely separate from the government and earn its financial support through independent means that could entail foreign aid. The legal authority and structural mechanics behind a reconstructed ACC lie in the provisions of the United Nations Convention Against Corruption (UNCAC); 145 nations are signatories to the UNCAC and legally bound by its provisions, which give it full authority to exercise measures to combat corruption within member states. The UNCAC covers five areas, namely preventive measures (Chapter II Articles 5-14), criminalization and law enforcement (Chapter III Articles 15-44), international cooperation (Chapter IV Articles 51-59), asset recovery and technical assistance and information exchange (Chapter VI Articles 60-62). An example should be made of high officials to gain the confidence of the people and send a clear message to culprits of unethical practices. The ACC will have enforcement powers that allow for full prosecution of officials found to have behaved unethically.

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8 Ibid., 78.
The ACC will publish regular reports specifying guidelines that employees must follow for investigations, the length to which a case can be pursued, and procedures for seizure of properties.\textsuperscript{9} There should be guidelines in place that prohibit ACC employees from working in the government once their service to ACC is complete. Outside experts should make unannounced visits to ensure that the agency remains uncompromised. The staff must constantly be trained, their work should be evaluated every six months, and pay raises should be dependent on performance and regulated to ensure that corruption has no room in this organization. To ensure that the foreign aid that pays for the ACC is itself not corrupted, the international donors who provide the aid will oversee its distribution. Following the successful implementation of Musgaardism’s steps, the ACC will eventually be funded with the country’s resources. With proper supervision the millions of dollars that are now being lost to corruption, will be allocated to projects within the country including sustaining the ACC. Whether struggling democracies can ever transform from foreign-aid dependent systems to polities that stand on their own is yet to be seen, and remains a question that has been debated in the international community for years. It is only with the implementation of strategies like Musgaardism that regions consumed by corruption can fully hope to recover from its effects.

\textsuperscript{9} Heineman and Heimann, “The Long War Against Corruption,” 81.
**Staff**

*The Hierarchy*

The structure of an ACC is crucial to the success of the anti-corruption cause. Therefore, the mechanics of a renewed ACC call for a structure similar to Hong Kong’s ICAC. Klitgaard stresses the importance of constructing and implementing laws for the successful combatting of corruption. He agrees that incentives must be put in place to overwhelm the benefit of corruption.\(^{10}\) Due to the proven weak leadership within the African region, it will be in the best interest of the anti-corruption cause for an autonomous international body to become involved. Stuart Yeh, a policy and development professor at the University of Minnesota, calls for a compact of African nations, which he calls African Commission Against Corruption (ACAC), to be established that will have powers of conviction for officials found to have been corrupt within their systems.\(^{11}\) He proposes that such an organization would come about through the recommendation of the existing Africa Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) to the UN. The APRM consists of twenty-nine African countries which have agreed to take strides towards ridding their system of corruption and allowing inspections on this basis. The results of these inspections then determine the funding countries are qualified to receive through the G8 Africa Action Plan. The funding and legal authority of ACAC are already established through UN funding.

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ACAC Staff

The ACAC will be staffed by members of the APRM and UNCAC states and comprised of a Chief Executive Council (in charge of policy and funding matters for the ACC) to monitor reports from ACC Commissioners. The Council will be consulted on major policy issues affecting individual ACC. There will be an ACAC complaints committee which will monitor reviews of the ACC. The ACC within the participating countries will be under the jurisdiction of the ACAC to ensure the management of the institution and to allow for the proper distribution of funds. There will be a Secretary of Justice within the ACAC who will report to an established International Anti-Corruption Court (IACC). Article 42 of the Rome Statute lays out the authority of the independent prosecutor in the Office of the Prosecutor (OTP) at the ICC. Currently, the OTP can only prosecute cases that deal with genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes committed by or in state parties. Musgaardism proposes a renewed commitment by the international community in order to forcibly confront political corruption by creating an International Anti-Corruption Court (IACC). At Harvard’s yearly Law and International Development Society conference, Chief Judge Mark Wolf of the U.S. District Court for the District of Massachusetts and the former chief of the Public Corruption Unit at the Department of Justice (DOJ), called for an establishment of an international corruption court similar to the ICC. The mechanics behind this proposal are plausible, being that

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the ICC was approved by the UN General Assembly, even though some saw it as a threat to their government sovereignty. The establishment of an IACC will involve a formation of an Ad Hoc Committee, a Preparatory Committee to prepare a draft text of the standards by which an IACC will operate and the convening of a UN conference of Plenipotentiaries. An IACC could be funded by signatories of the approved treaty that establishes the IACC and staffed by experienced law enforcement officers of state parties. The court will operate in a manner similar to the ICC, intervening only when called upon; in this case, by the state’s ACC, at which time the investigative unit at the IACC will investigate and determine whether to proceed with a prosecution. The explanation behind why a corrupt state would agree to the measures of an IACC is similar to reasons that led to the signing of other “sovereignty threatening” treaties - the fear of public and peer scrutiny in avoiding an anti-corruption legislation.

**ACC Staff**

Citizens of countries in a given region will staff the newly-constructed ACC. The staffing of individuals from within the APRM will be preferable to that of Western countries to avoid accusation of Western domination and criticism from opposition.13 This will also be favorable in that African individuals will understand certain cultural factors that may be more of an adjustment for Western individuals.14 Similar to the structure of the ICAC, the renewed ACC will be headed by an ACC Commissioner who

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14 Ibid., 27.
will report to the ACAC’s Chief Executive Council. There will also be Directors in each committee and Deputy Directors of subcommittees, all of whom will be answerable to the ACC’s Commissioner in a monthly departmental meeting. The Commissioner will then translate that information to the Chief Executive Council at the ACAC. The mechanics behind the reconstruction of the ACC are elaborated in the chart below:

Figure 1: Musgaardism
Source: Author’s Chart
Divisions

The ACC’s Departments

Sierra Leone’s Anti-Corruption Commission (SLACC) departments will be divided into three committees, specifically: the Prevention and Advisory Committee (PAC), the awareness unit; the Operation Review and Investigation Committee (ORIC), the investigation unit; and Law Enforcement Integrity Committee (LEIC), the legal unit. The ACC’s Commissioner will actively monitor the departments to ensure that the Directors of each committee report progress being made in individual departments. There will be biweekly meetings including the department head and assistant directors to ensure matters that concern the efficiency of the department are being dealt with in a timely matter. To guarantee strong oversight, the heads of each department will report directly to the ACC Commissioner who will then communicate the information to the ACAC’s Chief Executive Council.

PAC

The PAC will raise public awareness by showing the correlation between corruption, poverty, civil war, high unemployment and poor health facilities. They will work closely with the ACC’s prevention unit to ensure that the message is reaching the people through billboards and media outreach.

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ORIC

The ORIC will ensure that the ACC is being run efficiently by examining cases and making sure they are investigated in a timely manner. They will also review employees’ financial records to ensure the agency has a corrupt free environment. The ORIC will focus on inspecting the government to fight corruption and will report back to the international community and make their findings available online.\textsuperscript{16} These results will have significant impact on the foreign aid the country will qualify for within the following year. The international community will enforce travel bans, aid sanctions and freezing of accounts of officials in countries that participate in the ACAC program but rank low on Transparency International’s CPI index.\textsuperscript{17}

LEIC

In regard to controlling corruption in law enforcement, the LEIC will investigate cases about corruption in law enforcement agencies and will have powers to prosecute officers that are caught accepting bribes or otherwise engaged in corruption.\textsuperscript{18} The LEIC will give legal advice to the other two departments. PAC will work closely with the LEIC to spread word about the consequences of corruption and the full force by which the LEIC will prosecute corrupt officers of the law regardless of the amount accepted in bribes.

\textsuperscript{16} Spector,\textit{ Detecting Corruption}, 12.

\textsuperscript{17} Ibid., 14.

\textsuperscript{18} Edgardo Buscaglia,\textit{ Judicial Corruption in Developing Countries: Its Causes and Economic Consequences} (Stanford, CA: Hoover Institute Press, 1999), 8.
United Nations Inspectors: The Overseer in Combatting Corruption

Stuart Yeh proposes sending UN inspectors to end the corruption within African states. The recruitment, training and funding for this initiative is enabled by UNCAC and the African Union Convention on Preventing and Combatting Corruption (AUCPCC). These legally binding treaties will allow investigative and prosecution powers to be assumed by UN inspectors; these agreements have already been signed by numerous African leaders due to pressure from constituents.19 Leaders of the nations have already signed treaties similar to the Rome Statute, which gives UN inspectors investigative powers under the current legal authority of the U.N. Commission on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice.20 UN inspectors must make their reports available to the IACC. The UN inspectors will follow the techniques already established by the Rome Statute inspectors. The UN inspectors, like the Rome Statute inspectors, will be recruited, trained and funded through UN member states. The UNCAC will recruit experienced criminal investigators for the UN inspectors program from its 145 state signatories. It will also recruit law enforcement personnel from its member states to ensure the prosecution backing of such a body.

The G8 Africa Action plan, which allows for performance-based funding through the conditions of controlling corruption, would be utilized as a tool to subdue any opposition that an increased probe in accountability and transparency may stir within the government. The results from the UN inspectors will impact financial sanctions by

19 Yeh, “Ending Corruption in Africa,” 87.

20 Ibid., 87.
To ensure that the investigation is thorough and no element is left to chance, there will be powers given to the inspectors including tapping official lines and covertly recording meetings. To ensure that the war against corruption is moving accordingly, UN inspectors will make unannounced visits to the country to ensure the ACC has not been compromised and that the government agencies are being run ethically.

