

Closing Plenary Speeches

October 15, 1999

Luis Moreno Ocampo:

We have had a long week, we've worked a lot and now we are finishing our work. To start with this panel, we have the visit of the Minister for Police Affairs from Nigeria: Mr. David Jemibewon. It is interesting to note how we are changing the world. Now we can admire the result of the Lima Conference two years later. At the time of Lima two years ago, Obasanjo was in prison. Today Obasanjo is the President of the country. That is the result of the Lima Conference. Please Mr. Jemibewon :

Mag. Gen. David Jemibewon:

Mr. Chairman of the closing session, the Chairman of Transparency International, Distinguished Participants, Ladies and Gentlemen, as it has been announced my name is David Jemibewon . I am a retired army general and I am presently Minister of Police Affairs under the presidency of Olusegun Obasanjo. The full text of his address has been submitted to the conference secretariat and should be available. Let me, on behalf of the people and government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, convey the sincere apologies of his Excellency, President Olusegun Obasanjo, President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, for his inability to personally be present here today. His Excellency has looked forward to this occasion with great interest and concern - in the last years he has been actively involved in the important task of promoting transparency and accountability as principal signposts for good governors. He has asked me to thank you for inviting the Federal Government to this occasion and to express his government's commitment. Of the many international organisations his Excellency has had the opportunity to associate with, Transparency International occupies a special place in his heart. Clearly, in his government he intends to leave a legacy of transparency. To his government there is no going back or compromising the high standards we have set for ourselves and we believe that this will percolate all levels of government and society. Once again, Mr. Chairman, Distinguished participants, Ladies and Gentlemen, accept the sincere apologies of his Excellency President Olusegun Obasanjo, for his inability to be present here. He has asked me to tell you that he eagerly awaits the conclusions and recommendations of this conference. I thank you for your attention. Thank you.

Luis Moreno Ocampo:

Now we have three different keynote speakers, who represent the different kinds of people of the world. Let me explain who they are:

Emilia Sicakova: she's just 24 years old, she lives in Slovakia, and she, as a lot of young people there, are trying to have a future. They have to build a future and they cannot trust in the old regime; they know what the old regime means and they are trying to create a new regime.

We have *John Githongo:* John Githongo is a journalist from Kenya, he represents Africa and Latin America here because what happens in many countries in the South is very similar. John Githongo is famous because he reported and investigated one big corruption case - the biggest case in Kenya, linked with gold. The country paid a hundred million dollars to a company which works for gold from Kenya, when there is no gold in Kenya. He is also representing Latin America because in my country,

Argentina, one of the biggest cases is the case in which the government gave a hundred million dollars to a company who export gold from Argentina - and there is no gold in Argentina. Exactly the same case. That's why John Githongo is not just representing Africa, he's representing also any developing country.

The last one is *Mr. Sharma*: he defines himself as a freedom fighter. In 1942, following the idea of Mahatma Gandhi he resigned from his position in the government because he did not want to serve the British Government anymore. He lost his job, he was in prison for six months, just for fighting for freedom and today he is still fighting for freedom. These are our three keynote speakers today.

Emilia Sicakova:

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, let me first thank Transparency International for having the chance to speak at this conference on behalf of the young generation presented here. Before I start to talk about the role of the young generation in this fight against corruption, let me first say why we - the generation that will spend the majority of our lifetimes in the 21st century - consider this issue to be very important. According to institutional economics the existence and the size of the corruption is directly conditioned by institutions, the rules of the game presented on the market. We can divide these institutions, the rules of the game, into two categories: formal and informal rules. Formal rules and formal institutions have norms. Among the many principles formal rules should be based on, in order to secure sustainable development and growth, we can especially mention transparency, accountability, and equal opportunities. Unlike budgetary and monetary policies, the mentioned institutional principles at first glance seem not to influence performance in a particularly visible way. However, their presence has a principle and long term importance.

Informal institutions, informal rules of the game, especially concern conventions and personal standards of honesty. Morality is a typical example of an informal institution necessary for securing sustainable development and growth and the creation of a stable social system. Let me use the words of a well-recognised liberal economist Mr. Hayek: "Morality is not a matter of taste, it is highly necessary. Although a restriction, it tells us which of the things we would like to do must not be done if we are to maintain order upon which the survival of the majority of us is dependent."

The idea of morality being a tool to achieve what we wish is totally misleading. We can say that keeping certain rules allows for mutual communication, life in peace and without violence, while in the absence of the rules conflicts must be solved through force. Combinations of the mentioned rules: formal rules based on transparency, accountability, equal changes, and informal rules of the game based on morality should lead to the creation of the foundations for sustainable development of this world in the 21st century. The fight against corruption is very closely interconnected with this goal - this beautiful objective. Amartya Sen, who last year was awarded the Nobel prize, requires the nations to look at the quality of life, to look at human development indicators that are long term indicators - not only looking at short term indicators like GDP rate. And I think that in the 21st century where our generation will live, the indicator of corruption will be one of the indicators that will show us the quality of life of human beings.

