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14. ABSTRACT
In order to support regional stability, it is critical that the United States sponsor anti-corruption programs in Indonesia. The high level of corruption is giving terrorists a local foothold within the nation. The massive amount of bribery in Indonesia has created an unfavorable environment for the United States' businesses allowing China the opportunity to increase their regional power. Indonesia's relatively new democracy is losing the battle against corruption and opening up the country to an authoritarian dictator or communism. Indonesia can stifle these trends by reducing the level of corruption. The United States needs to immediately partner with Indonesia to reduce their corruption levels and improve global security.

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President Trump Needs to Stop the Acts of Corruption in the Republic of Indonesia

Introduction

The Republic of Indonesia (ROI) is at a tipping point concerning the level of corruption in the nation. The Indo-Pacific region will likely destabilize if the growing exploitation of its citizens is not reversed. This paper chronicles the history of corruption in the country and how its past has impacted the current day. It will then explore corruption's influence on three elements critical to the United States: the growth of terrorism, the shift of regional control towards the People's Republic of China (PRC), and the decay of democracy. Lastly, it recommends anti-corruption strategies to reverse the spread of corruption. The ROI has failed in battling this crisis on its own and would benefit from outside assistance. The United States needs to immediately partner with the country to reduce its corruption and improve global security.

Corruption Background

Corruption is commonly defined as “the abuse of entrusted power for private gain.”ⁱ There are two primary reasons behind an individual's decision to act in this manner: to satisfy personal needs or due to a lack of differentiation between state and personal property.ⁱⁱ The ROI is recovering from a President who was the quintessential example of this behavior, taking billions from the nation during his 30 years in office.ⁱⁱⁱ His actions instilled corruption in all levels of the government, ultimately making it part of the nation's culture. Two studies are commonly cited to determine the level of corruption within a country: the World Bank's Worldwide Governance Indicator and Transparency International's Corruption Perception Index. The two use perception surveys and statistical analysis to determine the level of corruption.^{iv} The Worldwide Governance Indicator scored the ROI at 48.08, which ranks it 101 out of 193 (higher is less corrupt).^v The Corruption Perception Index ranked the ROI 96 out of 180 countries (lower is less corrupt).^{vi} While both indices list it in the middle of the pack for corruption, the fact that the ROI is the fourth largest country in the world increases the negative impact on the region.^{vii}

The US State Department's Human Rights Report on the ROI declares that one of the most significant issues is “official corruption and attempts by government elements to undermine efforts to prosecute corrupt officials.”^{viii} The ROI suffers from corrupt leaders in all areas of government including the court system. In 2017, ten percent of the population admitted to paying bribes to court officials.^{ix} The Government of Indonesian (GOI) has appointed a Corruption Eradication Commission. It is investigating over 31,000 complaints of corruption but is making little headway on the problem, especially when it comes to powerful persons.^x Corruption is a serious problem, and efforts to contain bribery at the highest levels have not been successful. While corruption has many negative effects, its most troubling attribute is its connection to terrorism.

Combating Terrorism

Terrorism has historical roots dating to Maximilien Robespierre's French Revolution in the late 1700s; in the last century, the amount of terrorism has exponentially risen.^{xi} Since 2001, the majority of these attacks have occurred in the Middle East, but the problem continues to spread. In just the month of May 2018, the ROI experienced 49 terrorist-related deaths.^{xii} While terrorism is a problem for every nation, there is a specific homeland security challenge in the ROI—an increase in terrorist cells within the country.^{xiii} The conditions that create a terrorism-friendly environment within a country include poverty, lack of democratic rule, human rights violations, minority status, and foreign military intervention.^{xiv} The list does not specifically mention corruption, but the exploitation it causes influences the first two of the five conditions. Corruption has a direct impact on the wealth of the population and the democracy of that country.^{xv} Mohamed Suharto, President of the ROI from 1967 to 1998, siphoned money from his citizens; estimates put the amount around \$25 billion.^{xvi} Since its Gross Domestic Product in 1970 was \$9 billion, this corruption considerably impacted the nation's wealth and continues to be a problem to this day.^{xvii} In 2012, Indonesia's Chief Justice was found guilty of accepting bribes to influence a local election.^{xviii} Justice Akil Mochtar accepted over \$5 million in bribes, leaving the local population with the belief that democracy is a myth, and power in the country needed to be purchased.^{xix} Corruption's many negative attributes create an ideal environment for terrorism to grow and develop.

