MILITARY BANKERS: FACT OR FICTION? THE ROLE OF THE MILITARY IN REESTABLISHING A BANKING SYSTEM DURING A MILITARY STABILITY OPERATION

A thesis presented to the Faculty of the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree

MASTER OF MILITARY ART AND SCIENCE
General Studies

by

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Military Bankers: Fact or Fiction? The Role of the Military in Reestablishing a Banking System during a Military Stability Operation

Economic development is not the primary field of expertise of the military. However, sustainable growth and security are interrelated and interdependent. Without sustainable economic growth, stability will be hard to achieve. Although the traditional assumption is that security should precede development, the central theme in this thesis is that economic development and the development of capacity for a banking system should start as soon as possible.

This thesis therefore examined two case studies in Kosovo and Afghanistan to determine whether there is a viable role the military can play in re-establishing a banking system in a country undergoing stabilization and reconstruction. Both situations, as well as historical cases, demonstrates that the role of the military is limited to providing logistical or security support for key infrastructure and personnel. The study also shows that the military should be empowered with financial knowledge that is needed to assess the situation, shape the development of the banking system and synchronize military efforts with activities of other financial and development-focused organizations.

Banking system, stability operation, financial, Kosovo, Afghanistan
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The opinions and conclusions expressed herein are those of the student author and do not necessarily represent the views of the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College or any other governmental agency. (References to this study should include the foregoing statement.)
ABSTRACT


Economic development is not the primary field of expertise of the military. However, sustainable growth and security are interrelated and interdependent. Without sustainable economic growth, stability will be hard to achieve. Although the traditional assumption is that security should precede development, the central theme in this thesis is that economic development and the development of capacity for a banking system should start as soon as possible.

This thesis therefore examined two case studies in Kosovo and Afghanistan to determine whether there is a viable role the military can play in re-establishing a banking system in a country undergoing stabilization and reconstruction. Both situations, as well as historical cases, shows that the role of the military is limited to providing logistical or security support for key infrastructure and personnel. The study also demonstrates that the military should be empowered with financial knowledge that is needed to assess the situation, shape the development of the banking system and synchronize military efforts with activities of other financial and development-focused organizations.
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<tr>
<td>AFHQ</td>
<td>Anglo-American Allied Forces Headquarters</td>
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<td>AMGOT</td>
<td>Allied Military Government of Occupied Territory</td>
</tr>
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<td>AMIK</td>
<td>Association of Microfinance Institution of Kosovo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBK</td>
<td>Central Bank of Kosovo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBAK</td>
<td>Central Bank Authority of Kosovo</td>
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<td>DAB</td>
<td>Da Afghanistan Bank</td>
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<tr>
<td>FYROM</td>
<td>Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia</td>
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<tr>
<td>GDP</td>
<td>Gross Domestic Product</td>
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<tr>
<td>HHI</td>
<td>Herfindahl-Hirschman Index</td>
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<tr>
<td>IMF</td>
<td>International Monetary Fund</td>
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<td>ISAF</td>
<td>International Security Assistance Forces</td>
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<tr>
<td>KBA</td>
<td>Kosovo Bankers’ Association</td>
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<tr>
<td>KFOR</td>
<td>Kosovo Force</td>
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<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<td>UNAMA</td>
<td>United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan</td>
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<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Programme</td>
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<td>UNMIK</td>
<td>United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo</td>
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Background

Economic development is not the primary field of expertise of the military. It is the expertise of other governmental and non-governmental organizations such as the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank Group (World Bank) or regional international financial organizations like the Asian Development Bank.

However, development of sustainable economic growth and security are interrelated and interdependent. Without sustainable economic growth, stability will be hard to achieve.\(^1\) Although the traditional assumption is that security should precede development, the central theme in this thesis is economic development and therefore the development of capacity for the banking system should start as early as possible.\(^2\) Even before the cessation of hostilities.

In the August 1998 issue of Journal of Money, Credit and Banking appeared an article written by Ross Levine, titled "The Legal Environment, Banks, and Long-Run


Economic Growth.”

In the article, Levine describes the empirical research he did in forty-nine different countries between 1976 and 1993. He states that the development of the banking system is strongly associated with growth per capita, physical capital accumulation and growth of productivity. This means that the banking system is important to create sustainable economic growth.

To facilitate economic growth, there should be a form of financial intermediation. According to Levine, the banking system should be this mechanism for financial intermediation. The banking system facilitates a sustainable economy by providing payment services, mobilizing deposits, and easing investment financing. An effective financial system provides funds and connects lenders and investors.

In the May-June 2010 issue of Foreign Affairs appears an article written by Carl J. Schramm titled “Expeditionary Economics, Spurring Growth After Conflicts and Disasters.” In the article, Schramm states that during the beginning of a post conflict or

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4Ibid., 597.

5Ibid., 596.


disaster relief phase of military operations, economic reconstruction is a task for the military, because others are not capable of executing this task. In most cases, there is a lack of security in the early stages of a stability operation. Therefore, Schramm looks to the military because of a continuous need for security not found with development promoting entities. However, having the responsibility of providing security at this stage of operations, does not mean the military must develop the banking system.

The development of a sustainable economy requires integrating numerous interrelated and interdependent facets. However, for the purposes of this thesis, we will focus on the best way to rebuild the banking system’s capacity of a country in order to facilitate economic development. The question is whether the military can play a role in re-establishing a banking system in a country undergoing stabilization and reconstruction. What are current lessons learned in other operations? Should the development of capacity start before the military operation in order to have the ability to rebuild the banking system as soon as the military operation starts? What should be done to safeguard the momentum of the development of capacity after the military hands over the mission responsibility to civilian representatives?

The military operation must be successful in contributing to the development of a sustainable economy in order to make the transition from (post-)conflict to peace. Because a healthy banking system is indispensable for sustainable economic development, there should be a focus on how to empower the host country to manage and operate a banking system during stability operations. This research will determine the best way to incorporate lessons learned from contemporary stability operations and
historical examples in building a healthy and reliable financial system in order to facilitate a sustainable economy growth.

**Research question**

Is there a viable role the military can play in re-establishing a banking system in a country undergoing stabilization and reconstruction?

**Secondary research questions**

To answer the primary research question, four secondary questions must be answered. The first question is; how does the World Bank, IMF and USAID rebuild capacity for a banking system? To answer this question, two case studies from the development of the banking system in Afghanistan and Kosovo will be used. The second question is how to evaluate its success. For this question, assessment variables will be determined and applied to analyze the banking development activities of the World Bank, the IMF and USAID in Kosovo and Afghanistan. The third question is; what has been done by the military to facilitate the development of the banking system in both countries? The final question is; what post-conflict role has the military performed in re-establishing banking systems in previous conflicts.

**Assumptions**

The main assumption for this thesis is that economic development and security are complementary. Each are required to rebuild a nation and re-establish stability in a country. The result of this assumption is that a way has to be created to achieve both goals simultaneously, recognizing that economic development will always be hampered if security is lacking and that security is difficult to achieve if there is not enough
economic improvement and opportunities to offer a reasonable livelihood for people. The second assumption is that military stability operations and economic development activities are not standalone activities. Both are part of a comprehensive approach. This means both instruments are part of a wide range of civil and military instruments to reconstruct and stabilize war torn countries.\(^9\) The result of this assumption is that this thesis will focus on how to match military and economic development activities, knowing both are very different professions.

**Definitions of Terms**

**Purchasing power of money:** The purchasing power of money means that money is the commodity to trade goods and services.\(^10\)

**The effectiveness of the banking system:** The banking system fulfills its role as financial mediatory, based on the assessment variables in the right column of table 1.

**The efficiency of the banking system:** The banking system is profitable, the revenues of the banking system exceed the costs.

**The operational concept:** operational concept frames the way in which operations will be executed. The operational concept encompasses four different operations

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(offensive, defensive, stability and civil support operations), which can be executed simultaneously.  

**Limitations**

This research has four major limitations. First, research will be limited to how to build capacity for a banking system during stability operations, as part of the operational concept for the U.S. Army, as described in chapter 3 of Field Manual 3-0.  

According to doctrine of the U.S. Army, a military campaign consists of six different phases. The second limitation is that this research will be limited to the two final phases being; the stabilization phase and the phase to enable civil authorities. The third limitation is that this research will only focus on the development of the banking system in order to set the foundation for sustainable economic development as part of the national strategic end state of the stability operation. The fourth limitation is that this research will only look at the ways to provide capacity to operate and manage the banking system in a country.

**Scope and Delimitations**

The scope of this thesis is to do research into activities, which can be implemented into a military stability operation, in order to contribute to the development of an effective, reliable and secure banking system. This means that research will be done

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12Ibid.

13Ibid., 3-21.

14United States Institute for Peace and United States Army Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute, 2-8.
investigating ways to develop an effective, reliable and secure banking system after a conflict has taken place in a country. Currently this is mainly an activity or responsibility of international organizations like the IMF and the World Bank. Also USAID as a governmental representative of the United States and Regional development Banks are involved. Therefore, the practice of these institutions will provide an overview of the current way to develop a banking system.

Significance

Economic stability is an important factor in promoting peace and security. One only has to look at countries or regions like Bosnia, Gaza, or the Lakes district in Africa to know that without economic stability there is no peace.\textsuperscript{15} A study by the World Bank underlines this by proving that in six out of nine country cases (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Cambodia, El Salvador, Eritrea, Haiti and Uganda) there was economic stagnation or severe economic stress in the years leading up to the respective conflicts.\textsuperscript{16} In five (Bosnia and Herzegovina, El Salvador, Rwanda, Haiti and Sri Lanka) of these nine cases, economic issues were important factors leading to the conflict.\textsuperscript{17} Recent analysis also


\textsuperscript{17} Ibid.
indicates that forty percent of all post-conflict countries return to violent conflict within a decade because of economic instability.\textsuperscript{18}

Without broad economic improvements, stability is difficult to achieve.\textsuperscript{19} Common features of war torn economies are vulnerability to external economic shocks, fragmented markets, limited access to credit, reduced confidence, depleted human capital, increased illicit economic activities” and debilitated economic institutions.\textsuperscript{20} As a result, these circumstances increase both the costs and risks of commercial activities and investments, therefore increasing the risk of delay in establishing sustainable economic solutions to conflict.\textsuperscript{21} In order to achieve sustainable economic development, the host nation needs financial laws/regulations and policies, as well as an effective banking system consisting of commercial banks that are supervised by an independent central bank. The banking system should provide credit to businesses and individuals, perform financial transactions, and safeguard people’s savings.\textsuperscript{22}


\textsuperscript{19}United States Institute for Peace and United States Army Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute, 9-133.


\textsuperscript{21}United States Institute for Peace and United States Army Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute, 9-132.

\textsuperscript{22}United States Agency for International Development, A Guide to Economic Growth in Post-Conflict Countries, 73.
Levine conducted empirical research into the relationship between the legal environment, banks, and long-run economic growth.\textsuperscript{23} He states that in countries where the legal system emphasizes the rights of creditors and where contracts are rigorously enforced, there will be better-developed banks. However, more important is that he also states that the development of the banking system is strongly related to growth per capita, physical capital accumulation and growth of productivity.\textsuperscript{24} This means that the legal system is important for the development of the banking system and that the banking system is important to create sustainable economic growth. These results are in agreement with the results of other well-known scholars.\textsuperscript{25}

The problem is that in most war torn countries, infrastructure has been greatly damaged or neglected, the economy has been marginalized and the financial system has become ineffective during the conflict. This happened in Afghanistan, Cambodia and the Democratic Republic of the Congo.\textsuperscript{26} In addition, skilled human capacity is in short supply, when the environment is not safe and secure. Zimbabwe, South-Africa, and Iraq

\textsuperscript{23}Levine, 596.

