

## **Peace and Security: Drug Trafficking, Piracy and Money Laundering - The International Dimension of Organised Crime**

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*This document has been prepared by the APF Support Unit for discussion during Session 1 on Peace and Security at the 12<sup>th</sup> Meeting of the Africa Partnership Forum in Rome on 10 June 2009. It is available at [www.africapartnershipforum.org](http://www.africapartnershipforum.org)*

## I. Executive Summary

1. The two issues of drug trafficking in West Africa and piracy in the Horn of Africa have been placed on the agenda for the outreach session with African leaders at the next G8 Summit in July 2009. The objective of this paper is to help inform that discussion, to place it in the wider context of organised crime, and to help identify what action the wider international community, including the G8, might be able to take to tackle this.

2. The paper thus examines these issues as examples of the broader problem of transnational organised crime. This involves trafficking not only in drugs but also people, arms and illegally exploited natural resources. Trafficking flows in both directions - in the case of arms it is into Africa. As a wider phenomenon, it has a deeply negative impact on peace and security, efforts to promote good governance, economic development and human welfare.

3. Multiple factors lie behind the growth of transnational organised crime. This paper focuses specifically on the international factors involved and how the wider international community might be able to play a more effective role in helping to tackle the problem.

4. Transnational organised crime generates vast profits estimated at US\$1.5tn - US\$2.0 tn per year - substantially larger than the US\$1.1tn stimulus package, spread over several years, agreed at the recent G20 Summit (drug trafficking is the largest single source of these profits, estimated at around a quarter of the total). A large proportion of this sum is laundered and re-injected into the legal economy.

5. Tackling money laundering requires enhanced international co-operation on issues such as access to financial information and financial sector regulation and banking supervision. In this sense there is an overlap between the types of measures required to tackle drug trafficking and other forms of organised crime, and those required to combat corruption and to identify and return stolen assets. Action taken in this area could thus reap broader development benefits.

6. A number of conventions have been agreed at the international level in order to tackle international crime and money laundering. Various other commitments have been made for instance by the G8. A number of different mechanisms have been established. These are summarized in an annex to the paper. Drawing largely on these existing commitments and mechanisms, the paper identifies a number of possible ways of strengthening international co-operation in this area.

### ***Issues for discussion:***

- ◆ Is this an area where strengthened international co-operation is needed?
- ◆ Are the options identified in the paper the right ones?
- ◆ If so, how should these be transmitted to help inform discussion at the outreach session with African leaders at the G8 Summit?
- ◆ What other ways there might be of taking this forward, for instance through the UN?

## II. Background

7. Transnational organised crime is a major threat to international security. It damages the social, economic, political and cultural development of societies. Organised crime has evolved in times of increasing globalisation and expanding international trade: the range of organized crime activities has broadened and diversified. In the last few years, organised crime groups have built up large-scale international networks and amassed substantial profits from illicit trafficking in drugs, human beings and weapons, from the production and sales of counterfeit products, and from international fraud.

8. The proceeds from these crimes are laundered, and re-injected into the legal economy. Organized criminal groups need to be able to launder the proceeds of drug trafficking and commodity smuggling in order to avoid possible legal investigation and prosecution by tax and criminal authorities in relevant jurisdictions. The most dangerous consequence of money laundering activities is that they place vast amounts of money in the hands of criminals, enabling them to put these resources to further illegal use. Rapid developments in financial information, technology and communications now allow money to move anywhere in the world with speed and ease. This makes the task of combating money-laundering more challenging than ever.

**Money laundering** is generally defined as transferring illegally obtained money or investments through an outside party to conceal the true source.

**Capital flight** is the movement of large sums of money from one country to another to escape political or economic turmoil or to seek higher rates of return. Legal capital flight is recorded on the books of the entity or individual making the transfer.

**Illegal capital flight**, also known as illicit financial flows, is intended to disappear from any record in the country of origin: earnings on the stock of illegal capital flight outside of a country generally do not return to the country of origin.