A corrupt government does not commonly invest in fighting terrorism; bribes often fund terrorist activities; and corrupt officials and terrorists use similar methods to hide their money.^{xx} There are hundreds of examples of the linkage between corruption and terrorism, but Sarah Chayes found a causal relationship as she during her Carnegie Endowment study. She spent time in Afghanistan, Egypt, and Tunisia researching the connection between the two. Her study describes in vivid detail the underbelly of a corrupt society explaining that bribery is not necessarily a two-way street where both parties are satisfied with the exchange. Oftentimes money isn't enough to bribe a judge, and young girls are used to influence decisions.^{xxi} These actions lead to desire for revenge and retribution, and the weaker party chooses to use terrorist attacks against the individual or institution. The more corruption that exists, the higher the probability that an individual will resort to terrorism to enact revenge.^{xxii}

The ROI is far from the most corrupt country on the planet. Its corruption standing puts it near the middle, ranking 96 out of 180 countries.^{xxiii} Logically, an effort to reduce corruption should be focused on nations closer to the bottom of the list. While it is important to reduce corruption in all nations, the ROI is at a tipping point where such a reduction could significantly reduce the risk of future terrorist activities. **Figure 1** shows the relationship between a nation's corruption ranking and terrorist incidents. When analyzed, two concepts become readily apparent. The first is that regardless of a country's corruption ranking, terrorism is possible. The second is that low-corruption countries experience a lower level of terrorism, as seen by noting the white space in the lower right corner of the graph. Reducing the ROI's corruption

ranking would make it more difficult for terrorism to breed—ultimately neutralizing the exponential growth of terrorist attacks. The spread of corruption will ultimately lead to increased terrorism. There is a relationship between corruption and terrorism, and the ROI is at a tipping point to become the next terrorist hotspot. The United States should intervene now before the situation is irreversible.