But where are we now and what are our possibilities? What is the older generation handing down to us as the 21st century is knocking at the door? It seems that corruption has become a universal phenomenon and the representatives from many

countries at this conference prove that almost no country is free from corruption. Lack of transparency, lack of accountability, monopoly and high discretion over power allowed corruption to flourish not only in post communist countries. We have heard during this conference the promises from many, many governmental representatives and many civil society leaders but the promises should become a reality. Promises that we have already heard should be transformed into real actions and this is the only way that credibility and trust can be created. In this process the role of the young generation should be to demand the transformation of these promises into real actions. We have to monitor the work of our representatives because they are setting the standards for our future in which we will live in the 21st century.

I would like to give you the example of my country - of the Slovak Republic. After splitting from the Czechoslovak Republic in 1993 we had elections in 1994 and the young generation didn't consider these elections to be important. In fact, they ignored the elections. One of the results was that a coalition was formed that was not very supportive of reform and for four years reform in my country actually stopped. Now I can say that the cost of not involving the young generation into real life is very, very high, but the civil society in my country mobilised and last year we had another election and we had a civil campaign. In the civil campaign we didn't say "Go and vote for this particular party", we said "Go and vote and realise your rights because you are here and you have this right to vote". We had a lot of seminars, we had a lot of workshops, we had a big campaign telling young people to get involved and be active.

I can describe one commercial, one clip that we had on TV: on the clip that was on the TV screen you could see one raindrop, the second raindrop, the third one, then the rain, the shower, the storm; and it means that when you are alone it's hard to make a change, but when you put together the capacity and the energy of young people you can make a real change. And the result of our activity - the involvement of young people - was really beautiful because almost everybody in the Slav Republic came and voted in the last election and we had a real success.

But we didn't stop, because we consider in post communist countries one of the most important acts - I would say one of the most revolutionary acts after 1989 - was the Freedom of Information Act. The Freedom of Information Act in other countries means changing the face of the state - changing the meaning of the state - because it can no longer be a state of secrecy and a state which is not controllable. When we have a well-implemented Freedom of Information Act then it is an open state which can be controlled. Of course, public officials and public administration doesn't want this new act to be passed in our country, but the young generation doesn't want to make the same mistake as in 1994 and now we have a big campaign in the Slovak Republic explaining why this act is important and we have a beautiful group of young lawyers who have already drafted the law co-operating with MPs in our Parliament. We have started this campaign and already 130 NGOs are involved in this civil campaign for the Freedom of Information Act. I think that this is the role of young people in our society. In a few minutes we will close this very good conference, a lot of promises have been said from public officials and I think what the young generation has to require are the results and the realisation of the promises that were made here at this conference. In two years we are to meet in Prague and I hope that the representatives that gave the promises here bring the results to Prague. Thank you.

John Githongo:

Mr. Chairman, Distinguished Guests, Friends and Colleagues, I would just like to make a brief correction regarding my c.v.: Mr. Ocampo honoured me by saying that I investigated the great gold saga in Kenya, but this is not actually strictly true, it was investigated by other more noble and brave journalist colleagues who are not here today and actually what I have done is write about their work.

The front line in the battle against corruption is redefined by every international anti-corruption conference and as we reach the conclusion of this great event here in Durban, South Africa, this is more true than ever before. Not only have we seen more participants at this conference than at any of its predecessors, we have seen the range of sectors represented increased. When organisations like the IFEC, Transparency International and the host of civil society actors gathered here started their fight against corruption they were seen as part of a fringe movement - an international fringe speaking a not too popular language in an era when, as even Mr. Jim Wolfensohn admitted, many of the world's most influential organisations feared to mention the word corruption. Yet, less than a decade since the formation of an organisation like TI, an impressive range of global organisations and over 100 countries have been represented here in Durban. Walking through the corridors of this conference centre over the past week one cannot but be impressed by the number of senior officials from so many bodies that one would bump into, by the number of government ministers and other top offices. All these people have been acting constructively with the civil society actors who initiated the fight against corruption - actors they might have regarded warily a decade ago. Best of all, in Durban everyone has spoken the language of activists against corruption - a new and uplifting unity. Let us extend our invitation next time to perhaps some people who are not here in great numbers and ask them to join us in the fight against corruption - here I'm talking about the bankers from places like the Channel Islands, the Cayman Islands and the Gnomes of Zurich.