The UN inspectors will be authorized to monitor the ACC and government offices within the state. The inspectors will assure the code of conduct is being implemented by the practices in the department. Inspectors will review assets to confirm that officials have not gained assets since service that exceed their salary. In cases where inconsistencies are found, they will be treated as a breach of the official’s oath unless the person in question can prove otherwise. If this is the case, it will be the same as before where the person of interest must provide evidence that proves that the deposit was attained through legal and ethical means. If the documents are not presented within three days of the request, arrest and detainment of the official will be within the rights of the UN inspectors. The inspectors will also monitor the ACC’s subdivisions within each department including the police, the courthouse, banking and the media.

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21 Yeh, *International Affairs*, 87.

22 Ibid., 89.

23 Yeh, *International Affairs*, 91.
Article II.
Mobilizing Citizens to Combat the Corruption Epidemic

Public pressure can and has changed the narrative of political corruption. This principle held true in England during the widespread corruption in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and in America during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, but in order for change to come, the people must unite and act. Klitgaard stresses the importance of uniting civilians and the importance of producing citizens who can be free of corrupt tendencies. He believes that if the perception of corruption changes from being seen as the norm, then real change can emerge.\(^{24}\) It is commonly believed that bribery is solely at the cost of the person paying the money, but this could not be farther from the truth. Overcoming corruption can be done if civilians come to understand its high cost to the economy and the ill consequences of a corrupt reputation.\(^{25}\) As a result of the corruption and the image created by corruption, there are fewer jobs and higher crime rates. These problems are compounded by the lack of implementation of laws by the police and legislators who accept bribes. This practice of bribery leads to great crime rates that can be avoided if corruption in law enforcement is tackled. The newly revitalized anti-corruption agency can educate civilians about the crippling effect of side deals made by their officials; with knowledge of this information, citizens will be motivated to stand against fraudulent behavior in government. The appropriate steps which I have created toward this end can be accomplished if the ACC establishes a

\(^{24}\) Klitgaard, *Controlling Corruption*, 56.

\(^{25}\) Susan Rose-Ackerman, *Corruption and Government: Causes, Consequences, and Reform* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 179.
relationship with the public by communicating, educating, motivating and reiterating (C.E.M.R.) the goals of the ACC.

- **Communicate:** through media outreach the public can become informed and involved in fighting the corruption epidemic.

- **Educate:** the people can gain knowledge about the high cost of corruption and their personal loss because of its practice, as well as what would be their personal gain in its defeat.

- **Motivate:** arouse the public to take action against the unethical epidemic by rallying against political corrupt acts, and encouraging the election of virtuous leaders opposed to tribal-based voting.

- **Reiterate:** it is important to repeat the steps of communicating, the constant educating and further motivating to ensure that the remnants of corruption, once defeated, stay outside the realm of the political system.

Africans have contributed to the ill-management of their government by unwaveringly electing leaders who have led their countrymen to high illiteracy rates, disastrous living conditions, deplorable health facilities easily susceptible to diseases, and a grim future at the very best. However, the people’s involvement in fixing the system will change the corruption narrative within the region.²⁶

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Article III.
Demonopolize the Autonomy of African Leaders

African Leaders have already signed international agreements that restrict their authority with the UNCAC (legal binding provision to arrest and prosecute corrupt individuals), AUCPCC (established ACC agencies in thirty African states), the Rome Statute (invasive investigative powers), and the APRM (peer reviews recommendation tied to foreign aid). Protocols are needed for eliminating corruption and patrimonialism (the misappropriation of the privileges of one’s office through gifts) that have been the ruling practice in African regimes for years. 27 The patronage of supporters by officials through the assignment of jobs, contracts, and loans must be attacked.

Klitgaard argues on the premise that corruption follows the formula $C = M + D - A$, that is, Corruption equals Monopoly plus Discretion minus Accountability. 28 Corruption has flourished in settings where an individual has the discretion to monopolize goods without much accountability. With this premise, Klitgaard suggests it becomes necessary to propose better systems that allow for less domination by leaders. 29 He argues that the discretion by which officials operate must be significantly regulated and the process by which the government operates must be uncompromisingly transparent. One feature that remains constant through many anti-corruption initiatives is


29 Ibid., 105.
the continuous call for accountability and transparency of political officials. In order for the public sector to be run effectively, the abuse of power must be tamed. In order to tackle this issue, more incentives should be established that suppress the benefits of being corrupt.\textsuperscript{30} In an attempt to get African leadership to agree to these conditions, international lenders such as IMF, World Bank, Transparency International, human rights groups and regional organizations such as the African Union (AU) and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), will need to collaborate to end the corrupt autonomy. Another funding initiative could be through the debt repayment options which will allow countries that owe money to pay off their debt by allowing government institutions and agencies to be staffed by the ACC.\textsuperscript{31} These organizations can collaborate to bring a halt to the growing injustice of the people of Africa. The fight against institutionalized corruption must be a combined effort, as opposed to tackling one sector at a time; this approach is key in disenfranchising corruption.\textsuperscript{32} Klitgaard stresses that there must be equal pay for equal work, unlike the present phenomenon where the production of work is not tied to the income earned, leaving workers to create back door deals to maintain their livelihoods.\textsuperscript{33} He stresses that it is necessary to create systems that evaluate and promote employees based on performance. To accomplish this, real change must come about, starting with the way staff is employed throughout political institutions.

\textsuperscript{30} Ibid., 58.

\textsuperscript{31} Theobald, “New Politics of Corruption,” 494.

\textsuperscript{32} Paul Collier, “How to Reduce Corruption,” 192.

\textsuperscript{33} Klitgaard, \textit{Controlling Corruption}, 52.
**Staffing in Government Offices**

Civil servants must be employed by the ACC, and this will slow down the expansion of power by corrupt leadership.\(^3^4\) Personnel must go through a vetting period from a renewed anti-corruption agency that provides qualified candidates to government agencies. In turn, this will separate the leader and the employees of that department, displacing the feeling of loyalty that currently overshadows any potential ethical work environment. Members of the staff should only be dismissed for legitimate reasons, not just at the will of the leadership, and any call for dismissal should be followed closely by the ACC to ensure that there is no foul play or that an employee’s resistance to unethical practices is not the reason for discharge. For struggling democracies to stand a chance, meritocracy (a system that hires and promotes based on merit, not political favors) must become the norm; this will disarm public officials of the power they now hold in dictating the terms of their organization, thus making whistleblowers in any organization resistant to providing information on corruption because of the consequences they may face.\(^3^5\) By allowing for meritocracy, the leaders will be left isolated at the top, making it difficult to engage in shady deals in the midst of staff that have not been bought, but rather have earned their positions through merit and assignment by the ACC. This action is a necessary adjustment in de-patronizing a system that is set in its disreputable ways.


\(^{3^5}\) Theobald, “New Politics of Corruption,” 494.
Creating a Functional Checks and Balance System

In examining the prominent role that discretion plays in the economically-challenged system in Africa, the absence of a checks and balances system has clearly also contributed to Africa’s developmental stagnation. The abuse of government power in private activities has fueled the corruption, allowing extreme discretion by those in charge to choose whether to enforce regulations or to ignore them. These powers must be removed from the hands of leaders, who use them to extort money and extract bribes in order to do their jobs. The concentration of power in leaders must change so that the vast autonomy that has been key in bringing Africa to economic ruin can be subdued.

There must be restraints on ministers so that financial deals can be approved through the finance ministry and with a vote by parliament. This will significantly reduce unauthorized expenditures being executed only by the approval of an unchecked minister. It allows for the discontinuation of the discretion aspects of the failed system and brings transparency, accountability and checks and balances to a system that has consistently lacked in all three areas.

Taking a Direct Jab at the Safe Haven

Klitgaard prescribes that penalties for corruption must be nonnegotiable and unbiased. This will ensure that officials who participate in unethical practices will be reluctant to partake in corrupt dealings. A start towards this good will be disallowing the practice that emboldens corrupt leaders to seek refuge in foreign countries to avoid prosecution they face in their own country. Under the UNCAC’s Chapter IV, article 43-

49, member states must cooperate to bring to justice corrupt individuals by any necessary means, including extradition of corrupt offenders. In UNCAC’s Chapter V, article 51-59, under assets recovery, allows for the extradition of individuals charged with corruption to be returned to the country and provisions for asset recovery.

Corrupt officials must also be stopped in their tracks by blocking financial stakes they hold in other nations through tough international banking laws.37 Strong rules must be implemented to prosecute those that seek to protect corrupt leaders and bring to justice those who break the rule of law. In Chapter III, Article 15-44, the UNCAC set forth provisions against money laundering that require member states to return money to the countries where the crime of corruption occurred.38 More importantly, businesses that mean to operate in the region must be guided by strict policies formulated by the host country and enforced by the home countries of foreign businesses. A rule of law must be established for companies conducting business within the corrupt country to reduce the risk that they may become a part of the corruption plague. Legislation must be implemented and international businesses must be held accountable in their home countries. Countries that intend on doing business in Africa should embrace laws like the United States Foreign Corruption Practices Act (FCPA) or the United Kingdom’s Bribery Act.


Act. These laws must hold accountable companies and officials that hope to do business in the region. Tough action would yield real progress in fighting corruption if policies that call for more accountability within the organization or institution are implemented. Tough laws are necessary to encourage companies to create policies that reprimand employees for accepting or paying bribes. The prospect of prosecution, jail time, loss of assets and fines will encourage businesses to create programs that educate their workers and warn them against corruption of any sort.

