

The Humanitarian Crisis in Iraq is The Cost of Corruption

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Abstract- The cost of corruption on societies is heavier than estimated before. It does not only threaten economic, development, rule of law and the values of our democracy. Corruption could affect the prosperity of individuals and cause catastrophic humanitarian damages to countries. The Iraqi humanitarian crisis demonstrates a good example on the harmful effects of corruption on the safety and well-being of its citizens. This study sheds new light on two main issues; firstly, corruption is the inducer of instability and conflicts, and secondly the hitches imposed by corruption during the delivery of humanitarian aids.

Index Terms- humanitarian disaster in Iraq, manmade crisis, the impact of corruption, cost of corruption, armed conflicts.

I. INTRODUCTION

Horrible violence dominates Iraq. It is estimated that one third of the Iraqi population is in constant need of humanitarian relief. The country has a long record of crises brought on by various issues starting with human right violations to corruption, armed conflicts, poverty and most recently, the arrival of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs). Iraq, nowadays, faces severe challenges and destruction, especially after the emergence of terrorist groups and organisations, such as the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS). Following the invasion of the city of Mosul, ISIS's insurgency have contributed to worsen the humanitarian situation in the country and rapidly increase the level of crime.

Perhaps, analysts and writers think that the Iraqi humanitarian crisis, in particular, is the result of many facts and or justifying practices; those concerned with religious disputes, political disagreements or any other type of ethical and sectarianism discrimination. This research paper, however, displays some profound arguments on how corruption in Iraq has generated the reality of today in terms of the weakness of government, hostilities and, above all, the humanitarian crisis resulting from human actions, such as armed conflicts and terrorist activities.

It suggests that the corruption and the abuse of power by different actors inside a country has created the current unrest in two different aspects. Firstly, corruption is the creator of the manmade crises, when the national defence is destroyed by a

corrupt leader, making the state vulnerable in the face of armed conflicts and terrorist attacks. Secondly, corruption prevents the process of resolving these crises and provokes the continuation of this disturbance. For example, bribery or other form of misconduct by the staff of NGOs, governments and third parties create difficulties ineffectively delivering humanitarian aids to beneficiaries and respond to the situation timely.

The aim of this research paper is to expose another unfavourable side of corruption. Very few writers have ever outlined the correlation between both corruption and humanitarian crisis, in which this phenomenon is well perceived by Iraqis, for instant. This paper provides a unique study to discover the relationship between that two factors, in a place that is ranked amongst one of the most corrupt countries worldwide. According to an index by Transparency International (TI), corruption is pervasive at all levels of Iraqi government and is fuelling political violence and hampering effective state building.

To sum up with the hypothesis and all the queries in this research, these beginning sections outline the terms in general, and how this study defines corruption and humanitarian? The remaining sections provide in depth analysis on how corruption could affect us and how this could be linked with manmade humanitarian disasters, specifically, in Iraq.

II. METHODOLOGY

This is a qualitative research which uses the Grounded Theory method to provide an explanation or theory behind some events in Iraq. The research, basically, examines how corruption stimulates humanitarian crisis in general, and then uses Iraq as a solid base for the purpose of the study, with giving several examples on how corruption attacks solidities.

The sources of the data discussed in this paper are numerous, including international conventions, UN documents and reports, documents of other international organizations. Documents and publications of TI were significantly relied on as primary sources for this research. The secondary sources consulted for this dissertation are books, journal articles, online articles, blogs and reliable websites such as United Nations (UN) websites and TI's website, for extending the arguments in the research.

III. LITERATURE REVIEW

The United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, Navi Pillay, says;

“Let us be clear. Corruption kills. The money stolen through corruption every year is enough to feed the world’s hungry 80 times over. Nearly 870 million people go to bed hungry every night, many of them children; corruption denies them their right to food, and, in some cases, their right to life” [1].

Corruption has serious consequences. It is the disease that weakens the structure of state and prevents the development by stealing from state resources. It is a dominant factor in driving fragile countries to state failure via eroding the country’s infrastructure. This disease could be seen as the source of the manmade crises and conflicts, plus the paralysis of different actors within the aid response operations.