\textsuperscript{24}Ibid.


all suffered a lack of skilled people after the violence subsided. Although the traditional assumption is that security should precede development, the central theme in this thesis will be that economic development and therefore the development of capacity for the banking system, should start as soon as possible, and quite possibly, before the cessation of hostilities.


28 Haughton, 3.
CHAPTER 2
LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

The first purpose of the literature overview is to become familiar with the subject. Information has been gathered from different sources as listed in the bibliography. Useful institutions are; The World Bank, The International Monetary Fund, The United Nations Development Program and the United States Agency for International Development. In addition, information from the Army War College and the Combined Arms Research Library (CARL) at Fort Leavenworth has been gathered. The second purpose of the literature overview is to gather information for the comparative case study in order to find similarities and differences. This should lead to the development of alternatives on how to build capacity for a banking system during a stability operation. This literature review will show that there is some information available, but it is in most cases very much focused on a specific country with its specific circumstances. The advantage is that there is enough freedom of maneuver to make analysis and to come up with conclusions.

The first section provides an overview of the most important institutions for the development of a banking system in the context of this thesis. The second section gives an overview of how a banking system can contribute to stability operations in order to facilitate sustainable economic growth. The third section will give an overview of the role of the military element of national power in a stability operation.
Most important institutions

For this thesis, the main actors facilitating the development of banking systems are The World Bank, The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and USAID. The World Bank is an international organization consisting of 187 countries and its mission is to provide technical and financial assistance to developing countries by providing resources, sharing knowledge, building capacity and forging partnerships in the public and private sectors,” in order to fight poverty.\(^{29}\) The IMF is a supranational organization, consisting of 187 countries. The mission of the IMF is to foster global monetary cooperation, secure financial stability, facilitate international trade, promote high employment and sustainable economic growth, and reduce poverty around the world.”\(^{30}\) USAID is a governmental organization and part of the Department of State of the United States. Its mission is to support long-term and equitable economic growth and advances United States foreign policy objectives by supporting economic growth, agriculture and trade, global health, and democracy, conflict prevention and humanitarian assistance.”\(^{31}\)

The facilitating role of a banking system

Reviewing the literature about the facilitating role of banking systems in stabilization and reconstruction operations is crucial to understanding how to build


capacity to manage and operate a banking system. According to the United States Institute of Peace and the United States Army Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute, five end states have to be met in order to achieve successful stabilization and reconstruction of a nation after conflict. These end states are; a safe and secure environment, a rule of law, a stable government, social well-being of the population and a sustainable economy.\(^{32}\) Although there are other organizations, that have analyzed the dimensions of stabilization and reconstruction, all come to similar conclusions. An example is the African Union. In their African Post-Conflict Reconstruction Policy Framework they mention five dimensions; security; political transition, governance and participation; socio-economic development; human rights, justice and reconciliation; and coordination, management and resource mobilization.\(^ {33}\) Overall, the same areas and subjects are covered and in all cases, a sustainable economy is part of stabilization and reconstruction.

The United States Institute for Peace and the United States Army Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute have formulated a sustainable economy as the ability for the people to pursue opportunities for livelihoods within a viable economic system supported by law.\(^ {34}\) As a result; to achieve a sustainable economy, four conditions have to

\(^{32}\)United States Institute for Peace and United States Army Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute, 2-9.


\(^{34}\)United States Institute for Peace and United States Army Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute, 9-132.
be met. These conditions are: macro-economic stabilization, control over illicit economic activity, a sustainable market economy and employment possibilities, especially for military-age youth. Although a banking system cannot achieve these goals alone, an effective, safe and reliable banking system is an absolute necessity to be successful.

The two different organizations for a banking system are a two tier banking system with a network of banks and a branchless banking system. If a banking system consists of a central bank and commercial banks, it is called a two tier banking system. In such a system, the central bank pursues price stability, facilitates an efficient and reliable payment system, provides economic advice to the government, and ensures that financial institutions like commercial banks have sufficient funds to meet their obligations. The central bank will also issue banknotes and coins. According to Haughton the primary task of the central bank is to keep oversight over commercial banks in order to create and maintain confidence in the financial system. To develop sustainable economic growth an efficient financial system is therefore needed. The RAND Cooperation as well as United States Institute for Peace and the United States Army Peacekeeping and Stability

35 Ibid., 9-133.


38 Haughton, 3.
Operations Institute have underlined the importance of a central bank for a sustainable economy in a stabilization and reconstruction phase.\(^{39}\)

A branchless banking system is a system in which there is no traditional bank network. Bank services are provided at lottery houses or retail outlets. A branchless banking system entails at least four elements.\(^{40}\) The first element is the use of technology to identify customers and record transactions. The second element is the use of third party outlets that can act as an agent and provides the services that needs physical customer contact. The third element is to offer at least basic cash deposit and withdrawal system, in addition to transactions and payment services. The fourth element is that it has formal backing by a licensed bank. Branchless banking is not only a low cost solution, it also provides financial services to people who normally would not be reached by the traditional banking network. The system is operational in different countries around the world and can be used in mature economies as well as in developing economies. Examples are Afghanistan, Brazil and the Philippines.\(^{41}\)


\(^{41}\)Ibid., Annex A.
To facilitate economic growth, there should be a form of financial intermediation. The banking system can provide in financial intermediation. This means providing payment services, mobilizing deposits, and easing investment financing. An effective financial system provides funds and connects lenders and investors. In a discussion paper from Miwa and Ramseyer of the Harvard Law School, it is stated that banks promote growth. According to the World Bank and for example the Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis, banks facilitate growth. However, according to Fisher and Shostak, the focus should not be on money itself, but on the effect, that money can have on promoting sustainable economic growth. It focuses on the purchasing power of money to develop sustainable economic growth. This means that money is the commodity to trade goods and services. It is therefore the reciprocal of the level of prices and the

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42 R. Levine et al., 34.
46 Shostak, 6.
banking system should at least facilitate the re-establishment of the purchasing power of money.\textsuperscript{47}

Money has purchasing power when property rights are safeguarded or at least at such a level that the perceived risk of trade and ownership is as low as possible or at least acceptable.\textsuperscript{48} It is more than properties rights alone, it is also about preventing corruption. Detragiache, Gupta and Tressel have stated in an IMF working paper that financial system performance, especially in low-income countries, is influenced negatively by corruption. This raises the cost of doing business, and implies uncertainty about property rights while decreasing the efficiency of the system.\textsuperscript{49}

To promote sustainable economic growth there should be some degree of price stability. According to USAID, this means that inflation must be controlled.\textsuperscript{50} Additionally, to the USAID, inflation is subordinate to conflict prevention, which means

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\textsuperscript{48}United States Institute for Peace and United States Army Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute, 9-152.


\end{flushleft}
that moderate inflation should be tolerated.\textsuperscript{51} Research in Latin America has shown that countries with stable price levels, instead of high and volatile price levels, experience the largest growth rates.\textsuperscript{52}

According to the literature, there are two primary ways to influence inflation during a stabilization and reconstruction operation. The first way to influence inflation is by liberalizing trade and a second way is to influence the amount of money available. According to Cline and Weintraub in Economic Stabilization in Developing Countries, trade interacts with inflation. This means that by decreasing trade regime distortions like tariffs, quotas, export subsidies and customs limitations, inflation can be reduced. However, to be effective, these policies should be voluntarily adopted by the domestic authorities.\textsuperscript{53} The findings of Cline and Weintraub are in line with the findings of USAID. They state that investments, and especially foreign direct investments, are enormously important for a country’s long-term economic growth.\textsuperscript{54} At the same time there are also scholars who disagree with the direct relation between foreign direct


investments and economic growth. A research at the United Nations University, found
that there can be a positive relation between foreign direct investments in zones of
conflict and economic growth, but only if the investments are carefully managed and part
of a comprehensive investment strategy.\footnote{Nicholas Turner, Obijiofor Aginam, and Vesselin Popovski, \textit{Post-Conflict Countries and Foreign Investment} (United Nations University Policy Brief, no. 8, 2008), http://unu.edu/publications/briefs/policy-briefs/2008/pb08-08.pdf (accessed 15 December 2010), 2.} A second possibility to influence inflation is to
limit the amount of money available in the market or by influencing the exchange rate of
the money in relation to other currencies. Both activities are typical tasks for a banking
system.\footnote{United States Institute for Peace and United States Army Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute, 9-155.} Influencing the exchange rate can be done by pegging the local currency to
another, pegging it to a basket of currencies, or to have a floating exchange rate.\footnote{Crane et al., 79.}

At the same time, the financial system can only be effective if there is some
Cooperation predicts that citizens will avoid local currency and people who have the
possibilities will put their savings in foreign hard currencies.\footnote{Crane et al., 77.} The IMF suggests the
establishment of an emergency payment system to preserve or develop confidence in the
financial system if a functioning banking system is lacking. People will only be willing to invest if the risks of their investments are acceptable for the potential return promised. High risk typically demands high returns. Establishing a banking system that helps reduce the risk, lowers cost, and open more opportunities. If not, the costs of trade may become too high for most people, effective pricing of assets will be hard, if not impossible to establish and a sustainable economic development will be more difficult to achieve. Confidence has therefore a subjective and an objective element. It is subjective because it is up to the people to decide whether they judge the system reliable and whether they are willing to invest and deposit funds with the bank. On the other hand, confidence has also an objective element that relates to accountability according to internationally recognized standards. The World Bank has emphasized the importance of accountability and transparency in a country study executed in Nepal. The financial system should be transparent to promote accountability and the confidence of the people. Accountability requires the establishment of international financial system standards. Finally, there should also be a system in place that facilitates the flow of money. Money has to be readily accepted as the means of exchange between sellers and buyers and borrowers and lenders, both foreign and domestic.

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60 Lönnberg, 3.
61 Crane et al., 77-79.
63 Crane et al., 79.
The role of an effective, reliable and safe banking system is to facilitate the financial system and the purchasing power of money in order to build sustainable economic growth. According to the RAND Cooperation, a banking system should execute five primary tasks.\textsuperscript{64} The first task is to establish and maintain a stable currency. In most cases this is a task for the Central Bank in cooperation and coordination with the national equivalent of the Department of Treasury.\textsuperscript{65} The second task is to facilitate money exchange, both nationally and internationally. The third task is to maintain an effective system to enable payments between buyers and sellers. The fourth task is to fulfill the role of a mediatory between borrowers and lenders. The last task is to establish and maintain transparency and accountability of the system, governed by law. USAID concludes that the banking system should provide liquidity, core financial services, such as deposits and facilitating of payments. This should be established in a very early stage of the stabilization and reconstruction.\textsuperscript{66} According to the United States Institute for Peace and the United States Army Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute, banks have two major functions. “To provide a trusted institution for people to deposit financial savings and to provide a means to pay for goods and services to promote commerce.”\textsuperscript{67}

\textsuperscript{64}Ibid., 79-82.

\textsuperscript{65}Ibid., 79.

\textsuperscript{66}United States Agency for International Development, \textit{A Guide to Economic Growth in Post-Conflict Countries}, 73.