9. Increasingly, sophisticated money laundering has become a key element of the international drug trade. It is estimated that the international drug trade is worth approximately US\$400 billion annually of which US\$300 billion is laundered. A major concern, especially for developing economies, is the reduced government control over the economy that is caused when large amounts of illegally obtained money are introduced into the financial system. Increased efforts to combat money laundering have been catalysed by widespread concerns about the link between money laundering and serious crime.

10. The main financial centres of the world are increasingly being seen as safe havens for the stolen assets of corrupt political leaders and criminals. It is estimated that between 2 - 5% of global GDP is laundered annually worldwide. Billions of these dollars are banked in Western financial institutions and tax havens, although financial havens have begun to appear in emerging market economies as well. Each year developing countries are estimated to lose to tax havens almost three times what they get from developed countries in aid (Gurria, 2008). There are currently 72 tax havens around the world.

11. This paper focuses on the international dimension of organised crime in Africa, particularly in the context of money-laundering. Two cases studies are referred to, namely: i) "Drug Trafficking in West Africa" and ii) "Piracy in the Horn of Africa". The analysis shows that increased efforts to combat transnational organised crime need to recognise the link between combating serious crime and money laundering. The recommendations focus on what the international community can do as part of a global response to money laundering and organised crime on the African continent.

### III. The Globalisation of Money-Laundering

12. Money laundering is frequently referred to as a financial crime. It has become increasingly complex, often involving numerous financial institutions, and increasingly non-bank financial institutions (e.g. bureau de change, check cashing services, insurers, brokers, traders). Other financial crimes can be associated with, or exist in parallel with, money laundering - for example corruption and fraud.

13. Upon the receipt of criminal proceeds, criminals may seek to launder them through the financial system. This, in turn, may also require a series of fraudulent activities such as counterfeiting invoices and the corrupting of bank employees. Therefore, a whole chain of criminal or illegal activities may culminate from the flow of criminal money through the financial system. Tax evasion, a form of financial crime, is facilitated by the existence of jurisdictions that have low tax rates, that maintain relatively lax financial regulations and practices and that do not share information on client accounts with other tax authorities.

14. Because of the clandestine nature of money-laundering, it is difficult to estimate the total amount of money that goes through the “laundry cycle”. According to recent United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) estimates, the estimated amount of money laundered globally in one year is 2-5 % of global GDP, or US\$800 billion to US\$2 trillion in current US dollars – heavily concentrated in Europe and North America.

15. The real costs of financial crimes and abuse are immense. In the global economy of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, combating economic crime and abuse - which knows no frontier - requires international co-operation, both among governments and among international organisations and regulatory groups.

#### ***“Drug Trafficking in West Africa: A Problem Starting in South America and Ending in Europe” (Case Study 1)***

16. In December 2008, the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) estimated that 50 tonnes of South American drugs transit West Africa each year, 98% of which are re-exported to Europe. West Africa<sup>1</sup> has become a major transit zone for drugs travelling from South America to the European market. While the sub-region is neither a major producing nor consuming region, the rate of trafficking in West Africa has now assumed an alarming proportion. In order to understand the magnitude of the illegal trade in hard drugs that has infested West Africa, it is important to recognise why West Africa has suddenly become a major transit route. The reasons are social and economic.