There is also a parallel relation between corruption and conflicts. TI declares that fragile and unstable countries are, simultaneously, the home of the most corrupt countries in the world. The countries scarred by war and ongoing conflict, meantime, they received the lowest score and ranked at the bottom of the *Corruption Perception Index (CPI)*¹[2]. For example, within the latest CPI of 2016 countries like Somalia, with a score of 10, Afghanistan at 15, Myanmar at 28, Sudan at 14 and Iraq at 17. These results demonstrate that countries which are perceived as the most corrupt are also those plagued by long-standing conflicts.

The corrupt officials always adopt ways to charge money from people, giving rise to violent protest calling and grievances against the central government by various social group. Examples are the Liberian second civil war in 2003 and the Syrian civil war in 2015, between the presidents of the two countries and various forces opposing the government [3], [4]. Massive corruption was undermining state legitimacy and citizens’ hopes for the future. The Liberian president Charles Taylor had been elected by a majority of people, but he failed to democratically reunite Liberia in the aftermath of the first Liberian civil war [3]. Instead, he focused efforts on retaining power, repressing others in the process [3].

In addition, corruption could also inspire stumbling blocks within the delivery of humanitarian relief by states and NGOs. It could cause a threat over the lives and well-being of persons of concern. In like manner, TI defines the corruption in humanitarian response as a matter of life and death, in which the affected people are on the lifeline for food, shelter and other

¹CPI is the statistics which is every year launched by TI. It includes more than 170 countries and was first started in 1995. In the CPI survey the more higher the ranking number of a country, the more corrupt the country. For example, A-country ranked 20th out of 170, and B-country ranked 25th out of 170. This means B-country is more corrupt than A-country. As well as, if the country scored lower, it is perceived to be more corrupt. The CPI also scores the countries from scale 0 (perceived to be highly corrupt) to 10 (perceived to have low levels of corruption).

basic means for living, whether caused by conflict, famine or natural disaster [5].

Corruption stands against the face of the humanitarian NGOs to take over their role. TI in July 2008 published a report, laying out the impact of corruption in the process of giving humanitarian support. It suggests, humanitarian assistance can be abused in numerous ways and it can pervade almost any part of the standard program cycle, including the projects, administration and financial practices [6, pp. 8]. One of the examples showed by the report on the unfavourable turn of corruption in providing assistance; in one community, a powerful man with connections demanded that the INGO’s partner direct house construction assistance to a particular person in the community, yet the partner refused, resulting in the powerful person threatening them and preventing them from conducting their activity in that place [6, pp. 13]. Next, the partner informed the INGO and they attempted to resolve the issue through explanation of their mandate and targeting approach to the person, the INGO and the partner decided they could not work in the community [6, pp. 13].

Other serious challenges in delivering humanitarian assistance is *sextortion*,² in which sometimes called as *sexual exploitation or harassment*,³ especially in the West African countries. “Your name isn’t on the list... The computer swallowed your card” this is a very common response which addressed to female refugees by the staff of humanitarian agencies [6, pp. 4]. One of female refugees quoted, “I sleep mostly with NGOs’ workers: I have to eat and feed my child” [6, pp. 4]. From here to there the power is abused for sexual purposes. Instead of humanitarian support, such demands result in the extension of crises by creating unfortunate consequences like unwanted pregnancy; abortion; single (often teenage) parenthood; abandoned children; HIV and sexually transmitted diseases; lost education and employment opportunities and not to mention the psychological trauma.

The Somalia aid is one of the most significant examples in this context. During 1970s and 1980s, Somalia received enormous supports for humanitarian aid operations from both west bloc and east. The misuse by government and the manipulation of the humanitarian relief were routinely tolerated by donors; foreign aid workers who dared complain about the diversion and misuse of aid were thrown out of the country [7]. Siad Barre, the president of Somalia, converted the aid to enrich itself and advance its own narrow interests; aid intended for refugees was diverted and refugee camps were used as sites to recruit, train and encamp security forces [7].