\textsuperscript{67}United States Institute for Peace and United States Army Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute, 9-155.
The role of military stability operations

Full Spectrum Operations is the U.S. Army operational concept for conducting military operations.\(^{68}\) In this concept, Army forces combine offensive, defensive, and stability operations simultaneously, as part of an interdependent joint force to seize, retain, and exploit the initiative, accepting prudent risk to create opportunities to achieve decisive results.\(^{69}\) Through stability operations, military forces help to set the conditions that enable the actions of the other instruments of national power to succeed in achieving the broad goals of conflict transformation.\(^{70}\) In this way, the Army contributes to the military end state of the Joint Forces Commander.\(^{71}\) As a result, stability operations leverage the coercive and constructive capabilities of the military force to establish a safe and secure environment; facilitate reconciliation among local or regional adversaries; establish political, legal, social, and economic institutions; and facilitate the transition of responsibility to a legitimate civil authority.”

FM 3-0 outlines the tasks to be conducted during stability operations. When these operations have to contribute to the end state, five primary tasks must be achieved.\(^{72}\) The first task is to provide civil security in order to protect the population from external and

\(^{68}\) Department of the Army, Field Manual (FM) 3-07, Stability Operations (Washington, DC: Headquarters Department of the Army, October 2008), 2-1.

\(^{69}\) Ibid.


\(^{71}\) Department of the Army, Field Manual 3-0, 3-1.

\(^{72}\) Ibid., 3-13.
internal threats. The second task is to provide civil control in order to regulate behavior and activities of individuals and groups. The third task is to restore essential services in order to restore the most basic services and to protect them until a civil authority or the host nation can provide them. The fourth task is to support local governance in order to establish the conditions that actions by civilian and host-nation agencies can succeed. The fifth task is to support economic and infrastructural development in order to help the host-nation to develop capability and capacity in these areas.\textsuperscript{73}

According to the U.S. Army Field Manual 3-07, which explains planning and execution of Stability Operations, and the Handbook for Military Support to Economic Stabilization of the U.S. Joint Forces Command, the military is not the primary actor to stabilize the financial sector. The importance of the financial and banking system is acknowledged, but their tasks are limited to securing and protecting of key assets and processes like providing secure logistical support, and providing support to governmental and non-governmental agencies whose primary function it is to stabilize and develop the financial system.\textsuperscript{74} This means that the military understands the importance of a functioning financial and banking system, but that it considers itself not as a primary actor within this field of expertise.

The RAND Cooperation also described some possible tasks the military can execute in order to support the host government or civilian organizations during this

\textsuperscript{73}Ibid., 3-13 and 14.

\textsuperscript{74}Ibid., 3-5 – 3-17; Joint Warfighting Center, \textit{Handbook for Military Support to economic Stabilization} (Washington, DC: U.S. Joint Forces Command, 27 February 2010), Ch IV.
These tasks are in line with the tasks in the above-mentioned Field Manuals and the Handbook of the U.S. Joint Forces Command. The military can identify key financial institutions, persons and infrastructure within the area of responsibility during the Intelligence Preparation of the Battlefield process. This process enables the military to gain insight in local business and financial activities, to build networks, and it creates insight in the threats and vulnerabilities of the local financial system. The military can also secure looted or diverted stockpiles of currency or state-owned precious metals. Ensure security for critical financial institutions, infrastructure, and personnel. This should be a high priority task and should focus on government financial institutions, banks and key personnel. If the purchasing power of money has to be increased to enable sustainable economic growth, security for the elements of the financial system is, according to the RAND Cooperation, indispensable. This is especially true in the first phase of a stability operation, when security is at its lowest. The military can support government financial transactions. The military can help to ensure the timely and secure distribution of a new currency, if one is introduced. The military can use local currency to make payments. This will not only instill confidence in the local currency, it can also

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75 Crane et al., 82-83.
76 Ibid., 83.
77 Ibid., 84.
78 Ibid., 85.
79 Ibid.
80 Ibid., 86.
influence local prices and therefore help local price stability if payments and investments are coordinated with local financial policies. The military can support by using electronic payment systems, if available.  

A last possible task is to ensure efficient border crossings and other ports of entry. Although this does not directly influence financial policies, it probably influences foreign direct investments and therefore it encourages more trade and more economic growth.

Whatever the role and the responsibilities of the military will be to facilitate the development of the capabilities to manage and operate a banking system, according to USAID, it will always require clear goals, sensitivity to the context, a pragmatic approach and host-nation ownership to be successful.

Banking in a historical perspective

It is difficult to compare current military involvement in banking with historical examples. Such historical examples are scarce and most of the examples are based on a military force as part of an occupation. This creates very different legal circumstances and therefore different responsibilities for the military force. However, the necessity of banking, as part of military government and civil affairs has been described in Field Manuals of the United States Army and Navy in 1940 and later in Field Manuals of 1943

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81 Ibid., 87.

82 Ibid., 88-89.

and 1947.\textsuperscript{84} In addition these manuals, the Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force also issued in 1944 a handbook for military government in Germany. The handbook provided background information of Germany.\textsuperscript{85}

The role of the Allied Forces before and during the invasion of Sicily I on 10 July 1943 serves as an example. The Allied Forces foresaw a civil affairs problem prior to the invasion of Sicily, because Sicily required governmental involvement.\textsuperscript{86} To insure security of the occupying forces and to prevent an economic collapse and as a result, disorder, the Anglo-American Allied Forces Headquarters (AFHQ) establish on 1 May 1943 the Allied Military Government of Occupied Territory (AMGOT).\textsuperscript{87} The AMGOT was placed under direct supervision of the military commander of the invading force.\textsuperscript{88} AMGOT consisted of a headquarters and six staff divisions. These staff divisions were; public health, legal, public safety, civilian supply and resources, enemy property and finance. For the pre-operational period, AMGOT consisted of a planning staff, an executive staff and a school. It is remarkable to see that few military officers were

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{84}War Department of the United States, Field Manual (FM) 27-4, \textit{Military Government and Civil Affairs} (Washington, DC: War Department, 22 December 1943), 2 and 18.}

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{85}Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Forces, \textit{Handbook for Military Government in Germany Prior to Defeat or Surrender} (Washington, DC: Office of the Chief of Staff, December 1944).}

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{86}Robert W. Komer, \textit{Civil Affairs and Military Government in the Mediterranean Theater} (Washington, DC: Office of the Chief of Military History, 1950), Ch II-1.}

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{87}Ibid., Ch II 13-16.}

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{88}Ibid., Ch II 27.}
capable for such a unit and that most of its personnel were recruited from private life. Before these specialists were deployed, military training was conducted.  

AMGOT controlled the Sicilian society by indirect control. This means that local Sicilians were used as much as possible. For the facilitation of the banking system, the financial division of AMGOT played a crucial role. According to the Allied analysis, the major long-term problem was the control of inflation. Therefore, AMGOT created a plan, which included tax increases and overhaul of the tax system, price stability and rationing, import of basic commodities and resistance to pressure for wage increases. This plan resulted in supplementing the Italian Lire with Allied Military Lire to ensure enough currency. To prevent high inflation, the exchange rate was fixed and prices were fixed at the level the day before the invasion. To control the currency and the banking system, local banks were seized and put under Allied supervision (indirect control) and an Allied Banking Institution was established. This Allied Military Financial Agency fulfilled the role of the central bank. It served as a depository, a clearinghouse, a provider of funds for local banks, and an accounting office for the Allied Forces and especially for AMGOT. The Allied Military Financial Agency used the Bank of Sicily, under direct control of the

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89Ibid., Ch II 28-30
90Ibid., Ch II 17-18.
91Ibid., Ch II 21-22.
92Ibid., Ch II 25.
Military Governor, as an agent for the Allied Military Financial Agency to finance local banks. All financial transactions had to be approved by AMGOT.\textsuperscript{93}

Although the Allied Forces achieved a tremendous result, there are some lessons to be learned. First, there had been inadequate cooperation and coordination between civil affairs and combat commanders. Combat commanders did not even know the fundamental principles of military government. Secondly, the experienced showed that the greater the reliance upon Italian/Sicilian officials the more successful was local administration.\textsuperscript{94}

**Conclusion**

A banking system alone cannot achieve sustainable economic growth. An effective, safe and reliable banking system is an absolute necessity to lay the foundation for a strong, stable, economy and be successful in a post-conflict situation. The role of an effective, reliable and safe banking system is to facilitate the financial system, including the purchasing power of money, in order to build sustainable economic growth. Through stability operations, military forces help to set the conditions for the broad goals of conflict transformation.\textsuperscript{95} The military task to support economic and infrastructure is linked to the strategic economic end state of a sustainable economy. Although facilitating sustainable economic growth will probably not be the first objective military

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{93}\textit{Ibid.}, Ch II 25-26.
  \item \textsuperscript{94}\textit{Ibid.}, Ch II 41-43
  \item \textsuperscript{95}\textit{Department of the Army, FM 3-07, 2-2.}
\end{itemize}
commanders will think of, there are some possible tasks for the military force to support the host government or civilian organizations during this process.96

The development of a banking system should start as soon as possible.97 In most cases, there is a lack of security in the early phase of a stability operation. The military force will therefore have the lead, because other organizations, like the IMF, World Bank or USAID will not always be present to support or assist in the development of the local banking system. In fact, little evidence is found of integrated efforts between the military force and civilian banking organizations to develop the financial systems in the crucial early phase of an operation in order to facilitate sustainable economic growth. Therefore, it becomes even more interesting to examine how this capacity should be built, what is the best way to operate a banking system in a country undergoing stability operations that can best facilitate sustainable economic growth?

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96 Crane et al., 82-83.

97 Haughton, 3.
CHAPTER 3
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction

Development of sustainable economic growth and security are interrelated and interdependent. Without sustainable economic growth, stability is hard to achieve. Although the traditional assumption is that security should precede development, the central theme in this thesis is that economic development and the development of capacity for a banking system should start as soon as possible. In other words, begin the process of creating a banking system, before the cessation of hostilities. How should capacity be built to manage and operate a banking system in a country undergoing stability and reconstruction operations that best facilitates sustainable economic growth? This chapter introduces the research methodology and the assessment variables used to assess the effectiveness of a viable banking system.

Research questions

The primary research question to be answered is; is there a viable role the military can play in re-establishing a banking system in a country undergoing stabilization and reconstruction? To be able to answer the primary research question, four secondary questions have to be answered. The first question is; how does the World Bank, IMF and USAID rebuild capacity for a banking system? To answer this question, two case studies

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98 United States Institute for Peace and United States Army Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute, 9-133.

99 Haughton, 3.
from the development of the banking system in Afghanistan and Kosovo will be used. The second question is how to evaluate its success. For this question, assessment variables will be determined and applied to analyze the banking development activities of the World Bank, the IMF and USAID in Kosovo and Afghanistan. The third question is; what has been done by the military to facilitate the development of the banking system in both countries? The final question is; what post-conflict role has the military performed in re-establishing banking systems in previous conflicts.

**Research methodology**

This section describes the methodology used to analyze the data in order to formulate the conclusions and recommendations in relation to the research questions. Two different, but interrelated research methodologies will be used to answer the research questions. First, a majority of the research is based on a comparative case study analysis of Afghanistan and Kosovo. These two studies focus on the activities of the World Bank, IMF and USAID as they relate to the development of banking systems. Secondly, assessment variables (AV) will help to determine the progress with sustainable economic growth. A separate set of AVs will be identified, to determine the success of the development of the local banking system. In the end, this information, and the lessons learned, will lead to the development of a set of best practices that can be used to create a formula to establish a functioning banking system of a country during stability and reconstruction operations.
The economic assessment variables

Building a sustainable economy is critical to stability and represents as one of five end states that have to be met in order to achieve successful stabilization and reconstruction of a nation after conflict. Before the effectiveness of the banking system can be assessed, a method for identifying progress in sustainable economic growth must be determined.