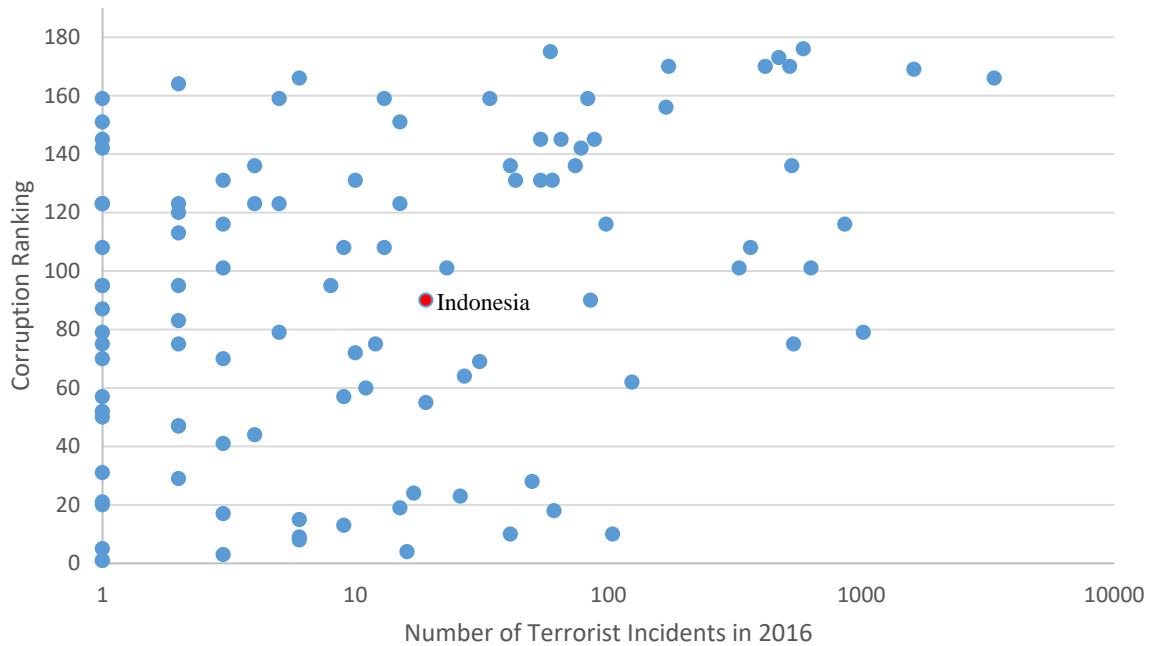


Figure 1. Scatter Chart of Terrorist Occurrences and CPI Corruption Ranking in 2016.^{xxiv}

Corruption and Business—China’s Influence

The ROI’s corruption impacts business with the United States. If the United States is unable to reverse this trend, it is likely that China will continue to expand its influence and ultimately control the entire Indo-Pacific region. Corruption has a negative influence on business, despite the existence of anti-corruption, and will ultimately affect the balance of power in the area. The negative effect of corruption on business is easily identifiable; every dollar spent on bribes hurts profits. Investors are rightfully concerned that money funneled into the hands of corrupt politicians will continue for the life of the business, making long-term gains more difficult to obtain.^{xxv} Risks to profit are not the same for all companies conducting business in corrupt nations. Local laws must also be analyzed to obtain a complete picture of the risk of doing business in a given nation. Laws and law enforcement differ significantly between countries around the globe.

The United Nations (UN) held a Convention against Corruption in 2005 that required countries to criminalize corruption. Of 193 nations, 186 have approved the requirement to criminalize both active and passive bribery on both the national and international level.^{xxvi} The United States was already in compliance with this regulation through the Foreign Corrupt

Practices Act (FCPA) of 1977. In countries such as China, regulations needed to be updated. Since the 1950s, China was using a self-reporting process as a key component of their fight against corruption.^{xxvii} This method was refined in 1979 when the Criminal Procedural Laws were updated to include corruption and bribery as criminal offenses prosecutable by police.^{xxviii} The first year China prosecuted 1720 small-scale corruption cases, only three times the self-reporting level.^{xxix} These laws were again updated after the 2005 UN Convention to reflect the international requirements, but little has changed regarding the enforcement of the laws.

China is similar to many developing countries, including the ROI, that passed laws to combat corruption but fail to enforce them. The ROI has had anti-bribery laws since 1980 and anti-corruption laws since 1999 but lacks a strong enforcement process.^{xxx} The legal practice is very different in America, which aggressively administers the FCPA. In the United States, the government completed a total of 39 high-level enforcement actions against corruption in 2017 with combined penalties of \$1.1 billion.^{xxxi} An example of a recent prosecution would be United Technologies’ bribes to China to enhance public housing sales.^{xxxii} The company was fined almost \$14 million for this instance. **Figure 2** depicts US enforcement action by the country for the last forty years; note that both China and the ROI are near the left-most side of the graph, signifying heavy prosecution.

