CENTRAL ASIA: INTERRELATIONS BETWEEN CORRUPTION, RULE OF LAW, DEMOCRACY AND STABILITY and its INTERNATIONAL DIMENSION

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Özet


Anahtar kelimeler: yolsuzluk, dengesizlik, hukukun üstünlüğü, demokrasi, uluslararası kuruluşlar, yolsuzlukla karşı tedbirler, uluslararası şeffaflık.

Abstract

Corruption is a threat, a major destabilizing element in all states to stability, security and welfare. All countries can make a valuable cooperation to combat it. Individual states, regional and international institutions can take effective measures to fight corruption. More Central Asia is integrated to international society, the more they can encounter economic and normative pressures against corrupting practices. First thesis of
this paper, insertion in international organizations give the possibility for the absorption of international anti-corruption norms. Economics, national and international normative factors are important to fight it. Because more a country has firm rights with international society and networks of exchange and different organizations, the lower can be its level of corruption and it brings help to the recent transition societies to their way of democratization. The second thesis is that, in Central Asia there is a need to focus on interrelation between rule of law, democracy and stability. The rampant corruption, the disregard of law and the proliferation of the culture of impunity render building democratic and stable political system impossible. Lawlessness engenders instability.

Key words: corruption, instability, rule of law, democracy, international organizations, measures against corruption, Transparency International, transforming countries.**

Introduction

Since the break up with the Soviet Union, Central Asian countries are going through a transitional period which is mostly characterized by ‘instability’. Within this context corruption and deepening economic inequalities are the two main factors affecting the state building process and social life in this region.

Thus, the main aim of this paper is to analyze the main characteristics of the relationship between the corruption, rule of law, democracy and stability in Central Asia. Before going into the detail of the subject, the first thing that will be dealt will be the meaning of the term ‘corruption’. The second part of the paper will deal with the situation in Central Asia. In the third part the causes and possible solutions of corruption- both at national and international level will be analyzed.

1-The Term ‘corruption’

The term ‘corruption’ is a term generally used to describe any organized, interdependent system in which part of the system is either not performing duties it was originally intended to, or performing them in an improper way, to the detriment of the system’s original purpose. It is obvious from this definition that it has several uses. In this paper then we will mostly concentrate on ‘political corruption- the misuse by government officials of their governmental powers for illegitimate, usually secret, private gain’ and ‘public officials’ corruption-the misuse by public officials of their powers’. Here both the various forms of corruption (bribery, nepotism, patronage, extortion, cronyism etc.) and the related criminal networks’ (organized crime-drug trafficking, money laundering, terrorism etc.) activities will be taken into consideration.

2-The Position of Central Asia

It is so naïve to think that corruption is only a problem of newly emerging democracies or the states in transition. In fact, all forms of states are susceptible to corruption. Thus corruption is a big threat to stability, security and welfare and can be a major destabilizing factor in all states. As Victor Jackovich also mentioned in his speech

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both corruption and criminality are transnational issues and in some cases some networks can have enough power to infiltrate government agencies and to merge illegitimate activities into legitimate enterprise\(^2\). Here then, the most important factor is the degree of corruption or the effectiveness of the measures that can be taken by the state concerned. According to Jackovich even the Western governments and societies are not immune from the effects of the corruption or more able to find better tools for combating corruption but unlike the countries in transition ‘\textit{they are not facing the challenges of reform simultaneously with the problems of organization crime and corruption’}. Then, what about the situation in Central Asia that has to face the challenges of reform simultaneously with the problem of corruption and organized crime? This question makes us to the study the importance of the relationship between corruption on the one side and the rule of law, democracy and the stability in a state on the other side.

The high level of corruption remains as one of the greatest obstacle to attain most of the economic and political objectives in Central Asia. Excessive corruption, especially in judiciary and corruption among police officers, border guards and custom officials (that supposed to be the main pillars and institutions of the state charged with the task of safeguarding the security of everyone in the state etc.) hinder both the economic and political progress and the creation of democracy and political stability in the region. In his talk with Integrated Regional Information Networks (IRIN) from Berlin in November 2004, Miklos Marschall, director of Transparency International’s European and Central Asian Desk also underlined the fact that corruption (both grand and petty) was an important problem of the region\(^3\). He supported his arguments with some statistics and said that all the five Central Asian countries ranked among the 30 most corrupt countries in the world, with Turkmenistan ranked the worst at 137, followed by Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. According to him since there was only a very slight (even negligible) difference between the scores of all these countries, it was misleading to think that Uzbekistan was much better than Kyrgyzstan or Kazakhstan. After almost two years, we can easily argue that the situation in the five Central Asian states had shown no significant signs of improvement.