Although apparently a money centered issue, the focus should also focus on the effect that money can have on promoting sustainable economic growth. This suggests that increasing the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of a state is paramount and should be assessed during stability operations. Therefore, our first economic AV is the annual growth of GDP. Because foreign investments and availability of credit are enormously important to facilitate sustainable economic growth. The second AV concerns the annual increase in foreign investments. The third AV represents credit provided by banks as percentage of the GDP.

To promote sustainable economic growth, there should be a degree of price stability. Because of the post-conflict circumstances, a moderate level of inflation can

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100 United States Institute for Peace and United States Army Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute, 2-9.

101 Shostak, 6.


103 Kiertisak Toh, 7.
be tolerated.\textsuperscript{104} As long as this moderate level of inflation is stable, there is an excellent chance that there will be real economic growth.\textsuperscript{105} An additional fourth economic AV is therefore required, which is the annual rate of inflation.

There are two effective ways to influence inflation during a stabilization and reconstruction operation, liberalizing trade by reducing trade barriers and manipulating the supply of money. The AV used to determine the success of the liberalization of trade barriers is the increase or decrease in foreign investments.\textsuperscript{106} The second AV, related to inflation is the annual percent increase in the total volume of money supply.

**The banking system assessment variables**

An effective, safe, and reliable banking system is absolutely necessary to create the economic foundation in which to build a stable and prosperous economy.\textsuperscript{107} In assessing the effectiveness of a banking system, additional AVs have to be developed. Table 1 gives an overview of the AVs. To be effective, the financial system depends heavily on confidence of the population and banking firms.\textsuperscript{108} The first AV is whether the banking system uses an international recognized system for accountability.\textsuperscript{109} The second

\textsuperscript{104}Ohiorhenuan and Steward, xxiii.

\textsuperscript{105}Ellis, 242.

\textsuperscript{106}Turner, Aginam, and Popovski, 2.


\textsuperscript{108}Haughton, 3.

AV is; the percentage of firms that have a line of credit with financial institutions.\textsuperscript{110} The third AV is the increase of deposits during the development of the banking system.\textsuperscript{111} The fourth AV is; the amount of investments during the development of the banking system.\textsuperscript{112} The fifth AV is; the percentage of firms using banks to finance their investments.\textsuperscript{113} The sixth AV is the percentage of firms using internal finance for investments. The seventh AV is the value of collateral needed for a loan.\textsuperscript{114} The eighth variable is the percentage of firms identifying access to finance as a major concern.\textsuperscript{115} Confidence will also be measured by looking at the confidence in the rule of law, the protection of property rights and the effort of the government to fight corruption.\textsuperscript{116}

Two organizational banking structures exist; a two-tier banking system comprised of a central bank with a network of local banks or branchless banks with local outlets for banking services. In both situations, it is important to have a central bank that pursues price stability, facilitates a reliable payment system, provides independent economic

\textsuperscript{110}United States Agency for International Development, \textit{A Guide to Economic Growth in Post-Conflict Countries}, 20 and 73.

\textsuperscript{111}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{112}United States Institute for Peace and United States Army Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute, 9-152.

\textsuperscript{113}United States Agency for International Development, \textit{A Guide to Economic Growth in Post-Conflict Countries}, 20 and 73.

\textsuperscript{114}United States Institute for Peace and United States Army Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute, 9-152.

\textsuperscript{115}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{116}Detragiache, Gupta, and Tressel, 1.
advice to the government and ensures the availability of banking funds. Five internationally recognized banking characteristics must be present in any central banking system. These are; oversight of the central bank over the local network of banking services or banks, the pursuit of price stability, the facilitation of a stable system of payments, providing independent economic advice to the government, and ensuring commercial banks have sufficient financial funds to meet their obligations. These five criteria will be assessed by using the central bank policies and regulations in Kosovo and Afghanistan.

\footnote{De Nederlandse Bank, 4-5.}
Table 1. Assessment variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Economic variables</th>
<th>Banking System variables</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The annual growth of the GDP</td>
<td>The banking system uses an international recognized system for accountability</td>
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<tr>
<td>The credit provided by banks as percentage of the GDP</td>
<td>The percentage of firms that have a line of credit with financial institutions</td>
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<tr>
<td>The annual rate of inflation</td>
<td>The increase or decrease of deposits during the development of the banking system</td>
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<tr>
<td>The increase or decrease in foreign investments</td>
<td>The increase or decrease of investments during the development of the banking system</td>
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<tr>
<td>The annual percent increase in the total volume of money</td>
<td>The percentage of firms using banks to finance their investments</td>
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<td>The value of collateral needed for a loan</td>
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<td>The percentage of firms identifying access to finance as a major concern</td>
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<td>The confidence in the rule of law</td>
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<td>The protection of property rights by the government</td>
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<td>The effort of the government to fight corruption</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Five internationally recognized banking characteristics</td>
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Source: Created by Author.

Finally, the efficiency of the banking system will be determined by using AVs, which are based on reports of the central Bank of Afghanistan and Kosovo (see table 2). Since both countries are in a different phase of development, different AVs are

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available to determine the efficiency of each banking system. For Afghanistan, five AVs will be used. The first AV is the breakdown of state-owned, private and foreign banks. The second AV is the growth in assets. The third AV is the growth is loans. The fourth AV is the growth in deposits. The last AV is the return from average assets in 2008 and 2009. For Kosovo, six AVs will be used. The first AV is the total amount of reserves, including gold. The second AV is to measure the concentration of assets among banks.\textsuperscript{119} The international recognized AV to measure this is the Herfindahl-Hirschman Index (HHI). This will also been done for loans and deposits. The fifth AV is the return on average equity in 2008 and 2009. The final AV is the return on average assets in 2008 and 2009.

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<th>Table 2. Assessment variables efficiency banking system</th>
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<tr>
<td>Afghanistan</td>
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<td>Breakdown of banks</td>
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<td>Growth in assets</td>
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<td>Growth in loans</td>
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<td>Growth in deposits</td>
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<td>Return on average assets</td>
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\textit{Source}: Created by Author.

\textsuperscript{119}This AV can be used to determine whether assets, loans, or deposits are divided among banks or concentrated with a limited amount of banks.
CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS

Introduction

In 1998, The World Bank, as well as other organizations and scholars addressed the importance of achieving sustainable economic growth in order to restore stability in a post-conflict environment. Additionally, scholars like Ross Levine and others pointed out the importance of a functioning banking system to achieve sustainable economic growth. No evidence was found that the military, besides support (e.g. providing logistical support and security), actively participated in the development of the banking systems in Kosovo and Afghanistan. It is therefore even more interesting and worthwhile to study the development of the banking system in both countries, to determine what the military actually provided and what the military could have provided to facilitate sustainable economic growth. In the end, the military force is an element of national power that must contribute to the success of a stability operation. It is the whole of government approach, which makes a stability operation to a success.

In order to better understand how capacity should be built, this chapter examines the case studies of Kosovo and Afghanistan. The first part of this chapter describes what has been done by the World Bank, the IMF and USAID to develop the banking system in both countries. The second part describes whether economic growth has been achieved. The third part describes whether the activities of the World Bank, IMF and USAID resulted in an effective banking system. This means; does the banking system fulfill its

120 Kreimer et al., 22.
role as financial mediatory. The fourth part determines whether the banking system is efficient. In other words, is the banking system profitable? The fifth question is to determine what the actual involvement of the military was. Unlike the previous parts, this will be answered for Kosovo and Afghanistan simultaneously. The above mentioned questions are answered by using the AVs as determined in chapter 3 (table 1 and 2). The last part of this chapter is different from the rest of the chapter and will describe the tasks the military could have conducted to facilitate the development of the banking system.

Activities of international organizations in Kosovo

On 10 June 1999, after the cessation of the Kosovo War, the United Nations Security Council authorized, by United Nations Security Council Resolution 1244, the Secretary General to establish an international civil presence and the member states to establish an international security presence. The international civil presence, chartered as the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK), provided an interim administration for Kosovo to ‘establish and oversee the development of provisional democratic self-governing institution. The institutions ensured conditions for a peaceful and normal life for all inhabitants of Kosovo.’ Security was provided by the

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Kosovo Force (KFOR). KFOR is an international force, led by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). In conjunction with support of wider international efforts, KFOR helped maintain a safe and secure environment and freedom of movement for all citizens, irrespective of their ethnic origin."

Activities of the World Bank

International financial institutions, like the World Bank, play an important role in the stabilization and reconstruction of Kosovo, until UNMIK and KFOR entered Kosovo, when other institutions are not available. Since 1999, the World Bank committed about US$ 150 million through 30 operations in a broad range of sectors, including public administration, law and justice, industry and trade, education, and finance. The World Bank also leveraged an additional US$ 70 million from other external partners. Today, the World Bank completed most of these projects.

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125 Ibid.


In early 2000, the World Bank provided two Economic Assistance Grants to support the Kosovo economic reform program by providing UNMIK with financial resources. Only the first Economic Assistance Grant supported the establishment of a fully functioning and effective bank licensing and supervision capability.\footnote{The World Bank, "Implementation Completion Report," 2.} The purpose of this grant was to facilitate the improvement of the banking system, because the commercial banking system and local payment bureau ceased to exist in 1999.\footnote{Ibid.}

Research indicated that the World Bank provided technical assistance to financial institutions to facilitate economic growth and improvement of the financial sector in three main areas.\footnote{The World Bank, "Procurement Plan," The World Bank Group, 4 November 2009, http://www-wds.worldbank.org/external/default/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2010/07/05/000333038_2010070513319/Rendered/PDF/554140PROP0p1010Plan0040November009.pdf (accessed 8 February 2011), 2-4.} The first area consisted of direct assistance to the Central Bank of Kosovo (CBK) using two main components.\footnote{Ibid.} The first, strengthened the CBK by assisting the preparation of development strategies on market development trends, the development of a medium term staffing plan, and the campaign to raise population awareness on financial products, returns and risks.\footnote{Ibid.} The second, strengthened the framework for regulations and supervision of the CBK.\footnote{Ibid.} Specific examples include the implementation of a regulatory database, support on financial analysis, training of banking personnel in...
European supervisory agencies and review of licensing procedures of the CBK.\textsuperscript{134} The second area of assistance by the World Bank supported the Association of Microfinance Institution of Kosovo (AMIK) and others in developing microfinance industry in Kosovo. This consists of training in technical issues, management, planning and assessment.\textsuperscript{135} The World Bank also provided technical assistance is to the Kosovo Bankers’ Association (KBA).\textsuperscript{136} The KBA is a non-profit, non-governmental organization, established in 2002. All commercial banks operating in Kosovo are members of KBA. The KBA’s goal is to support the development of a sound banking system and to promote a long-term economic development of Kosovo.\textsuperscript{137} The World Bank provides training for KBA members in trade finance, operational risk management, credit policy, and audits.\textsuperscript{138}

\textbf{Activities of the International Monetary Fund}

The IMF is another main contributor to the development of the Kosovo banking system. The IMF started assisting Kosovo in 1999 by preparing four draft laws. These drafts instituted the use of currencies, banking, payment transactions and the establishment of Banking and Payment Authority of Kosovo (BPK).\textsuperscript{139} The next step

\textsuperscript{134}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{135}Ibid., 3.