When looking at foreign businesses that intend to take advantage of the fragile state of struggling countries, policies must be enforced like the U.S Fraud section at the Department of Justice and the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC). These policies give ethical businesses that operate overseas a fair ground to compete in the world’s market. Both of the institutions have been successful in implementing polices that act in opposition to corrupt foreign officials; the SEC and the U.S. Fraud section have successfully collected $2 billion in criminal and civil penalties since its formation in 2009. If businesses are found to be partaking in illegal activities, they must pay the

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40 Charles T. Call and Vanessa Wyeth, eds., Building States to Build Peace (Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner Pub, 2008), 69.

41 The White House, “G-20: Fact Sheet.”

42 Ibid.
consequences and face prosecution, but in order for this to be effective, other countries must implement such policies.43

Article IV.
Better Managing of Resources

The resources revenue must allow for public reviews, and government contract awards must be a transparent and follow a competitive process that is administered fairly without regard to tribe. The international community must contribute to countries that have shown signs of improvement in combatting corruption. Public justice officials must be sent to monitor democracies to ensure that the funds given are used for the assigned missions; if not, they should be authorized to prosecute officials in countries that resist progress. The points outlined in Section 4.1 are measures which I have compiled from World Bank anti-corruption and development reports; these steps will warrant an effective and transparent natural resource marketing process in Sierra Leone.

Natural Resource

- Natural resource revenue must become a transparent process.
- All natural resource revenue must be banked; any transfers out of the account must be approved by parliament through a budgetary process.
- Redistribution of natural revenue across government agencies is a must in order to enhance the country’s economy.
- Annual audits by international accredited auditors is necessary.

**Government Contracts**

- Agencies that work closely with contracts must strictly adhere to the context of their departmental practices or face investigation under the renewed ACC.

- Agencies must be forthright in their dealings and ensure that the public is updated of the progress being made by each department through monthly reports that each ministerial department will produce and make available to the ACC, online and in the media. ACC will take an active role in ensuring that the public is made aware of the government’s affairs; this process is necessary to the transparency.

- Goods and services must be checked to ensure contractor meets obligations before payment is disbursed.

**Foreign Aid**

- The international community should contribute to countries that have shown signs of improvement in combatting corruption.

- Public justice officials should be sent to monitor countries to ensure that the funds given are used for the assigned missions; if not, they should be authorized to prosecute officials in countries that resist progress by using donated funds for private gain.

- Countries should be awarded foreign aid based of their ranking on corruption indexes conducted yearly. Nations with the most improvement will be awarded the largest aid.

**Payments within Government Agencies**

- Every department should have procedural mechanisms for handling revenues among foreign and domestic entities.

- Agencies that work closely with contracts must strictly adhere to the context of their departmental practices or face investigation under the renewed ACC.

- Payments received in departments will be handled by a computerized mechanism that will be run by the in-house ACAC accounts payable department and will be established within all government agencies.
As Klitgaard argues, where there is monopoly and discretion and little accountability, all doors point to the integrity of the individual and this becomes a dangerous mechanism that allows the reign of unethical practices and is a detriment to the economy of African states.44 There must be laws that are not biased or advocates of self-interest, but a system that operates on behalf of the people. This has consistently been the problem in the African setting. Africa’s development progress continues to be disproportionate to the billions raked in through natural resource revenue. Donors continue to profit from the ill management of natural resources in Africa and manage to escape the watchful eye of international organizations and institutions by bypassing the guidelines established to cap the outflowing of embezzlement deals. Anti-corruption initiatives have fallen short of drowning out the “big fishes” of this region, and as a result, have failed to show the people they mean business. They have merely talked about the necessity of upright regimes, but the West has shied away from enforcing tough reforms because of the political impact it would have on their ambitions. The United States, a great advocate for controlling corruption in Africa, has been compromised as the U.S. is increasingly dependent on receiving its oil supply from Africa, putting itself in a weak bargaining position to stand up to the leadership in the continent. Such vulnerabilities add to the corruption and to the widely-accepted repute that natural resources in Africa are more of a curse than a blessing to the people. Why won’t civilians in Africa take note of the Arab Spring uprising and elect leaders (men or women) that are committed to something other than selling Africa to the highest bidder? Why are Africans

44 Demas, "Moment of Truth,” 315.
so complacent in the underdevelopment process? These are other issues, ones that Musgaardism cannot change or bring answers to. These are questions that Africans must ask themselves. Patriotism is not taught; it cannot be found in any anti-corruption initiative, but instead must come from within. The elements of Musgaardim are structured to distinguish Africa and corruption as separate entities not to be perceived as interchangeable. It is time for key players to look back - far back - in history, so long ago when Africa had great promise. In order for Africa and Africans to deliver on that promise, the stage must be set for the discontinuation of the political corrupt machine.
CHAPTER 4

MUSGAARDISM IN SIERRA LEONE

For years the international community has failed to present a successful proposal for combatting corruption in developing countries. More often than not, when anti-corruption initiatives are presented, they immediately become a big part of the conversation. Included in the discussion are the well-intended participants to the leaders who only want to appear to care about the anti-corruption cause. It is important to change this dynamic by enforcing an anti-corruption framework that exposes and separates the weeds from the wheat, and this is what Musgaardism’s doctrines accomplish. It confiscates the power from the leaders and gives it back to the people, with no incognito agendas and only the combatting of corruption as its purpose. Applying Musgaardism’s techniques in Sierra Leone will involve a series of steps which will lead to:

- Reconstructing Sierra Leone’s Anti-Corruption Commission (SLACC);
- Mobilizing Sierra Leoneans to take measures against the corruption epidemic;
- De-monopolizing the autonomy of Sierra Leone leaders; and
- Better management of Sierra Leone’s resources.¹

In order to give this small West African country a chance at a brighter future, certainly brighter than where it stands now, the pervasive misuse of governing power must yield to the absoluteness of a framework of Musgaardism’s magnitude.

The Road to Reconstruction

The road to the necessary measures that will lead to Musgaardism is no easy path. The questions here are: how do you modify the behavior of governments? How do you make “leaders” lead? Why will corrupt officials modify a system that is beneficial to their personal agendas? How do you get through to a corrupt official? You talk money, “bribe” them with increased aid and “blackmail” them with financial sanctions if they refuse. There is a reason why this subject has baffled experts for years, because it calls for “unthinkable” and drastic measures like, yes, bribery (incentives) and blackmail (threats), but also constitutional reform and an updated judicial system. To bring about the drastic change that is required to combat the lingering presence of corruption, unconventional measures need to be taken. Stuart Yeh proposes that the APRM introduce a compact of African states (ACAC) to the UN.² This group will have powers of conviction over officials found to have been corrupt within their systems. Musgaardism goes a step further and calls for the same measures; however, it also specifies that the ACAC be an extension of the UNCAC - one that is tailored towards the African region. The approval of the ACAC is plausible since African leaders have already signed the UNCAC, a measure that challenges their autonomy and calls for serious steps to be taken to fight corruption.

Once ACAC is approved, African states that belong to the UNCAC treaty will sign the ACAC act to begin the road to redemption. The ACAC will have an initial forum for a signing conference, similar to the one conducted in Merida, Mexico, during

the drafting of the UNCAC. African signatories will meet to iron out the details of the ACAC. The refusal to join the ACAC will mean U.N. economic sanctions against non-compliant states. This is conceivable in an international arena that has grown tired and impatient with a corrupt and unprogressive African region. To avoid international pressure and the risk of being labeled as enablers of corruption, African states will have to sign an ACAC to avoid the scrutiny that comes with refusing. International pressure, through the implementation of financial sanctions, is the “blackmail” tool necessary to drive African states into conforming to ACAC measures. Financial incentives will be offered to participating countries as motivational features necessary to “bribe” African leaders into signing onto an ACAC Act. Real Clear Markets reports that Africa receives $11 billion a year from the US alone; The Guardian reports that in 2011 the UK spent $240.5 million in developmental programs within this region. The New York University Research Institute finds that the West has disbursed $568 billion to Africa within the past 42 years, yet the per capita growth is close to zero. The effects of withdrawing foreign aid to the African region will have an unimaginable impact on the functionality of the system, thus solidifying the reach that international institutions hold within the region and the incentives that leaders have to cooperate.

**ACAC Forum Agenda**

Objective: To get African States to sign the ACAC Act, which will:

- Establish a zero tolerance policy for corruption within the ACAC. The Operation Review Committee within the ACAC will monitor ACAC staff and provide a hotline to report corruption within the ACAC. The established international anti-corruption criminal court (IACC) proposed in Chapter 3 will prosecute cases of corrupt ACAC officials.
• A transitional team will be set up within the ACAC that focuses on reforming important institutions within the countries. These institutions in Sierra Leone will include the media, law enforcement, legislature, parliament, the State House and public sector offices. Note that setting up an ACAC department within these institutions will be presented as a partnership, an opportunity to work together in these departments to fight a common enemy in corruption. It is necessary to spin the presence of an ACAC-affiliated office within these institutions as an “us” against “it” (corruption) mechanism.

• Countries will agree to a transition team and a date of arrival, agreed upon during the first ACAC conference for all participating states, including Sierra Leone.

• Party states must update their laws to reflect the presence of an ACAC affiliated ACC; in Sierra Leone’s case, this will involve Parliament amending certain elements of the Anti-Corruption Act of 2008. Namely, ratifying Part II Clause 3 which calls for the ACC Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner to be appointed by the President and approved by Parliament; Part II Clause 4(7) which allows the President to suspend the Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner; Part II Clause 6 which calls for the President and Parliament to determine the salary of the Commissioner; Part II Clause 8(b) which allows Parliament to remove the Commissioner with a two-thirds vote; Part II Clause 12(1) allows the Commissioner to appoint directors, but only at the approval of the Advisory Board; Part II Clause 18 whereby Parliament provides the ACC with funds needed for operations; Part II Clause 19(1) requires the Commissioner to report to the President and Parliament annually; and, finally, Part III Clause 22(1) which calls for the President to appoint a seven member Advisory Board to the ACC. The Parliament in the past, as recently as 2008, modified the ACC Act to reflect arrest and prosecution powers for the ACC-SL due to international pressure.