At the start of the 21st century we stand collectively poised to transform corruption into the defining issue regarding development at the start of the new millennium, because this conference has proved that corruption is now a mainstream global issue, relevant to every other facet of human experience. We have accepted that it is inimical to the fight against poverty, to basic human rights and standards of governance, it is the enemy of democracy, freedom and peace. We have also seen that women are less corrupt than men and after Durban the gender issue is more central to the global fight against corruption than ever before. The fight against corruption started with civil society putting it on the global agenda, then it gained the support of so many other sectors, now we are systematising it and the global fight against graft and agreements like the OECD Convention against Bribery of Foreign Public Officials are indicative of this. But the most important thing the conference has done is energise and unify the world's legion against corruption. We shall leave here with renewed confidence. It is fitting that this 9th IACC took place in this beautiful country of South Africa. Fifteen years ago no-one could have imagined that over 1,500 delegates from 134 countries and representing so many sectors would have met to discuss a thing called corruption. Those who are cynical have been proved wrong - fifteen years ago a person of my colour could not have stood here before you, before this multi-coloured conference to speak. There were cynics in South Africa then, some who said that apartheid would last 1,000 years - apartheid has fallen in South Africa and it is fitting that we should have gathered here in Durban, South Africa, to plan the logistics and marshal the forces for the fall of another global enemy: corruption. See you in Prague, thank you.

S.D. Sharma:

Mr. Chairman, Fellow Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, we have heard a speaker belonging to the younger generation, another from the middle aged generation and now you will spare a few minutes for this young man of 81 years. I must seek your forgiveness, Sir, for starting on a personal note. Three days ago I had the privilege to go to a small railway station: Pietermaritzburg. This is a station located on the Durban, Johannesburg railway on which 107 years ago, Mahatma Ghandi, the father of our nation had travelled as a barrister fresh from the Inner Temple, London. He was thrown out of the compartment in the evening, punched in the face, because he was occupying a compartment reserved for Englishmen and he was left on the platform all night to shiver in the cold. He recorded in his autobiography that his struggle, by way of satyagraha - satya is truth, graha is insistence on truth - started from that night. Nelson Mandela who is not here, but who is very much in our thoughts after assuming the presidency of South Africa went to that railway station and presided over a function at which the freedom of the city of Pietermaritzburg was confirmed posthumously on Mahatma Ghandi. Nelson Mandela has been one of those spirits and one of those leaders who do not belong to only one country. When he came to India, India opened its heart and gave him a reception the like of which has never been seen before and he mentioned Mahatma Ghandi and he said how much he owed to him.

I mention this particularly because it is Ghandi who taught us that we should never submit to evil. Those who submit to evil are also accessories to the crime, you cannot be indifferent, you have to fight against it, but that fight has to be done without any violence, without hatred, without ill will of any kind. You will hate the evil not the evil doer, it may be difficult on occasions to do so, but that was his lesson. The result is that even after 250 years of British rule in India the English man is still welcome in India, he can do business anywhere he likes in the country. There is friendship, India has remained in the Commonwealth, the heads of whose leaders will be meeting very soon in this city of Durban.

I would like to speak to you about Koagi Ofkimiya, whose incarceration in prison for thirteen long years in defence of human rights, in defence of democracy and against corruption brought so much pain and suffering to him. His heart rending story has touched me deeply and I want to appeal to you today that if any time in the future a whistleblower is assaulted, imprisoned, or his family is deprived economically of maintenance, then all the 77 chapters of Transparency shall raise their voice like one man and come to the rescue of that person. We shall see to it, without waiting for a formal enactment of whistle blower protection legislation in various countries that we shall protect our own whistle blowers. We shall do so and if the breadwinner is taken away, then the maintenance of the family of the whistleblower shall be the first charge on the funds of Transparency International.

I submit, Sir, that Transparency International is not a mere NGO, it is a movement - a movement against corruption, against abuse of authority, against arrogance of power and wealth wrongfully acquired. But there is a great positive content also to this movement, that it is a movement for good governance, for social justice, for the removal of economic exploitation. It is necessary to remember both these aspects of this movement. In short, it's a movement for a better world, a movement for a better mankind. I may also be excused, Sir, for making a personal reference to the inspirer of this movement - Peter Eigen. He has given all of us a good reputation to live up to and I assure him that we shall not disappoint him. He's an inspired man and some of the inspiration has touched all of us. I assure him that all the hopes that have been generated in this conference, as we go back to our respective countries,

we shall get down to this job in right earnest and we shall see that this scourge of corruption is obliterated from the map of the world.

Luis Moreno Ocampo:

Thank you Mr. Sharma. Let me make some closing remarks about good will. First, if we think about the past we have moved a lot because corruption is a kind of abuse of power. That's why a lot of people involved in the movement against corruption have been in gaol. Even - I don't know if you know - this place, this nice building was a prison before. The Minister of Justice of South Africa was imprisoned here. The abuse of power is involved with corruption, but now times are changing, we are speaking openly about it. Mr. Wolfensohn told us a few years ago that nobody could mention the word corruption inside the World Bank, now here the World Bank is working very closely with the people. Let me refer to what Mr. Sharma said - he's a freedom fighter, but he's a friend of the English, he's not fighting against them, he's just trying to organise freedom in the country. This means collective actions and that's the central idea we are developing.