\textsuperscript{136}Ibid., 4.


\textsuperscript{138}The World Bank, \textit{Procurement Plan,”} 4.

\textsuperscript{139}International Monetary Fund, \textit{Annual Report 2000: Making the Global Economy Work for All} (Washington, DC: International Monetary Fund, 30 April 2000),

Since 1999, the IMF also assisted the development of the Kosovo banking system in different ways. The IMF assisted in the development of a banking supervision framework in line with international standards. The IMF also assisted in the development of research and statistical capabilities as well as in the development of an accounting and
control framework. The IMF also provided advice in order to develop financial services for the population and the government and to manage foreign exchange reserves. Finally, the IMF provided external managing directors for the central bank.¹⁴⁴

Activities of United States Agency for International Development

USAID started to provide support to Kosovo in 1999. However, support was mainly focused on the return and integration of refugees and the rebuilding of infrastructure. USAID also assisted Kosovo in establishing a government, rule of law, civil society and independent media. Additional support built functional institutions through technical advisors.¹⁴⁵ Although USAID was not deeply involved in the development of the banking system of Kosovo, USAID provided credit and initiated a project for small and medium enterprises to access credit through the creation of the Kosovo Business Finance Fund. This fund facilitates economic growth by providing credit to small and medium enterprises in Kosovo.¹⁴⁶ The development of the Kosovo Business Finance Fund led to the establishment of the American Bank of Kosovo, which now operates as a financial institution managed primarily by Kosovo citizens.¹⁴⁷


¹⁴⁷ Ibid.
Sustainable economic growth in Kosovo

Kosovo achieved an average annual GDP increase of approximately 4.4 percent from 2005 to 2009 (see table 3). Although Kosovo did not achieve the region’s best results, it managed stable GDP growth and even maintained growth of at least 4.0 percent between 2007 and 2009. This is remarkable, due to the financial and economic crisis in the world. In the region, only Albania managed to achieve an increase in GDP (2.5 percent). When comparing real GDP, which means GDP minus inflation, then Kosovo’s performance is even better, although the economic and financial crisis negatively influenced real GDP in 2007 and 2008. Growth in real GDP seems to indicate a positive economic development during the post-conflict phase.

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<th></th>
<th>2005</th>
<th>2006</th>
<th>2007</th>
<th>2008</th>
<th>2009</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kosovo</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>4.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Albania</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bosnia and Herzegovina</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>-2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montenegro</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>-5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FYROM</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>-0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serbia</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>-3.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4. Annual percentage growth rate of real GDP at market prices based on constant local currency (GDP minus inflation)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2005</th>
<th>2006</th>
<th>2007</th>
<th>2008</th>
<th>2009</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kosovo</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>-0.4</td>
<td>-4.0</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albania</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bosnia and Herzegovina</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>-0.2</td>
<td>-2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montenegro</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FYROM</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serbia</td>
<td>-10.5</td>
<td>-6.5</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>-7.4</td>
<td>-10.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


At the same time, Kosovo’s annual rate of inflation can be characterized as volatile, which is consistent with the rest of the region. As discussed in chapter 2, inflation for countries in a post-conflict phase does not have to be zero percent. However, the challenge is to achieve a moderate and stable inflation. Research of other countries proved that countries with stable price levels will have the largest growth rates.\(^{148}\)

However, this does not seem to apply to Kosovo and the rest of the region, because Albania maintained the most stable and moderate annual rate of inflation, but did not have the largest growth of GDP. Kosovo had volatile inflation, but also had positive growth in GDP (see table 3, 4 and 5).

\(^{148}\)Ellis, 242.
Table 5. Annual percentage of inflation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2005</th>
<th>2006</th>
<th>2007</th>
<th>2008</th>
<th>2009</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kosovo</td>
<td>-1.4</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>-2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albania</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bosnia and Herzegovina</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>-0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montenegro</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FYROM</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>-0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serbia</td>
<td>16.1</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


To explain the relationship of constant annual growth of GDP and a volatile annual inflation, the next set of AVs is evaluated. Maybe other factors can explain economic growth. AVs are evaluated to determine how Kosovo liberalized trade, influenced the annual increase for money and what was the availability of credit provided by banks to influence inflation. Therefore, the figures of annual money supply as percentage of GDP, annual foreign direct investments and credit provided by banks as percentage of the GDP will be evaluated.

Kosovo had a considerable growth in money supply from 2005 until 2008. In 2008 the growth of money supply was the largest of all Balkan countries (see table 6).\textsuperscript{149} At the same time, Kosovo attracted a relatively low amount of foreign direct investments

\textsuperscript{149}"Money and quasi money as referred to in Table 6, comprises the sum of currency outside banks, demand deposits other than those of the central government, and the time, savings, and foreign currency deposits of resident sectors other than the central government. This definition is frequently called M2.” World Bank, “Money and quasi money growth (annual %),” http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/FM.LBL.MQMY.ZG?display=default (accessed 1 February 2011).
within the region (see table 7). Credit provided by banks, as percentage of GDP remained also remarkable low compared to the other regional countries (see table 8).

Because money supply is considerable, even compared to the rest of the region, it seems to indicate that Kosovo did not have a well-designed monetary policy to limit money supply. At the same time, Kosovo fails to attract foreign direct investments. Although foreign direct investments are normally not locally financed, when foreign direct investments and credit provided by banks are low, it could be an indicator that local banks do not fulfill the role of financial mediatory. A failing financial system could hamper the willingness for foreign direct investments and the provision of credit for local investments. The next question is whether the banks in Kosovo were effective or is a further improvement of the banking system required to facilitate a sustainable economic growth?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 6. Annual percentage of money growth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kosovo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albania</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bosnia and Herzegovina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montenegro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FYROM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serbia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7. Net inflow of foreign direct investment per capita to acquire a lasting management interest

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2005</th>
<th>2006</th>
<th>2007</th>
<th>2008</th>
<th>2009</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kosovo</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>278 mil</td>
<td>222 mil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albania</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>287 mil</td>
<td>316 mil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bosnia and Herzegovina</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>239 mil</td>
<td>53 mil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montenegro</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>1.45 bil</td>
<td>2.1 bil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FYROM</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>294 mil</td>
<td>98 mil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serbia</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>408 mil</td>
<td>260 mil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 8. Annual credit provided by banking sector as percentage of GDP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2005</th>
<th>2006</th>
<th>2007</th>
<th>2008</th>
<th>2009</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kosovo</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albania</td>
<td>48.6</td>
<td>54.5</td>
<td>61.3</td>
<td>66.9</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bosnia and Herzegovina</td>
<td>43.6</td>
<td>47.4</td>
<td>54.3</td>
<td>58.5</td>
<td>58.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montenegro</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>35.9</td>
<td>78.2</td>
<td>88.0</td>
<td>77.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FYROM</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>34.4</td>
<td>42.7</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serbia</td>
<td>29.1</td>
<td>25.7</td>
<td>31.4</td>
<td>39.4</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Effectiveness of the banking system in Kosovo

Using the AVs in chapter 3, Kosovo’s banking system is not effective enough to facilitate sustainable economic growth. Although Kosovo made impressive progress following their independence from Serbia, the banking system must be improved in order to be an effective financial system capable of facilitating economic improvement. In
response, Kosovo instituted formal structures within the banking system and codified them by law. An example is the establishment of the CBK in June 2006. The CBK was established by Law No. 03/L-074 and approved by the Kosovo Assembly. Currently, the CBK functions as a regular internationally recognized central bank, has full authority as a legal personality according to Kosovo law, and it reports to the Kosovo Assembly.¹⁵⁰ Article 8 of Law No. 03/L-074 describes the tasks for the central bank. These tasks meet the internationally recognized banking standards as described in chapter 3, and remain consistent with the AVs for the banking system. Article 58 of Law No. 03/L-074 also requires the bank to fulfill the international recognized standards for accountability in accordance with the International Financial Reporting Standards, as adopted by the International Accounting Standards Board. Today, the central bank meets the internationally recognized standards that may be expected from a central bank.

However, the banking system in Kosovo fails to fulfill the role of financial intermediary. According to research by the Enterprise Analysis Unit of the World Bank, only 15 percent of the firms in Kosovo have a line of credit or loan with a financial institution. A large number of firms, 85 percent, use internal ways to finance their investments using contributions from friends, family or employees. Finally, only 25 percent of the firms use banks to finance investments.¹⁵¹ When compared to other countries in the region, Kosovo’s results remain extremely low. Based on the research of


the Enterprise Analysis of the World Bank, financial intermediation is lowest in Kosovo. This research also shows that the amount of risk, and therefore, the lack of confidence in the financial system is lowest in Kosovo. To get credit in Kosovo, a lender has to provide 236 percent collateral. That is almost 50 percent more than the average of the other Balkan countries. In contrast, it is striking to determine that only 13 percent of the firms in Kosovo identify access to finance as a major concern (see table 9).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Line of credit with financial institutions</th>
<th>Internal finance</th>
<th>Bank finance</th>
<th>Value of collateral</th>
<th>Finance a major constraint</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kosovo</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albania</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bosnia and Herzegovina</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montenegro</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FYROM</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serbia</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Although, the foreign direct investments remain low, the amount of banking deposits has increased from 837 million Euro in 2005 to 1.7 billion Euro in 2009.\footnote{Central Bank of the Republic of Kosovo, Monthly Statistics Bulletin No. 111 (Prishtina: Central Bank of the Republic of Kosovo), November 2010, http://www.bqk-kos.org/repository/docs/2010/MSB%20no%20111.pdf (accessed 8 February 2011), 11.} That is an increase of over 200 percent. That seems to contradict previous results. However, it
is possible that the introduction of the Euro could have had a positive influence on trust in the currency. Still trust in the currency does not automatically mean trust in the financial system and ultimately causality cannot be determined.

A financial system, and therefore the banking system, depends on confidence in the system. In Kosovo there seems to be a lack of confidence in the financial system. As described in chapter 2, it is interesting to look into the perception of the rule of law, protection of property rights and the efforts of the government to fight corruption (see figures 1 and 2) to determine the level of confidence. According to the Kosovo Progress Report 2010 by the European Union, Kosovo made progress and improved the rule of law. The judiciary has been reformed, but there is still political and other interference. There is a lack of efficiency and coordination between the different agencies within the judicial system. In addition, property rights are not fully ensured, especially because of weak enforcement capabilities within Kosovo. It is one of the key priorities of the European Union. The Kosovo courts are improving procedures to fight corruption. However, because the legal framework is weak and enforcement capabilities are scarce, Kosovo’s financial and economic systems remain hampered by corruption. Figures 1 and 2 depict the aggregated views of enterprises, citizens and experts on the quality of

153 Lönnberg, 3.
155 Ibid., 18.
156 Ibid., 35.
governance on the control of corruption and the rule of law in Kosovo.\textsuperscript{157} Although both seem to be improving, they are still low when compared to other Balkan countries. Kosovo has a percentile rank of 30 in 2008 for the control of corruption and 33 for the rule of law in 2008.\textsuperscript{158} As a result, 30 respectively 33 percent of all other countries (163 in total) score worse than Kosovo. This means a relatively low score for the quality of governance on the control of corruption and the rule of law in Kosovo.

