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978-1-107-01564-7 - Dirty Entanglements: Corruption, Crime, and Terrorism

Louise I. Shelley

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Dirty Entanglements

Corruption, Crime, and Terrorism

Crime, corruption, and terrorism are increasingly entangled, emerging as ever greater threats. This convergence deserves high-level-policy attention. Using lively case studies from around the world, this book analyzes the transformation of crime and terrorism and the business logic behind illicit networks. Louise I. Shelley concludes that corruption, crime, and terrorism will remain critical security challenges in the twenty-first century as a result of globalization, technological advances, economic and demographic inequalities, ethnic and sectarian violence, climate change, and the failure of nineteenth- and twentieth-century institutions to respond coherently to these challenges when they emerged.

Louise I. Shelley is a University Professor at the School of Public Policy, George Mason University. She founded and directs the Terrorism, Transnational Crime, and Corruption Center (TraCCC). She is the recipient of Guggenheim, National Endowment of the Humanities, IREX, Kennan Institute, and Fulbright fellowships and has received MacArthur grants to establish the Russian Organized Crime Study Center and to study the role of illicit actors in nuclear smuggling. Among her previous books are *Human Trafficking: A Global Perspective* (Cambridge University Press, 2010) and *Policing Soviet Society* (1996). She has written extensively on transnational crime, illicit trade, and money laundering. She has testified before the House Committee on International Relations, the Helsinki Commission, the House Banking Committee, and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on transnational crime; human trafficking; and the links among transnational crime, financial crime, and terrorism. She serves on the Global Agenda Council on Illicit Trade and Organized Crime for the World Economic Forum and was the first co-chair of its Council on Organized Crime. Professor Shelley presently co-chairs a group on human trafficking within the Global Agenda Councils of the World Economic Forum. She is a life member of the Council on Foreign Relations.

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*To Madeleine and Janine and to
all those who helped me get through my long illness*

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Acknowledgments

The research for this book began in the late 1980s, and in the more than fifteen years that I have been studying dirty entanglements, I have had many help me understand the problem and many different groups and organizations that have funded my travel, which has allowed me to visit regions where these problems are acute. I have worked extensively in the former Soviet states, where many of my colleagues, especially Viktor Luneev, first helped me understand the interactions of crime and terrorism.¹

In 2003, John Picarelli and I received a grant from the National Institute of Justice to study the links between organized crime and terrorism. This was the last U.S. government grant that I have received to support basic research for the book's overall subject matter.²

In January 2013, along with Orde Kittrie, we received a MacArthur grant on "Combating Criminal Involvement in Nuclear Trafficking." With this support, I was able to complete the research for the eighth chapter, on weapons of mass destruction.

George Mason University has been very supportive of my ongoing research during the period this book was in progress. I received a semester off for research in spring 2010, which allowed me to develop the proposal and the outline of the book. My status as University Professor has allowed me more

¹ Viktor Luneev, "Organized Crime and Terrorism," in *High Impact Terrorism: Proceedings of a Russian American Workshop*, ed. Glenn E. Schweitzer (Washington, DC: National Academies Press, 2002), 37–52, who researched this topic in the 1990s.

² See Louise I. Shelley, John T. Picarelli, Allison Irby, Douglas M. Hart, Patricia A. Craig-Hart, Phil Williams, Steven Simon, Nabi Abdullaev, Bartosz Stanislawski, and Laura Covill, "Methods and Motives: Exploring Links between Transnational Organized Crime and International Terrorism," National Institute of Justice grant 2003-IJ-CX-1019, <http://www.ncjrs.gov/app/publications/abstract.aspx?ID=232473>.

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time to devote to my writing, and I am grateful to the school, the university, and the state of Virginia for continued support.

In the fifteen years that this book has been researched and developed, I have traveled globally.

I have made numerous trips to the former Soviet Union, where I worked and collaborated with colleagues in Russia, Ukraine, and Georgia on a constant basis during this time period. These collaborations were with Natalia Lopashenko, Vitaly Nomokonov, and Tatiana Pinkevich and the centers they have run in affiliation with the Terrorism, Transnational Crime, and Corruption Center I direct. This collaborative work has given me many insights into the instability of the Caucasus, the role of transnational crime in the post-Soviet transition, and the mass attack in Beslan discussed in the first chapter. My understanding of the problems of nuclear smuggling to and within Georgia has been greatly helped by my long-term collaboration with Drs. Alexander Kukhianidze and Alexander Kapatadze. My collaboration with colleagues in Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan, especially with Dr. Alexander Zelitchenko, have helped me write the drug chapter.