On the other hand, Peter Eigen who is the founder and the chairman of Berlin-based Transparency International by developing the idea that ‘corruption robs countries of their potential’ wants to specify once again the negative effects of corruption on the sustainable development and welfare enhancement of any developed or developing country\(^4\). According to him ‘\textit{the countries in particular need help to emerge from the corruption-poverty spiral}’ and ‘\textit{to reach the Millennium Development Goal of halving the number of people living in extreme poverty by 2015, governments need to seriously tackle}


\(^3\) Peter Eigen, “\textit{Corruption Robs Countries of their Potential, especially Oil-rich Countries}”, Foreign Press Association, London, October 20, 2004.
corruption in public contracting. With government expenditure on public contracting amounting to close to USD 4 trillion worldwide, the amount lost to bribery is at least USD 400 billion per year'.

In this respect, the main characteristics of the Central Asian states that make the region more prone to corruption can be summarized as follows:

Firstly, after the disintegration of the Soviet Union, all the political, economic and social parameters of the Central Asian states were affected by the consequences of the new developments in the international arena. However, it was not possible erase the effects of Soviet legacy over night. Thus, the Central Asian states continued to feel the deep effects of the totalitarian rule of the Soviet Union even after gaining their independencies. Even today, almost all countries in the region seek to preserve the patronage system through the monopoly of the political power under the heads of state. They mostly try to preserve stability by personal guarantees of the political leaders. Having the preservation of the national security as the main goal, they are mostly concerned with the consolidation of independence, weakening of dependence on Russia and to ensure their legitimacy both at national and international levels.

Secondly, together with the state-building struggle, these countries also struggle with the challenges of nation-building and strengthening of the national identity. This process is not very smooth as well with many different ethnic groups scattered around and with artificial borders.

Thus, the main problems of the region stem mostly from the internal weaknesses of the countries concerned. The governmental and democratic experience, a basic level of law and order was weak when they gained independence and it is obvious that they could not develop it since then. This creates a vicious circle lack of political authority feeds the corruption and corruption undermines the legitimacy of government and prevents the democratic progress in the state. Furthermore the relationship between corruption and some criminal activities such as drug trafficking, money laundering and terrorism is one of the main threats to national security.

Thirdly, Central Asian countries have to reconstruct not only their state structures, political institutions, national identities but also their economies. They need to experience the transition from a command system to a market system and get out of the interdependence among the republics created by the Soviet system. In the meantime, Central Asian countries have achieved some progress however they remained the least developed of almost all Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). They could not prevent the emergence of shadow economy and the democratic institutions do not replace patronage system. The disruption of trade routes and markets become important reasons for poor performances of countries concerned. Corruption in economies of these states also undermines the proper development through creating distortions and inefficiency.

Fourthly, in Central Asia, there is always a problem related with the human freedom and the protection of human and fundamental rights. Since their independence, we can easily argue that these states do not have very bright records in this field. On the contrary, they mostly choose to prevent the development of a proper civil society or even the plurality in political field.
On the other hand we should always keep in mind that, while dealing with Central Asian countries, it may be misleading to regard them as having the same characteristics. For example, with respect to the political and economic reforms mentioned above, as it was also mentioned by Katleen Collins, a distinction among Central Asian states is made. In this respect the main argument is that ‘Kyrgyz Republic adopted a more rapid democratizing agenda, Kazakhstan had more limited democratic reforms and finally Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan realized only a little liberalization’\(^5\).

All these conditions explained above then is threatening not only the political and business environment but also social security since their effects go well beyond its negative effect on investor conditions. In this sense, corruption and weak governance affect especially the poor and those least able to defend themselves. This causes the gap between very rich and very poor to widen, which in return may result in social unrest.

