



## Corruption in Central Asia

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# **CORRUPTION IN CENTRAL ASIA**

A Project Presented

by

**ASKARBEK MAMBETALIEV**

Submitted to the Graduate School of the  
University of Massachusetts Amherst for the degree of

**MASTER OF EDUCATION**

May 2004

Center for International Education  
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# CORRUPTION IN CENTRAL ASIA

A Dissertation Presented

by

ASKARBEK E.MAMBETALIEV

Approved as to style and content by:

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Gretchen Rossman, Instructor

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*A pressing issue!*

# Education against Corruption

## From Awareness to Action

Central Asia: Kyrgyz Republic

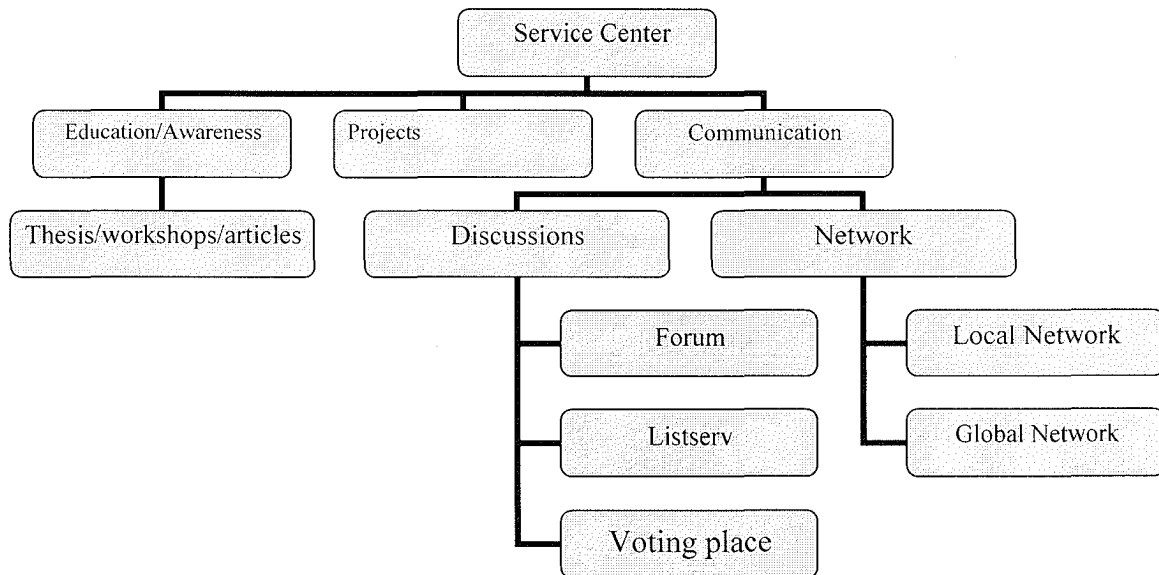
Master's Project: [www.corruptionresearch.net](http://www.corruptionresearch.net)



21.05.2004

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## STRUCTURE AND DEVELOPMENT PLANS OF THE PROJECT



# CORRUPTION IN CENTRAL ASIA

## About Project

This project is dedicated to the exploration of the nature, the causes and the means of combatting corruption. It focuses on the context and experience in Central Asia, seeking to contribute towards the betterment of these countries and peoples. >>>

## How to reduce corruption?



**"Teaching young people good morals is an effective method of fighting against corruption"** (Joseph Stephan from Germany).

## Continents

[Australia](#)  
[Eurasia](#)  
[Africa](#)  
[North America](#)  
[South America](#)

## Causes and Costs of corruption

I was 18 years old a young man, and served in the Soviet air forces as a mechanical engineer for military helicopters when the Soviet government sent me to Chernobyl right after the blast of the reactor. I had no knowledge about radiation when I flew 8 hours a day over the reactor, spraying from the helicopter a liquid which was supposed to bring down the radioactive dust in the air. In fact, I enjoyed the beautiful green forests from the high, inhaling the radioactive air from the machine. So did my friends, too, who flew next to my machine. I started feeling the affects of radiation after 5-6 years back at home. Doctors gave me disablement of III degree, which gives some social benefits. >>>

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## Community involvement

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## Educational materials

[Presentation](#), [Workshops](#)

## Corruption and Violence

Corruption is a type of conflict itself, because it violates some norms of social ethics, destroying the value system of a society. In case of natural growth with no preventing measures it eventually results in a violent conflict. >>>

## Perceptions of corruption



**"It depends on people's perceptions, economic conditions, dominant cultural practices, as well as political situation..."** (Shahadat from Bangladesh)

## Central Asia

[Kyrgyz Republic](#)  
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## Introduction

This project is dedicated to the exploration of the nature, the causes and the means of combatting corruption. It focuses on the context and experience in Central Asia, seeking to contribute towards the betterment of these countries and peoples.

Growing attention is being given to the phenomenon of corruption worldwide. There have been established numbers of specialized International Organizations directly addressing to the issues of preventing and combating against corruption. According to Transparency International corruption traps people in poverty, undermines democracy, distorts national and international trade, diminishes ethics, contributes socioeconomic and political crises, threatens security, hinders development, and affects nature (Transparency International, 2004, para.1).

National governments are also taking corruption seriously. According to the research at the World Bank Institute "more than \$1 trillion dollars (US\$1,000 billion) is paid in bribes each year" all over the world (WB, 2004, para.1). Corruption also produces economic distortions in the public sector by diverting public investments intended for social services, such as education, to private uses. The costs of corruption go beyond economic dimensions. Corruption undermines the rule of law in judiciary, reduces accountability in elections, and threatens the institutional integrity and legitimacy of government. Corruption damages trust, ethics and brings stagnation. Eventually, unbridled corruption escalates crime in the society and ultimately may trigger violent conflict.

Fighting against corruption is increasingly becoming a concern not only of governments and international agencies, but also of civil society and its members. It is impossible to reduce corruption without

Languages



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Project structure



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Content



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### WHAT CAN WE DO?

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involvement of both policy makers and ordinary citizens. Public awareness and political will are the pillars on which anticorruption campaigns should construct their activities. The role of education here is to bring people to awareness of corruption and prepare them for action.

### **Why have I chosen this subject?**

In many countries of the world people are struggling with oppression in the form of social conflicts, corruption, authoritarian rulers, and persecutions for beliefs. There is no country in the world that has these problems, even among those with rich natural resources, that is prosperous. On the contrary, they struggle with poverty.

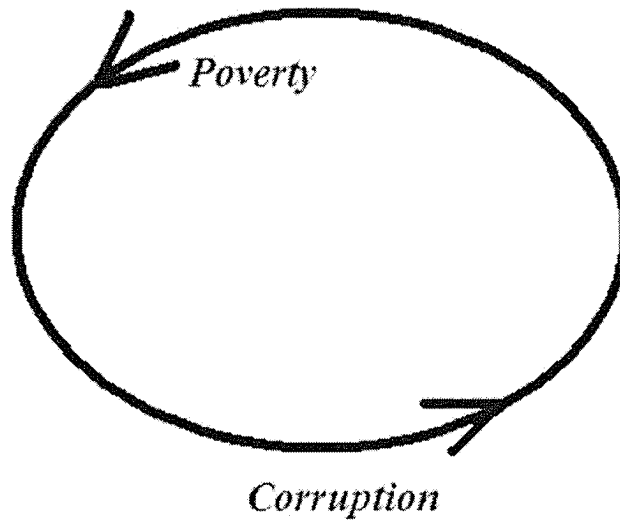
### **Which comes first: corruption or poverty?**

When I think about the developing world struggling with poverty and corruption a question comes into my mind: which of these two problems is the first. A semester ago, my hypothesis was that corruption causes poverty because it eats away at the very core values and trust within society. But poverty enforces corruption pushing it to the next level of growth. I shared this idea with some people including my classmates in the Center for International Education at the University of Massachusetts. The latest dispute with a PhD candidate from Bangladesh - Shahadat Chaury, was also about this question. Mr. Shaudhury was confident that poverty produces corruption. In his opinion, in the West people are the same as in the developing world, but they have fewer opportunities to be corrupted due to financial and structural well being.