Let me use an example: here are the governing delegation from the Arab world, but they are not alone, they are with the NGOs of the regions and for the first time they are signing a regional commitment to fight against corruption. This is one of the issues of this conference. At this conference we've met people from the NGOs, people from international organisations, people from the governments and people from the multi-national organisations. We are trying to find ways to collaborate with each other more, but for collective action we need information. That above all, because to create links between us we need more information about what really happened. Is the money useful for the pools? Or is the money for the programmes against corruption just money to make up and do nothing? That is the real issue today, because when we talk about corruption everyone is in the army of the good guys. Are any of you interested in joining the army of corruption - the corruption army? No one wants to be there. Then in the war against corruption we're just one army, without information we have just one army and let me show you one example, a very close example. The organisers told me I have to announce the following: there are at present 99 receivers and headsets still unaccounted for. Would all delegates please check your bags and hotel rooms for any receivers and headsets that you may have misplaced and return them to the tables outside the plenary hall. Thank you.

Now the presentation of the conclusion of the conference: Vusi Mavuso.

Angela Ofori-Atta:

Good Morning, in an earlier life Vusi was Angela, so I'm going to give the first part of Vusi's speech: 'The Durban commitment to effective action against corruption'.

We, the 1,600 participants of the 9th Anti-Corruption Conference drawn from 134 countries, addressing the theme 'Global Integrity 2000 and Beyond', held in Durban, South Africa, from 10th to 15th of October 1999, recognise that corruption is a phenomenon that is one of the most debilitating legacies of the 20th century. On the eve of the 21st century we recognise that unless the scourge of corruption is combated effectively, the world beyond the year 2000 will be one where poverty - already at unacceptable levels - is deepened even further, the legitimacy of governments further eroded, human rights abuses proliferated and the democratic gains of the past 50 years will be destroyed. Drawn from government, business, civil

society and international organisations we came to a conference to participate - not as representative of institutions and organisations - but as concerned individuals, united in our desire to save humankind. We came to engage in an open and honest appraisal of progress made, difficulties encountered, the challenges we faced and our responses to them, thereafter it is for us to carry forward in all our countries and institutions the task we have now set ourselves. As we stated in our Lima declaration corruption is an evil that threatens and challenges all people around the globe, but bears a special cruelty upon the world's most poor. It deepens poverty, it debases human rights, it degrades the environment, it derails development including private sector development, it can drive conflict in and between nations and it destroys confidence in democracy and the legitimacy of government, it debases human dignity and is universally condemned by the world's major face.

At the same time, we reaffirm our convictions that a successful campaign against corruption demands the full participation of all sections of society, including, most importantly, civil society and with it the business community. It is our core belief that no government can hope to tackle corruption effectively without the active support and involvement of its citizens. For ourselves we accept it as our solemn duty to combat corruption effectively whenever and wherever it is taking place. Meeting here on the African continent for the first time we were moved by the special contributions made by our African colleagues - they shared their own insights into malaise, which they share with all regions of the world. We join in their conviction that South Africa and Nigeria have major leadership roles to play in the continent struggle. We were honoured to have our proceedings opened by his Excellency Thabo Mbeki, President of the Republic of South Africa, who in a challenging and stimulating address outlined the dimensions of the challenge we face.

Recalling an observation by George Soros he observed that "there is something wrong with making the survival of the fittest a guiding principle of civilised society". In President Mbeki's words our task is no less than to ensure that "legitimate and democratic states evolve the social norms that mitigate it against the perverted antisocial individualism". We were also honoured with addressed from distinguished speakers from all sections of public and private life who included his Excellency Festus Mogae, President of Botswana, James Wofensohn, President of the World Bank, Chief Justice Musfaa Kamal of Bangladesh, Mark Malloch-Brown, Administrator of the UNDP, Ronald Noble, Secretary General Designate of Interpol and Robert Wilson, Chairman of Rio Tinto plc. UN Secretary General Kofi Annan and US Vice President Al Gore, who had convened an International Anti-Corruption Conference in Washington in February sent us messages of encouragement and support. The address by Ms Wangari Maathai of the Greenbelt Movement, Kenya was an inspiration. The honourable Penuell Maduna, Minister of Justice of South Africa, presided skilfully as our conference chairman and his Excellency Jacob Zuma, Deputy President of South Africa closed our proceedings.

We stood in silence as a mark of respect for Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, former President of Tanzania, who passed away during our proceedings and who had hoped to be with us. We all shared in Africa's loss of an independent leader of the highest integrity. Ours was essentially a working conference - in the course of the week we worked in no fewer than 41 separate workshops; each addressed practical steps to be taken against corruption in fields as varied as money laundering, public procurement, public education, business and public sector ethics, public awareness raising through the performing arts. Each produced sets of practical steps that can and must be taken as our campaign proceeds. These will be widely publicised to the

groups and interests to whom they are addressed and placed on the internet: www.transparency.org .