Hence, some measures have to be taken at various levels namely subnational, national, regional and international. At subnational level, realizing the importance of the issue, all the related actors should decide and work together to combat corruption. On the other hand, cooperation between groups across different nations, for example between drug cartels, can also have a major impact on the politics and stability of the countries\(^6\). At the national level, governments have to develop policies to improve governance, promote democracy and help a responsible civil society and media to emerge. And finally in their struggle with corruption, if Central Asian states work with the international organizations they could better develop and implement their strategies. In this sense, the increasing interest of the international community that neglected the region for years is a positive development.

Through all these measures then if the national institutions’ stability is achieved in the region, democracy, the rule of law and protection of fundamental and human rights can much easily be guaranteed.

3-The Main Causes of/ Measures against Corruption at National Level

In their article titled ‘International Integration and National Corruption’, Wayne Sandholtz and Mark Gray\(^7\) list the main domestic (economic development, government economic intervention and democracy) and international causes (trade, foreign investment, related transnational flows and IMF credits) of the corruption. As for the economic development, they argue that economic development of a state is very important factor in determining the corruption level of that state and consequently there is an adverse relationship between the average income and the corruption. According to them, the extent of government intervention in economy is another determining factor. Basing their arguments on some research results, they argue that there is a linear relationship between

\(^7\) Wayne Sandholtz and Mark Gray, “International Integration and National Corruption” http://www.cgpacs.uci.edu/research/working_papers/wayne_sandholtz_mark_gray_corruption.pdf.html, s.8-9., Erişim tarihi (7.11.2008)
the extent of the government intervention and the corruption. As for the third domestic factor namely democracy, the writers say that there is an adverse relationship between the level of democracy (the existence of democratic institutions, civil society, freedom of speech, free and independent media and electoral competition) and the level of corruption.

In their analysis Sandholtz and Gray take into consideration also the effects of the normative factors (related with culture) in domestic field and refer to Harry Eckstein’s argument that ‘actors learn these orientations through a process of cultural socialization’\(^8\). According to their argument democratic norms imply that all citizens should enjoy equality of opportunity before the state; public business should be conducted openly and public officials should not be a vehicle for private enrichment. In countries where such kind of norms are strong, people mostly likely will regard corrupt practices as improper and illegitimate. Thus the political openness and competition will not reduce corruption automatically, unless social norms condemn them. The longer a country has experienced an uninterrupted democratic rule, the more deeply rooted the associated norms and values, the more tend to affect corruption in the country to reduce\(^9\).

From all these explanations above, it is well understood that the corruption occurs basically in all countries due to more or less similar reasons and the main tool to combat this problem is the cooperation between government officials. For example, fundamental changes in Eastern European countries at the end of 1980s caused a democratization process, the engagement of citizens in the political process and the development of market economies to take place. However these changes have also been accompanied by some social, political and economic distortions causing an environment conductive to corruption and organized crime to occur. Furthermore globalization also gave the purveyors of crime and corruption some potent tools to be a cross-border threat.

Then how to combat corruption? Here there should be a significant interrelation between the individual state’s efforts and the international community’s efforts. It is obvious that a very strong international cooperation is essential to control the corruption and organized crime. On other hand, states in transition, if they want their reforms to succeed should find the ways to combine the efforts of fighting corruption within the national borders with the efforts of fighting corruption at international level. Because international mechanism can only be successful when national institutions of state concerned are strong, developed and democratic. Moreover, in these days, the whole international community has an interest in ensuring the stability and security of the each state, even the smallest one.

Within this context several measures can be taken ranging from the strengthening of the government oversight; upgrading the regulations and practices to European standards to increasing transparency and professionalism in all public activities.

Corruption is not limited to any region, culture or state. Every country has clientalism, patronage and greedy politicians to some degree. However, newly emerged countries must collaborate more to share expertise and intelligence, conduct joint training

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\(^9\) Wayne Sandholtz and Mark Gray, International Integration … a.g.k, s..9-15.
and work more closely with intergovernmental organizations. Because criminal networks and the terrorists can more successfully target weak and corrupt states and can more easily make these areas as their safe lands. Once settled in the country, it is not difficult for them to continue their work with the inclusion of some local corrupt officials into the system. These officials can facilitate their operations and financial transactions, supply them with information on government plans and provide protection. Through this way then the terrorists and international criminal groups who continue to exploit the corruption in one state or another become no longer simply an internal problem but a direct threat to international security\textsuperscript{10}.