**ACAC Structure**

The ACAC will be staffed by members of the APRM and UNCAC states. It will be comprised as follows:

• Chief Executive Council (in charge of policy and funding matters for the ACC) to monitor reports from ACC Commissioners. The Council will be consulted on major policy issues affecting individual ACC States.

• Complaints Committee within the investigation department of the ACAC. They will monitor reviews of the ACAC and the ACC within the participating countries will be under the jurisdiction of the ACAC to ensure the management of the institution and to allow for the proper distribution of funds.
• Secretary of Justice within the ACAC legal department who will report to an established International Anti-Corruption Court (IACC) on any cases against officials within the ACAC, ACC and respective government officials.

• Youths For Africa’s Development (YFAD) program within the ACAC’s awareness and development department; YFAD will play a leading role in bringing about the change that the African region desperately needs. YFAD’s main function will be to orchestrate the participation of the youth within the different African states. They will create outreach programs and increase international media coverage; they will also collaborate with the United Nations Messenger of Peace, which coordinates the Goodwill Ambassadors of the United Nations System. This is key in reaching out to celebrity UN Ambassadors, who are necessary to gain international media coverage. Current UN Ambassadors that have taken a special interest in the elevation of African development include special envoy actress and activist Angelina Jolie, American actor and activist George Clooney, British actress Naomi Watts, activist and entertainer Bono and singers Celine Dion and Shakira, to name a few. These celebrities will be involved in the annual Protest/March which will be labeled an African Development Initiative March (ADIM) for the sake of approval by signatories of the ACAC. There will also be a concert held at the end of the year to bring more international coverage to the African region.

Specifics to Keep in Mind for ACAC Goals in Sierra Leone

• The present ACC in Sierra Leone (ACC-SL) came about through the Anti-Corruption Act that was passed by Sierra Leone’s very own Parliament in 2000, in response to public outcry to combat corruption and to please international donors.

• The ACC-SL was already staffed by foreigners, mostly British experts, until the British withdrew their support in 2007, citing limitation of ACC-SL power as the reason. However, in 2008, since the exit of the British, ACC-SL powers were amended to give it direct arrest and prosecution powers, which enables the commission to indict corrupt officials.

• ACC-SL primary funder was the British government’s Department for International Development (DFID). Musgaardism’s measures will call for a greater international donor commitment. The funds are available through the UNCAC treaty.

• The current leader of Sierra Leone, President Ernest Koroma, ran on a platform of combatting corruption within the system-and he won in a country where President Koroma’s Limba tribe is not a majority. International election reporting shows a
unity of vote during Tejan Kabbah’s reelection in 2002. Tribal differences were set aside for the common good of the country, so Sierra Leoneans poor or rich, educated or illiterate, can unite for the development of the country and they have in the past. This illustrates the hunger the people have to change their circumstances and their anger towards corruption. What they need is a structure that shows them the road to exercising their democracy and a government that will work for them - this is where the ACAC-ACC will come in.

- As the commission now stands, it has not yet established itself as a rigorous system blind to social class and political party affiliation.

**At the Conclusion of the ACAC Conference, ACAC will have the following:**

- The legal backing through UNCAC;
- Funding through the 145 participating signatories of the UNCAC;
- African states as signatories to the ACAC Conference Act;
- The authority to staff its offices with law enforcement and international development experts in the pool of UNCAC’s 145 state signatories;
- A date of arrival to begin the reconstruction of present ACC and the key “partnership” in institutions to effect change collaboratively. At this point, the ACAC will recruit a Commissioner (which Sierra Leone’s Anti-Corruption Act requires to be a lawyer), Directors and staff for the PAC, ORIC and LEIC departments. A transitional team will go in advance of the deadline date to iron out practical details, including access to documents, update on present cases and additional procedures to ensure a smooth transition.

Sierra Leone’s Anti-Corruption Commission (SLACC)

*The Hierarchy*

Sierra Leone’s Anti-Corruption Commission (SLACC) will be structured similarly to Hong Kong’s ICAC. ACAC will staff the newly-constructed SLACC. The training of these individuals will be conducted by foreign governments that have proven records of minimally corrupt systems. Similar to the structure of the ICAC, the renewed SLACC will be headed by a Commissioner who will be supervised by the ACAC’s Chief
Executive Council. There will be Directors in each committee and Deputy Directors, all of whom will report to the ACC’s Commissioner in a monthly departmental meeting.  

Figure 2: Renewed SLACC Structure
Source: Author’s Chart

The ACC’s Departments

The SLACC’s departments will be divided into three committees, namely, the Prevention and Advisory Committee (PAC), Operation Review and Investigation Committee (ORIC), and the Law Enforcement Integrity Committee (LEIC). All three departments will work closely to combat corruption within Sierra Leone’s political system.

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**Staff Transition**

The new team will meet the present staff within the ACC-SL, and informational session will be held to update administrative staff on the changes to come. Dates will also be presented for training and a review of moral conduct expected from the staff will be explained appropriately. The Commissioner and the six Directors will work from the Freetown office until the completion of a three-month training period for the staff. At the end of this training, staff working out of the offices in the province will go to their assigned posts in the villages of Bo, Kenema and Makeni (see below, p. 82). The staff remaining in Freetown will then be assigned to their departmental tasks.

The SLACC, as agreed upon in the ACAC Act, will establish branches within key institutions in Sierra Leone for a partnership to build the developmental capacity of Sierra Leone by combatting corruption. These institutions will include Parliament, the State House (executive branch), judiciary and government agencies. The ORIC and PAC officers will build relationships with the civil servants within these institutions and create initiatives to produce the most ethical environment. They will meet with civil servants to establish workshops, methods of reaching departmental goals and rewards for productivity. ORIC will encourage the staff to create initiatives to combat corruption tendencies and reward good ideas with recognition techniques as “idea of the month” and encourage them to report any “observations” the staff deem questionable to SLACC anti-corruption guidelines. They will be rewarded with incentives such as cash prizes, gift certificates for restaurants, a bag of rice, palm oil, a resort stay at the Eden Park for two. These are all initiatives, somewhat unconventional but necessary tactics, that will
motivate civil servants within the Government of Sierra Leone (GoSL) agencies to become involved in the development cause. In short, by using tangible rewards, it motivates new behavior that produces an ethical atmosphere.

**PAC**

The PAC in Sierra Leone will inform civilians about the connection between corruption and poverty. They will utilize the media in communicating information to the people through radio, newspapers, and billboards. The PAC will be the department that the YFAD works out of. Officials in this department play a key role in establishing a relationship with the youth of Sierra Leone. They will reach out to the students by handing out flyers and airing radio announcements about the first YFAD forum being held at the main office. They will recruit students within top universities in Sierra Leone to show up and participate in these events. These occasions will be roundtables that examine how the students view democracy, what they like about their government and areas where they believe their government could improve. PAC will be responsible for helping the youth of Sierra Leone find their voice and use that voice to impact change in their government. The youth outreach sessions will provide refreshments, internship opportunities within PAC, and recruitment for preparing the country for its first African Development Initiative March (ADIM), whose main objective is to get Parliament to pass the Youth For African Development Act in Sierra Leone (YFADA-SL), doctrines of which will bring accountability and transparency within the GoSL offices. This will be in

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coordination with the ACAC’s main office to promote international awareness by involving celebrity UN Ambassadors to the annual March and end of year concert.

The purpose of the ADIM and the concerts is to get the international media involved in the corruption fight and give the African youth a stage similar to that of the Arab Spring Protest. These marches will occur across the African states on a set date with renowned UN Ambassadors leading them; this will ensure that the cause gains the audience needed to effect change. These marches will call for constitutional and judicial reform but be presented to the government as peaceful gathering meant to educate the youth on the practice of democracy. These efforts will be funded by the UNCAC, which has agreed to any measure, including financial sponsorship, to combat corruption. Members of the SLACC province staff in the YFAD department will work with the department in the city to include the youth in the provinces to participate in the March.

PAC’s Role in Sierra Leone

- PAC will synchronize the public awareness division within the SLACC; the PAC department will operate a hotline for corruption tips, accept walk-ins from the public on cases pertaining to corruption. Concerned citizens can also visit the SLACC website.
- PAC will orchestrate media outreach and work closely with Sierra Leone Association of Journalist (SLAJ); the Department will create innovative ideas to get the people of Sierra Leone engaged in the corruption fight.
- PAC will maintain a close relationship with public and private sectors to examine areas that have historically been prone to corruption; PAC will organize seminars and workshops for staff of both sectors to promote awareness and to endorse ethical practices in areas dealing with direct purchases.
- PAC will render timely advice to citizens who report corruption and will ensure that potential cases are forwarded to the ORIC in a timely manner not to exceed 48 hours of receiving the complaint/claim.
• The Department will maintain a close relationship with governing bodies that construct policies and law initiatives to ensure that these laws are inclusive of corruption strategies relevant to the anti-corruption cause.

• PAC will issue press releases on behalf of the SLACC on current cases, while also releasing bulletins and updating the SLACC website regularly.

• PAC will organize community outreach programs in the urban and rural parts of Sierra Leone to create an on-going relationship with the people, enlisting their support in the fight against corruption. These programs will be inclusive of ideas promoting fair elections, regardless of tribes and reporting corruption.

**ORIC**

The ORIC will examine cases that are received by the SLACC to ensure that they are managed properly. They will review employees’ financial records to ensure the agency has not been compromised. They will be authorized to monitor government activities to ensure strides are being taken to fight corruption. The ORIC reports will have significant impact on the foreign aid Sierra Leone will be qualified to receive.