I argued that, providing all the members of a corrupted society even with a billion dollars, after some time one may find half of them very enriched with the other half stuck in poverty. This is because not all people possess equal skills to manage financial resources. When they are skillful enough, not only in terms of managing their finances, but also inclined doing business by all means(including corrupted ones), then they find ways to transfer money belonging to their less enterprising compatriots.

### **My hypothesis.**

Now I have come to the conclusion that the two hypotheses described above are interconnected. Corruption and poverty are more precisely shaped as a cyclical diagram rather than a linear cause-and-effect perspective.

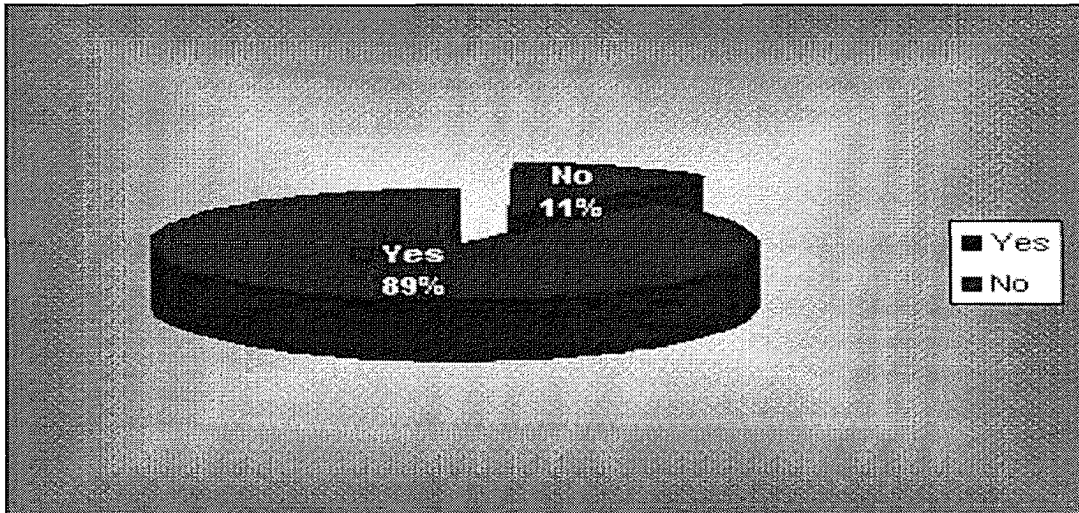


### **How can we break this cycle?**

This project is dedicated to finding and producing solutions to this question through exploration of research, theory and discussion. The parts of the project consist of the thesis, discussion forums and links to other resources. The thesis strives to answer three essential questions: 1. What is corruption? 2. Why do we have it? 3. What to do with it?

## Perception of corruption

The majority of the students from all over the former USSR currently studying in different American universities throughout the country consider corruption as a negative element.



However, there are people approaching the problem from a relativistic point of view, "Corruption can mean different things for different cultures!" says Ulan Jumanaev, a Muskie fellow from Bishkek (Jumanaev, U., personal communication, April 10, 2004).

Indeed, In Central Asia, the practice of gift giving and gift taking is so accepted that it is not even considered as "corruption". Instead, it is seen as an act of hospitality and kindness that is an essential part of national pride. People give and take bribes for almost everything, starting with a child going to a kindergarten, and then for getting him/her into an elite school, to get a good job. Some people even pay to get diplomas.

Nurhul Beishekeeva, from Bishkek, answering to the question "How do people feel about corruption?" says, "Almost daily; dealing with public officials, through children who go to schools, universities; through relatives and friends who look for jobs, etc." (Beishekeeva, N., personal communication, April 10, 2004).

In his book called *The Corrupted Society*, a former citizen of the USSR Konstantin Simis describes the situation with these words, "The corruption that has rotted the ruling apparatus of the country has had the terrible effect of eating away the morals not only of the people who give or receive bribes but

also of the innocent, those who have not been party to corruption but who have merely been living in an atmosphere of corruption and have been forced to breathe its tainted air" (Simis K, p.248).

Zamira Sydykova, an opposition party leader in Bishkek, is very pessimistic when she says, "Great is the abyss that divides the government from people" (Sydykova, 2000, Posleslovie, p.101).

Diagram 1: **How do Kyrgyzstanis perceive the word corruption?**

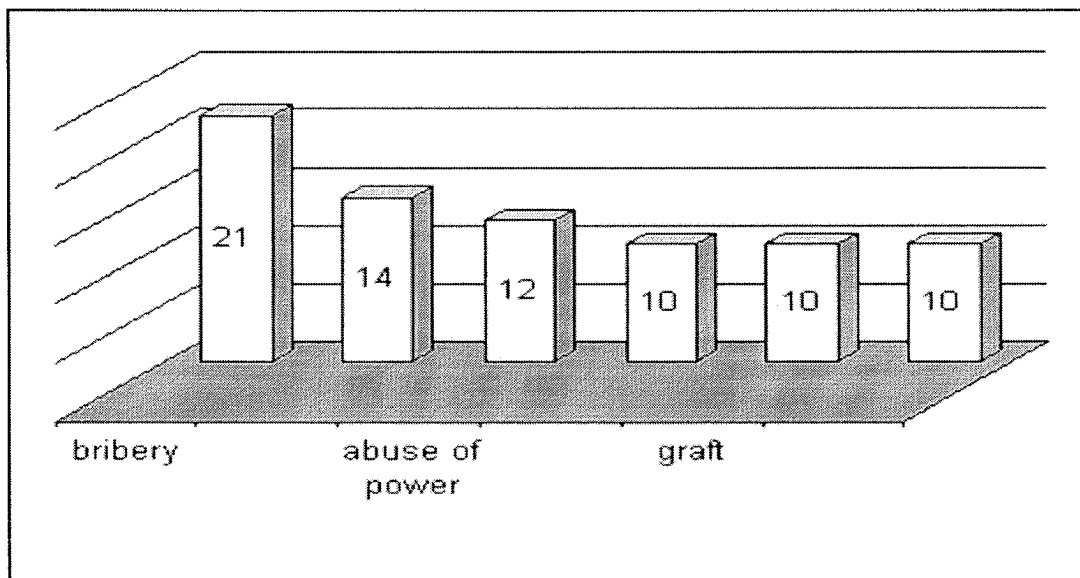
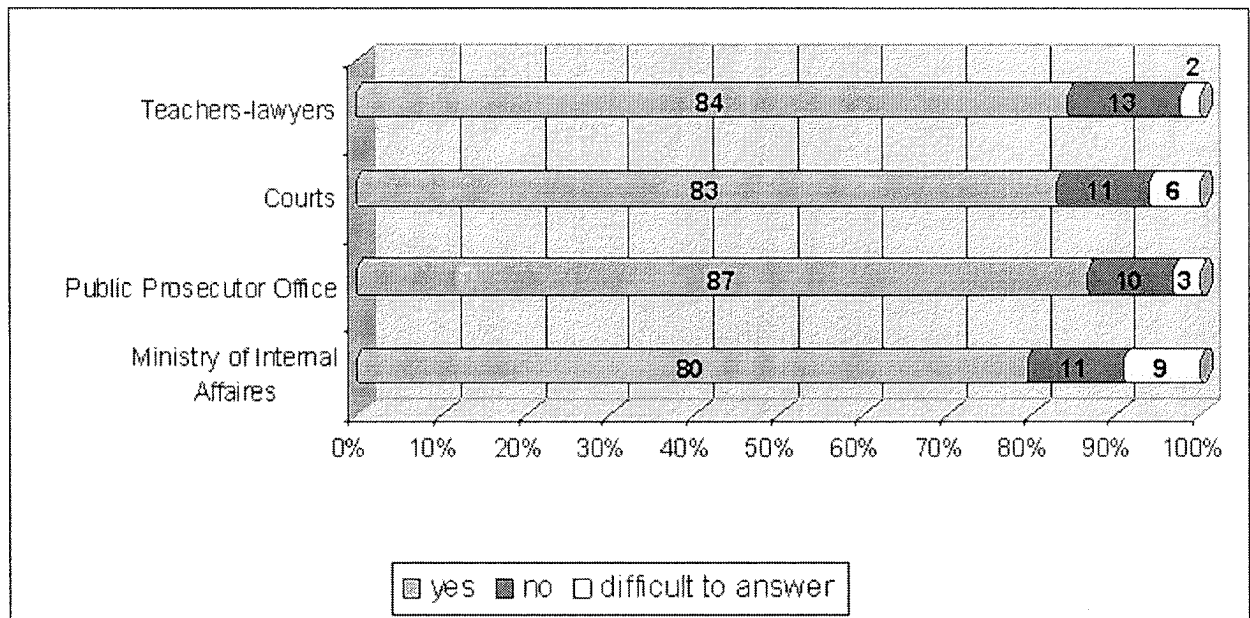