#### *(i) Declining US market*

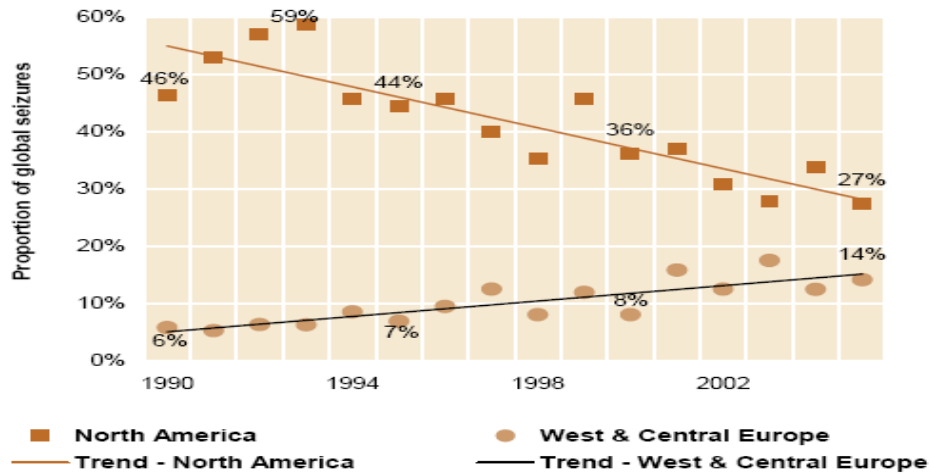
17. According to the 2008 World Drug Report, the recent increases in drug seizures in West Africa reflect the declining US market and the development of new distribution routes through the West African sub-region to Western Europe. Nearly all the world’s cocaine comes from just three countries: Colombia, Peru and Bolivia (UNODC, 2008), and traffickers are now using West Africa as a transit zone because of the enhanced control measures and law enforcement on the Caribbean and South American route, which have scored significant gains in stopping cocaine supply to the United States.

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<sup>1</sup> West Africa or Western Africa is the westernmost region of the African continent. Geopolitically, the UN definition of West Africa includes the following 16 countries distributed over an area of approximately 5 million square km: Benin, Burkina Faso, Cote d’Ivoire, Cape Verde, The Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Togo.

18. Additionally, the demand for cocaine has been declining in the United States - it is currently 50% lower than it was two decades ago. Therefore, in the face of enhanced control measures and declining demand, drug traffickers have moved to new markets, primarily in Europe.

**Figure 1: Share of global cocaine seizures made in North America and West/Central Europe**

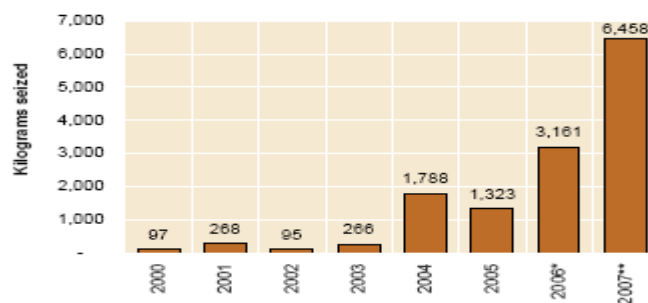


Source: UNODC (November 2008)

(ii) *Increasing European consumption*

19. Europe now consumes a large and growing amount of cocaine. Interpol estimates that as much as two-thirds of the cocaine sold in Europe this year will reach the continent via West Africa. Drug seizures are growing dramatically – at least 46 tonnes of cocaine have been seized on route to Europe via West Africa since 2005. Prior to that time, the entire African continent rarely seized a tonne annually (UNODC, 2008).

**Figure 2: Annual cocaine seizures in West Africa 2000-2007**



Source: UNODC, 2008

20. Cocaine imported from West Africa is worth almost US\$2 billion a year at wholesale level in European cities. Spain and the United Kingdom host the two largest populations of cocaine users in

Europe. Nevertheless, according to UNODC estimates, other European countries have seen cocaine use levels double or triple in recent years. Although cocaine is not produced in West Africa, the rapid increase in seizures shows that the sub-region is growing in importance as a transit zone for cocaine trafficking between Latin American countries and Europe. The declining US cocaine market and rising European market has prompted South American cocaine traffickers to make use of low governance areas in West Africa as transit zones.

#### **IV. Drug Money Laundering and the International Financial Centres**

21. Significant sums of cash are generated from drug sales. Drug trafficking is cash-intensive and drug dealers usually rely on cash as a premium medium of exchange which must be hidden and converted to avoid detection of drug activity. Money laundering is therefore a crucial step in the success of drug trafficking. The existence of offshore banks in tax havens has also allowed drug traffickers to develop complex international networks.