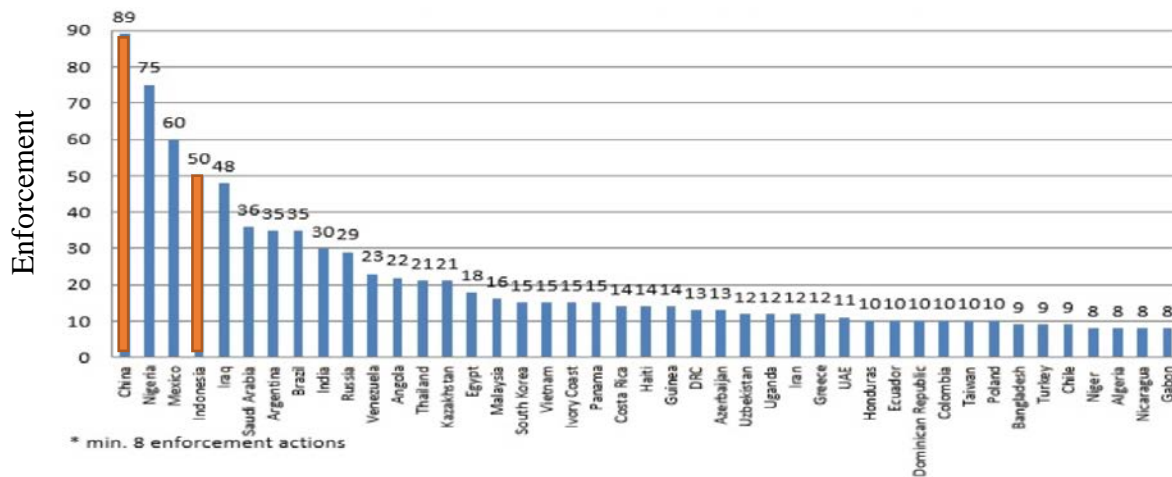


Figure 2. The US Foreign Corrupt Practices Act Enforcement Action (1976-2017).^{xxxiii}

FCPA enforcement in the United States combined with the level of corruption in the ROI is reducing open competition for commercial projects. Bribery is such a fundamental component to bidding on Indonesian projects that China is now able to win most of the new business in the country. As of 2017, China is the second largest source of investment in the ROI; the United States ranks fifth.^{xxxiv} China has invested billions of dollars in major infrastructure projects such as coal-fired power plants and high-speed rail.^{xxxv} The United States is unable to compete with Chinese businesses, because FCPA enforcement teams heavily scrutinize US business deals. In 2016, a Kentucky-based company that manufactures wires and cables was caught making \$19 million in payments to Indonesian state-owned entities and was forced to pay \$20 million in

finances.^{xxxvi} This unbalanced enforcement favors China's and is shifting more business, and ultimately more regional power, towards China. **Figure 3** is a graphical depiction of China's influence in the region. The ROI is currently neutral, meaning that it has struck a balance between US and Chinese influence. However, each year it increases trade with China and receives greater Chinese investment, reducing US regional economic control and political influence.

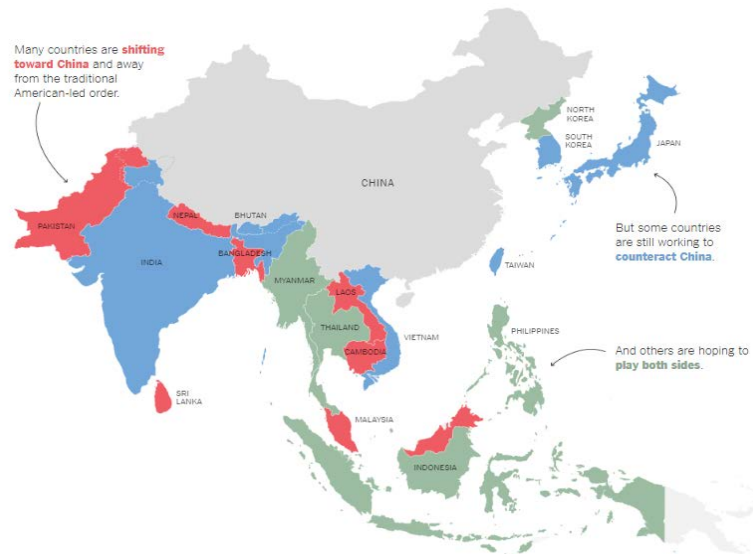


Figure 3: Indo-Pacific region country alliance with China or the United States.^{xxxvii}

If corruption in the ROI was decreased, US companies could better compete for Indonesian business and counteract Chinese influence in the region. The ultimate concern is that China will control the majority of business in the ROI and effectively control the country. Of course, proximity to China and its booming economy make it possible that Chinese businesses will still outbid US companies—even in a reduced-corruption environment. Reduced corruption, however, will allow the Indonesian people and their businesses the opportunity to make unbiased and potentially profitable decisions rather than corrupt politicians making a choice based on personal financial gain. Continued corruption will damage US influence in the region and have a destructive effect on the ROI's democracy.