\textsuperscript{157}Percentile rank indicates the percentage of countries worldwide that rate below the selected country. Higher values indicate better governance ratings. Percentile ranks have been adjusted to account for changes over time in the set of countries covered by the governance indicators. The dashed lines indicate the statistically-likely range of the governance indicator. For instance, a percentile rank of 75 percent with the dashed lines at 60 percent to 85 percent has the following interpretation: An estimated 75 percent of the countries rate worse and an estimated 25 percent of the countries rate better than the country of choice. However, at the 90 percent confidence level, only 60 percent of the countries rate worse, while only 15 percent of the countries rate better.” Daniel Kaufman, Aart Kraay, and Massim Maztruzzi, The Worldwide Governance Indicators: Methodology and Analytical Issues, September 2010, http://info.worldbank.org/governance/wgi/sc_chart.asp# (accessed 1 February 2011).

The evaluation of the AVs mentioned in the right column of Table 1 shows that the banking system in Kosovo must become more effective and must step into the role of
financial mediatory. Too many firms rely on internal ways to finance investments. Few firms have a line of credit with financial institutions and use banks to finance their investments. Lenders have to provide a high amount of collateral to get credit. The risk for providing credit is high, and apparently, there are enough informal ways to finance investments. A lack of trust and confidence in the banking system as depicted by the AVs, is in line with and seems also to be influenced by a weak rule of law, the difficulty to enforce property rights and the fact that corruption is still present in Kosovo. All these severely hamper the development of a reliable banking system and therefore limit the possibility for sustainable economic growth.

Efficiency of the banking system in Kosovo

According to the analysis in the previous paragraph, the effectiveness of the banking system could be improved to facilitate sustainable economic growth. The next step is to evaluate the efficiency of the banking system. Therefore, the total amount of reserves and the amount of concentration of assets, loans, and deposits will be determined, as well as the return of average assets and equity (see table 10). The concentration of assets, loans and deposits is expressed in HHI.

Concentration of assets, loans and deposits is still high in Kosovo. According to the 2010 Financial Sector Bulletin of the CBK, the three largest banks in Kosovo have approximately 82 percent of the assets. However, since 2008 there is a decline in the concentration of assets as well as loans and deposits. This could indicate an increase in smaller banks. Table 10 depicts differences in percentages between the HHI for assets, loans, and deposits for 2008 and 2009. The largest decline is in loans. This indicates,
according to the CBK, an increase in loans provided by smaller banks because the assets, loans and deposits are spread among more banks.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 10. HHI for assets, loans and deposits (in points)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deposits</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Deposits are the main source of finance in Kosovo.\(^{159}\) This may explain why the global financial crisis did not have the same amount of influence in Kosovo as it had in other Balkan countries (see table 3). Although there was a decline in reserves in 2009, overall the banking system maintained sufficient reserves (see figure 3).

The return from average assets and equity decreased between 2008 and 2009. This indicates that expenditures grew faster than income from financial activities.\textsuperscript{160} This parallels the economic circumstances and consequences of the global financial crisis. The evaluation of the AVs shows that Kosovo’s banking system is profitable, but also highly concentrated within three large banks that account for approximately 82 percent of total assets. Because the banking system relies heavily on domestic deposits for finance, it lacks an international focus. This could explain the relatively low amount of foreign direct investments as described in the previous paragraph. Analysis suggests that the banking system could be more efficient if it would exploit additional international solutions to improve the efficiency of the banking system in order to improve the national economic results and especially foreign direct investments.

\textsuperscript{160} Central Bank of the Republic of Kosovo, \textit{Annual Report 2009}, 42-43.
Activities of International Organizations in Afghanistan

After the defeat of the Taliban, Afghan factions attended the United Nations (UN) sponsored conference in Bonn, Germany (The Bonn Conference) during December 2001.\(^\text{161}\) The attendees sought to create stability and governance for Afghanistan.\(^\text{162}\) Because of the Bonn Agreement, an Afghan Interim Authority was established. The Interim Authority was headed by Hamid Karzai.

The participants of the conference requested the international community to provide an UN mandated security assistance force to help the Afghan authorities maintain security.\(^\text{163}\) On 20 December 2001, the United Nations Security Council authorized the establishment of the International Security Assistance Forces (ISAF) under Chapter VII of the UN Charter.\(^\text{164}\) The mission of ISAF is to support the government of Afghanistan in providing a secure, sustainable and stable environment. ISAF therefore conducts operations to reduce the capabilities of the insurgents, support growth in capacity and


capabilities of the Afghan National Security Forces, and to facilitate improvements in governance and socio-economic development.”

On 18 March 2002, the Secretary General of the UN advised the United Nations Security Council to authorize the establishment of the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA). On 28 March, the United Nations Security Council endorses the establishment of UNAMA according to the report of the Secretary General of 18 March 2002. The current mandate of UNAMA is to support the Government of Afghanistan in its efforts to improve critical areas, including security, governance and economic development, and regional cooperation.”

Activities of the World Bank

The World Bank stated that after more than twenty years of conflict, Afghanistan was one of its poorest members. Afghanistan lost most of its infrastructure and human resources. 


The countries’ financial sector no longer operated and commercial banks were dysfunctional. The domestic, and the international formal banking system was also disrupted. Many activities were taken over by the informal system, better known as the Hawala system. The Hawala system is an informal financial transaction system executed outside of the formal financial sector. The local exchange dealers provide banking services like currency exchange, money transfers and, deposit services to the local population. All activities occur outside the official banking system.

In June 2010, The World Bank had 32 active projects in Afghanistan with a commitment of over US$ 2.7 billion. The World Bank continued to provide advice to the government of Afghanistan. The World Bank’s development of Afghanistan is based on three pillars. The first pillar is to build the capacity and accountability of the Government of Afghanistan in order to provide affordable, accessible, and adequate services to its citizens. The second pillar is designed to promote growth of the rural

\footnote{Ibid.}


\footnote{Ibid., 2.}


economy. The third pillar supports growth of a formal, modern and competitive private sector.\(^\text{175}\) Within the scope of these three pillars, the World Bank focused on the restructuring the banking system. The World Bank provided technical assistance for the development of the necessary infrastructure in the financial sector and strengthening the capacity of the central Bank of Afghanistan, *Da Afghanistan Bank* (DAB). The World Bank also provided assistance to implement changes in the financial sector.\(^\text{176}\) The World Bank assisted in improving human resource management, accounting and auditing, and assistance for the development of a system to supervise commercial banks according to international standards.\(^\text{177}\) An additional task was to improve credit risk assessments in order to reduce risk and increase credit based lending.\(^\text{178}\) To facilitate credit risk assessment, the World Bank assisted in the development of a collateral registry for movable and immovable property.\(^\text{179}\) Finally, the World Bank assisted the DAB and the

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\(^\text{177}\) Ibid., 4-5.

\(^\text{178}\) Ibid., 6.

\(^\text{179}\) Ibid.
Afghanistan Bank Association in the development of bankers training. These programs focused on improving the efficiency and reliability of the banking system.

Activities of the International Monetary Fund

The start of the reform of the banking system started in January 2002, when the IMF visited Afghanistan for the first time after the defeat of the Taliban. The IMF provided policy advice and technical assistance in order to ensure a solid foundation for economic management and macroeconomic stability. The IMF support included the rehabilitation of the central bank (DAB). The IMF provided assistance for currency reform, central bank modernization and new financial and banking legislation. In addition, an IMF staff team assisted the authorities in developing a macroeconomic framework to guide economic decision-making in order to achieve sustainable economic growth. A specific example of IMF assistance to limit inflation is to limit the growth of the money supply. Furthermore, the IMF assisted in establishing an emergency

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180 Ibid., 6-7.
181 Staff of the Monetary and Financial Systems Department, 4.
182 Ibid., 7.
183 Ibid., 8.
payment system, based on a system of six DAB locations in Afghanistan. Additionally, the IMF assisted in the currency reform by replacing old banknotes with new ones. The United States and the UN provided logistical assistance for the currency reform. In 2003, the IMF prepared new banking and central bank laws, new payments laws, currency laws, and financial services laws. Technical assistance was provided to DAB concerning the organization, accounting, financial reporting, internal auditing, and an appropriate central bank building facility. It is remarkable that the role of the IMF changed when the government of the United States provided considerable budgets for the restoration and development of the central bank through USAID. The IMF limited its assistance to targeted advice and participation in expert committees to review the balance sheet structure and capital adequacy of the central bank.

Activities of United States Agency for International Development

USAID began assistance to the Afghan financial sector in 2003. USAID focused on empowering Afghan institutions to lead in development and reconstruction in

186 Staff of the Monetary and Financial Systems Department, 5.


188 Staff of the Monetary and Financial Systems Department, 5.

189 Ibid.

order to improve the livelihood of its own citizens.\textsuperscript{191} At that moment, the legislation that was prepared by the IMF was not yet in place and the financial sector was not functioning properly. USAID focused on three main areas within the financial sector; central bank oversight, retail banking and small and medium enterprise finance, and microfinance.\textsuperscript{192} To enable the central bank to execute oversight over commercial banks, USAID assisted the central bank to develop a payments and clearing house system, in conjunction with computerizing its operations. USAID also provided advice on how to implement on-site examinations of commercial banks using trend analysis and methods to bring the accounting system in line with international recognized standards.\textsuperscript{193} To develop retail banking and small and medium enterprise finance, USAID assisted in the enactment of financial laws and regulations.\textsuperscript{194} To facilitate growth of small and medium enterprises, USAID supported the ability of the bank to provide loans to these enterprises. Microfinance was supported by USAID providing capital and technical assistance in order to facilitate the banking system and to develop Sharia compliant loans and transactions.\textsuperscript{195}


\textsuperscript{192} United States Agency for International Development, \textit{Fact Sheet Afghanistan}.