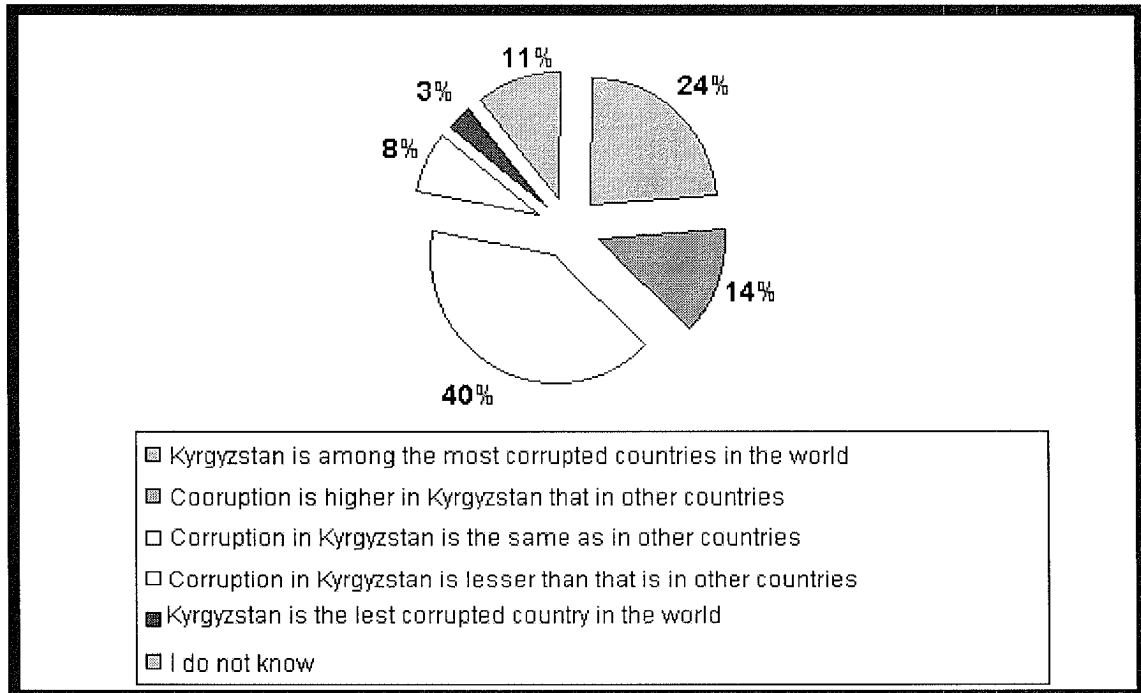
Diagram 2: **Does the definition of corruption exist in our legislation?**



Source: [click here](#)

As shown in the diagram, most of the Kyrgyzstanis associate the term corruption with bribery, which is indeed the core element of corruption. However, corruption has a broader meaning and clearer definition given by leading anticorruption agencies worldwide. The reason of the insufficient awereness of corruption, even by the workers of law enforcement bodies, may be in weaknesses of the definitions given in the Kyrgyz legislation.

**The Kyrgyzstani people's perception of the level of corruption in comparision with the Soviet time**



### Corruption in Central Asian cultures

An American author and Professor of International Relations at Harvard University, professor Lawrence Harrison, believes that corruption and culture are strongly linked. According to him corruption is a cultural phenomenon. The Press Release of the US Embassy in Tanzania quotes his words, "with respect to the consolation of democracy and economic development, natural resources are reasonably important, laws are important, but the most important factors of democracy and development are habits, what we refer to today as cultural values."

"The role of corruption in the life of Central Asians begins, literally, at birth: present nurses and doctors with gifts of cash in order to assure their child will be safely delivered. Then, as grows, so too do the number, and size, of cash 'gifts'" (Eshanova, 2002, para.1).

"In some cultures, it is widely understood that one of the benefits of public office is the opportunity to accrue personal wealth through manipulation of the system. Appointments to senior government positions are granted as rewards, a recognition that the appointee has earned a turn to loot. Just as incentives, when commonplace, loose their incentive value, corrupt practices, when pervasive, become the norm. Those not participating may be considered naive, odd, or stupid, even by those who suffer the negative consequences" (Chapman. 2003. p. 14).

## **Can corruption be seen as normal or traditional in some societies?**

Some critics argue that the fight against corruption is just another case of the West trying to impose its views and values on the other part of the world. However, Transparency International, sees such attempts as absurd. According to TI "Cultural relativism ends where the Swiss bank account enters the scene. It is a matter of degree: there are limits in all cultures beyond which an action becomes corrupt and unacceptable"(TI, 2003. para.9).

It is precisely in order to account for cultural differences that TI has developed its national chapter system. People anchored in their societies have the best sense of what is customary, and what is a violation of the norm. And the abuse of power for personal gain, the siphoning off of public or common resources into private pockets is sanctioned in all cultures and societies.

## **Are democracy and corruption (ir-)reconcilable?**

"In a modern democracy, the power of governing bodies is inherent in the political mandate given by the people. Power is entrusted and it is supposed to be used for the benefit of society at large, and not for the personal benefit of the individual that holds it. Thus corruption - misusing publicly entrusted power for private gain - is inherently contradictory and irreconcilable with democracy. That does not mean, unfortunately, that corruption cannot be found in democratic systems. Temptation remains a challenge anywhere. That is why it is all the more important to put in place control mechanisms and establish systemic hurdles to prevent people from abusing their power, as TI is seeking to do. Such mechanisms are more easily drawn up and introduced in established democratic systems, however, than in newly democratic or non-democratic ones"(TI, 2003. para.9).