**ORIC’s Role in Sierra Leone**

• The ORIC will be the investigative sector of the SLACC that will uncover corruption schemes within the public and private sectors in Sierra Leone.

• The ORIC will organize a covert division which will recruit whistleblowers to work within sectors of the GoSL to expose any efforts of corruption within the system.

• The ORIC will use video and audio recordings as a strategy to uncover corruption crimes by officials that would otherwise be hidden practices from the public.

• The ORIC division will investigate cases that are sent to them by PAC; they will contact informants within 48 hours of claim for further inquiry to further the department’s goal of comprehensive and timely investigations.

• The ORIC will operate on a paperless system whereby corruption claims will be properly recorded to avoid the misplacement of documents.

• The ORIC, within 5 days of receiving a complaint must proceed in 1 of 2 ways. If there is evidence deemed actionable, it will be presented to the LEIC; or, if the
ORIC after investigations determines that the evidence is insufficient to proceed and if further investigations yield minimal to no evidence, the case will stay within the system pending more evidence. If after 365 days with no updates on the case, it will be forwarded to a computerized archives system.

- UN Inspectors will work within the ORIC when they make visits to Sierra Leone; they will review proceedings with the SLACC and private and public sectors within Sierra Leone to be certain that the set roadmap to combat corruption is in fact working in Sierra Leone.

- The Inspectors reports will be made available online on the SLACC website, a copy will be given to Transparency International and, additionally, copies will be available to the UNCAC and the ACAC. The foreign aid given to Sierra Leone greatly depends on the UN inspectorial reports.

**LEIC**

The LEIC will investigate corruption in law enforcement and will bring charges against officers who accepted bribes. The LEIC legal unit will provide legal advice to PAC and ORIC and together will work to communicate to Sierra Leoneans the ill effects of corruption.

**LEIC’s Role in Sierra Leone**

- The LEIC will be the legal presence within the SLACC. This legal department in synergy with the PAC, ORIC and law enforcement agencies across Sierra Leone will take measures to eradicate corruption within the system.

- LEIC will consult with external law enforcement agencies to conduct visits and training of LEIC officials, where necessary, by outside law enforcement agencies including the West Africa Coast Initiative, International Criminal Police Organization (INTERPOL), United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), United Nations Office for West Africa (UNOWA), United Nations Department of Political Affairs (DPA) and the London Metropolitan Police.

- In the event that a review conducted by ORIC/ UN Inspectors yields foul play by government officials, the LEIC will intervene and hold accountable individuals who have fallen short of upholding the best practices of the anti-corruption fight.

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• The LEIC will closely monitor ORIC reports of GoSL agencies to assure proper public financial management within the Central Government and Local Councils in Sierra Leone. The LEIC will screen activities of the Integrated Public Financial Management Reform Program (IPFMRP), to ensure that its goal of sustainable improvement in Sierra Leone’s fiscal governance is being furthered.

**SLACC in the Provinces**

Three of the Directors will transition to the ACC offices found in the provinces of Bo, Kenema and Makeni to go through the transition process there. Once the transitional staff becomes acquainted with the cases, the outreach process can begin. The first step will be to hire interpreters in the area. The next step will be identifying the key local players, Chiefs, educated youth and influential women within the area whose help will be crucial in attaining the support necessary to curb the corruption dynamics. Preferably, attaining members of the staff who already worked in the location will be beneficial.

These offices will then begin the outreach process within the community, starting with a roundtable to engage the people in the anti-corruption process. These events will involve conversations about what democracy means to them and what they want their government to look like. In return, members of the transition team will take notes, build bridges, and create developmental projects through the PAC department of Youth for Africa’s Development (YFAD). These are necessary measures in gaining the trust of the people and pushing the anti-corruption agenda of the SLACC. Measures such as providing food, building schools and providing healthcare facilities are also essential in building the bridge of trust. The YFADA-SL will call for reform in institutional policies through constitutional reform that advocates anti-corruption measures.
Mobilizing Sierra Leoneans to Combat the Corruption Epidemic

One of the most efficient tools utilized by many governments is propaganda.\(^6\) It continues to be one of the most effective tools that leaders across the board have utilized to secure their power. Edward Bernays assures in *Propaganda* that people cannot do anything about the propagandist, but this itself is propaganda aimed at keeping the people at bay like sheep, obediently waiting in line to be slaughtered by their leaders.\(^7\) Propaganda has worked in Sierra Leone for generations. If Sierra Leoneans actively participated in the affairs of their government, they could change the narrative and cross the lines that their corrupt leadership has held them behind. A reconstructed ACC in Sierra Leone can capture the momentum of the people. The appropriate steps which I have created toward this end can be accomplished if the ACC establishes a relationship with the public by Communicating, Educating, Motivating and Reiterating (C.E.M.R.) the goals of the SLACC. As proposed in Musgaardism, this will involve communicating through media outreach. This becomes vital in gaining and keeping the curiosity and support of the public. Through billboards, newspapers and the radio, the SLACC can communicate the urgency of the current cause, thereby involving the people in the fight against corruption.

*Communicate*

- Through bulletins, SLACC documented reports, and informational sessions, Sierra Leoneans can take an active role in understanding the mechanisms behind corruption.

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\(^7\) Ibid., 21.
• SLACC offices will be established in the provinces to ensure that the corruption fight is widespread across Sierra Leone, and not just focused on the city.

• The SLACC’s website will be regularly updated and rewards will be offered on the website for actionable evidence against corrupt officials; other incentives will be provided such as bags of rice, palm oil, etc.

• A weekly show on the development of corruption within the country and interviewing of key officials within the government.

Next, Musgaardism recommends that the people must be educated about the corruption issue. By gaining information about the high personal cost that they pay because of the corruption in the system, the fight becomes personal. The people become invested in the idea of defeating the system because their interest is maximized.

_Educate_

• Informational Sessions on Corruption held in Freetown and the provinces.

• Handing out pamphlets on corruption especially around Fourah Bay College and Milton Margi College, which holds the top students in the country; these students will be able to understand the issues and communicate them to others.

• Short radio scripts of corruption plague; this tactic has worked in the past during the civil war and will be essential now in gaining the attention of citizens who otherwise will not care about the cause.

• Short commercials on the corruption plague, but in Sierra Leone’s main dialect, Krio, in order to affect more people.

• Billboards noting the evil of corruption; again, this measure is most effective when done in the native language.

• Short, 30-minute comedy scripts with a corruption message.

Musgaardism endorses the idea that the people must be motivated to act on their own behalf. Sierra Leoneans must be motivated to take a stand; this is key to achieving change. By presenting initiatives that are more appealing than the current status quo; the
public will be motivated to act. Of course, this may prove challenging in a system that has grown so used to complacency and hardly understands the importance of protest, but this is where Western civilization must persevere and utilize its power of persuasion. The significance of electing virtuous leaders, as opposed to tribal members, into office is imperative and this should be communicated to the public.

Motivate

- PAC’s YFAD program will recruit college and graduate level students from UNCAC states to travel to Sierra Leone for a semester study abroad program. These students must be invested in government and international development fields. They will assist in recruiting students in Sierra Leone’s educational institutions to protest in notable Sierra Leone government institutions, namely the State House, Parliament etc. on a set date; the participation of foreign students will motivate Sierra Leoneans to act.

- Offer internships within the SLACC that will be tied to university credit in the top colleges in Freetown.

- Providing incentives such as food and drinks after informational sessions will encourage Sierra Leoneans to participate in these information-sharing mechanics.

- Tie public protest with free meals and job opportunities by assigning members of the community to recruit civilian participation in rallies against corruption.

- Recruit popular entertainers as ambassadors to the cause, such as renowned Sierra Leonean activist and musician Emerson. His involvement in the protest will inspire civilians to show up.

- Organize plays with fundamentally sound arguments about the crippling effects of corruption with native actors in the native tongue.

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9 Ibid., 52.
The previous step of educating the public will be challenging, especially in a society where 70 percent of the public is illiterate, but Musgaardism advocates reiterating as the final step of CEMR.

**Reiterate**

- Communicating, educating and motivating tactics must be a constant strategy to gain results necessary to bring about a change in the corrupt system in Sierra Leone; therefore, these measures must be conducted once a month and funded by the SLACC. The theme of the costly effect of corruption will be a constant storyline.

- Protest separate from the ADI March, will be organized by PAC and sponsored through ACAC every three months in Sierra Leone’s capital, Freetown.

- The outreach through media means, whether radio, billboard or broadcasting, should be updated monthly with a new battle plan against corruption; this will keep the public interested and engaged.