22. The Establishment Inspection Report (EIR) estimates that the world's drug flow, and associated criminal activity, such as illegal weapons, contraband, etc., amounts to US\$2 to US\$3 trillion each year. Offshore financial centers are the engines of these operations. Between June 1998 and June 2008 the offshore banking centers' foreign liabilities increased from US\$851 billion to US\$14.3 trillion -- an increase of 17 times. This reflects the massive swelling of the monies of the drug trade, and other illegally acquired money, as well as the hedge funds, which operate offshore.

23. Banks remain an important mechanism for the disposal of criminal proceeds. This enables the movement of immense volumes of drug money into the world's financial centers and heightens the important role offshore financial centers play in the global money laundering process. With today's sophisticated banking techniques, including the electronic transfer of money, once the money enters into the banking system, it can be transferred among dozens of banks within a 24-hour period, making the paper trail either impossible or extremely time-consuming to follow. Globalization of the drug trade has triggered an expansion and sophistication of the laundering of illegal drug profits.

24. The preference for cash over non-cash instruments in the payment and settlement of economic and financial transactions in West Africa makes the region highly vulnerable to money laundering. This is largely because of the anonymity and ubiquity afforded by cash in these countries. This leaves doors open for criminals to launder their proceeds without detection. Transactions involving huge amounts of cash leave no audit trail, attracting criminals to invest proceeds from drug trafficking and using the profits generated by the investment of the illicit funds to commit further crimes. In short, bank secrecy and offshore banking offer multiple opportunities for money laundering and various other criminal activities.

##### ***“Piracy in the Horn of Africa - Cash as the Key to Maritime Crime” (Case study 2)***

25. Piracy in the Horn of Africa, particularly north and central Somalia, has burgeoned into an international problem affecting literally dozens of countries around the globe. Insurance premiums for commercial shipping which must pass through the Gulf of Aden<sup>2</sup>, through which waters some 11% of the world's seaborne petroleum must transit, have soared tenfold over the course of the past year, adding yet another drag to an already sluggish global economy.

26. Piracy is intrinsically linked to the economic and political crisis in Somalia. The characteristics of a “failed state” include dire economic conditions and poverty - the harsh realities of life at the margins of the global economy. In the context of the current political situation on shore, these conditions are as directly responsible for Somalia's pervasive piracy as the country's lack of an effective government. One

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<sup>2</sup> The Gulf of Aden skirts Somali waters and connects Europe to Asia and the Middle East via the Suez Canal.

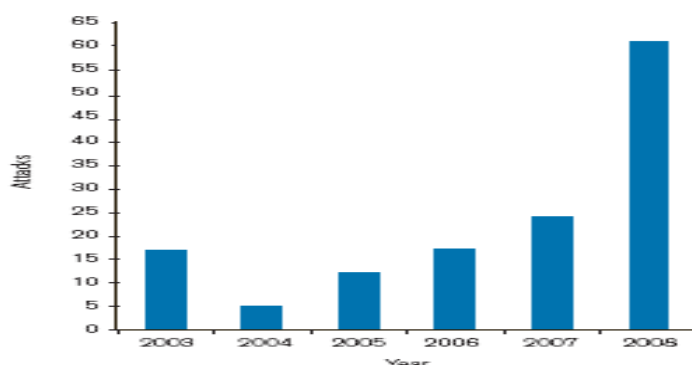
manifestation of this statelessness has been the complete absence of any coastguard or navy to patrol the coastal waters.

27. The figure below shows that the rate of piracy incidents off the Horn of Africa has escalated considerably since 2005 and severely over the last year. According to the International Maritime Bureau (IMB), there were 111 pirate attacks off the Horn of Africa in 2008, of which 42 were successful hijackings. Both the quantity and the size and value (or quality) of the vessels attacked and taken for ransom has escalated exponentially.

28. Predictably, this escalation reflects significant advancements in the organisation of piracy. Piracy in the Horn has become a sophisticated and lucrative form of multifaceted international organised crime. Pirates require the support of sophisticated criminal networks to facilitate a range of activities - including money-laundering. The Somali pirates—many of whom are former fishermen hardened by the country's devastating 30-year civil war—are increasingly equipped with heavy arms and cutting-edge navigational technology. Money is their chief motivation.