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## Definitions of corruption

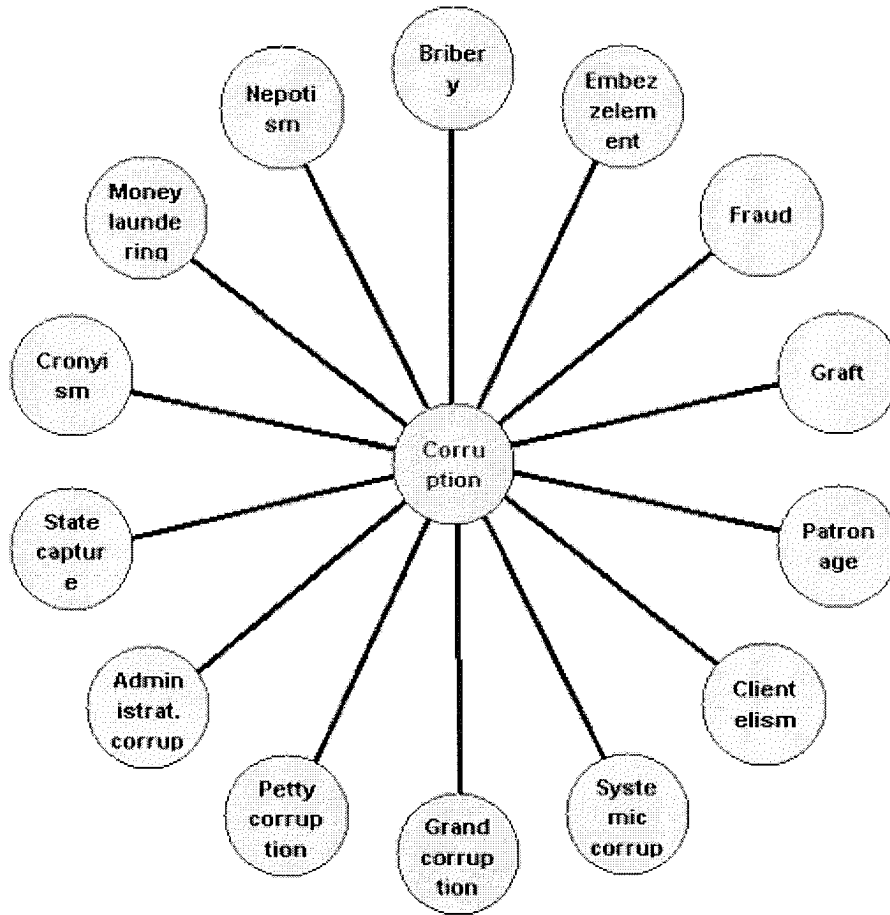
The latin word "corruptio" means "destruction, undermining moral integrity, use of a position of trust for dishonest gain, spoiling, decay" (<http://www.hyperdictionary.com/dictionary/corruptio>).

Here is another definition: "The act of changing, or of being changed, for the worse; departure from what is pure, simple, or correct; as, a corruption of style; corruption in language" ([www.dictionary.com](http://www.dictionary.com)).

Corruption takes place when government officials use their power for private purposes. It also happens between public office and citizens in the form of bribery, fraud, paternalism, and influence peddling. [Transparency International](#) (TI) and [World Bank](#) (WB) which focus their activities on the problems of corruption define it as "Abuse of entrusted power for private interest" or "[Misuse of public office for private gain](#)" (TI, 2003, para.1).

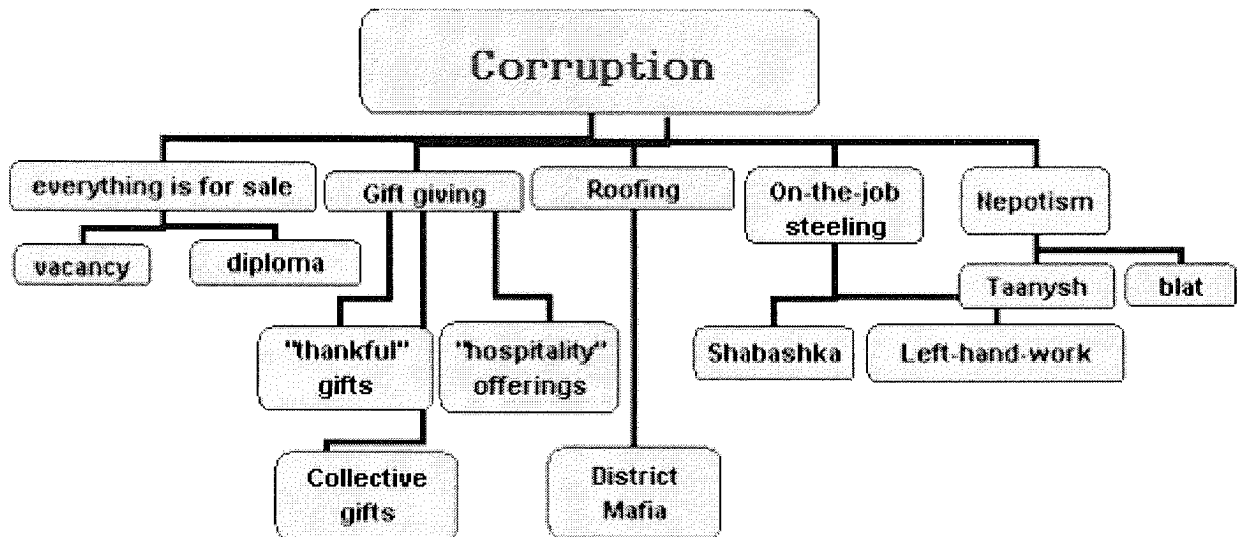
TI differentiates between "according to rule" corruption and "against the rule" corruption. "Facilitation payments, where a bribe is paid to receive preferential treatment for something that the bribe receiver is required to do by law, constitute the former. The latter, on the other hand, is a bribe paid to obtain services the bribe receiver is prohibited from providing"(TI, July, 2003, para.1).

## Types of corruption



B

## Specific types of corruption most common in the region



## History of corruption in Kyrgyzstan

The salaries of the Soviets were not sufficient to support their home budget, therefore people used to steal from their working places. For instance, if the intelligentsia class in the Soviet time received about 300 rubles, which was equivalent to \$250, (now they receive less than \$100 a month) the workers received just a half of it, which is evidently not enough for food supply of a single person. If one were to take into account the size of Central Asian families, which is usually more than 3 people, then it becomes obvious that it is impossible for families to survive on official salaries. This is the one of the reasons that push people to find out artful methods of earning.

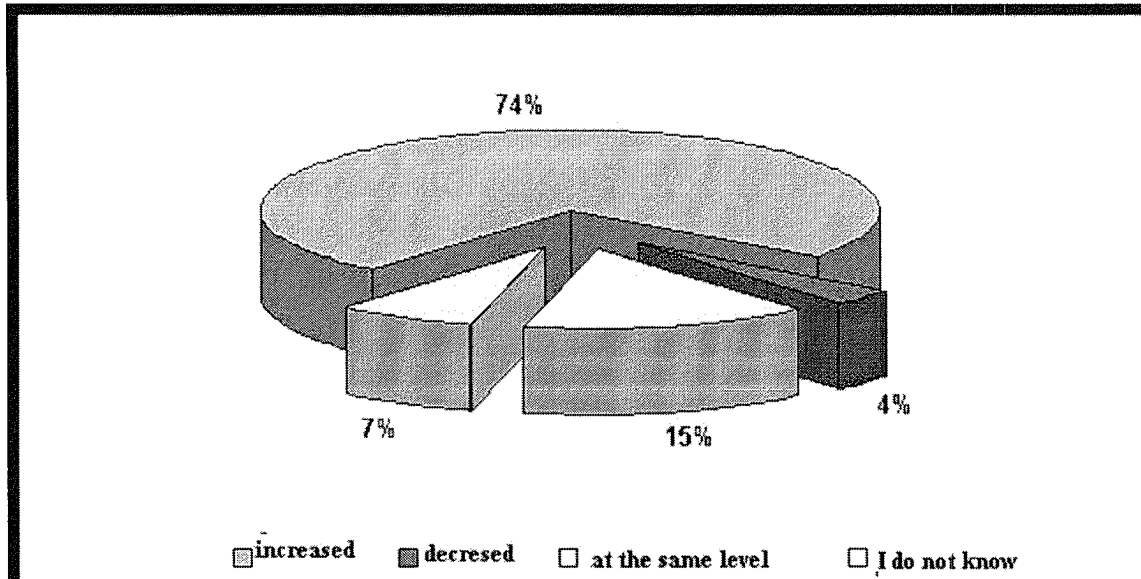
The on-the-job stealing was common and practiced everywhere in the USSR. Konstantin Simis, the author of the book *The corrupted society*, brings many examples of stealing on the job. Below are two examples of such a comical event:

"Controls on people working in jewelry factories are especially strict, and these employees are usually subjected to meticulous body searches. But even so, they find ways of walking out with quite large amounts of gold, platinum, and gems. Court cases involving thefts from jewelry factories crop up fairly regularly, and the case evidence reveals which smuggling methods have been used. Men usually carry the loot in special hollowed-out belt buckles or in hollow shoe soles, and women use either the heels of their shoes or their genitals as hiding places" (K. Simis, p. 255).