The Millennial generation in Sierra Leone understands the damaging consequences of corruption on the economy. They have evolved and have been exposed to modern forms of democracy through social networks like Facebook and uprisings like the Arab Spring. But unless the “A go get me yone” (I will fight for mine) mentality is shattered and the “mine” becomes “ours,” the leaders will continue to head to the bank laughing at how easy it is to deposit the country’s wealth into their personal accounts.
Demonopolize the Autonomy of Sierra Leone Leaders

For years, the leaders in Sierra Leone have had full discretion to make decisions on behalf of the country and for those years the country has suffered.\(^\text{10}\) The combatting of corruption relies on how well branches and institutions within the country and international monitoring organizations can keep a check on the power of leaders.\(^\text{11}\) The YFAD organized marches will play a big role in motivating leaders to act to bring change to the corruption epidemic. This idea of demonopolizing the power of Sierra Leonean leaders will by no means be easy, since there has always been one corrupt leader followed by another. Necessary steps toward this would involve improving upon anti-corruption measures during elections that would allow for minimally corrupt atmospheres. It would also involve changing the mechanics behind the staffing of government offices, creating a functional checks and balance system that allows for the executive, judiciary and legislative branches of government to be held accountable to each other and to the people they serve. The media must be held to higher integrity standards rather than political party loyalty, and the military must be restructured and trained by outside forces to enable Sierra Leone’s Army to become a body capable of protecting its citizens. As the world watches during the YFAD organized marches and yearly concert, it forces Sierra Leone officials to be shamed into action. Institutions that


have changed their corrupt ways have not done so as a result of a change of heart by corrupt leaders, but instead like the sixteenth and seventeenth century civilians of England, or the nineteenth and twentieth century activists in America - the public had to protest for change to arise. The realization of necessary steps will require the dedication of parties on all sides of the spectrum, but they are necessary measures in holding leadership accountable and at bay. The ACAC will utilize the authority given to it through the legally binding UNCAC of which Sierra Leone is a signed member state. This enables the ACAC through the SLACC to enforce the necessary protocol called for by the YFADA-SL to revive Sierra Leone’s economy.\textsuperscript{12}

\textbf{YFADA-SL Staffing in Government Offices}

\textit{Elections/Appointments}

ACAC will maintain a close relationship with SLACC during elections in Sierra Leone to ensure transparency throughout the campaign process. The Act will call for any official caught in practices considered fraudulent behavior to be released from their duties permanently.

\textit{Civil Servants}

To promote institutional strengthening, the YFADA-SL will call for the SLACC to be responsible for hiring civil servant employees in order to promote change in the recruitment process of civil servants. SLACC will hire individuals that qualify for government positions to disable the patrimonialism system of hiring addressed in Chapter

\footnote{12 Bliesemann de Guevara, ed., \textit{Statebuilding and State-Formation}, 6.}
Interested candidates must visit the SLACC’s website or visit its headquarters to begin the vetting period for a government job. Interested candidates who have immediate family members that work in the agency are automatically disqualified; at this point, the job seeker has the choice to apply to a different office. The YFADA-SL will call for SLACC to assign agents to ensure that officials are being productive in their assignments by tacking production measures as time clocks and setting department goals for each month. Each employee must be willing to undergo random efficiency checks conducted by the SLACC. Employees who are unable to meet department goals may be deemed unfit and uncommitted to their positions, which will result in a demotion or a replacement of that employee. Employees of the government agency will not be dismissed from office without a full investigation.14

To promote transparency, YFADA-SL recommends that every employee go through a successful training process during which time their work will be evaluated pending a three-month reevaluation by the SLACC. Subsequently, if the candidate has fallen short of the policies set forth in the departmental guide, the individual will be discharged. To ensure that productivity is accomplished in the departments and to avoid room for bribery to perform duties, there will be set timetables which civil servants will have to follow strictly. The SLACC will monitor productivity within government offices. The assistance of whistleblowers within the departments will contribute to the reduction in foul play.


14 Klitgaard, Controlling Corruption, 12.
Agencies must be forthright in their dealings.\textsuperscript{15} To ensure this, the public will be updated on the progress being made by each department through monthly reports that each division will make available to the SLACC and the department’s respective website. SLACC will take an active role in ensuring that the public is well-informed of the government’s affairs. In the event that the SLACC receives accusations that any officials in the government agencies has participated or is guilty of condoning or knowing about fraudulent behavior, but failed to report it to the SLACC, YFADA-SL requires that the individual face termination and a fine. In cases of severe damage, possible jail time will not be ruled out.

The SLACC’s LEIC unit will prosecute any officials who actively participate in or are knowledgeable of affairs of corruption and fail to report it. The SLACC under the YFAD Act and the revised Anti-Corruption Act will reserve the right to hold those officials accountable who do not follow the requirements to ensure a transparent system. These individuals will be fully pursued and face investigation and jail time with possible loss of assets, to be acquired by a local charity. YFADA-SL calls for civil servants that accept bribes or attempt to extort money from individuals or institutions under any circumstances be held accountable; they must not withhold or slow down the processing time for any services.\textsuperscript{16} The acceptance of bribery or the act of extorting funds to facilitate timely delivery of services is warned against and officials that partake in such

\textsuperscript{15} Ibid., 76.

behavior will be investigated and prosecuted under the reconstructed SLACC empowered by the YFADA-SL.

Creating a Functional Checks and Balance System

Executive

When the leaders of a society become compromised and there is no system in place to check and balance that structure, it results in dying conditions.¹⁷ This is the case in Sierra Leone. To ensure that the President has a cabinet representative of the people, it is important to select individuals that are qualified to handle the task ahead of them, regardless of their tribal affiliation. The YFADA-SL doctrines require that selected members of the cabinet must give a full disclosure of bank statements to assure the people that selected officials will not use the ministry to increase their financial prosperity. The selection process by parliament through public hearings will be covered by the media and broadcasted across Sierra Leone to allow for a much needed public interview. Under the provisions of the YFADA-SL, if the ministers are cleared, they will then sign a contract and take an oath to uphold integrity in their daily affairs within their respective ministry. Once this process is complete, to ensure productivity in each ministry, the president will hold monthly meetings where reports will be due that update him on the progress of individual ministries. The progress made in these meetings will be publicized and the reports made available online.

YFADA-SL requires Ministers to face a six-month review process where their time in office will be evaluated by a representative of the ACAC’s Secretary of Justice. Ministers will be thoroughly scrutinized to ensure that they meet the requirements of their position and that of UNCAC. After six months of the ministerial evaluation process, if noticeable improvements are not seen within the ministry under the YFADA-SL, the president’s second candidate for minister will be vetted. If the president’s second choice falls short of expectations, it will fall in the hands of the people to hold an election and vote for the next minister for that department. In the event that any agencies faces over three reports or convictions of foul play within that office, the director or minister of the department will automatically be investigated for poor management oversight within the department. It is in the rights of the SLACC to call for the retirement of the department head if they are found to have been negligent in their duties. If with further investigation it is revealed that the minister was fully aware or participated in the ill practices of the department, he/she will be detained immediately and under the authority of UNCAC chapter VI article 60-62 their assets will be seized and accounts frozen until the conclusion of the investigation.

Under the authority of the clauses found in the YFADA-SL, UN Inspectors will make unannounced visits to the ministries. They will be given full access to these offices to audit and review the management of the ministry. The inspectors will ensure that revenue agencies are conducting fair deals and will monitor contract deals to ensure the

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18 World Bank, Africa Development Indicators, 5.
19 Yeh, “International Affairs,” 87.
system is demonopolized. This process will hold leaders of these ministries accountable for any shortcoming of their department and will consequently reemphasize the importance of the anti-corruption cause.

**Legislature**

In the standards set forth in the YFADA-SL, the Parliament in Sierra Leone will be held to a higher standard of integrity. This will also require the intervention of the ACAC and UN inspectors. With the SLACC in place to monitor the affairs of the parliamentary process, the expectation of these elected officials is increased. YFADA-SL requires that every Parliament seat will be up for reelection every 2 years; this will give the people a chance to remove ineffectual elected parliamentarians who have not lived up to their running platforms. A candidate’s record will be measured by the development in healthcare, jobs and education growth in the area they represent. Any official caught in the act of offering goods for votes will be automatically disqualified and face election fraudulence charges. Members of Sierra Leone’s Parliament will also make their financial statements available to the public. If any foul played is detected by the SLACC-SL, ORIC department/UN inspectors’ charges will be brought against the causal members of the Parliament. Holding prominent but corrupt officials accountable is undoubtedly one of the most effective tools in correcting a corrupt dynamic. The current anti-corruption commission proposes to make deals with individuals found guilty

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20 Ibid., 88.

21 Klitgaard, *Controlling Corruption*, 81.

22 Ibid., 81.
and give them a payment option for the funds they embezzled or stole from the people. YFADA-SL will call for SLACC to require jail time and the seizure of assets for any members of Parliament found guilty of corruption.

**Judiciary**

The YFADA-SL calls for candidates for the judiciary to be selected by the President and approved by Parliament. Final selection will be made by High Court judges already within the system to ensure the selected judges are qualified to hold the office. If the current judges cannot reach a majority, the President must go back to the drawing table and present more candidates; YFADA-SL requires this process be handled in a timely manner and each department starting with the President, Parliament and the judiciary has no more than three days to execute and vote on the matter. The entire process will take no longer than nine days with the tenth day being assigned for the approved judge(s) swearing in process. Judges, court officials, lawyers, the police must fully be equipped to do their jobs by providing them with the necessary essentials from the advanced computer systems that can keep accurate record of cases, convicts, and ongoing cases. When the paper path is eliminated, it removes any excuse of losing documents or never receiving correspondence; it speeds the process and makes individuals accountable.

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YFADA-SL calls for the salary for law enforcement officials to be increased. This could be fulfilled through the debt repayment option and also the international aid that countries receive currently. The business of corruption is too tantalizing an option for officials to back down; World Bank data indicates that the average civilian in Africa makes less than $2 a day with a house full of dependents. This reality puts ethics on the back burner and leaves survival as the only option. By increasing the pay and redistributing the countries’ revenue towards areas it is needed, the salaries of the law enforcement can change in these areas; Focused reforms will give corruption-infested areas a chance at good and effective governance. Prison guards in Sierra Leone’s rehabilitation prison system will receive decent wages to avoid the frequent corruption that is found within the current prison system. The current practice allows for wealthy and influential prisoners to enjoy luxuries that even the average Sierra Leonean cannot afford. Decent wages for prison guards will reduce bribery within the prison system. It will be ineffective to increase and enforce reforms, create a stern SLACC, but ignore the poverty factor of the region. With collaboration of decent pay for law enforcement and

24 Klitgaard, *Controlling Corruption*, 81.


28 Ibid., 28.

no nonsense anti-corruption unit called for by the YFADA-SL, the path to disenabling corruption becomes an easier one.