29. Piracy in the Horn of Africa has become big business. The average ransom for the release of hijacked vessels increased from US\$1 million US dollars in July 2008, to US\$1.5 million by December 2008. In 2008, pirates collected around US\$30 million – three times the budget of the region of Puntland from where many of the attacks originate. Shipping firms, and sometimes governments, are prepared to pay these sums since they are relatively small compared with the value of the ship. While some of this money has ended up in Somalia, millions have been laundered through bank accounts overseas. Most significantly, the delivery of cash ransoms leave no trace on systems that track and disrupt organised crime financing.

**Figure 3: Number of actual and attempted attacks in Somalia and the Gulf of Eden**



Source: ICC International Maritime Bureau, September 2008

30. Somali pirates greatly rely on the “hawala” system of money transmission. In its 2004-2005 Money Laundering and Terrorist Financing Typologies Report, the Financial Action Task Force (FATF) described alternative money transfer systems, such as hawala, as a “financial service that accepts cash, cheques and other monetary instruments or other stores of value in one location and pays a corresponding sum in cash or other form to a beneficiary in another location by means of a communication, message or transfer or through a clearing network to which money/value transfer system belongs”.

31. Such a system makes it possible for vast sums of money to be transmitted globally with little or no documentation at all. The magnitude of the sums involved enables increasingly sophisticated means of moving money as well as access to modern technology in carrying out the hijackings. While some transactions are carried out in cash or through the hawala system, pirates are increasingly working through intermediaries in financial centres.

32. Maritime shipping companies that pay ransoms to pirates are complicating the fight against this scourge. The key questions on piracy in the Horn of Africa therefore are to what extent are the pirates financed from outside and how much ransom money is invested or laundered elsewhere? Certainly it seems likely that if ransom payments stopped, the incentives for engaging in piracy would decrease.

33. There are long-term risks in surrendering to the ransom demands of pirates. Paying ransoms incentivises piracy and ultimately provides support to further this form of organised crime. Depriving pirates and those supporting the pirates of any illicit revenue and sharing financial intelligence on pirate financial operations will go a long way in reducing the escalating rate of piracy in the Horn of Africa.

## **V. What should the G8/International community do? What needs to happen next?**

34. The recent international efforts towards increased transparency include both improved coordination among existing institutions and the creation of new institutions and instruments. Many institutions have made considerable advances against money-laundering. The increasing international efforts have resulted in the negotiation of international conventions addressing both the issues of corruption and money-laundering.

35. International co-operation requires measures to allow access to financial information on proceeds of drug trafficking and piracy in Africa. In this regard, there is an overlap between commitments on drug trafficking and other forms of organised crime and commitments on corruption. In recent years, counter-terrorism international law has also paid particular attention to access to information on financial flows.

### ***International standards/commitments on transnational crime***

#### *i) Drug Trafficking and Piracy*

- ◆ Adhere to and fully implement existing relevant multilateral conventions whose provisions effectively contribute to the fight against all forms of transnational organised crime, in particular the conventions concerning the control of illicit drugs and prevention.
- ◆ Implement the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organised Crime and mobilise resources to fight organised crime through assistance mechanisms foreseen by the Convention.
- ◆ Incorporate the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) into domestic legislation.
- ◆ Support implementation of the recommendation of the United Nations International Drug Control Programme working group on maritime cooperation.

#### *ii) Corruption*

- ◆ Ratify the UNCAC and review its implementation.
- ◆ Take into account international instruments such as the OECD's Convention on Combating Bribery of Foreign Public Officials in International Business Transactions and other relevant recommendations adopted by the OECD member countries and participating countries, especially for countries with significant international trade<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>3</sup> South Africa is a Party to this Convention

*iii) Terrorism and other transnational crimes*

- ◆ Implement effectively the 40 recommendations on money laundering and the 8 Special Recommendations on Terrorist Financing of the Financial Action Task Force (FATF).
- ◆ Conduct a review of the manner in which terrorist organisations support their activities through the commission of other crimes (including, but not limited to, illegal drug trafficking, illicit trafficking in firearms, and organised illegal migration) and, as required, develop strategies designed to disrupt and disable such activities.