## The current situation in Kyrgyz Republic

The collapse of the structure does not mean that all the people in the Soviet Union managed to change their way of thinking with a higher consciousness. The idea of "the new way of thinking" was not generated by the people, but initiated and imposed by the former president of USSR, Mikhail Gorbachev. People are habitually still being dependent on "directives" from above. The collapse was not a result of the development of consciousness of the Soviet people. [more](#)

**Figure 12. Level of corruption in comparison with ?Soviet?period. ([source](#))**



The president of Kazakhstan best described the current mentality of Central Asian people when he said, "Our attorneys do nothing until you do say them. What do they get their money for - I do not understand" (Sviridov, March 2004, para. 9).

The situation also fits in the paragraph of the book by Konstantin Simis, "Those who are not willing to accept corruption and who prefer to wage an open battle with it are doomed to failure" (Simis, K. p.2008).

Doctor Stuart Delorme, a minister to Internationals in the Park Street Church (in Boston, MA, USA), who lived among Kazakhs of China and Kazakhstan for two years, tries to be non judgemental when he speaks of Central Asian leaders, "It is not secret that presidents of Central Asia are very strong people and centralized. That is probably appropriate for Central Asia, but if you do have a lot of power of a centralized ruler, then some of the principals may go way back to middle ages" (Personal Communication, July, Boston).

It is still fresh in the people's memory how the former Prime Minister of Kyrgyz Republic Tursunbek Chyngyshev in one of the sessions with Jogorku Kenesh, made a statement, "Only lazy and silly people do not steal in this country" (D. Shamatov, 2003, p.5) . Although it is unclear whether he made this remark intentionally or accidentally, the fact is that his statement has become a well-known "proverb" in the region, it even turned out to be a motto of many officials, who privatized almost the whole national wealth for a song. The former head of the Kyrgyz Soviet Socialist Republic, Absamat Masaliev,

states that the total amount of money from the sold industrial objects is only 1.5 billion soms, which is equal to a cost of just a small factory. However, nobody knows where the money has gone.

A statement in the article published on the website of the US Department of State (<http://usinfo.state.gov>) shows the amount of \$300 000 000 given to the five Central Asian republics since independence.

According to Jyrgal Kudaibergenov, the owner of a monthly newspaper "Tagdyr" in Tokmok City, every Kyrgyzstani till the third generation is a debtor of International Investors, especially of IMF. Every three year old child owes \$3000 from what the government has received from the world (Kudaibergenov, Jyrgal., personal communication, August 8, 2001).

The question posed in the article, "Are they helping the economy of these countries?" published by one of the opposition newspapers "Moya Stolitsa" in Bishkek, is still being a "BIG QUESTION". In my experience, I see a little expression of this money on the welfare of the people, except that of a handful of government members who have constructed mansions for their families.

### **"Everything must go."**

It is sad that buying and selling job positions, diplomas, even some serious decisions has become a normal phenomenon in Central Asia. In the Soviet time there was a tradition to bring gifts of a chocolate, a bottle of cognac or the like as a sign of thankfulness to an official for a service. These kinds of gifts are inflated today, raising the cost of the services much higher, sometimes thousands of US dollars. As an evening newspaper in Bishkek states, "a position of a Deputy head of a district Internal Affairs Department costs an average of 10,000 dollars, whilst the position of Deputy Head of the city IAD costs 20,000 dollars" ([Vechemy Bishkek, May 6, 2004](#)).

The most typical kinds of corruption in the countries of the fSU including CA countries are subornation of officials (up to statestman), bribery for providing benefits, favoritism and protectionism of workers for their loyalty, belonging to a clan or family, being friends. The last one, especially, is common to Central Asian and Caucasian republics where relationships depend much on a clannish structure and friendship.

## **People need a good leadership**

Often, leaders who have a passion for change, who strive for something new, often do not have an intelligent plan of their action. In her article, "*The constitution, written and rewritten*," Zamira Sydykove remembers, "Pulling out the power from hands of communists, the democrats passed it over communists of the Parliament, meantime leaving nothing for themselves" (Sydykova, 2000, p.24).

## **Leaders are under threat**

"Contract killings have swept the capital and reached a new peak. Yesterday at about 8 p.m. the Head of the Main Combating Official Crimes Department of the KR MIA, Colonel Chynybek Aliev, was shot, probably by a Kalashnikov submachine gun in his official car. The murder of this high-ranking official is a clear challenge to the whole law enforcement system >>>>."

"In autumn 2002 there was an attempt on the life of Misir Ashirkulov, Secretary of the Security Council. This was a sensational crime. It was necessary to find the criminals to save the image of the law enforcement bodies. The former IA Deputy Minister, Bolotbek Nogoibaev and Head of the Bishkek IAD, Keneshbek Duishebaev, did everything to persuade the population that the initiator of the crime had been detained. A special investigation group consisting of the best experts was formed to investigate the crime, but they refused to do it - according to them the detained person was not really the one attempting to kill a top official. Will General Imankulov agree that this is a kind of sabotage?" >>>>

## **The causes and costs of corruption**

When the basic human needs, described by Manfred Max-Neef, (physical, pshychological, social and spiritual) are not satisfied and the socially acceptable goals, such as having a house, a car, a position, a job, etc are not achievable by socially acceptable means( for example: due to a small income), then there a conflict begins between the socially accepted moral codes and the socially acceptable goals. When a person violates the codes he/she automatically enters into the cycle of corruption.

"Since the ultimate source of rent-seeking behavior is the availability of rents, corruption is likely to occur where restrictions and government intervention

lead to the presence of such excessive profits. Examples include trade restrictions (such as tariffs and import quotas), favoritist industrial policies (such as subsidies and tax deductions), price controls, multiple exchange rate practices and foreign exchange allocation schemes, and government-controlled provision of credit. Some rents may arise in the absence of government intervention, as in the case of natural resources, such as oil, whose supply is limited by nature and whose extraction cost is far lower than its market price. Since abnormal profits are available to those who extract oil, officials who allocate extraction rights are likely to be offered bribes. Finally, one would expect that corruption is more likely to take place when civil servants are paid very low wages and often must resort to collecting bribes in order to feed their families..." (Paulo Mauro)