Protecting Democracy

Corruption has a negative impact on all aspects of business, but it also works against democratic values. Politicians and business leaders within the ROI are exploiting the citizenry. This is challenging the survival of the nation's new democratic government, and democracy is beginning to lose ground. As has happened in other nations, corruption squashes democratic tendencies. Worryingly, the ROI is currently witnessing growth in the popularity of pro-communist groups.^{xxxviii} President Abraham Lincoln described democracy in his Gettysburg Address as "Government of the people, by the people, for the people."^{xxxix} In an effective democracy, a country's leaders would be selected by the community through a fair-voting

process. As corruption increases, fewer individuals turn out for elections.^{x1} For 32 years, the ROI lived under the autocratic rule of President Soeharto. He lost power during the 1998 financial crisis, and the 1999 election cycle achieved an impressive 93% turnout.^{x1i} As time has passed and corruption continued to spread, the voter turnout dropped to 84% in 2004 and then to 71% in 2009.^{x1ii} Election corruption is so rampant that it is common knowledge that candidates pay cash for votes and bribe election officials.^{x1iii}

A similar situation occurred in Russia in the 1990s. The country had turned away from communism and was a fledgling democracy. One of the reasons democracy failed in Russia was that votes were purchased rather than earned.^{x1iv} Alfred Evans, Professor of Political Science, explains Russia's downfall as "the consequences of corrupt process[es] ... were enormously damaging for the institutionalization of democracy."^{x1v} Russian elections shifted from being based upon public opinion to having predetermined outcomes.^{x1vi} The ROI is a relatively new democratic state, and it is possible that the country's corruption will push it toward another authoritarian leader similar to Russia's Vladimir Putin. Many individuals argue that there are corrupt countries who have maintained a democratic government. Most point to India, the world's largest democracy, with a population of 1.3 billion.^{x1vii} India's corruption index is 79, just a few points better than the ROI's 90.^{x1viii} India is an exception, because it has a strong, established democracy.^{x1ix} Most corrupt nations are classified by the Economist Intelligence Unit's Democracy Index as hybrid regimes (between a flawed democracy and authoritarian regime). The ROI was recently classified as a flawed democracy, but in 2017 it dropped to just slightly above hybrid-regime level.¹ A hybrid regime is described as having widespread corruption, flawed democracy, and issues with a functioning government.^{li} If the decay of democracy continues, the ROI could return to an authoritarian government.

The time to aggressively combat corruption is now. The ROI is showing signs of slipping towards authoritarianism—activists have been seen wearing Communist Party clothing.^{lii} Shops are now illegally advertising hammer and sickle T-shirts to teens and youths. A reduction in corruption will stabilize the country and allow more time for the roots of democracy to develop and grow.^{liii} If the country does fall into the hands of an autocratic leader, influence will shift away from the United States and towards China. The most effective way to reverse this trend is to reduce corruption.

Recommended Anti-Corruption Strategies

If the United States wants to decrease the spread of terrorism, reduce China's influence in Southern Asia, and protect the ROI's fledgling democracy, it needs to partner with the GOI to reduce corruption. Anti-corruption campaigns have been attempted in the past, but they have never been successful. In 1999, the country initiated general elections, relaxed restrictions on the media, began financial monitoring, improved transparency of financial records, and reformed its legal system.^{liv} These measures appeared to attack the critical elements of corruption, but the program failed. The GOI never attacked the core element of corruption—the nation's corrupt

leaders. In 2000, the Economic Minister explained that “economic activity would grind to a halt if the government really cracked down on corruption—because all business people would be in [prison].”^{lv}