***Financial sector regulation and banking supervision***

- ◆ Enforcement of transparency in financial transactions in banking systems to stem illegal transfers of funds from the African continent.
- ◆ Speed up the negotiations of tax information exchange agreements (TIEAs) in order to discourage the use of financial centres for illicit purposes. Provide support to the OECD's Harmful Tax Practices initiative and other similar initiatives.
- ◆ Implement the Basel Core Principles for Effective Bank Supervision, specifically core principle 15 on the adequacy of "Know Your Customer" (KYC) requirements, suspicious transaction reporting, and sharing of information with law enforcement agencies.
- ◆ Support for the Stolen Assets Recovery Initiative (StAR) and other similar initiatives aimed at preventing illicit capital flight, including money-laundering.
- ◆ Monitor progress on the 2004 G8 Justice and Home Affairs Ministers Declaration – particularly in relation to the implementation of the FATF recommendation on wire transfer originator information.

***Enhance international co-operation***

- ◆ Promote co-operation between law enforcement agencies, the protection of witnesses, and the removal of bank secrecy as a barrier for prosecution.

# ANNEX I

## UN Instruments and Other Relevant International Standards on International Crime

- ♦ The 1988 United Nations Convention against the Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances (The Vienna Convention). The Vienna Convention was the first international response to the major threat to global financial stability raised by the laundering of huge profits reaped by criminals from drug trafficking. This convention calls for strengthening and enhancing effective legal means for international cooperation in criminal matters for suppressing the international criminal activities of illicit traffic. The Vienna Convention came into force on 11 November 1990.
- ♦ The UN Convention Against Transnational Organised Crime (The Palermo Convention, 2000) came into force in 2003. The Palermo Convention covers all serious offences committed by transnational criminal groups and considers deprivation of the financial basis of organised crime as a significant means towards this end. The Convention requires member states to establish: a comprehensive domestic regulatory and supervisory regime for banks and non-bank financial institutions and, where appropriate, other bodies particularly susceptible to money-laundering, within its competence, in order to deter and detect all forms of money-laundering. To date, 147 countries have signed the Convention. 138 countries have ratified the Convention and incorporated it into domestic legislation.
- ♦ In December 2005, the UN Convention Against Corruption came into force. This instrument widens the scope of the money-laundering offence by stating that it should not only apply to the proceeds of illicit drug trafficking, but should also cover the proceeds of all serious crimes.
- ♦ The international framework on piracy is drawn from the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea 1982 (UNCLOS) and the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Maritime Navigation Convention 1988 (SUA). UNCLOS allows states to take universal jurisdiction over piracy; that is, it allows all states to prohibit and prosecute pirates wherever they operate. The SUA requires states to accept delivery of persons responsible for seizing control over a ship by force.
- ♦ The OECD Convention on Combating Bribery of Foreign Public Officials in International Business Transactions establishes legally binding standards to criminalise bribery of foreign public officials in international business transactions and provides for a host of related measures that make this effective. The Convention establishes an open-ended, peer-driven monitoring mechanism to ensure the thorough implementation of the international obligations that countries have taken on under the Convention.

## African Commitments

- ♦ The African Union Convention on Preventing and Combating Corruption (AU Convention) was adopted in Maputo on 11 July 2003 and came into force on 25 November 2005. It represents regional consensus on what African states do in the areas of prevention, criminalisation, international cooperation and asset recovery. State Parties are required to report to the Board on their progress in implementing the AU Convention on an annual basis through reports by national anti-corruption authorities.

## G8 commitments

- ◆ In 2004 the G8 Justice and Home Affairs Ministers undertook to advance recovery of the proceeds of high-level, large-scale corruption including by prosecuting money laundering offences and by implementing the revised recommendations of the FATF.
- ◆ The G8 have committed to increasing transparency in public financial management in the 2004 Sea Island commitment and the 2005 Gleneagles commitment.
- ◆ The 2006 “Statement on Fighting High-Level Corruption” issued in St Petersburg starts with an expression of renewal of commitment by the Leaders of the G8 to fight corruption and improve transparency and accountability.