I have made many trips to Asia, including North, South, Southeast, and Central Asia. In Japan, I appreciate my long-term collaboration with Dr. Shiro Okubo of Ritsumeikan University on transnational crime. These trips have allowed me to meet colleagues working on diverse aspects of transnational crime, corruption, and terrorism. On several U.S. government-sponsored academic visitor programs, I was able to visit the Afghan-Tajik border, the site of sizable drug flows, and to visit the Osh region of Kyrgyzstan after the violent conflict in the region.

I have been hosted in South Africa on a couple of occasions by colleagues at the renowned Institute for Security Studies (ISS) as well as at a regional conference on transnational crime. In North Africa, I was in Morocco, at the Transnational Threats Symposium in Rabat, sponsored by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, with colleagues from North and West Africa, just as the so-called Arab Spring began and the Tunisian government fell.

My travels to Latin America have taken me to the Southern Cone as well as to the Andes and Central America. Those that have been most relevant to this book have been the Seminário Internacional sobre o Crime Organizado e Democracia (Seminar on Organized Crime and Democracy), on November 26–28, 2007, at the Núcleo de Estudos da Violência, Universidade de São Paulo, which discussed the attack on the city of São Paulo, at the Centro da Violência in São Paulo. My last trip to Colombia for the fifteenth anniversary of Transparency International in September 2013 was invaluable in helping me complete the book.

As a friend who is a leading expert on the Middle East has said, to understand the region, I just needed to be there and sit in the market and drink tea. My equivalent of this has been my annual trip to Antalya, Turkey, where I have written some of this book and drunk plenty of tea in rug shops and other

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locales. Antalya receives individuals from all the unstable places in the Middle East region and provides an opportunity for participant observation of the phenomena discussed in this book.

In my travels, I have had the opportunity to confer with colleagues with expertise in the subject matter, such as Professor Xavier Raufer in France; Rohan Gunaratna in Singapore; Turkish colleagues at the Turkish International Academy against Drugs and Organized Crime; and Canadian colleagues at the Canadian Network for Research on Terrorism, Security, and Society. I have received important insights from the Australian filmmaker Wendy Dent on the Bali bombing. My participation in the first meeting of European police chiefs analyzing crime and terrorism gave me access to superior international practitioners.

My participation in Global Agenda Councils of the World Economic Forum on illicit trade and organized crime for the past six years has given me access to the superb global experts from my own council but also to individuals on the terrorism council and many other groups. Many of the works of individual Council members, such as Peter Gastrow and Moisés Naím, and of organizations such as Global Witness and the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, are represented in the book. There are high-level practitioners who shared their insights and are cited in this book as well as one who reviewed materials on an investigation he conducted but who chose to stay anonymous.

The book received excellent input from two anonymous reviewers at the initial stage and was read by many insightful readers from around the world in its interim and final stages. I tried to provide a diversity of readers to ensure that the book had the insight of individuals from the practitioner, the business, the nongovernmental, and the academic communities on several different continents. My master's and doctoral students from many diverse cultures and religions have helped ensure my cultural sensitivity.

My many readers to whom I wish to express my gratitude include the following. The whole book has been read by Gretchen Peters, Chris Corpora, and Nazia Hussain. With their enormous knowledge of three elements of the dirty entanglement and their residence among these problems, they provided fine insights on how to improve the manuscript. This enormous and demanding effort is deeply appreciated. My former graduate student Dr. Mahmut Cengiz reviewed materials in reference to Turkey, and my current graduate student Guermante Lailari helped me with materials on terrorism and the Middle East. Roberto Perez-Rocha of Transparency International applied his expertise on Latin America and anticorruption work to his reading of the manuscript. He also obtained additional expertise from colleagues in Latin America, particularly Central America, to improve these analyses. Christian Swan, who works on illicit trade from the corporate perspective and is deeply engaged in these issues in Europe, read Chapter 7 and provided many valuable sources from the corporate world and the European perspective on counterfeiting and diversion. John Schmidt, policy analyst at Fintrac (the financial integrity unit of

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Canada) read Chapter 5 on the business of terrorism and provided me with valuable Canadian and financial examples. Orde Kittrie, my collaborator on the MacArthur grant, read Chapter 8 on weapons of mass destruction and shared many insights from his expertise in this area. I am grateful to all for their careful and painstaking work.

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