It is important during the process that the judicial system itself has been cleansed of the ill practices it faces today. The steps taken by the SLACC and UN inspectors to ensure judges do not fall into old habits of giving lenient sentences will have to be enforced for this process to be successful.\(^{30}\) In the instance that the judges fall short of expectations, they will face trial before the IACC, discussed in Chapter 3. By investing and fully equipping an international anti-corruption court, the world as a whole is sending a clear message about corruption to those that are crippling their countries with unethical antics. The full enforcement of these procedures sends an important message that the day of talking is over and the time of serious consequences is supported by bodies like the U.N. and backed up by the UNCAC, the YFADA, OECD Convention on Combatting Corruption and the African Union Convention on Prevention and Combatting Corruption. With these laws, the business of corruption begins to lose its attractiveness in the sight of those that have actively participated in it and have not been held accountable.\(^{31}\) YFADA-SL warns against and prohibits the obstruction of justice by any government officials and strongly cautions against unethical behavior by those who should be pillars in exemplifying ethical practices in society, specifically law enforcement officials including the police, lawyers, judges, court administrators and Parliament. The SLACC will

\(^{30}\) Donatella della Porta and Alberto Vannucci, *The Hidden Order of Corruption*, Advances in Criminology (Union Road, Farnham, Surrey.: Ashgate, 2012), 86.

prosecute any member of these organizations and others that accept bribes instead of doing their job; they must be penalized with jail time, loss of assets, disqualification of working in any law enforcement position under the current political regime and others to follow.32

Media

The media in Sierra Leone frequently and openly use their journalistic abilities and privileges to support one political party over another. They are not held legally responsible for any story they print regardless of the accuracy and this must change. The media is where the people get their information across Sierra Leone; from the capital to secluded villages that depend on the radio to be informed. The YFADA-SL calls for these journalist and reporters to be held to an integrity standard. The ORIC will ensure the media produces reliable sources for their work or have their organization suffer the consequences through financial penalties. In cases where the consequences of biased reporting results in circumstances deemed extreme by the SLACC ORIC department, the journalist will face the possibility of jail and the broadcasting entity will be penalized. It is important that that the people receive accurate and unfiltered information from their media. The people will use the information to make credible evaluations if they know that the standards by which they present their material is punishable if foul play is detected.

Military

The military in Sierra Leone, the Republic of Sierra Leone’s Armed Forces (RSLAF), is another important component to the effective governance and reduction of corruption in Sierra Leone. Currently there remains a division between the people and army officials because of the remnants of the civil war that still remind them of the vigilant role army officials took against civilians. To mend this relationship the YFADA-SL within its principles calls for a total reconstruction and training of RSLAF by international officials.33 There must be a no-nonsense policy for the military that will assure the people of their armed forces rehabilitation.34 The army, like other sectors of government under the YFADA-SL, will receive fair salaries to avoid loyalty to the wealthiest politically figure. Their loyalties will then be to the people. Their training must be taken seriously to ensure this end funding will come through the ACAC and recruitment will be conducted by countries of top military caliber that belong to the UNCAC.

Private Sector

It is important to look into the private sector and instill laws that establish the business dealing between private sector companies and Sierra Leone government officials to be an ethical relationship.35 The success of this largely relies on the laws which these


34 Klitgaard, Controlling Corruption, 81.

companies’ home country can implement. The ill-mannered practices of bribes for contracts will not be tolerated by the YFADA-SL. Businesses all too often enter the business market in Sierra Leone with no rules or guidelines as to what is expected of them and in the cases where guidelines are set no real penalty is implemented if the rules are broken. The way to ensure that businesses follow the laws of the market and of the land in Sierra Leone is to put forward principles established in the YFADA-SL guidelines which will call for dealings between corporations and government to be monitored by the SLACC. With the support of UNCAC, companies will have to become disciplined in their practices, realizing now that there are consequences for their actions and that laws and institutions are in place to ensure that their business relations are uncorrupt. YFADA-SL calls for strong measures to uncover unethical practices, including recruiting individuals within the government that operate with the firms, and calling for these employees to be whistleblowers and to provide evidence to the SLACC’s ORIC and LEIC departments. The consequences for not strictly following the guidelines to do business in Sierra Leone will result in high fines and possible jail time for individuals found guilty. They will face charges and fees in Sierra Leone and under the UNCAC provision, in their country of citizenship.

37 Ibid.
38 Ibid.
Taking a Direct Jab at the Safe Haven

For years officials in Sierra Leone have taken advantage of gaps caused by a corrupt atmosphere.\(^41\) The blow to corruption will require that the safe havens which leaders have utilized in the past be stripped of them. This will involve incorporating UNCAC Chapter IV Article 43-49, which requires member states to cooperate to bring to justice corrupt individuals including extradition of corrupt offenders. These means are covered in UNCAC’s Chapter V Article 51-59 under assets recovery, which allows for the extradition of individuals charged of corruption to be returned to the country and provisions for asset recovery. Officials that seek refuge in other countries will be refused amnesty and forced to return to Sierra Leone and face corruption charges. The financial stakes which Sierra Leone leaders hold in other countries must be accessible to Sierra Leoneans if it is proven that the acquiring of assets was done through means that were corrupt.\(^42\) In Chapter III Article 15-44, the UNCAC’s provisions against money laundering require member states of the UNCAC to return money to the countries where the crime of corruption occurred.\(^43\) Taking these measures is important in making corruption unattractive for those that partake in it. Currently the benefits of corruption are


high and accountability is nonexistent; this practice must change to make room for progress in Sierra Leone. YFADA-SL calls for SLACC to ensure that convicted officials pay back the amount stolen and lose any property proven to have been obtained through embezzlement favors; the property once attained by the SLACC will be donated to a local charity where it will go towards funding the youth. These charities will have guidelines and oversight to ensure the money is being used for the intended purpose.

**Better Managing of Resources**

The YFADA-SL requires that all government offices comply with guidelines set forth by the department anticorruption guidelines. This practice will assist in the effective governance and proper management of Sierra Leone’s resources. UN inspectors will be sent to Sierra Leone to monitor the government agencies and ensure that the funds given are used for the assigned missions. This will involve giving great revenue markets such as the diamond ministry and the increasingly growing oil fields an opportunity to return profits through upright dealings; government contracts and foreign aid will be utilized efficiently and transparently. These combined measures will allow for the significant obliteration of corruption within the governing system in Sierra Leone.44

**Natural Resources**

Sierra Leone’s natural resource revenue will become a transparent process through guidelines presented by the YFADA-SL. The country is widely known for its mineral resources including diamonds, gold, rutile, bauxite, iron ore and chrome ore. All

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natural resource revenue must be banked into a fund. All transfers out of the fund must be approved by parliament through a budgetary process. The redistribution of the natural resource revenue across government agencies is a requirement of the YFADA-SL to develop the economy. This system will be monitored annually by international accredited auditors.45

**YFADA-SL Natural Resource Principles/Criteria**

- The SLACC will support the enforcement of existing mining license agreements that will improve management and transparency in the extractive sector by utilizing the media to raise awareness.

- The SLACC will head the initiative of improving laws that monitor and hold accountable rural government officials who use the natural resource process as a means to extract bribes through unwarranted inquiries.

- The SLACC will control the urban infringement in the Western Peninsula, Gola Forest, Loma Mountains and other forest reserves by implementing existing environmental programs, such as the USAID funded Promoting Agriculture Governance and Environment (PAGE) and National Adaptation Program of Action (NAPA), all of whom will work closely with Sierra Leone’s Environmental Protection Agency (SLEPA) to ensure the future quality of Sierra Leone’s forests, animal life and seashores.

- The SLACC’s LEIC department will fully enforce natural resource legislation to ensure that all mining is done responsibly and free of over-exploitation.

- The SLACC’s ORIC department will conduct investigations to foreshadow any foul play to protect the interest of the people and community in which mining is conducted and, if necessary, to forcefully implement legal measures against corrupt practices.

- The SLACC’s PAC department will take measures to educate the public about the harmful effects of commonly practiced traditional normalcies such as cutting of trees for firewood, slash-and-burn farming.

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• The SLACC’s ORIC will work closely with GoSL to introduce and enforce monitoring and evaluation mechanics behind cultivating a coherent data collection system.

• The SLACC’s ORIC will orchestrate the full implementation of the Sierra Leone Trade and Investment London Conference agreement which holds both the GoSL and International development patrons accountable in upright business transactions in Sierra Leone.

**Government Contracts**

The YFADA-SL will call for agencies that work closely with contracts to strictly adhere to the context of their departmental practices or face investigation under the SLACC. Agencies will be forthright in their dealings and to ensure this the public will be updated of the progress being made by each department through monthly reports that each minstrel department will produce and make available to the SLACC. Government officials will meet with the contractor to certify that the goods and services meet the required standards before payment is disbursed. Officials will keep documented correspondence relating to their meetings with contractors.

**YFADA-SL Government Contracts**

• SLACC will facilitate the GoSL renegotiation of bad mining contracts by supporting the recruitment of UNCAC international lawyers and will also monitor GoSL to ensure that the President’s Infrastructure Committee is held accountable in taking measures to prioritize Sierra Leone’s infrastructural development.

• The SLACC will monitor royalties on mining of mineral resources to ensure that the regulations under the Mines and Minerals Act of 2009 (which calls for mining and marketing in Sierra Leone to be a transparent process that is beneficial to the people and holds corrupt officials accountable) are fully executed by the GoSL.