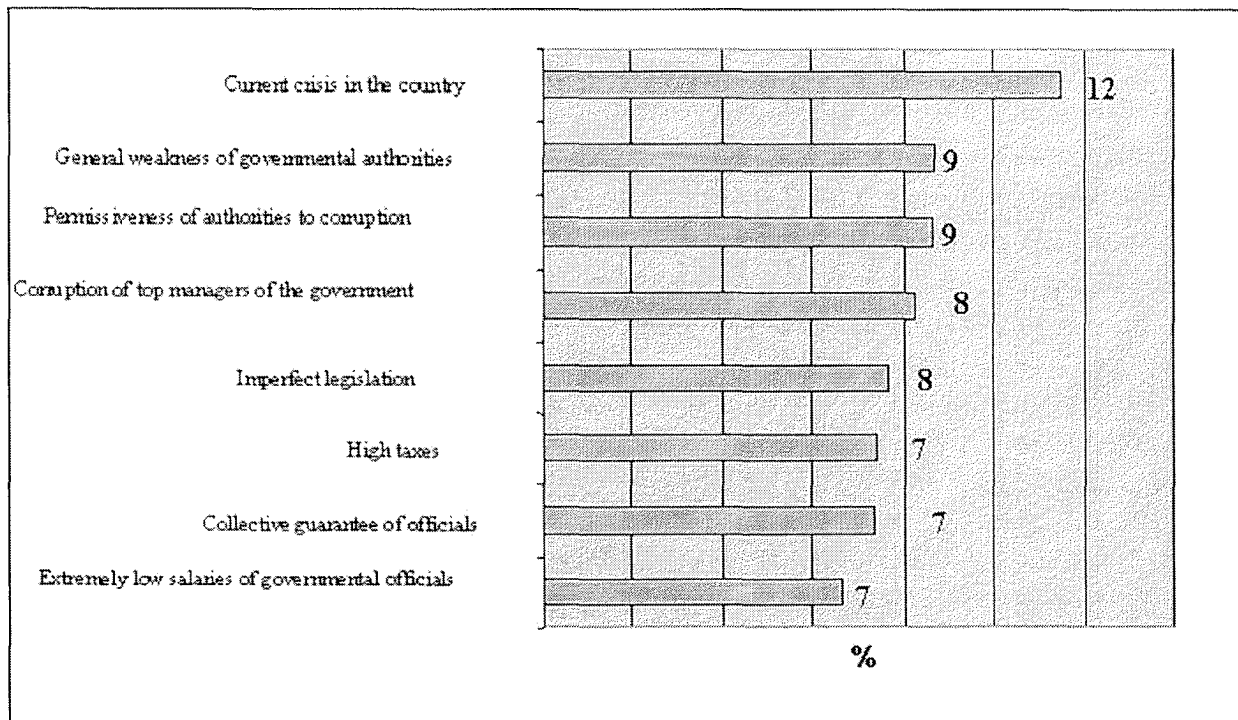
### **Causes of corruption**

"Corruption is not just the clearly "bad" cases of government officials skimming off money for their own benefit. It includes cases where the systems do not work well, and ordinary people are left in a bind, needing to give a bribe for the medicine or the licenses they need" (World Bank. Causes of corruption).

"People offer bribes because they want an unfair advantage over others-to pay lower taxes, to get an appointment or promotion, to win a contract, or to get something done quickly. They also may offer bribes to avoid a fine or penalty. " (Causes of corruption, Module 4, p.3).

Below is the results of a survey done in the Kyrgyz Republic. The survey covered about 2100 people including high officials, members of law enforcement bodies, people and businessmen.

*Figure 1. Question to people: What are the main reasons of corruption in the Kyrgyz Republic in your opinion?*



### Consequences of corruption

In the corrupted society important decisions are taken with no concern of the consequences for the wider community. The cost of goods and services as well as the debt of the country increases.

"The cost of corruption is four-fold: political, economic, social, and environmental. On the political front, corruption constitutes a major obstacle to democracy and the rule of law. In a democratic system, offices and institutions lose their legitimacy when they are misused for private advantage. Though this is harmful in the established democracies, it is even more so in newly emerging ones. Accountable political leadership cannot develop in a corrupt climate. Economically, corruption leads to the depletion of national wealth. It is often responsible for the funnelling of scarce public resources to uneconomic high-profile projects, such as dams, power plants, pipelines and refineries, at the expense of less spectacular but more necessary infrastructure projects such as schools, hospitals and roads, or the supply of power and water to rural areas. Furthermore, it hinders the development of fair market structures and distorts competition, thereby deterring investment. The effect of corruption on the social fabric of society is the most damaging of all. It undermines people's trust in the political system, in its institutions and its leadership. Frustration and general apathy among a disillusioned public result in a weak civil society. That in turn clears the way for despots as well as democratically elected yet

unscrupulous leaders to turn national assets into personal wealth. Demanding and paying bribes become the norm. Those unwilling to comply often emigrate, leaving the country drained of its most able and most honest citizens.

Environmental degradation is yet another consequence of corrupt systems. The lack of, or non-enforcement of, environmental regulations and legislation has historically allowed the North to export its polluting industry to the South. At the same time, careless exploitation of natural resources, from timber and minerals to elephants, by both domestic and international agents has led to ravaged natural environments. Environmentally devastating projects are given preference in funding, because they are easy targets for siphoning off public money into private pockets" ([Transparency International](#)).

Corruption reduces accountability in elections, suspends the rule of law in judicial systems, makes unequal the provision of services, and erodes the institutional capacity of government, undermining its legitimacy. Eventually, corruption damages trust and ethics and brings stagnation. Corruption also produces economic distortions in the public sector by carrying away public investments for education to sectors vulnerable for bribery and private gain.

### **Corruption contributes to violent conflicts**

Corruption is a type of conflict itself, because it violates some norms of social ethics, destroying the value system of a society. In case of natural growth with no preventing measures it eventually causes a violent conflict. Therefore, roots of conflicts are often tightly interconnected with conditions of socio-ethical and moral components of life. Hence, two issues emerge as conflict preventing conditions: 1) Prophylaxis of the value system; 2) Earlier exposure of reasons leading to a violence.

A serious cause contributing to the conflict in Osh was, certainly, the mafia structure – unofficial business between government structures, militia, and commercial structures – resulting in impoverishment of workers.

[For more readings about my hypothesis of violence as a consequence of corruption please click here.](#)

### **Corruption undermines the state legitimacy**

"If corruption cannot be brought under control, it can threaten the viability of democratic institutions and market economies. In a corrupt environment, resources will be directed towards non-productive areas--the police, the armed forces and other organs of social control and repression--as the elite move to

protect themselves, their positions and their material wealth. Laws will be enacted (e.g., the Public Tranquillity Act 1982 in the Sudan) and resources otherwise available for socio-economic development will be diverted into security expenditure. This in turn can cause the withering of democratic institutions as corruption, rather than investment, becomes the major source of financial gain. This undermines the legitimacy of government, and ultimately the legitimacy of the state." [More readings](#)

### **Corruption damages social capital**

According to David Chapman, "The most direct, and in some ways the most inconsequential, cost of corruption is the waste of the financial resources that get misdirected. The more serious costs are incurred when (a) children unable to afford bribes are denied access to schooling, (b) talent is misallocated due to promotion being awarded on the basis of bribery rather than merit, and (c) a generation of children come to believe that personal effort and merit do not count and that success comes through manipulation, favoritism and bribery" (Chapman, 2003, p.8).

### **Corruption distorts the societie's values**

"When corruption is so pervasive that it comes to be viewed as a basic mechanism of social and economic interaction, it instills a value that is highly destructive to social and economic development of a country" (Chapman, 2003, p.8, unpublished document).

### **Corruption creates social chaos**

"In fact, Kyrgyz police has become as a self-independent state in the country. She lives according to her own rules, and does whatever she wants!" (Pendeev, personal communication, 2004).

### **Corruption affects the environment**

Corrupted leaders become careless not only towards their people but also show little concern for nature. The explosion of Chernobyl in 1986 in Ukraine, and the dying Aral Sea in Kazakhstan are the consequences of corrupted policy of the USSR.

I was 18 years old a young man, and served in the Soviet air forces as a mechanical engineer for military helicopters when the Soviet government sent me to Chernobyl right after the blast of the reactor. I had no knowledge about

radiation when I flew 8 hours a day over the reactor, spraying from the helicopter a liquid which was supposed to bring down the radioactive dust in the air. In fact, I enjoyed the beautiful green forests from the high, inhaling the radioactive air from the machine. So did my friends, too, who flew next to my machine. I started feeling the affects of radiation after 5-6 years back at home. Doctors gave me disablement of III degree, which gives some social benefits.