² Corruption can take any form. For example, the latest news from Transparency International reveals some recent attempts towards defining “Sextortion”, as a form of corruption. Sextortion refers to the abuse of power to obtain a sexual benefit or favour, which is sex, can be dealt with as a form of currency, rather than money, for bribe. See also, Transparency International. “Sextortion: undermining gender equality.” Internet: <https://www.transparency.org/>, Mar. 7, 2016 [July. 15, 2017].

³ Sexual exploitation refers to a person when attempts to misuse that position, power or trust for sexual purposes. Meanwhile, Sexual harassment is when someone behaves in a sexual manner makes the victims feels distress, offended or intimidated.

Finally, the recent Somalia's ongoing conflict and complex emergency have displaced millions from their homes. The country remains weakened by years of consecutive crises: famine, poor rains and harvests, drought and other natural disasters. Likewise, corruption exposes a great risk and confronts the entire humanitarian programme cycle. TI launches a report in 2016, showing that corruption exists in both international and national agency staff, and in the awarding of contracts to private contractors and humanitarian agencies [8, pp. 28]. It says that corruption takes place at many levels, such as by favouring geographic areas, favouring family and friends, creating so-called ghost beneficiaries and taxing beneficiaries [8, pp. 20].

IV. FINDINGS

1.1 What is humanitarian?

Humanitarian in its broadest sense is a moral issue that links the human instincts of sympathy and kindness. It is the principle of improving people's lives and promoting human welfare [9]. The legal concept of humanitarianism was originated from the International Humanitarian Law, which is a legal framework attempting to aid those who are no longer participating in hostilities, as well as the treatment of victims of war [10]. The modern concept of humanitarianism, however, has a wider meanings and it covers several actions which includes emergency relief delivered to people struck by natural or manmade disasters [11].

In contrast, the humanitarian disaster or the humanitarian crisis is a single or series of actions that threaten health, safety or well-being of a community or large group of people [12]. It occurs when there is a generalised threat to human life, health or subsistence, such as poverty, inequality, lack of access to basic services, exacerbated by a natural disaster or armed conflict [12]. The humanitarian crisis basically divides into two categories, according to the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC); firstly, man-made hazards or crises, belonging to those events that are caused by humans like armed conflicts, pollution, famine, industrial accidents and transport accidents, and secondly, Natural hazards or disasters which naturally occur, just as earthquakes, landslides, tsunamis, famine caused by nature and drought, volcanic activity and drought [13]. To combat and curb these crises, a humanitarian action or operation is needed to save lives, reduce suffering and respect to human dignity. The global community and states have established several international NGOs, governmental institutions and diversity of projects to deliver humanitarian aid in humanitarian operations. The aid is rooted in four fundamental principles that guide the humanitarian actors and NGOs during the process of provide assistance to affected people, whether in a natural disaster or a complex emergency [14]. These basic principles are widely recognised as: humanity, neutrality, impartiality and independence [14, pp. 7].

Humanitarian operations, in general, refer to the actions of providing material assistance to people in need and have existed throughout human history, often in the form of food or material aid provided during famine, drought or natural disaster [15]. This action is sometimes called "humanitarian aid" or "humanitarian relief" to which the terms of "assistance," "rehabilitation," and "protection and prevention" are related as well [16]. The humanitarian relief starts as an immediate assistance to peoples'

needs in a territory or a state that cannot uphold the human rights of its citizens and provide them with the basic conditions of life. For this purpose, a significant number of agencies have been set up to provide aid to affected people.

In a nutshell, the history of humanitarian relief can be traced back to the second half of the 19th century. The Red Cross Committee is the very first example of humanitarian organisation which emerged in 1863 [16]. It is one of the true international aid organisation, which has also received a formal mandate at the first Geneva Convention in 1864 to provide neutral and impartial assistance to civilian and military victims of conflict under the organization of national Red Cross Committees [17]. Following, the Shandong Famine Relief Committee established in response to the Northern Chinese Famine of 1876–1879 and the Great Famine of 1876-1878 in India, brought about by a drought that began in northern China in 1875 and lead to crop failures in the following years [18]. As many as 10 million people may have died in the famine [18].

The Hague law in 1899 and the Geneva law 1949 are the most significant international conventions in respect to humanitarian issues. Like any international law they do not impose obligation upon humanitarian agencies and NGOs, instead the provisions in Geneva Convention are interpreted in a way that state parties should allow relief to their territory [14, pp. 5].