We shall encourage and carefully monitor the progress made and will report fully to the 10th IACC in the year 2001. Repeatedly we reminded ourselves that combating corruption is not a task for law enforcement officials alone. Every prosecution, every act of corruption represents a failure of our personal, social and organisational systems designed to prevent such conduct. We reminded ourselves, too, that the hand that gives is at least as culpable as the hand that takes. Every failure to recover the proceeds of corruption serves only to feed its growth. While there are actions required from all at the international level , the struggle to contain corruption at the national level is essentially a domestic task and the fight must come from within. External actors, including donors, can assist this process, but for it to be effective and enduring it must be locally owned, devised and driven.

In this context, as in others, we were reminded of the holistic nature of our undertaking, none of us works in a vacuum and all of us must work with and support others if our task is to be accomplished. In the course of our work together we took stock of the achievements of our coalition since our deliberations in Lima, Peru in 1997 and where our global coalition assumed such substance. Much has been accomplished but much remains to be done, especially to institutionalise the fight against corruption in civil society at large, as well as transparency, accountability and integrity in international and local organisations. At the international level perhaps most noteworthy has been the achievement of the OECD convention against the bribery of public officials in international business transactions, which now needs to be further extended and rendered fully effective, and to which we were pleased to learn South Africa will soon become a party. The actions taken by some developing countries as they increase their ability to co-operate against corruption, the further progress made with The Council of Europe Anti-Corruption Conventions, both criminal and civil, the support of our endeavour from international agencies has grown significantly, including action within the World Trade Organisation.

Actions have been taken by The International Chamber of Commerce to promote anti-bribery practises, multilateral development banks in particular have started to name, shame and exclude corporate contractors from bidding for the projects they fund and professional associations are taking an increasing interest in our topic. At the national and local level the number of ombudsmen offices has grown significantly, exporting countries have started to end tax deductibility for bribes and to criminalise overseas bribery by their exporters. A growing number of countries have started to adopt and execute the holistic anti-corruption strategies we have been recommending. Increased attention is being given to the protection of complainants and witnesses and the number of codes of conduct and citizens' charters continues to grow. None of this is to suggest that we have only made progress. Clearly in some countries the movement has been minimal, at times negative, and journalists, in particular, continue to be exposed to unacceptable risks as they go about their legitimate tasks. So while we are encouraged by our progress, we acknowledge that our Lima declaration will continue to be our working tool for some time to come.
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Vusi Mavuso:

Certainly in my previous life I was not Angela. Against this background and as we enter the new millennium, we solemnly commit ourselves to the following courses of action: Global Integrity 2000 and beyond. We solemnly commit ourselves to work

with all stake holders to foster meaningful political will to confront corruption and in ways which involve all sections of society. As we are convinced that civil society has a crucial role to play, we were delighted with the announcement made by the UNDP to our conference that it will support a partnership fund - an initiative of Transparency International - which will serve to empower more meaningful participation by civil society in all these processes. Innovations and imagined good practises: we will develop, identify and publicise novel, imaginative and effective examples of good practise in preventing and detecting corruption, such as the example in open public tendering presented to us by the mayor of Seoul.

To this end we will develop web sites and information networks. International and regional co-operation: we will work to maximise regional and international co-operation in the fight against corruption in practical ways - strengthening mutual legal assistance arrangements and fostering the development of anti-corruption conventions for the African and Asian regions. We wish to see the broad subject of combating corruption brought onto the agendas of the major international trade organisations: WTO and UNCTAD. Additionally, we will work to achieve full implementation of the OACD convention combating the bribery of foreign officials and the anti-bribery conventions of The Council of Europe and the organisation of American states so that country efforts are supported by supply-side sanctions. Monitoring will be a vital element to promote consistency and co- operation. We will support actions at the United Nations to encourage the criminalising of all forms of corruption and we will enlarge an understanding that both the supply side and the demand side of international corruption must be attacked.

We welcome the scheduling of the Second Global Forum on fighting corruption and guarding integrity among justice and security officials in The Hague in 2001 - a governmental forum which can serve to monitor critically the implementation of convention obligations by individual governments and as a forum which both reinforces, and is itself reinforced, by our own work in the IACC coalition.

Transparency in public procurement: we will continue to work for increased transparency in all fields - particularly in public procurement - and we will create private public sector partnerships to develop reliable, open and competitive systems including open tendering on the internet. At the international level we will look forward to the WTO, among others, playing a key role; including the conclusion of an agreement on transparency in government procurement at the November 1999 Seattle Ministerial Meeting.

Private sector integrity: we will explore the development of business standards which foster and promote integrity and equip the private sector with a tool which can demonstrate in independently verifiable ways, their individual commitments to integrity in their business practises.

Ethics in society: as a successful campaign against corruption demands the full participation of all sections of society - including, most importantly, civil society, and with it the business community - who will work to raise the standards of ethical conduct within the NGO community, in the private sector and throughout the public service and our societies.