4-The Main Causes of/ Measures against Corruption at International Level

As it was mentioned in the previous part, Wayne Sandholtz and Mark Gray, in their article\textsuperscript{11} also talk about the international causes of the corruption. First of all, to them there is an adverse relationship between the international trade and the level of corruption. In this sense, countries having closed economies more likely to have a more corrupt economy than the countries with economies open to international economic activities. On the other hand, international investors also decline to invest a corrupt country not to bear the marginal cost that the corruption imposes on them.

As in the domestic field, the writers also deal at international level with the normative factors and concentrate on the anti-corruption norms of various international organizations. To them to combat corruption various international organizations have already adopted and promoted many anti-corruption norms, and incorporated them into their institutional policies and programs. And the more a country is involved in those kinds of organizations, the more it has to obey (is bound by) these norms.

In International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank (WB) case, for example, since these have the power to lend important financial resources, it is mostly expected that they may have a more direct effect on corruption in most of the recipient countries. However, measuring the effect of these organizations is not an easy issue and sometimes some statistics might even be misleading since there are some research results that demonstrated that, countries receiving important financial assistance might actually be more corrupt than others.

Actually according to some researches, low-income countries tend to have higher corruption level and receive more IMF and WB financial aid\textsuperscript{12}. According to this research, the difference is that the WB’s assistance has actively promoted anti-corruption norms and its activist role is propagating anti-corruption norms. IMF’s position is slightly different because ‘good governance’ attached to its goal constitute an economic incentive.

On the other hand, UN and OECD initiatives to create international rules against corruption begun in mid-1990s because of various reasons; firstly the major industrialized

\textsuperscript{11} Wayne Sandholtz and Mark Gray, International Integration ...a.g.k. s.17
\textsuperscript{12} Wayne Sandholtz and Mark Gray, International Integration ...a.g.k. s.17
countries became more actively engaged against corruption and secondly a growing literature about economic costs of corruption emerged.

The ‘OECD Working Group on Bribery’\textsuperscript{13} was created in May 1994. OECD Council adopted a ‘Recommendation on Combating Bribery in International Business Transactions’\textsuperscript{14} and ‘The Convention on Combating Bribery of Foreign Public Officials in International Business Transactions and Related Instruments’ came into force in 1999\textsuperscript{15}.

Since 1995, World Bank has also been sponsoring the governance and anti-corruption programs prepared by ‘World Bank Institute’. These programs establish a ‘National Integrity Steering Committee (NISC)’ to realize reforms and create an administrative ‘National Integrity Unit’ to support this committee. All of those diagnose where corruption is taking place, help governments clearer and safer tax, customs, to procure codes, train journalists to use investigate journalism against corruption\textsuperscript{16}. IMF, on the other hand, focused publicly on corruption first in 1996 and adopted an ‘Interim Committee Declaration on Partnership for Sustainable Global Growth’\textsuperscript{17} and in 1997 announced its new policies against corruption. UNDP has been more active on the corruption front and created ‘Management Development and Governance Division (MGDG)’ in 1995, which focused on ‘National Programs for Accountability and Transparency (PACT)’\textsuperscript{18}. UN adopted ‘The Convention against Transnational Organized Crime’ (Palermo Convention) in 2000\textsuperscript{19}. Another text that was adopted was the ‘UN Convention against Corruption’ in 2003\textsuperscript{20}. World Trade Organization (WTO) also deals

\textsuperscript{13} The Working Group is composed of government experts from the 36 participating countries. It meets five times a year at the Paris Headquarters of the OECD to monitor compliance with the Convention. The monitoring process, which is based on a rigorous system of peer review, is divided into two examination phases. Phase I involves a comprehensive assessment of the conformity of the country’s anti-bribery laws with the OECD Convention. Phase II involves one week of intensive meetings in the examined country with key actors from government, law enforcement authorities, business, trade unions and civil society. With input from these actors, the Working Group assesses how effective that country’s anti-foreign bribery laws are in practice, \url{http://www.oecd.org/document/5/0,2340,en_2649_34859_35430021_1_1_1_1,00.html}.

\textsuperscript{14} Recommendation on Combating Bribery in International Business Transactions, \url{http://www.oecd.org/document/5/0,2340,en_2649_34859_35430021_1_1_1_1,00.html}, May 23, 1997.


\textsuperscript{18} “Democratic Governance”, \url{http://www.undp.org/governance/}. Erişim tarihi (7.11.2008)


\textsuperscript{20} UN Convention against Corruption, \url{http://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/crime_convention_corruption.html}. Turkey signed it in 2003.