1.2 What is corruption?

The term "corruption" does not always refer to money. Corruption can take any form that results in misuse of power or abuse of that power. For instance, when a president of a country uses his position to employ his relatives in high governmental positions or when an employee deceives his supervisor and claims to be sick, in order to go on holiday with his friends and family. Corruption in some such way is complex to describe, but not difficult to grasp. It may point to any behaviour by human being which leads to receiving something or achieving a goal through unfair competition or abusing the other.

There is neither an absolute nor an agreed definition on corruption. The ways that corruption occurs and the factors that contribute to the growth of corruption are varied and could take any form. It remains a challenge for academics to draw the lines for corruption, due to the complexity of corruption and scientist do not want to restrict this phenomenon in one aspect of life or attach it to one criminal definition.

Although, states nowadays have reorganized and defined some common acts of corruption, such as bribery, embezzlement, illicit enrichment, fraud and abuse of power or function. These forms of corruption have been criminalized almost in every state and every jurisdiction, as well as, they are part of international law which are embedded within the United Nations Convention Against Corruption (UNCAC) [19].

In addition, there are some well-organised definitions of corruption. It is defined by The World Bank as the "the abuse of public office for private gain" [20]. The most common and widely definition, however, is "the abuse of entrusted power for private gain", which is compromised by TI [21]. Based on the TI's definition, the perpetrators of corruption could be any person who has the following common features. Firstly, the person should be assigned the responsibility for doing something (entrusted power). Secondly, the entrusted power is to be used for a corrupt/fraudulent/illegal purpose (abuse of entrusted

power). Thirdly, the abuse should be for the interest of the person itself or a concerned person or a belonging group (private gain). There are also a number of idiomatic definitions on corruption. The UNCAC defines corruption in two ways. It describes corruption as an insidious plague and an evil phenomenon that has a corrosive effect to our societies in many aspects, such as violating human rights, undermining democracy and the rule of law [19]. Furthermore, some scholars define it as a disease that attacks the hopes of the poor for a better future for themselves and their children which drains revenues that might otherwise go to projects that would bring education to poor children or offer civil services and health care programs [22].

Similar to The Hague and Geneva conventions for humanitarian, the international communities have also adopted the first international anti-corruption treaty [23]. The UNCAC is a unique international legal instrument against corruption. It is a legally binding, universal anti-corruption instrument that requires each State Party to take the necessary legislative and administrative measures, in accordance with fundamental principles of its domestic law, to implement its obligations under the Convention [19, art. 55]. States Parties to the UNCAC must undertake appropriate actions aimed at enhancing criminal justice responses to corruption [24].

1.3 The impacts of corruption

Corruption could affect democracy, rule of law, poverty, human rights violation even killings and terrorist act. The Secretary-General of the UN, Ban Ki-moon, states that corruption erodes democracy and the rule of law, and also that corruption can violate human rights and even sometimes kill, when corrupt officials allow medicines to be tampered with or they accept bribes that enable terrorist acts [1].

Highly corrupt countries became the home of the most dangerous terrorist organisations. For instance, Al Qaeda by Osama Bin Laden in Afghanistan, Boko Haram in Nigeria and ISIS in Iraq and Syria. In corrupt countries the terrorist groups face no difficulties to perpetrate their activities and find resources to their funding. Katherine Dixon, from TI, says:

“The link between corruption and development is simple: corrupt leaders that siphon state funds and resources away from vulnerable populations bring about weak states and public unrest, creating fertile ground for terrorists and organised crime.”

The OECD in 2016 published a paper to identify the connection between corruption and terrorist activities. The organisation explains that corruption and poor government undermines the fight against corruption by weakening the army, because the money cannot be delivered to the soldiers or they might be poorly equipped [25]. Further, corruption may facilitate terrorist financing and helps terrorist funding. The OECD suggests that ISIS in Iraq and Syria uses oil as a main source for its finance [25]. The terrorist organisation with help from corrupt officials has adopted several ways to smuggle the oil out of these two countries [25].