The problem with these anti-corruption initiatives was that reversing Suharto’s thirty years of corruption required more than new laws to change the corrupt culture. Corrupt processes existed throughout the nation; low-level bribes were often required to feed families, because local salaries were so low. Anti-corruption efforts must take this complex situation into account. To change, the government must be fair delivering public services and enforcing laws and strive to improve the welfare of its citizens.^{lvi} Further, the GOI will need to strengthen the professions and technical skills critical to reducing local corruption. Anti-corruption education should target professional groups, such as judges, lawyers, accountants, and journalists. An excellent example of anti-corruption change is the country of Romania. The Romanians completed a year-long study involving over 500 public and private partners impacted by corruption.^{lvii} They focused on four specific objectives: stopping corruption in public institutions, increasing anti-corruption training, prosecuting corruption crimes, and monitoring the anti-corruption program. Over the past five years, the number of corruption indictments has increased by 50%, and these have achieved an impressive 92% conviction rate.^{lviii}

The United States should partner with the ROI to initiate a similar anti-corruption program. The Romanian program could be enhanced for use in the country. For example, the ROI requires an overhaul to its civil servant promotion and hiring system. Civil servants also need a wage increase, which would reduce their reliance on bribes to support their families. If the ROI partners with a nation with a low level of corruption, such as the United States, it will add validity to its anti-corruption campaigns and increase the probability of success.^{lix} The World Bank’s document *Helping Countries Combat Corruption* provides explicit detail on the benefits of partnering with countries around the globe. It explains that successful anti-corruption campaigns have “multilateral efforts to control corruption and reduce transnational bribery.”^{lx}

The ROI’s Corruption Eradication Commission (Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi, KPK) had a 2017 budget of 1030 billion Rupiah (US\$77.3 million).^{lxi} Due to budget cuts, it saw a 26% reduction from previous-year financing, a reduction of 257 billion Rupiah (US\$96.5 million). The KPK retains high levels of public approval but sits outside the executive, legislative, and judiciary branches of government. This exclusion from the political process has made the anti-corruption organization vulnerable to budget cuts. The United States should consider a direct investment of \$25 million into anti-corruption efforts. This money could be immediately absorbed by the KPK and focus on new programs to reinvigorate the Indonesian anti-corruption agenda. Citizens will see that the United States is putting pressure on their government to follow their anti-corruption commitments and feel corrupt elements cannot hide from American oversight.^{lxii}

The US Department of State works with countries to reduce high levels of exploitation through programs focused on preventing corruption and increasing accountability. The small investment in an aggressive anti-corruption campaign now will likely save the US government billions of dollars later to fund larger efforts to combat a new terrorism hub or future Communist power. Lee Iacocca famously stated, “Even a correct decision is wrong when it was taken too late.”^{lxiii} As of June 2018, the Indonesian House of Representatives was exploring amendments to the Criminal Code that would lessen corruption sentences, ultimately weakening the anti-corruption movement.^{lxiv} There is also discussion about mandating that KPK investigators be borrowed from a pool of National Police staff members, and anti-corruption tools, such as wiretaps, would require legislative approval.^{lxv} If these changes are approved, the KPK will lose its independence, and the anti-corruption movement will likely stall. Anti-corruption changes are not immediate, and their impact will likely require years to be realized. If federally funded programs are deferred by a few years, the impact may be too late to affect the required positive change. The United States needs to immediately partner with the ROI to reduce its corruption levels and improve global security.

Conclusion

In order to support regional stability, it is critical that the United States sponsor anti-corruption efforts in the ROI. The United States should immediately partner with the nation to reduce its corruption and improve global security. The Asian country is showing many negative trends that need to be immediately reversed. There is a growth in local terrorist activity, more business is going to Chinese firms, and the fledgling democracy is under threat from communist groups growing in popularity. The ROI can stifle these events by reducing its endemic corruption. A small US investment in an aggressive anti-corruption campaign now will likely save the US government billions of dollars later funding efforts to battle an authoritarian government partnering with China or attempting to eliminate a terrorist network spread over a thousand islands.

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