"The root cause of the Chernobyl accident, it is concluded, is to be found in the so-called human element....The lessons drawn from the Chernobyl accident are valuable for all reactor types" ("Dr. Meshkati", para.6).

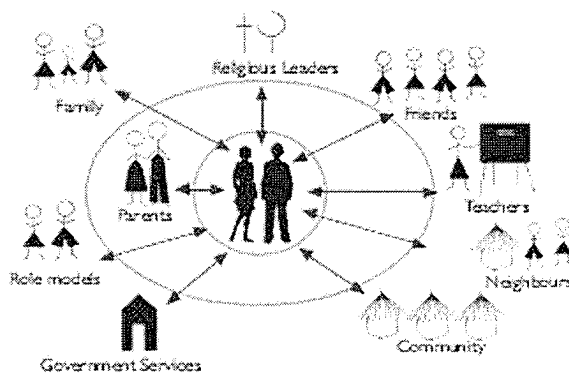
### Methods and Proposals

In his article, International Cooperation Against Corruption, Distinguished Professor of International Development and Security at The RAND Graduate School, Santa Monica, California, Robert Klitgaard underlines five strategies: Punish some major offenders, Involve the people in diagnosing corrupt systems, Focus on prevention by repairing corrupt systems ( $C = M + D - A$ ), Reform incentives, and Political will ([Read the full text of the article here](#))

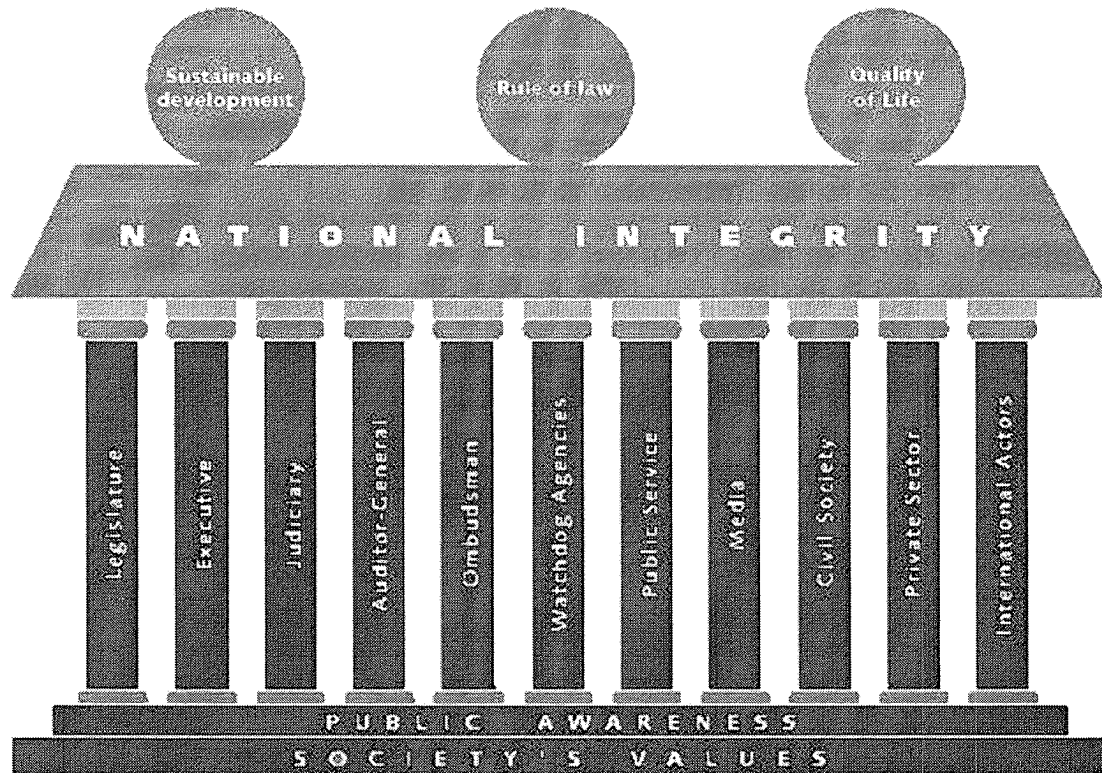
The professor gives the another equation for corruption as the following (Klitgaard 1998):  $C = R + D - A$ " ([U Myint, chapter II](#)).

In this equation: C - corruption, R - economic rent, D - discretionary powers, A - accountability.

Corruption is a social problem. It is like an infection that affects the surrounding area of the corrupted person. This diagram represents the range of interactions that a person has throughout development. ([Source](#))



### National Integrity System by Transparency International



"Picture, if you will, a "National Integrity System" as being rather like a Greek temple: a temple with a roof--the nation's integrity, supported at either end by a series of pillars, each being an individual element of the National Integrity System. At one end of the temple are the institutional pillars--the Judiciary, the Parliament, the Auditor-General's Office, the Ombudsman, free media, civil society and the like.

At the other end of the temple, the pillars represent the core tools which the institutions must have at their disposal to be effective. For example, the media must have a right of freedom of speech; and civil society the legal space in which to organize itself and conduct its business.

Resting on the roof are three round balls: "quality of life", "Rule of Law" and "sustainable development". They are round balls to emphasise that it is crucial that the roof be kept level if these three round balls and the values they encompass are not to roll off.

The "temple" itself is built on and sustained by foundations which comprise public awareness and society's values. If public awareness is high and values are strong, both will support the "pillars" which rest on them, giving them

added strength.

On the other hand, if the public is apathetic and not watchful, or if the values are widely lacking, then the foundations will be weak. The "pillars" will be empty and ineffectual, and lack the underpinning necessary if they are to safeguard the nation's integrity.

The "pillars" are interdependent but may be of differing strengths. If one pillar weakens, an increased load is thrown onto one or more of the others. If several pillars weaken, their load will ultimately tilt, so that the "round balls" of "sustainable development", "Rule of Law" and "quality of life" will roll off, crash to the ground and the whole edifice collapse into chaos.

The actual "pillars" may and will vary from society to society. Some will be stronger; some will be weaker. But there will always be trade-offs to accommodate this. For instance, in Singapore, a comparative lack of press freedom is compensated for by an intrusive anti-corruption bureau." [Go to the source.](#)

### **Methods of combatting corruption**

"IIEP (2001) offers a four-part framework for reducing corruption that includes (a) legal judiciary reforms, (b) administrative and civil service reforms, (c) reforms of public expenditure and financial management in education, and (d) societal reforms. Building on this framework, Poisson and Hallak (2002) suggest that an effective response to corruption needs to involve (a) limiting authority, (b) improving accountability, (c) realigning incentives, and (d) changing attitudes and mobilizing political will" (Chapman. 2003.p.13).

Heynemann (2003), suggests for types of preventive measures: (a) structural reforms necessary to reduce the opportunity for corruption, (b) improvements in adjudication in management to help anticipate questions of definition and interpretation, (c) measures necessary to actually prevent corrupt practices, and (d) sanctions required to demote or punish when infractions occur.

Chapman sees six factors for specific interventions to reduce corruption:

1. Quality of top leadership. "Leaders who respect the rule of law, emphasize transparency in the operation of the offices they oversee, take action against subordinates found violating rules, and exhibit integrity in their own transactions can make a difference. Honest leaders can be a powerful force in reducing corruption. Conversely, when top leadership is corrupt, they lack the

moral platform to demand honesty in others" (p. 14).