Another additional side effect of corruption is the human rights violations. Corruption infringes the right to obtain food, water, education, health and fair trials. For instance, corruption violates the right to not have undue delay in court proceedings when a corrupt judicial body receives a bribe to protect the interests of one party in a trial [26]. Further, hospitals do not provide

sufficient services when their staff gives better treatment to those who pay bribes, families suffer from poverty and hunger when social security programmes are corrupt, and schools cannot provide the necessary support to their students when government officials divert public money for corrupt reasons [27].

Apparently corruption stands to dictate many aspects in our life. UN's Human Rights alleges that corruption affects the enjoyment of both civil and political rights [1]. When corruption is prevalent, those in public positions fail to take decisions with the interests of society in mind [1]. As a result, corruption damages the legitimacy of a democratic regime in the eyes of the public and leads to a loss of public support for democratic institutions, making the masses become discouraged from exercising their civil and political rights when those rights are not respected [1].

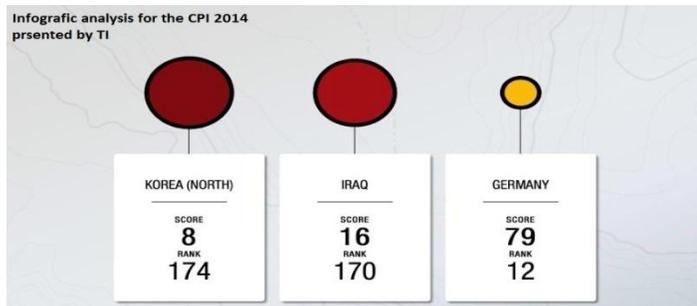
Above all, corruption may also in twofold manners affect humanitarian crises. Firstly, when corruption and humanitarian crises creating indirect relation. The former can lead to a sustained violent conflict which is one of the main grounds of the crises. Conflict is the manmade disaster that is, eventually, threatening the basic principles of living, health, safety or well-being of a community or large group of people. It weakens government and generates social unrest; suppresses economic development, and hinders or prevents the establishment of a good defence and the security needed for stability and growth.

Secondly, corruption may help the humanitarian disasters continue by creating weak administration that cannot respond to emergency situations. Severe and massive corruption during national emergency, which is also described as a “crisis corruption” that could be especially violent [28]. For instance, after several years of suppression under the Somoza regime in Nicaragua, it was massive corruption in his handling of emergency relief for earthquake victims that finally began to seriously erode his national and international support [28]. It is also, eventually, led to the collapse of the regime [28].

1.4 The nature of disaster in Iraq

Iraq has a long history with diversity of crises and human rights violations. It started, specifically, after the invasion of Kuwait in 1991. Following that year, the country infrastructure collapsed and the national economy was destroyed, in spite of the UN sanction imposed on Iraq for two decades [29]. Iraq has been suffering from all kinds of crises, just as insecurity, economy instability, underdevelopment, corruption, food shortages, poverty, water, electricity, creating shortage of the fundamental means for living.

In terms of corruption, CPI highlights Iraq among one of the most corrupt countries worldwide. CPI for 2015 ranked Iraq 161 out of 168 countries. The Index has consistently ranked Iraq as one of the countries with the highest level of corruption. For example, in 2012 Iraq was ranked 169th out of 174 countries; in 2013 Iraq was ranked 171st out of 175 countries and in 2014, the country was ranked 170 out of 175 countries. It shows that only Iraq, Libya and Sudan are ranked at the bottom 10 countries from the Middle East and North Africa region, far beyond countries that ranked at the lowest, just as Germany and Norway, in which they are considered to have the lowest level of corruption. The 2014 CPI also scored Iraq just 16 on a scale where 0 indicates that a country is perceived to be highly corrupt and 100 is where a country is perceived to be very clean. Only Afghanistan, North Korea, South Sudan, Somalia and Sudan scored worse.



Further, the poor condition of humanitarian crisis in Iraq exceeds the expectations. The conflict between the Jihadist organisation of ISIS and the security governmental forces led to a catastrophic human situation in Iraq. In June 2014, ISIS's fighters swept across Iraqi border from Syria and took control of approximately one third of the country, including Mosul, the second largest city in Iraq [30]. This invasion result in forcing the Iraqi army to abandon the cities in Nineveh governorate and fleeing of around 600,000 residents in this area [30]. From that moment, the number of displaced people accelerated when the proceeding fights started between the Jihadist groups and the Iraqi army to recapture the cities like Tikrit, Mosul, Shingal, Hawiga.