\textsuperscript{193} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{194} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{195} Ibid.
Sustainable economic growth in Afghanistan

Poverty and a lack of economic activities is widespread in Afghanistan after decades of war. This makes Afghanistan inappropriate to compare with the rest of the region. The AVs for Afghanistan will therefore not be compared to data from other regional countries, because the circumstances are too different to compare. Notably opium is excluded from the economic data, despite the international nature of its trade. According to annual growth of GDP results (in percentage), Afghanistan achieved a tremendous increase in GDP growth, even though the global financial and economic crisis negatively impacted GDP in 2007 and 2008 (see table 11). However, the annual rate of inflation is not only very high, but also very volatile (see table 11). This could explain why the increase in GDP is not consistent. The high rate of inflation is not remarkable if compared to the annual growth of money (M2).\textsuperscript{196} The annual increase in money ranges from 46 percent in 2007 to 27 percent in 2008 (see table 11). Inflation is possibly also influenced by the fact that Afghanistan received, since 2001, US$ 29 Billion in international aid. According to the Afghan Ministry of Finance, 77 percent of the international aid was spent with little or no involvement of Afghan government officials.\textsuperscript{197} If the low amount of credit provided by banks as part of the GDP (see table 11) is added to this analysis, together with the high amount of international aid and the

\textsuperscript{196}Money and quasi money as referred to in table 6, comprises the sum of currency outside banks, demand deposits other than those of the central government, and the time, savings, and foreign currency deposits of resident sectors other than the central government. This definition is frequently called M2.

tremendous growth in GDP, then it seems that Afghanistan is doing a tremendous job to improve its economy. According to Economic Watch, economic growth seems to be based on foreign international aid alone.198

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 11. Economic assessment variables for Afghanistan</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>2005</td>
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<tr>
<td>Growth GDP in Percentage</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rate of inflation in percentage</td>
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<tr>
<td>Growth of money in percentage</td>
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<tr>
<td>Net inflow of FDI in millions US$</td>
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<tr>
<td>Credit provided by banks as percentage of GDP</td>
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Effectiveness of the banking system in Afghanistan

With assistance from the IMF, World Bank, and USAID, the government of Afghanistan enacted the DAB Law of 2003. By implementing this law, Afghanistan created an autonomous central bank for Afghanistan, with the objective of achieving and

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maintaining domestic price stability. Its tasks, as formulated in Article 2 of DAB Law, are in line with the five internationally recognized standards for a proper functioning central bank. These tasks are; oversight of the central bank over the local network of banking services or banks, the pursuit of price stability, the facilitation of a stable system of payments, the ability to provide independent economic advice to the government, and the capability to ensure commercial banks of having sufficient financial funds to meet their obligations. According to USAID, DAB accounting and reporting in 2009 and 2010 remains consistent with International Financial Reporting Standards, as adopted by the International Accounting Standards Board. Therefore, DAB formally fulfills the international recognized standards for a central bank and meets internationally recognized standards. However, the effectiveness of the banking system as a whole seems to be very poor. According to the Enterprise Analysis Unit of the World Bank, only 3 percent of the firms have a line of credit with a financial institution compared to 35 percent of 125 countries worldwide (see table 12). From all firms, 90 percent use internal ways to finance investments and only 1 percent use banks. The respective average percentages for all countries that have been surveyed are 69 and 23 percent (see table 12). If a firm needs a loan, collateral requirements equal 254 percent of the loan. That is almost twice the average percentage of 125 countries surveyed by the World Bank (see table 12). It is surprising to note that only 37 percent of the businesses identify access to finance as a major constraint, while the average percentage is 31 percent (see table 12).

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As previously indicated, the foreign direct investments are low. However, the increase in deposits in Afghanistan is considerable high. It went from US$ 270 million in March 2008 to US$ 947 million in March 2009.\textsuperscript{200} This is based on the closing exchange rate of 51.76 Afghani per US Dollar on 19 March 2009.\textsuperscript{201} This is an increase of 300 percent within a year. In conjunction with the findings of the previous paragraph, that banks are not very effective, it seems as if banking deposits are only used to store money. This is remarkable because one would expect that if banks were used to store money, they would also be used for other financial services and transactions.

Although the tremendous growth in GDP and deposits contradicts with the other AVs, the AVs in Table 12 clearly depicts a lack of confidence in the financial system. That is not surprising, given the current situation in Afghanistan. According to the November 2010 Report to Congress on progress toward security and stability in Afghanistan, judicial progress is slow, the government’s ability to provide the rule of law

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
 & Line of credit with financial institutions & Internal finance & Bank finance & Value of collateral & Finance a major constraint \\
\hline
Average & 35 & 69 & 23 & 144 & 31 \\
Afghanistan & 3 & 90 & 1 & 254 & 37 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Financing of Afghan firms in percentage in 2009}
\end{table}


\textsuperscript{200} Da Afghanistan Bank,\textit{ Annual Bulletin Da Afghanistan Bank 2008-2009}, 99.
\textsuperscript{201} Ibid., 42.
must be improved, and corruption is still a problem. Last year showed an almost 7 percent decline in the confidence of the Afghans in their government’s ability to establish a reliable formal justice system.\textsuperscript{202} This lack of confidence is confirmed by the World Bank (see figures 4 and 5).\textsuperscript{203} According to figures 4 and 5 almost all other countries surveyed by the World Bank achieve better results than Afghanistan.\textsuperscript{204}


\textsuperscript{204}Percentile rank indicates the percentage of countries worldwide that rate below the selected country. Higher values indicate better governance ratings. Percentile ranks have been adjusted to account for changes over time in the set of countries covered by the governance indicators. The dashed lines indicate the statistically-likely range of the governance indicator. For instance, a percentile rank of 75 percent with the dashed lines at 60 percent to 85 percent has the following interpretation: an estimated 75 percent of the countries rate worse and an estimated 25 percent of the countries rate better than the country of choice. However, at the 90 percent confidence level, only 60 percent of the countries rate worse, while only 15 percent of the countries rate better.” Daniel Kaufman, Aart Kraay, and Massim Maztruzzi, \textit{The Worldwide Governance Indicators: Methodology and Analytical Issues}, September 2010, http://info.worldbank.org/governance/wgi/sc_chart.asp# (accessed 1 February 2011).
Figure 4. Control of Corruption in Afghanistan

Figure 5. Rule of Law in Afghanistan
Despite implementing new banking laws, achieving a tremendous growth in GDP, and increasing the amount of deposits with 300 percent, it appears that Afghanistan’s remains immature and ineffective. There is a lack of confidence in the government to provide a rule of law, as well as a perceived inability to protect property rights and to decrease the amount of corruption. As a result, confidence in the financial and banking system is very low. It is therefore justified to state that the banking system of Afghanistan is not fulfilling the role of mediatory. The banking system seems to be immature and not properly functioning as an effective banking system to facilitate sustainable economic growth.

**Efficiency of the banking system**

In February 2011, the Afghan banking system consisted of 17 licensed banks.\textsuperscript{205} According to the DAB’s 2008-2009 Annual Bulletin, 19 percent of the assets belonged to state owned banks, 20 percent to branches of foreign banks in Afghanistan, and 61 percent to Afghan private banks.\textsuperscript{206} In March 2009, only 15 percent of the assets were owned by state owned banks, 17 percent by branches of foreign banks and 68 percent by private banks.\textsuperscript{207} This shows a major shift in favor of the privately owned banks in Afghanistan. Privately owned banks gained 11 percent of the assets, where state owned banks lost 27 percent and branches of international banks lost 15 percent.


\textsuperscript{207} Ibid.
The total assets of the banks in Afghanistan went from US$1.62 billion in March 2008 to US$2.8 billion in March 2009.\textsuperscript{208} This is an increase of 73 percent within one year. The amount of loans also achieved growth. The total amount increased from US$ 773 million in March 2008 to US$ 966 million in March 2009.\textsuperscript{209} This is an increase of 25 percent. Striking was the fact that 83 percent of this growth has been achieved by the privately owned banks.\textsuperscript{210} The increase in deposits is, as described in the previous paragraph, considerably high. It went from US$ 270 million in March 2008 to US$ 947 million in March 2009.\textsuperscript{211} Most surprising were the profitability figures, the so-called return on average assets. The Afghan banking system was profitable in 2009, although it decreased from 1.8 percent in March 2008 to 1.69 percent in March 2009.\textsuperscript{212} However, if the figures are broken down for state owned, privately owned and branches of foreign banks, than a different picture starts to evolve. State owned banks made a profit of US$ 11 million in March 2008 and a loss of US$ 58,000 in March 2009. Privately owned banks were still profitable in 2009, but profits had fallen by 37 percent in March 2009. However, foreign banks increased their profits by 10 percent in March 2009.\textsuperscript{213} This remarkable result can be explained by research done by Jelena Pavlović and Joshua

\textsuperscript{208} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{209} Ibid., 96.

\textsuperscript{210} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{211} Ibid., 99.

\textsuperscript{212} Ibid., 100-101.

\textsuperscript{213} Ibid.
In general, they concluded that major differences exist between foreign owned and domestically owned banks. Foreign owned banks seem to be more profitable, have little or no involvement in domestic lending, adhere to stricter and more traditional procedures, and have a higher profitability.\textsuperscript{215} Domestically, privately and state-owned banks, are less profitable or are even making losses, have substantial domestic lending activities, and have non-conventional procedures for assessment of borrowers.\textsuperscript{216} Therefore, the challenge for DAB is to balance the efficiency of the foreign-owned banks with the financial mediation of the domestically owned banks in order to facilitate sustainable economic growth with a healthy and reliable banking system.

**Activities of the military in Kosovo and Afghanistan**

There is no evidence that the military helped develop the banking systems in Kosovo or Afghanistan. This is in line with the literature review as described in chapter 2. The military recognizes the importance of a functioning financial and banking system. However, it does not consider itself as the primary actor to stabilize the financial and banking system.\textsuperscript{217} As a result, the military activities are limited to providing security and protection to key assets and processes, and providing logistical support to distribute new


\textsuperscript{215}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{216}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{217}Joint Warfighting Center, Ch IV.
banknotes as part of the currency reform.\textsuperscript{218} The military does not consider itself part of the development of the banking system. Therefore, it is logical that no documents are found that describe these tasks.

Possible military tasks in Kosovo and Afghanistan

As explained in the beginning of the chapter, this section is different from the rest of the analysis. Instead of describing what has been done, it describes possible tasks the military could have conducted in order to facilitate the development of the respective banking systems. The Kosovo and Afghanistan case studies demonstrate that the military did not actively participate in the development of the banking system. In fact, there are no known examples in the literature of any integrated efforts between the military force and civilian banking organizations to facilitate the development of the banking system.

In Kosovo, as well as Afghanistan, there was a lack of security in the early phase of stability operations. In order to be effective, the military force must therefore do what it can to facilitate this process. Other organizations, like the IMF, World Bank or USAID will not always be present to assist in the development of the local banking system.

In almost every operation, the military can provide security and logistical support to facilitate the development process. Specific examples of military support to the development of the banking system are scarce. However, a specific example occurred in October 2002 when the military provided logistical and security support to the IMF in Afghanistan to replace banknotes.\textsuperscript{219} In addition, the Handbook for Military Support to

\textsuperscript{218} Staff of the Monetary and Financial Systems Department, 5.

\textsuperscript{219} Ibid.
Economic Stabilization of the U.S. Joint Forces Command and a Technical Report of the RAND Cooperation, also describe possible military support.\textsuperscript{220} For example; it could be used to protect key infrastructure (e.g., banks themselves), or to protect key personnel which lead or operate banks. This is especially important when a shortage of capable personnel exists. As long as there is a security issue, the military assists the government and supporting international financial institutions like the World Bank and the IMF, to facilitate the training of personnel and function of banks.

Another possible task for the military is to facilitate the repair of banks and the financial infrastructure. This particularly applies to Afghanistan were most of the infrastructure was damaged or destroyed after decades of war. Beyond infrastructure, the military could establish an (emergency) payment system. Such a system is, according to the IMF, one of the first banking functions necessary in restoring a banking system.\textsuperscript{221} Repairing infrastructure further contributes to the local economy when local personnel and facilities are integrated into the military’s economic development plan.

The military can use its Intelligence Preparation of the Battlefield process and its intelligence assets to gather information about the status of the financial and banking system.\textsuperscript{222} U.S. Army Field Manual 3-07 specifically describes the possibility for the military to conduct detailed assessments of physical infrastructure. Gathering information about public systems, services, and facilities supports the planning efforts and facilitates

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{220} Joint Warfighting Center, Ch IV; Crane et al., 84.
\item \textsuperscript{221} Lönnberg, 3.
\item \textsuperscript{222} Crane et al., 82-83.
\end{itemize}
economic activity.\textsuperscript{223} For example, the Kosovo conflict caused a significant outflow of human capital. Before the conflict, most positions were held by Serbians. During the conflict, they fled to Serbia leaving a severe shortage of skilled workers and professionals.\textsuperscript{224} In order to be effective, international financial institutions, like the World Bank and the IMF, must empower the military with the financial information it needs to develop the local banking system. The military could provide this information by using their intelligence collection assets. This can provide valuable information for the World Bank, the IMF and USAID.