Money and politics: we will foster the development of creative ways in which to contain the corruption or the corrupt influence money has on many of our democratic processes, which a focus on limiting its influence by reducing the costs of elections and restricting expenditures.

Art against corruption: we will encourage innovation by our creative artists for them to use their skills to communicate essential awareness messages to a wide community, with a special focus on raising levels of ethics throughout society and especially empowering the marginalised in rural and depressed urban areas to recognise and act against the corruption they suffer.

Protection of complainants against corruption: we will encourage the development of institutions, laws and practises which ensure that responsible citizens can report instances of corruption without fear of reprisals, wherever it may occur, and to ensure that the media is free to play its pivotal role in holding relevant individuals and institutions to account.

Independence of anti-corruption agencies or law enforcement: we will support the institutions within our societies tasked with countering corruption to ensure that their independence is respected by all and that they are adequately resourced. We will also work to ensure that they are held accountable in ways free from political interference.

Use of civil remedies to recover proceeds and burden of proof: we will encourage the development of civil law that is non-criminal, processes to enable the proceeds of corruption to be identified and recovered more effectively than the criminal law may allow because of standard of proof requirements. We will continue to explore constitutional ways of making the criminal law more effective in areas where proof of specific acts of corruption is difficult to obtain.

Sectoral initiatives: we will force the initiatives to contain corruption within particularly vulnerable sectors such as education, social services, health, construction and mining and encourage leaderships within these to develop and implement their own strategies in partnership with other relevant stake holders.

Banking community: we will encourage members of the banking community and others to create responses including enforceable international obligations which will record transactions effectively, curb the levels of money laundering and which will facilitate the return to developing countries of monies looted by their leaders. We find it wholly unacceptable that the monies should be invested in institutions in the developed world for the benefit of a corrupt few, when they are desperately needed by their rightful owners in the South for the benefit of all.

Judiciary and the rule of law: we will develop approaches capable of restoring integrity to a judiciary in ways which call for greater accountability but without eroding the judiciary's essential independence.

Customs and revenue and police: we will build and strengthen partnerships with customs and tax administrations to check corruption and facilitate the revenue essential for good governance and for public sector salaries to be raised as they must be in many countries. Similarly, we will build local coalitions to support reform-minded police commissioners to assure them of public support for their efforts.

Debt cancellation and Jubilee 2000: we will support debt cancellation in the framework of Jubilee 2000 where the benefits flow to the poor and not to the corrupt elites in the societies involved.

Checking the effectiveness of reforms: we will continue to develop our methodologies to analyse the nature and extent of corruption and for assessing the effectiveness of

particular reforms. Global integrity 2000 and beyond: 'forward with the struggle against corruption' - thank you.

Luis Moreno Ocampo:

Now we move to the future - in two years we have another conference, but in the meantime we are trying to organise something in regional areas. TI- Latin America will invite different people, countries and organisations to organise in the next year the first Latin American ACC conference on anti-corruption; using the same idea to involve, in the same place, people from the government, people from the civil society and business people, they have to be here, because you need two to dance a tango, and we must try to work more on tools. Now is the time to take action, we're planning to organise a meeting to discuss what we can do together. To speak about the next conference we will invite the member of the delegation of Korea and the Czech Republic. But first a welcome to the Vice President of South Africa.

Peter Eigen:

Your Excellency, the Vice President of South Africa, you've just come at the most electrifying moment and we are very grateful and honoured by your presence. Our biennial anti-corruption conferences are like steps forward - every two years we make a step towards a more transparent, towards a more just world. This year's step was a fantastic step - it probably had to do with the fact that we are on the soil of Africa, because it was not only a step forward in understanding our tools and understanding more fully the complexities of corruption and the instruments which society has to develop to deal with corruption in all areas of the world. Mr. Vice President, we have 135 countries represented here by more than 1,500 very eminent participants. This year it was also a step forward in terms of the spirit of fighting corruption - we were all driven by a tremendous sense of the values and the emotional transcendency of corruption, and therefore this has built up to a climax to yesterday's meeting with the performance of Hugh Masakela and today's meeting here in which we can all witness this tremendous coherence of will, commitment and of spirit.

We owe this, to a very large extent, to our friends in South Africa, who have been such gracious hosts, but in particular also, to the two committees which have been working very hard since nearly a year and a half and I would like to express our thanks very much and very formally to the executive committee and to the programme committee which has worked under the chairmanship of Vusi Pikoli - it's very hard to set the framework for this conference - and under the leadership of Professor Rwelamira. So please join me in thanking them for the fantastic and successful work they have done. I would like to hand over to my colleague Kevin Ford, the chairman of the Commission for the International Anti-Corruption Conference.