## G20 commitments

- ◆ The G20 issued a Declaration in April 2009, Strengthening the Financial System, and agreed to, *inter alia*, take action against non-cooperative jurisdictions, including tax havens and to put an end to banking secrecy. The G20 also agreed to extend regulation and oversight to all systematically important financial institutions, instruments and markets – including systematically important hedge funds.

## Accra Agenda for Action: commitments relating to corruption and stolen assets

- ◆ In the Accra Agenda for Action (AAA), prepared as the key outcome document of the 3<sup>rd</sup> High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness in September 2008, it was agreed that “*Developing countries will address corruption by improving systems of investigation, legal redress, accountability and transparency in the use of public funds. Donors will take steps in their own countries to combat corruption by individuals or corporations and to track, freeze, and recover illegally acquired assets*” (paragraph 24, d). The OECD DAC Secretariat (Network on Governance) and the StAR initiative subsequently agreed to collaborate in developing a framework to monitor progress in meeting this commitment. The results of this process will be communicated at the next High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness in 2011.

## European Union

- ◆ The Council of Europe Framework Decision, 2006/783/HA, provides a mechanism for the mutual recognition of confiscation orders within the European Union. It applies to corruption, money-laundering, participation in a criminal organisation and other crimes.

## International Organisations involved in countering financial system abuse, financial crime, and money laundering

- ◆ The Stolen Asset Recovery Initiative (StAR) was announced at the April 2007 Spring meetings of the World Bank and the IMF. StAR aims at reducing barriers to asset recovery and thereby encouraging and facilitating more systematic and timely return of stolen assets. StAR involves a partnership between the World Bank and the U.N. Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), working with a range of other organisations including the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the Organisation for Economic

Cooperation and Development (OECD), the regional development banks, the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (Norad), Switzerland, and developing countries.

- ◆ The OECD's Global Forum on Transparency and Exchange of Information developed standards of transparency and exchange of information that were adopted by the G20 Ministers of Finance at a meeting in Berlin in 2004 and by the UN Committee of Experts on International Cooperation in Tax Matters in October 2008. They serve as a model for the vast majority of the 3600 bilateral tax conventions entered into by OECD and non-OECD countries and may now be considered as the international norm for tax cooperation.
- ◆ The Basel Committee on Banking Supervision provides a forum for regular cooperation on banking supervisory matters. Its objective is to enhance understanding of key supervisory issues and improve the quality of banking supervision worldwide. The Committee developed the international standards on capital adequacy and the Core Principles for Effective Banking Supervision.
- ◆ The Financial Action Task Force on Money-Laundering (FATF) is the international body responsible for setting anti-money laundering and anti-terrorist financing standards. In April 1990, the FATF issued a set of 40 Recommendations for improving national legal systems, enhancing the role of the financial sector and intensifying cooperation in the fight against money-laundering. These Recommendations were revised and updated in 1996 and in 2003 in order to reflect changes in money-laundering techniques and trends. The 2003 Recommendations are considerably more detailed than the previous ones, in particular with regard to customer identification and due diligence requirements, suspicious transactions reporting requirements and seizing and freezing mechanisms.

## ANNEX II

### Key reference documents

Annual Report on Resource Flows to Fragile and Conflict-Affected States, *OECD, Paris, 2009.*

Cocaine Trafficking in West Africa: the threat to stability and development, *UNODC, December 2007*

Countering Piracy off the Horn of Africa: Partnership and Action Plan, *National Security Council, USA, December 2008*

Drug Trafficking as a Security Threat in West Africa, *UNODC, November 2008*

Responding to the Challenge of Somali Piracy, *Africa Centre for Strategic Studies, 2008*

Stolen Asset Recovery (StAR) Initiative: Challenges, Opportunities, and Action Plan, *UNODC and The World Bank, June 2007, <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/NEWS/Resources/Star-rep-full.pdf>*

World Drug Report 2008, *United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, UNODC 2008*

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