• Government contracts will be available online on ministerial websites an accessible to the SLACC to make the process open to public scrutiny.
**Foreign Aid**

The international community will contribute to countries that have shown signs of improvement in combatting corruption.46 YFADA-SL gives UN Inspectors the authority to monitor Sierra Leone and ensure that the funds given are used for the assigned missions; if not, they are authorized to prosecute officials in countries that resist progress by using donated funds for private gain. Countries will be awarded foreign aid based on their ranking on corruption indexes conducted yearly.47 Nations with the most improvement will be awarded the largest aids. YFADA-SL provisions calls for the GoSL to be receptive towards innovative ideas in using foreign aid to optimize the livelihood of the people. This will involve the intervention of the SLACC to ensure that projects sponsored through donor aid are being utilized for Sierra Leone development. Sierra Leone is already a signatory to agreements such as the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness, the Accra Agenda for Action and the OECD DAC Principles for Good International Engagement in Fragile States, all of which equally call for taking necessary measures that ensure aid works efficiently for the people.

**YFADA-SL Foreign Aid Coordination**

- The SLACC will monitor GoSL to ensure that the government is utilizing aid towards its stated priorities articulated in their proposal *Agenda for Change: Poverty Reduction Strategy 2008-2025*.

- SLACC will work to ensure that the GoSL improve upon linking foreign aid to the national budget and create a transparent political atmosphere that permits donors to disburse funds in a timely manner.

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47 Ibid., 32.
• The SLACC will be the principal point of contact for development assistance and development proposals from donors. To ensure proficient distribution of aid, SLACC will manage data collection and analysis on development assistance.

• The SLACC will monitor The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation (MFAIC) to ensure that once the identification of potential new donors has yielded in resources, the resources once in Sierra Leone will be a transparent process and the items will be utilized for the donors intended purpose.

• The SLACC will work closely with the National Joint Coordinating and Monitoring Committee for Local Council Government and Donor funded Projects that was founded in July 2009 to oversee projects at the local level.

**Payments within Government Agencies**

Government agencies in Sierra Leone, according to the measures of the YFADA-SL, will follow the set guidelines for handling revenues among foreign and domestic entities. Agencies that work closely with contracts must strictly follow their departmental practices or face investigation under the renewed SLACC. Agencies will be forthright in their dealings and to ensure this, the public will be updated of the progress being made by each department through monthly reports that each ministerial department will produce and make available to the SLACC. The SLACC and UN Inspectors will make random visits to departments for auditing. Payments received in departments will be handled by a computerized mechanism that will be run by the in-house ACAC accounts payable department that will be established within all government agencies.

**GoSL Agency Transaction Criteria in Accordance with the YFADA-SL**

• GoSL agencies will strictly adhere to internal audit manuals and periodic training activities, which will include instructional exercise on how to conduct public expenditure, computer auditing and exercises on how to improve accounting control and management.
• Recruiting international auditors, increasing technology during financial transactions.

• Video monitoring of individuals who constantly work with money (e.g., Bank of Sierra Leone-Central Bank employees) and increased reforms for theft-prone areas while strengthening laws to prosecute embezzlers.

• SLACC will encourage increased debit card/credit card use across the nation, as opposed to current customary practice of cash transactions.

• SLACC will recommend fixed prices to be established throughout GoSL agencies whose policies will call for price displayable to consumer; this will tremendously undermine unofficial fees elaborated by officials who hope to use bribes as means to do their jobs by accentuating charges.

• SLACC will orchestrate nationwide workshops for accountants within the GoSL agencies; SLACC will make unannounced visits to urban and rural GoSL agencies to assure accountability and transparency within the system.

YFADA-SL will be passed in Parliament through efforts of the ADI Marches which will put needed pressure on Parliament to act. YFADA-SL is essential in halting the spread of corruption within Sierra Leone and allowing for development to emerge.48

The detrimental effects of corruption have led to a society immersed in illegal drug trafficking, money laundering and illegal diamond mining. Officials are reluctant to fight the phenomenon that has brought them wealth, and this is the primary reason why corruption still plagues Sierra Leone. To combat corruption, the renewed SLACC under the authority of YFADA-SL - within Musgaardism’s framework - will implement the tough reforms. The exploitation of Africa’s citizens must be treated as the infectious economy-crippler that it is and be tamed so generations to follow will understand that under the new system, established through an ACAC-affiliated ACC, corruption in any

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48 World Bank, *Africa Development Indicators*, 5.
form will not be condoned. It is time for Africa to build a new reputation, one that does not run parallel to embezzlement, bribes, extortion and other similar conduct.\textsuperscript{49} For countries within the realm of Africa to have a better tomorrow, countries like Sierra Leone who are struggling to escape the grasp of corruption must give way to the ACAC so that a structure can be established that allows for a truly democratic system through Musgaardism.

\textsuperscript{49} Charles Sampford et al., eds., \textit{Measuring Corruption} (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Pub Co, 2006), 10.
CONCLUSION

The spread of corruption across Africa has been evident, due to years of ill-fated antics by political regimes within the region. The political leaders as a result of their corrupt antics have aided in the continent’s sad reputation as the world’s most underdeveloped region. The civilians have been the victims of the poor choices made by their leaders at their expense with the constant shuffling of governments, military coups, and violent civil wars. The mistrust for politicians by the public is well earned as politicians continue to be brought down by embezzlement cases. Robert Klitgaard’s formula of corruption \(\text{Corruption} = \text{Monopoly} + \text{Discretion} - \text{Accountability}\) provided a guideline for this work in an effort to recognize the cause of the problem and strive towards reducing corruption in African governments.

In Chapter 1 I examined the “Art of African Corruption” by scrutinizing the history of corruption in Africa. Through numerous case studies it became evident how endemic corruption is within the African governing system. One country after another proved to be corrupt in its dealings as officials were constantly in the news for embezzling funds and accepting bribes. Chapter 1 also examined how corrupt practices by African leaders have given the region a reputation as a continent doomed with leaders who seek financial prosperity at the cost of their country’s progress. Officials continue to make frail attempts at establishing anti-corruption initiatives but these efforts have failed miserably because of the ulterior motives that accompany them.

In Chapter 2 I introduced Sierra Leone as the case study of this work. I examined how since its attainment of independence in 1961, this West African country has been under the rule of one corrupt regime after another. The Siaka Stevens administration
perfected political corruption and passed their antics unto Joseph Momoh’s administration. These corrupt habits played a big role in igniting the Sierra Leonean civil war which left the country at the brink of economic ruins as it plays catch up to the rest of the world. More recent regimes in Sierra Leone have not been faultless, but have made strides in the right direction by creating anti-corruption initiatives. Although the established ACC in Sierra Leone has brought charges against officials suspected of embezzlement, the corruption fight is still up hill, with a weak judicial system that empowers the corruption by giving lenient sentences for serious corruption crimes. The antics displayed by Sierra Leonean leaders have proved to be no different than the case studies examined in Chapter 1. These corrupt governing systems have an ACC, so it begs the question, how then will corruption be fought if not through an anti-corruption commission? The answer is found in the absoluteness of Musgaardism; its policies are constructed to prosecute all corrupt individuals, irrespective of their social class or the stake they hold in the government.

Chapter 3 introduces Musgaardism, a term unique to this work but principles of which are borrowed from well-respected international development sources including the UN, IMF, economist Robert Klitgaard, Policy Development Professor Stuart Yeh, and Hong Kong’s ICAC. Musgaardism aims comprehensively to reduce corruption within the African governing system by reconstructing the ACC, involving the public, demonopolizing the power of leaders, and better managing the countries resources. This will call for new initiatives, the replacement of bad ones, and the enforcement of initiatives that already exist but need to be implemented. Existing compacts like APRM must play a role by introducing new initiatives like that of Yeh’s suggested ACAC, and
the UNCAC must accept these changes in order for reform to yield results. Hence the rise of Africa’s development can begin and yield a converted political system similar to Georgia, Singapore and Hong Kong which unilaterally eradicated corruption by establishing anti-corruption initiatives similar to Musgaardism that took them from the depths of corruption to top ranking countries in Transparency International’s CPI.

In Chapter 4, the nuts and bolts of how Musgaardism can be applied to Sierra Leone are examined. The implementation of any anti-corruption framework within the African region will not be an easy task, but it’s a necessary one. This thesis contends that the initiatives and no-nonsense application of Musgaardism to Sierra Leone or any struggling democracy is plausible. The anti-corruption unit in Sierra Leone must be restructured to take a bigger role against fighting corruption. Their independence from the government is essential for its success. Musgaardism calls for an unfaltering commitment by the international community, as Yeh proposes, including a rigorous UN inspection system. Musgaardism’s second principle calls for Sierra Leoneans to become involved in the process. The ACC can orchestrate the success of public involvement by applying CEMR (communicating, educating, motivating and reiterating) to its principles in gaining and keeping the people’s attention on the anti-corruption cause. The unchecked power of political figures must be tamed by creating a working checks and balance system so that no room is left for tribal voting and patrimonialism.

As Sierra Leoneans sit outside their mud houses, their officials drive by in the latest German model car, to their three-level mansions, where they sit out on their verandas looking down at uneducated civilians walking around barefooted, shirtless, hungry and most importantly unaware of how they can impact change. It is long overdue
for a framework of Musgaardism’s magnitude. The harmful effect of corruption within
the African society has been a common theme of this work. The full enforcement of
Musgaardism will hold corrupt officials accountable. The tough guidelines found in this
framework can be instrumental in bringing about the change that developing regions like
Africa desperately need. A continent so rich in natural and human resources continues to
rank lowest in the international development forum. It is time to change the narrative of
political corruption in the region by implementing Musgaardism, and making way once
again for Sierra Leone to be referred to as “the Athens of West Africa.”
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