Kevin Ford:

Thank you Peter. Peter compared our conferences to a series of steps. I think I prefer to think of us as being on a road and the conferences representing way stations along that road. Lima was a very wonderful way station in which a great deal of concrete work was done and we were able to develop an issue - The Lima Declaration - which is now - if you will - the road map for the rest of our journey. Now in Durban, with the adoption of The Durban Commitment we have reached another way station - one that I think we will always look back on as being a very significant

and dramatic step in our journey together. Now is the moment when we hand over the conference from here in South Africa to our new hosts for the 10th and the 11th International Anti-Corruption Conferences. The 10th conference, I'm pleased to say, will be in the Czech Republic in Prague, and the 11th conference will be in Seoul, South Korea, and I'd like to ask the representatives of those two hosts to join us here on the stage.

Marie Bohata:

Good Morning, Ladies and Gentlemen. Let me say on behalf of the Czech government, how delighted we are that the conference will be held in Prague. We know the competition was hard and we think this result will be a very important signal which is being sent to Central and Eastern Europe. Our country is located in the very heart of Europe and our nation has a long lasting ambition to create a kind of bridge between the West and the East. Why not think about another bridge between North and South? We think a relatively new democracy and an emerging market economy has a very good chance of success. Before handing the floor to Michal who will invite you too, let me express my firm belief that when we gather again in two years time there will be more transparency, more accountability, better governments and, most importantly, less poverty and human suffering all around the globe. With your help, your knowledge, skills, experience and commitment we very much hope the event will be as successful as this excellent conference in Durban which is just coming to its end. Thank you and see you in Prague.

Michal Burian:

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Vice President, Distinguished Guests, Friends, let me thank the board of IACC for their trust. We take great pleasure in welcoming you to Europe for a second time and it's the first time that the conference will be hosted in the region of Central and Eastern Europe. Ten years ago unprecedented changes occurred in the whole region. Nowadays, many of our Central and Eastern European countries are on their way to European Union. This way is not easy. As the actors of the process of transition, we know well how painful the whole process is. That's why we see the decision of the board of IACC to have the next conference in Prague also as a big appreciation of the effort of the Central and Eastern European countries and the peoples of these countries. We trust you will enjoy your stay in the heart of Europe, at least the same way as we all enjoyed the stay in Durban. I wish you a pleasant journey home and look forward to meeting you in Prague. Thank you.

Khun Goh:

Honourable Vice President of South Africa, Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, I'm very honoured to accept your kind offer proposed to have the 11th Anti-Corruption Conference in Seoul 2003. In particular I hope Korea could become another good model in the global efforts for anti-corruption. We will co-operate closely with the IACC's Council and Transparency International as well as the governments, NGOs and international organisations to make the 11th conference a most successful one. Seoul is a beautiful city with 600 years of history combined with tradition and modernity. I'm looking forward to seeing you in Seoul in 2003. Thank you very much.

Luis Moreno Ocampo:

You know Twin Seven Seven, he does not need an introduction.

Twin Seven Seven:

Your Excellency, Deputy President of South Africa, Abada, Mio Teno for Africa, Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, for days we've been talking about corruption, is there a woman or a man, is there a girl or a boy who'll deny it? My name is Twin Seven Seven and Transparency International has 77 national chapters working as from today, how about that? Bankers talk, lawyers talk, police talk, judiciary heads talk, papers were thrown around, spoons and forks, cutlery were dancing on tables. Teacups are thinking all because we want to eradicate corruption.

My brother will you come and give me a butantos? I don't want you to leave here without gubawatyn phrase. Will you take one from me? Please will you take my phrase? All in the name of killing corruption - it's a kind of insect that has eaten so much into the flesh, bone and blood of all nations of the world. But before I teach you my phrase I'm going to go into a special libation offering to all the spirits of our ancestors: Corruption, hola corruption, corruption in Germany, corruption in Kenya, corruption in Nigeria, corruption in South Africa, corruption in Africa, corruption in America, corruption in the Netherlands. Where is corruption? Who is corruption? He's living with me, he's living with you, he' living with every one of us. How do we kill corruption? Some people are in a position of power to help their brothers, help him! Some people are in a position to elevate, eradicate corruption - they hide it under their garments, all just because they want to become big. Some people are in a position to speak the truth, but because they feel it they speak the truth they would lose their job they hide it under their cap. But I have a phrase for you, will you take it? I can't hear you! I'm a teacher, I'm a teacher, my phrase is like this: say corruption. I can't hear you - say corruption!

Corruption is forbidden, corruption is forbidden, the fight against corruption is accepted. That's my phrase. You're not going away without clapping and clap your hands at that - I speak good English. You clap your hands. Thank you. I'm going to start first, then you will join me:

Corruption, corruption is forbidden,
Corruption, corruption is forbidden,
Fight against corruption in essential, fight against corruption is accepted,
Let's go everybody!
Corruption, corruption is forbidden,
I can't hear you,
Corruption, corruption is forbidden,
Fight against corruption is accepted, Fight against corruption is accepted,
Over there!
Fight against corruption is accepted, Fight against corruption is accepted,
Over there!
Corruption, corruption is forbidden,
Fight against corruption is essential, fight against corruption is accepted

Thank you. I know you've got volumes of papers to carry back home - just write these four phrases, put it in your diary, and let this be your alinamoorng. After your prayer, do it in the kitchen, pass it back to your little ones at home. With the spirit of the universal God who protects all of us, we'll meet again. Thank you very much.