The military could have used local Afghan currency instead of US Dollars.\textsuperscript{225} The authors’ personal experience in 2003 points out that because the military used US Dollars on a large scale, the Afghan population was reluctant to trade in Afghan currency. Spending by the military, using national currency, can ―shore up‖ the Afghan currency. According to the World Bank’s Afghanistan Economic Update of April 2010, there is military spending, especially in imports.\textsuperscript{226} By using local currency, it could also stimulate confidence in local currency. However, the decision to use a specific currency must always be advocated by the IMF and the (future) currency policy of the local government. In addition, the military should prevent, by participating in the local

\textsuperscript{223} Department of the Army, FM 3-07, 2-12.

\textsuperscript{224} Demeka et al., 84.

\textsuperscript{225} Crane et al., 86.

economy and therefore increasing the demand for goods and services, to cause a considerable raise of prices and thus inflation. Prices for products and services should therefore remain in line with local price levels.

If there is consensus that economic development should start as early as possible and that an effective banking system is indispensable for sustainable economic growth, the military should have financial knowledge available to facilitate the development of the banking system as soon as possible. ISAF and KFOR should therefore have had an integrated financial staff support element, comparable to the financial staff division of AMGOT.227 This does not mean that the military becomes the primary responsible actor for the development of the banking system or that military personnel should be trained to be bankers. It means that financial knowledge should be incorporated in the military task organization because the military is in most cases the first governmental foreign (aid) provider. In Kosovo and Afghanistan, an integrated financial staff support element could have integrated the support of the military to the economic and infrastructural development in an economic development plan. In addition, this staff element could also use US government funds to provide credit to small and medium enterprises. This was an extremely successful operation of USAID in Kosovo.228 It may even prevent local economies from depending too much on foreign aid at the expense of real economic growth.

227Komer, Ch II-21.

228United States Agency for International Development, Transforming Banking System in Kosovo.
CHAPTER 5
CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

This chapter describes research conclusions and recommendations for the facilitating role of the military. The conclusions focus on the activities of the World Bank, the IMF and USAID to develop the banking system in Kosovo and Afghanistan. Secondly, the success or failure of these activities is determined by examining economic growth, the effectiveness, and the efficiency of the banking system. Finally, the activities of the military to facilitate the development of the banking system are described. In the second part of this chapter, recommendations describe how the military can facilitate the development of the banking system in order to succeed in stabilization and reconstruction and to achieve sustainable economic growth.

Conclusions

The development of a viable banking system is a prerequisite for facilitating sustainable economic growth and should start as early as possible during a military operation. However, the military should not be the primary actor in developing the banking system.

The study shows that the activities of the World Bank and IMF mainly focused on high-level institutions, regulations and laws. The World Bank and the IMF provided grants, credit, and technical assistance to financial and governmental institutions in order to rebuild the financial sector in Kosovo and Afghanistan. They mainly focused their efforts on strengthening the central bank capabilities of the CBK in Kosovo and DAB in

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Afghanistan. In contrast, the activities of USAID, were more practical in nature. USAID provided for example assistance to implement on-site examinations of commercial banks. In addition, USAID’s main effort was to provide credit to small and medium enterprises in both countries. The development of the Kosovo Business Finance Fund even led to the establishment of the American Bank of Kosovo. This bank now operates as a financial institution managed primarily by Kosovo citizens. Despite the enormous efforts of the World Bank, the IMF and USAID, the study generally indicates that the activities of the World Bank, the IMF and USAID to develop the banking system in Kosovo and Afghanistan were not completely successful. Although the development of the Kosovo Business Finance Fund led to the establishment of the American Bank of Kosovo, the banking system in Kosovo and Afghanistan is ineffective. Too many firms rely on internal ways to finance investments. Limited amount of firms have a line of credit with financial institutions and use banks to finance their investments. Lenders have to provide a high amount of collateral to get a credit. There is a lack of trust and confidence in the financial system. The risk for providing credit is high, and apparently, there are enough informal ways to finance investments.

In stark contrast to the ineffectiveness of the banking system is the fact that both countries achieved economic growth. Based on the analysis, economic growth should not have occurred due to the illogical combination of limited amount of credit provided by banks, the relatively high level of inflation, a lack of foreign direct investments and the annual increase in the total volume of money. Based on the evaluation, there should not even be real economic growth, especially because of the inflationary effect of the increase the annual percent increase in the total volume of money in both countries.
In addition, the study shows that the banking system in both countries, does not fulfill its role as financial mediatory to facilitate sustainable economic growth, despite the efforts of the World Bank, IMF and USAID. The evaluation of the banking system in Kosovo and Afghanistan indicates an informal system to finance investments and the fact that banks are only used to store money. As a result, they are not used as part of an integrated financial system. The evaluation of the banking system in both countries also shows that in both countries, the formal role and tasks of the central bank are described by law and there is even a considerable rise in deposits. However, a low percentage of firms have a line of credit with banks, the percentage of firms that use banks to finance investments, and foreign direct investments are low. It is therefore surprising that the percentage of firms that identify access to finance as a major concern, is also low. It is remarkable that both countries have a considerable rise in deposits and economic growth, although they exist in completely different circumstances. This seems to indicate that economic growth is not solely based upon economic variables, but the result of international aid and assistance.

Although the banking system does not fulfill its role as financial mediatory, banks in Kosovo are efficient. Efficient means that a bank makes a profit. Kosovo banks are profitable because they have highly concentrated assets, loans and deposits. This results in higher returns on average assets and equity because the overhead costs are lower. The disadvantage of Kosovo banks is that they lack an international focus. This could explain the relatively low amount of foreign direct investments. Although the concentration of assets, loans and deposits decreases, it is up to the CBK to improve the international
focus and further expand the commercial banking system in Kosovo to facilitate sustainable economic growth.

The Afghan banking system is partly efficient. It depends on the ownership of the bank. There is a remarkable difference between foreign and domestically owned banks. Foreign owned banks are more profitable, have little or no involvement in domestic lending, adhere to stricter, and more traditional lending procedures. Domestically, privately and state-owned banks, are less profitable or are even have a negative balance sheet, but do conduct a lot of domestic lending, and have non-conventional procedures for risk assessment. Therefore, the challenge for DAB is to balance the efficiency of the foreign-owned banks with the financial mediation of the domestically owned banks in order to create a banking system that facilitates sustainable economic growth.

The study also shows that the military does not consider itself the primary actor to develop the banking system during stabilization and reconstruction. However, it does recognize the importance of the banking system for sustainable economic growth. That explains why there are no specific documents describing a specific military role in the development of the banking system. The current role of the military is therefore limited to providing logistical or security support for key infrastructure and personnel.

Development of a banking system is a complex operation that requires substantial financial knowledge. The study also shows that the banking system is not always focused on the effectiveness of the financial system. The Afghanistan case study even

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229 Pavlović and Charap 19-20.

230 Joint Warfighting Center, Ch IV.
demonstrated that it is possible to have highly profitable banks that do not fulfill the role of financial mediatory in order to facilitate economic growth in a country. Both case studies underwrite the important role of a well functioning central bank. Finally, the study shows that the main reason for an ineffective banking system in these two countries is a lack of confidence in the rule of law, the difficulty to enforce rules and the overall presence of corruption. This leads to recommendations for the military to facilitate the development of a banking system in order to develop sustainable economic growth.

Recommendations

Although the military is not the primary actor in developing the banking system, development of the banking system is necessary to facilitate sustainable economic growth, and therefore, contributes to the success of stabilization and reconstruction efforts. The military is not responsible to develop the banking system. This seems logical because the main purpose of the armed forces is to provide security, to include the use of force, and not to develop an economy. Therefore, it is also logical that the armed forces do not have the knowledge needed to develop a banking system. In an effort to leverage a whole of government approach, all elements of national power should be applied to achieve or secure national or international interests. Ultimately, two questions remain. What can the military do and how do planners integrate these military capabilities to facilitate the development of a banking system.

The first recommendation is to continue the security and (logistical) support military forces provide to financial institutions and developmental organizations like the World Bank and the IMF. It is a simple but effective way to facilitate the work of these organizations. However, the military activities should be synchronized with the activities
of the World Bank and the IMF. In addition, the military can do more than just providing
security and logistical support.

The second recommendation is to incorporate, as early as possible, some liaison
personnel from the World Bank, IMF or USAID with financial knowledge into the
military task organization for stability and reconstruction operations. An alternative could
be to militarize civilian personnel or contractors, linked to the World Bank, the IMF or
USAID, with banking system development knowledge into the military organization or
staff of the responsible commander. This will provide the military commander the
knowledge that is needed to assess the situation, shape the development of the banking
system and synchronize military efforts with activities of other financial and
development-focused organizations. If these organizations are represented in the military
operation, then they do not have to wait to expand their activities until it is safe and
secure. In addition, the military commander can start improving the local economy in an
early stage, which will benefit the success of stabilization and reconstruction.

The third recommendation is to implement successful USAID microfinance
activities of small and medium size firms into military operations. The implementation of
small and medium size firms provides an excellent opportunity to start the development
of a banking system at a local level instead of waiting until the centrally organized
developments of the World Bank and IMF take effect on the rest of the country’s
economy. However, this requires the existence of local small and medium size firms
within the operating area. If the economic development or commercial activities are not
mature enough to finance small and medium size firms, an alternative could be to provide
a safe place to store money and a location to trade currency. This could be facilitated on a
military installation by providing a vault and a location to trade the currency. Because the money will be safe, it will facilitate economic development and confidence in a financial system. It also facilitates the process to license informal financial activities of traders of currency within the *Hawala* system, into the formal banking system. This requires close cooperation with the World Bank and the IMF, which develop the central bank, and as part of it, the way to license banks.

The fourth recommendation is that military spending should be integrated in the development plan of the banking system. This means that funds should not only provide immediate and tangible relief, they should also be used to shape the banking operation. As an example, the Commander’s funds of the Emergency Response Programs could be synchronized with an overall banking development plan. This effectively forces them to use local banking systems to conduct payments to contractors. To complement these reforms, local currency should be used, or new currency if there is a currency reform plan. Additionally, the military should demand for accountability from local contractors and banks to facilitate the development of the banking system.

The fifth recommendation is that the military force can also facilitate the development of the banking system by promoting the rule of law, assist the local government in establishing the enforcement of property rights and fight corruption where possible. This will not be a task for the military alone. It is an example of the whole of government approach. By improving the rule of law, the enforcement of property rights and diminishing corruption it will directly contribute to confidence in the government, lower risk for banks to lend money, therefore, lower collateral, more possibilities for people to start a business to develop economic growth.
The last and most important recommendation is that all elements of national power should be more integrated and synchronized. A possibility is to use the Intelligence Preparation of the Battlefield process and the military intelligence assets to facilitate the assessment of the financial and banking system. The military can provide valuable information, if empowered with the information necessary to support the World Bank, the IMF, and USAID. This information is valuable because it can be used by the World Bank, the IMF and USAID to facilitate the development of the banking system.

This study shows that military bankers will remain fiction, but it also shows that the military can do more than just provide security or logistical support to facilitate the development of the banking system. If the military integrates and synchronizes its activities and funding with other organizations like the World Bank, the IMF and USAID, the overall success of stabilization and reconstruction can be achieved earlier and more effectively.
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