2) Clear code of conduct. "Such codes of conduct may originate in a country's administrative or criminal code or be introduced by professional associations or unions. For example, in the United States, every state has a teachers' code of conduct. Teachers who violate it can lose their teaching license" (p.15).

3) Creation or modification of organizational structures. "A key element in this is a clear, workable accountability system. To be effective, an accountability system must clearly state the rules and procedures associated with managing the education system, provide a mechanism for monitoring compliance, specify the consequences for non-compliance, and be consistent in enforcement" (p.16).

4) Community engagement.

5) Handling of community-generated funds transparent.

6) "Finally, in some countries, the operation of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) has been effective in helping to minimize corruption (Edwards 1999; Bies, Moore and DeJaeghere 2000; Bartlett 2000; DeJaegher 2000).

However, in some countries, a number of development-oriented NGOs sprang into existence solely as a means of capturing these development funds, sometimes led by individuals more interested in the money than in development. As more funds have been routed through NGOs, there is growing evidence in some countries that NGOs can be just as corrupt as governments" (p.20).

Peter Eigen, the Chair of Transparency International considers the involvement of civil society and collaboration of the civil society with government and private sector as the necessary moment in fighting against corruption. "For dealing with this overwhelming problem of corruption the best position for civil society is within a broader coalition consisting of three pillars: government, the private sector and civil society. All three partners have to be involved for the fight against corruption to be credible as well as effective and sustainable" (Ellie Keen, p.7).

### **National Governance Programme by UNDP.**

"The programme aims at supporting the country to establish an effective and transparent system of national government that includes efficient, focused

executive institutions monitored through independent oversight mechanisms, and a legislative branch that adopts legislation benefiting all citizens. The programme focuses on capacity building as well as institutional reform of national state management bodies both at the central and local levels" (UNDP. 2003. para.1). "Taken into consideration the recent government's effort to tackle corruption, UNDP takes initiative in forming strong partnership with other partners, including civil society organizations, to support the implementation of anti-corruption state policy strategy adopted by the President in close cooperation with Security Council and the newly created National Council on Good Governance" (UNDP.2003.para.2). World Bank. Youth for Good Governance, distance learning program (<http://www.worldbank.org/wbi/governance/youth/pdf/mod03.pdf>)

### **Common Basic Elements of Anti-Corruption Strategies**

"Specific needs will vary from country to country but experience suggests that the elements listed below must be addressed as a priority before significant progress can be achieved.

- Effective rule-of-law structures, including judicial and legislative elements, are needed at an early stage. A professional, unbiased and independent judiciary is critical to the development and implementation of law enforcement and criminal justice measures; it is also necessary in areas such as the making and enforcement of legal contracts and the use of civil litigation as a means of identifying, exposing and obtaining redress for corrupt practices. Also required is an open and transparent legislature that formulates policy, creates laws in the public interest and provides a role model for other institutions.
- There must be transparency in public communications and mechanisms to give the public broad, straightforward and timely access to information. Government cannot begin to achieve credibility unless the public understands what it is doing.
- A professional, politically neutral and uncorrupted public service is one of the fundamental objectives of anti-corruption strategies. Establishing professionalism and neutrality will require a combination of legal standards and cultural reforms. The public service should be encouraged to adopt high standards of professionalism and integrity, and the general population should be encouraged to expect those high standards and take action when they are not

met.

- Strong and independent elements are needed in several areas of civil society. The most important of these is a free, clean and independent media that disseminates important public information and provides criticism and commentary that is independent of political and public service influences. A free media can identify and expose corruption or other improper practices in Government; it can also validate Government measures that are neither corrupt nor improper.
- Periodic assessment of corruption and the effectiveness of anticorruption strategies, as well as the flexibility to adjust strategies to take account of assessments, are also important. Experience has shown that efforts to combat corruption often have unforeseen consequences, for example, displacement effects. Displacement, where action against corruption in sector effectively displaces it into other areas, should be identified quickly and the strategy adjusted to incorporate effective countermeasures. Assessment and adjustment also entail identifying and replicating measures that have proved y". (UN, 2004, p.24).

### **Where to start from?**

The survey below shows the responses of Kyrgyzstani people to the question where to start the work of combatting corruption from. The majority respondents considers the starting point in personal lives of individuals 15% thinks that there should be an intolerable environment for bribery.

As it is shown below the respondents can be grouped in the following way:

1. "We must start from ourselves" (38%)
2. "Punish the corrupted high level officials" (23%)
3. "Create an intolerable atmosphere for corruption" (15%)

Source: Illebesov, (2000) Corruption in Kyrgyzstan. Bishkek. 2000

### **Governments and corruption**

Askar Akaev, the existing president of Kyrgyz Republic is not a nationally favourite president. There is a strong opposition due to some mistakes in political activities. However, the president also has made several attempts to

combat corruption. One of his speeches Akaev mentioned the following moments, "Government must concentrate all its effort and resources on two or three directions of fighting against corruption, which cause maximum damage to the budget of the country and its financial situation, for example, contraband and payment for electricity" (Askar Akaev, July 2002, para.55).

President Akaev declared 2004 as the year of "Social mobilization and Conscientious Government " (Akaev Askar, October 2003). Immediately after this declaration he issued a decree about setting up The National Council for Conscientious Government. Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty describes the task of this council as, "reforming the administrative system in such a way as to ensure "scrupulous, open, and conscientious management"; eliminating unnecessary state interference in economic activities; ensuring the accountability of officials at all levels to the state and the public; and developing intolerance of corruption. In addition, state services should be made more open and accessible" (Radio Liberty, November 4, para. 24).

The idea of Consciousness Government came after recognizing the high level of corruption conducive to decreasing of investments. "State apparatus must be maximally effective, compact and transparent; to conduct the revision of functional duties of the official persons, to liquidate unnecessary links, what will ease the load of the budget. System changes are the complex task. Those changes in particular are able to decrease corruption and bring our administrative governance to the level of the world standards...It is necessary to follow structural and functional reformations in the Government, to minimize state controlling and supervising functions" (Akaev Askar. October 2003).

"Effective leadership to reduce corruption often requires considerable personal courage. Leaders have to withstand criticism, often overt opposition, from colleagues who see their own self-interest threatened by the introduction of more transparent and honesty practices" (Chapman. 2003. p.15).

"According to the Global Corruption Report publication for 2004 the Kyrgyzstan's Corruption Perceptions Index 2003 score is 2.1, i.e. my country is 118th out of 133 countries" (Global Corruption Report, p.206).

"We also devote strong attention to the establishment of fair, open and responsible governance, enhanced efficiency of conducting an anti-corruption policy. This year I have established the National Council on Conscientious

Governance, called to strengthen the work conducted in Kyrgyzstan in this direction and to create an anti-corruption atmosphere" ([Askar Akaev](#)).

"Azerbaijan, France, Greece, Italy and the Kyrgyz Republic all proposed or approved legislation that could shield high-political officeholders from prosecution for corruption" (TI Global Corruption Report 2004). "But unlike in Russia, where Yeltsin and his government have taken few steps to allay popular discontent with the decline in the educational and health system, President Akaev has launched several initiatives designed to patch at least some of the holes in social safety net. The most ambitious of these is the Araket (Action) program, which offers assistance to the the country's poorest citizens" (Eugene Huskey, 1999, para. 9).

At the same time in Kyrgyzstan is a country with enormously concentrated power in the hands of the president. According to Eugene Huskey, the professor of Political Science and Russian Studies at Stetson University in DeLand, Florida, "The president establishes the direction of domestic and foreign policy, selects the prime minister and Government, appoints judges and the heads of state enterprises, legislates on a wide range of issues through the issuance of decrees, and calls popular referendums. In essence, the president is a republican monarch who stands above all three arms of the state: Government, parliament, and judiciary" (Eugene Huskey, 1999, para. 9). Read more [here](#)

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