Luis Moreno Ocampo:

Thank you Mr. Twin Seven Seven. You teach us great collective action. This is collective building, you're a teacher. Then to close this conference I invite the Deputy President of South Africa - Jacob Zuma.

Jacob Zuma:

Thank you Chairperson, Ministers, Excellencies, Ambassadors and High Commissioners, Distinguished Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, today marks the end of the deliberations and discussions on an issue that effects many countries the world over. The last five days have brought together not only various governments, but also non-governmental institutions, we have all come together in a quest to stem the rising tide of corruption in our society. I'm told that this has indeed been a most challenging and productive conference, this conference has also provided an opportunity for a variety of other sectors, particularly organs of civil society and the private sector to contribute to the debate. This is an important debate in which the need for partnership and coalition building has come out as a major strategy to fight corruption. This debate itself has been a testimony to the fact that corruption is no longer a national or original issue - in our global village it now transcends borders; from academic arguments, personal experience, the issue of corruption has captured the minds of all the people that are committed to clean governance.

There is a need to continuously send a message to those who thrive on corruption that we have the will to deal with them decisively. The extent of corruption in all spheres of our lives has touched us, even as we conclude this conference an act of corruption is being committed somewhere, in our country and in other countries all over the world - it has almost become the say of life. I have no doubt that this conference has gone a long way to find a common understanding of what constitutes corruption, how it erodes the modern fibre of society and what should be done strategically to reclaim the moral high ground.

I would like to call upon religious institutions to play a role in restoring good moral value systems in our society. They, more than anyone, have a moral responsibility to carry the message. Whatever beliefs we have, if in society there is no longer any fear of anything, then you must know society is in crisis because that means you end respect for other people, for yourself, for the institutions and therefore society is in crisis. We must bring back the fear of something.

I have no doubt that in our deliberations we have moved closer to finding strategies of tackling this scourge. The challenge now facing all of us is to make sure that theses are translated into concrete programmes of action. At this time we should ponder whether the conference will be categorised as a mere talk shop, as at times many conferences are, given the gravity of the matter. As we come to the end can we honestly - all of us - say that it has not produced marvellous ideas without the commitment and willingness to carry them out - I believe the test is going to be how we implement our good resolutions.

Ladies and Gentlemen, it is important for us, on the eve of the new millennium, to maximise and examine the systems of government in our countries, to ensure that we do not, ourselves, create the conditions for corruption to thrive. Countries of the world are gradually transforming to democratic systems of government. In most countries these systems have checks and balances in place that sustain them and ensure that those entrusted with running public institutions are held accountable to the greater civil society.

In South Africa we have, amongst others - I'm sure you must have heard this in the course of the discussion - a Public Protector, an independent auditor general, and commissions, whose main function is to ensure that personal interests do not conflict with public interests. This I take to be important, given the fact that part of what has influenced society to profiteer - it has been the manner in which we, the members of this society, have run its administration. Business should also come on board and lend their expertise to wider society. The triangle connection of government, business and civil society should always be kept in mind in this regard as corruption permeates all levels of our society, there is a need for us to find ways of making all three accountable to each other. Corruption is committed by them, it effects all of them and therefore solutions for its eradication should come from all three of them. It is not sufficient to merely concentrate on one sector.

The public sector, after all, government employees and those who serve in these institutions are all drawn from civil society, so if there is something wrong with the entire society, its institutions will also be found wanting. As we make laws and regulations to underpin our democracies we should ensure that our law enforcement agencies are adequately equipped to deal effectively with corruption. There should be harmony between the organs of state that have been put in place to fight corruption and the judiciary.

Ladies and Gentlemen, there is something that I have always believed, we certainly needed to look at, I personally believe in this and legal people might not agree, I'm not looking at you Mr. Minister, as a legal person. We work out our constitutions that identify and clarify how the countries and society should be run, legislate the laws and place greater emphasis on the rights of all of us individually and as institutions and groups, but I have a feeling that the counter balance of this has not yet been addressed. If members of society violate these rules and laws how do we deal with that situation? And of course after violating them quote the very rules as important to protect their rights in many ways. How do we balance these two? For I believe if we don't work out particularly in the judicial systems the way to deal with this, you find a contradiction - a contradiction of the very interpreters of the law for an upright society. In the legal profession having to be the one to defend the offenders to the hilt, to me this seems to be a contradiction. Whilst we respect and should respect the right of any citizen to be defended I think we also need to promote the right of society, not to be hurt by us.