ISIS used civilians as human shields, fired indiscriminate weapons into civilian areas, carried out car bombings, other suicide attacks, and planted landmines, killing and injuring civilians. Government forces engaged in destruction of homes, looting, and abuses against civilians including torture, enforced disappearances and executions [31]. A report in 2016, by both UNAMI and Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (UNHCR), reveals that ISIS kidnapped between 800 and 900 children in Mosul for religious and military training [32]. Further evidence shows that ISIS committed 4 million human rights violations during their take over in Iraq in 2014; this includes child recruitment, violation of freedom, destructions of historical sites, beheading prisoners, mass killing against minorities and more [33].

The UN described Iraqi humanitarian crisis as "one of the world's worst", saying that more than 10 million Iraqis, making up almost a third of the population, are in need of immediate humanitarian aid [34]. Media may not expose the real scenario inside Iraq, but Iraq now has one of the highest populations of Internally Displaced People (IDPs) in the world. The violence between armed groups and government forces has resulted in over 3 million IDPs across Iraq and left more than 11 million in need of humanitarian assistance [35]. Iraq is also hosting a quarter of a million Syrian refugees [36].

1.5 Corruption provokes conflicts in Iraq

The situation in Iraq is quite complex. The state is divided according several ethical, religious and other ideological beliefs that many think to be the fuel of conflict and instability in Iraq. In this context, however, one fundamental element has scarcely been taken into consideration which is corruption. The latter is the driven source for the weakness of the country's institutions, grievances of its people and government of incompetent.

Iraq offers a concrete example. The recruitment of high-ranking positions in the public sector is predominantly based on political affiliation, rather than merit selection or a technocratic approach to government. The political power is not used for the protection of the rule of law or civil rights, instead every high-ranking

officials works only for the interest of its political party or a group, even when this interest contradicts with the benefit of public [37]. In 2006, Nouri al-Maliki, who is from Shia party of the Islamic Dawa, was asked to form the government and he was signed as Prime minister for Iraq [38, pp. 2]. However, during his time in office, he has been accused of being corrupt and only uses his power in favour of his Shia party, creating authoritarianism and sectarianism [39, pp.12]. He has played a major role in provoking internal conflicts by fuelling anger over injustice and enabling powerful and predatory leaders to buy their way out of accountability for crimes they have committed. Many also believe that his action was the ground of emerging ISIS in Iraq, via accelerating the disloyalty of citizens and extending the distance between Shia's and Sunni's of Iraq [39, pp. 24].

Deep fissures remain in public administration that is caused by corruption. Among all the sectors of government, the ministry of defence and the ministry of interior have been consistently reported to be the most influenced by corruption through the contracts and the procurements made for defence [40]. For instance, the Board of Supreme Audit estimates that US\$1.4 billion was wasted in fraud and corruption in the Ministry of Defence in 2005 alone [41]. In 2008, former Integrity Commissioner judge Al-Radhi declared that corruption cases worth US\$4 billion had been detected in the ministry of Defence, and \$US 2 billion in the ministry of the Interior [41].

The *R -v- James McCormick* case of fake bomb detector illustrate a triggering example to which corruption can be dangerous in Iraq [42]. a British businessman and director of ATSC Ltd, who was found guilty of fraud and sentenced to ten years in prison for selling millions of useless devices to the Iraqi government[42]. The devices being fake, the ADE caused actual death and losses of limbs, because the Iraqi soldiers believed the devices worked and they used it at checkpoints to detect bombs [42]. That McCormick illicitly sold over 6,000 of the ADE devices by paying several millions of pounds to bribe at least 15 senior Iraqi officials, in order to sell the product to the Iraqi government [43]. In addition, a BBC news article says that the senior Iraqi officials who received the bribes were aware that the devices did not work; nonetheless, they purchased the devices [44]. The article also states that General Jihad al-Jabiri, who ran the Baghdad bomb squad, is in jail on corruption charges relating to the fake contracts [44].