The Council of Europe joined the movement against corruption in 1994 and its Committee of Ministers set up a ‘Multidisciplinary Group on Corruption (GMC)’ in Valletta, Malta in September 1994. The GMC started to work in March 200522. To provide assistance to Eastern European countries on corruption issues and legal reform ‘Civil Law Convention on Corruption’ has been adopted in 1999 (entered into force in 2002)23. Another Convention which the Council of Europe has adopted in 1999 (entered into force in 2003) was ‘The Criminal Law Convention on Corruption’24. The Civil Law Convention on corruption that criminalizes all forms of bribery and creates a monitoring group among the signatories called ‘Group of States against Corruption (GRECO)’25.

The EU followed the anti-corruption movement that was started by the OECD Recommendation of 1994. The Council of Ministers adopted a resolution criminalizing bribery. ‘The Convention on the Protection of the European Communities Financial Interest’ has been adopted in 199526; a Protocol which required member states to punish bribery related EC affairs, has been adopted in 1996.27 ‘The Convention on the fight against corruption involving officials of the European Communities or officials of Member States of the European Union’ was adopted in 199728. A Joint Action to make corruption a criminal offence was adopted in 199829. On the other hand, the Framework Decision on the European Arrest Warrant, applicable since 1 January 2004, will be a key factor in the fight against corruption because it will make it easier for offenders to be surrendered to the judicial authorities of the requesting State. The second Money Laundering Directive

22 “How was GRECO set up?”, Group of States Against Corruption, Council of Europe http://www.coe.int/t/dg1/greco/general/background_en.asp. Erişim tarihi (7.11.2008)
24 ‘Criminal Law Convention on Corruption’, http://conventions.coe.int/treaty/en/Treaties/Html/173.htm. January 1, 1999. Turkey has ratified those two conventions in 1999 (Law 4852 and Law 5065). Turkey deploys efforts in justice and law to combat the corruption. Its institutional structures are relatively successful to find off the corruption act, but has a weakness about the liquidation of the system which products the corruption. Often main causes are coming from lack of coordination and communication between the actors and tools to fight it. In: Bülent Tarhan: Yolsuzlukla Mücadele Alanında Türkiye deneyimi ve Kurumsal Yapı Arayışları
25 How was GRECO set up?, http://www.coe.int/t/dg1/greco/general/background_en.asp. Turkey since 2004 is a member of GRECO that was created in 1998.
adopted in that classifies corruption as a serious offence and thus increases the obligations on the Member States to tackle it. The EU also adopted a Regulation in June 2002 requiring listed companies, including banks and insurance companies, to prepare their consolidated accounts in accordance with International Accounting Standards (IAS) and issued recommendations on the independence of the statutory auditor\textsuperscript{30}.

Apart from the activities of the international organizations, some non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are actively taking part in fight against corruption. The most important of them is the Transparency International (IT)\textsuperscript{31}. Another one is the International Chamber of Commerce (ICC) that involved in the negotiation of the OECD Convention in 1997. Some other NGOs like World Economic Forum, International Bar Association and International Federation of Accountants also involve in fight against corruption.

Thus, both international organizations (IO) and NGOs have their own contribution to the creation of international anti-corruption regime that is embodied in many international agreements and policies and practices. Therefore the more international organizations a country belongs to, and the longer it has been a part of the major institutions, the lower level of corruption it has. It means that there is a adverse relationship between the level of international integration and the level of corruption. If a country is more integrated into the international society, the more it will encounter economic and normative pressures against corrupt practices.

**Conclusions**

As it was specified above corruption is not limited to any region, culture or state. Every country has clientalism, patronage and greedy politicians to some degree. However the level of corruption in each Central Asian States is quite high thus necessitates more time and efforts both at national and international level to be spent in combating it. At the national level, it is obvious that governments have to develop much better policies to promote democracy and improve governance. At the international level Central Asian countries participation in several international organizations will create an easier absorption of the international anti-corruption norms. More they have firm relations with some international organizations and society and networks of exchange, the lower will be the level of corruption and it will bring help them to their way for democracy and stability. Fighting the corruption is definitely not an easy issue (due to its complexity), it needs patience. However it is not impossible if there is ‘political will’.

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