Iraq has an ineffective army for providing both security and stability for its people. When ISIS invaded Mosul in the summer of 2014, the Iraqi army had around 30,000 soldiers and several hundred Federal Police stationed in the city, facing against only 800 members of the attacking force [45]. Katherine Dixon from Transparency International suggests that corruption helped ISIS to take over Mosul, that the terrorist group exploited corrupt states like Syria, Libya and Iraq to facilitate their operations through smuggling and abusing the corruption of officials [46]. She alleges, many Iraqi senior officers, appointed due to their factional and sectarian loyalty rather than professional record that their attempts focused around getting personal fortunes, embezzling public resources [46]. By the moment the ISIS reached Mosul, Iraq's army existed only on paper (ghost soldiers) [46]. One of the 2,500-troop soldiers turned out to only be 500 men, many of them underfed and with salaries skimmed off by

their commanders, allowing commanders to pocket their pay [46].

U4 Anti-corruption Resource Centre releases a report in 2015, 'U4 Expert answer'⁴, addressing the issue of corruption in Iraq. The report alleges, misuse of power in Iraq benefited ISIS to invade some major cities in Iraq including Mosul [38, pp. 5]. In three ways it explains how corruption disseminated in Iraqi army First, nepotism allowed inexperienced generals to be given prominent roles, secondly corrupt procurement processes resulted in poor quality or non-existent equipment, thirdly the employment of ghost soldiers and payroll corruption and finally army generals sold military supplies on the black market which were then bought by militant groups such as ISIS [38, pp. 5].

1.6 Corruption prevails in the crisis in Iraq

Corruption in Iraq has not only contributed to the creation of humanitarian crisis, but it also aids the continuation of the crisis and imposes obstacles during the process of delivering the relief to vulnerable and affected people. When power is abused, the quality and effectiveness of humanitarian operations are reduced. The corruption in the Iraqi Oil For food Programme (OFFP) is one of the leading case in this context.⁵ It is the most highly prominent and embarrassing scandal, especially for the UN when its staff have gained corruptly from humanitarian response that were provided for poor Iraqi citizens [47, pp. 113]. The case starts in 2004, when the UN Secretary General, Kofi Anan, announced the formation of the Independent Inquiry Committee (IIC) in response to allegations by US, UN and Iraqi officials of illicit methods being used in the Oil-for-Food [48]. The IIC was established in order to investigate the corruption cases within the OFFP. The Committee was headed by Paul Volcker, and the Committee has issued two interim reports regarding the OFFP, focused specifically on allegations of mismanagement of the program by UN officials [48, pp. 14].

The IIC concluded that Kojo Annan, the son of Kofi Annan, intentionally abused the position of his father regarding his relationship with Cotecna, one of the contractors of the OFFP [48, pp. 14]. As well as the former Executive Director of the UN Office of the Iraqi Programme, Benon Sevan, who corruptly benefited from his role in the OFFP [49]. The 2005 IIC report states that Sevan had solicited and received on behalf of African

Middle East Petroleum Co. Ltd several million barrels of oil through the OFFP from 1990 to 2001 [48, pp. 28]. UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan has expressed shock at the IIC's findings and has pledged to take disciplinary action against Sevan [48, pp. 24]. On the other hand, Saddam Hussain made an estimated \$14 billion in illicit gain by selling oil and another \$4.4 billion through kickbacks on humanitarian goods [47, pp. 116].

The armed conflict is could be the greatest humanitarian threat facing Iraqis. Since ISIS stepped in Iraq, nearly a third of Iraq's population is in need of emergency aid, meanwhile the Iraqi government is failing to provide basic essentials such as water, food, sanitation and shelter for up to eight million people, a report by Oxfam and NCCI says [50]. The reports added, 60 per cent from the four million Iraqi displaced people who cannot regularly buy enough to eat, currently have access to the Public Distribution System (PDS), and run by government. It also alleges that administrative corruption has weakened the efficiency of the distribution system that PDS only reaches a limited amount of the affected people⁶ [50, pp. 9].

According to an article published on IRIN webpage, corruption is rooted within the Ministry of Displacement and Migration (MODM) have been forcing displaced families to pay bribes in order to receive government cash support [51]. The article suggests officials in Iraq are delaying payments earmarked for displaced families and attempting to take advantage of their positions by forcing IDPs to pay bribes [51]. Ahmed Al-Salamani, a Sunni lawmaker representing Anbar Province, and a member of the MODM said 'MODM staff have been stealing the money and then telling the people that their names were not on the lists, or that they had already received the payment when they haven't [51].'

Regardless of kickbacks and bribery, corruption in Iraq could have a hand in the extension of humanitarian disaster in different pattern. Sometimes the fraudulent act refers to the NGOs or both the NGOs and political leaders in the country. In Kurdistan region of Iraq (KRI) for example, the National Democratic Institute (NDI) reported, in 2011, 57 percent of NGOs it interviewed in the KRI maintained partnerships with political parties [52]. As well, it was announced, that there are dozens of organisations and agencies focusing on "early marriage for girls" and most of these are implementing their own projects while the KRG simultaneously implements its own and the country is facing extraordinary of humanitarian crises at the same time [52].

V. CONCLUSION

Corruption is an authentic threat to the well-being of people. It does not only affect rule of law, democracy, development, good governance or minimizing the quality of life. Corruption alone is not a direct reason why refugees flee their countries, but it is one of the major causes of misery for individuals, including the humanitarian crises. It could damage the segments of countries

⁴ U4 Expert answer is a study launches by U4 Anti-corruption Recourse Centre which is 'a web-based resource centre for development practitioners who wish to effectively address corruption challenges in their work. U4 also runs in-country workshops and online courses on anti-corruption measures and strategies for our partner agencies and their counterparts. Finally, a Helpdesk service providing expert answers to the most pressing questions faced by development practitioners in the field is also available through *its+ website: About U4' (U4 Anti-Corruption Resource Centre) <<http://www.u4.no/info/about-u4/>>, [Aug, 14, 2017].

⁵ After the invasion of Kuwait on 2 August 1990 by Iraqi army, the UN Security Council adopted the Resolution 687 in 1991, which provided for an international embargo on Iraq. Following, the entire country suffered from lack of food and medicine and the basic means for life. In 1995, the UN proposed the Oil-for-Food programme OFFP to cope with this situation caused by the declining living standards in Iraq. The former Iraqi regime accepted the proposal, and the United Nations signed a memorandum of understanding on the programme on 20 May 1996.

⁶ An interviewee by the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) between April and December 2006 demonstrates, 32 per cent reported that they had no access to PDS rations, 51 per cent reported receiving food rations only sometimes, while just 17 per cent reported that they always received them. In addition, many of those who received rations found that they were incomplete.

from being stable and secure, as well as limiting the response to save lives and alleviate the suffering of people in times of crisis.

Corruption and the abuse by the corrupt autocratic governments are the reason behind many conflicts, including the one in Iraq, where a tremendous number of the IDPs are present. In this frame, Iraq presents a clear-cut lesson. At the beginning, corruption attacked the top officials of the armed forces and the defence establishment in the country. Back in 2014, when ISIS invaded Mosul, Iraq had supposed to have thousands of soldiers on the ground, but none of them existed in reality. Due to corruption and favouritism the leaders were not successful in rebuilding Iraqi army in this area and were easily defeated by only a few hundreds fighters in Mosul during June 2014.

In addition, corruption also in Iraq has undermined the efforts by different actors and the international community to respond to the humanitarian crisis effectively. The capacities of Iraqi government and agencies are often stretched during emergency relief. Aid, frequently, has to be delivered partially in the absence of the rule of law, endemic corruption and immense needs. The OFFP case is absolutely is one of the good example, where different actors from UN, government and corporations bypassed the standard of aid measures.

The humanitarian situation in Iraq continues to deteriorate; in spite of, adopting various attempts by significant numbers of humanitarian NGOs to harmonize efforts against the crises. Instead, priority should be given to fight against corruption. Corruption, indeed, is the major source behind the suffering of Iraqi people. To ensure that such crises in Iraq will not take place again, global community and governments ought to promote transparency and address integrity and accountability in public admiration.

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