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Halyna Kokhan: The Challenges of Political Corruption in Ukraine

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Abstract

The paper examines the issue of political corruption and assesses its presence in Ukraine. An evaluation of the theoretical tenets of political corruption and its practice in Ukraine is provided, with a focus on the political corruption in the national environment. One of the main problems in Ukraine is that although the crime of political corruption is leveled at politicians, it is also accepted by society as a tool for fast decision-making when dealing with the inflexible bureaucratic machinery of the state. Assessments from the Corruption Perception Index and World Bank were used in this analysis. In addition, various case studies and statistical data are presented. The findings point to strong evidence of political corruption in Ukraine. The analysis of the shadow economy and legal defects should be combined with subjective factors, such as the level of political culture at top levels of government and the acceptance of political corruption as a norm of life. Given the complicated and controversial character of the phenomenon, further research is required.

1. Introduction

Political scientists from all over the world agree that corruption is one of the most controversial issues. Moreover, many of their discussions are at cross purposes, and as a result, little consensus has been reached over the years. There are many types of corruption and there is no real way to solve the problem completely. However, perhaps the worst thing in Ukraine is that corruption is not a hidden phenomenon. It is an active force in all spheres of life and shapes the different branches of power. Like politics, corruption can acquire both positive and negative connotations in each national environment; in Ukraine, corruption is viewed as a necessary evil. The main problem in Ukraine's case is that although the crime of political corruption is leveled at politicians, it is also accepted by society as a tool for fast decision-making when dealing with the inflexible bureaucratic machinery of the state.

The problem of political corruption is widely highlighted by foreign researchers. In many cases political corruption affects decision-making processes, influences the political arena, and is practiced during electoral campaigns; in other words, it impacts the whole process. In our view political corruption should be scrutinised as a distinct type of corruption that affects activities concerning the division of power, resources or political decision-making.

Some special research on the issue of political corruption has been conducted by the foreign scientists William Miller, Åse B. Grødeland, Tetyna Y. Koshechkina¹, Stephen Kotkin, András Sajó², Donatella della Porta, Alberto Vannucci³, Arnold J. Heidenheimer⁴, Michael Johnston⁵, Arthur A. Goldsmith⁶, Mark Philp⁷, and Inge Amundsen⁸. The methodological aspect of political corruption has especially been treated in

- 1 Miller, William L., Grødeland, Åse B., Koshechkina, Tetyna Y.: *A Culture of Corruption? Coping with Government in Post-Communist Europe*, Kiev, 'K.I.C.', 2004
- 2 Kotkin, Stephen, Sajó, András: *Political Corruption in Transition. A Skeptic's Handbook*, Kiev, 'K.I.C.', 2004
- 3 Della Porta, Donatella, Vannucci, Alberto: *Corrupt Exchanges. Actors, Resources and Mechanisms of Political Corruption*, Kiev, 'K.I.C.', 2006
- 4 Heidenheimer, Arnold J: *Political Corruption: Readings in Comparative Analysis*, New York, Rinehart and Winston, 1970, in: <http://books.google.com>, accessed 18 February 2008, <http://scholar.google.com.ua/scholar?q=political+corruption,+comparative&hl=en&lr=&start=10&sa=N>
- 5 Heidenheimer, Arnold J., Johnston, Michael: *Political corruption: Concepts & Contexts*, Transaction Publishers, 2002, in: <http://books.google.com>, accessed 18 February 2008, http://books.google.com/books?id=49y50pzjAzAC&dq=Political+Corruption&lr=&source=gbs_summary_s&cad=0
- 6 Goldsmith, Arthur A.: *Slapping the Grasping Hand: Correlates of Political Corruption in Emerging Markets*, in: *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, 1999 (Vol. 58), No. 4, pp. 865–883.
- 7 Philp, Mark: *Defining Political Corruption*, in: *Political Studies*, 1997 (Vol. 45), No. 3, pp. 436–462.
- 8 Amundsen, Inge: *Political Corruption: An Introduction to the Issues*, in: *Working Papers*, 1999, No. 7, www.cmi.no, accessed 14 March 2008, <http://www.cmi.no/publications/1999%5Cwp%5Cwp1999-7.pdf>.

depth by Thomas D. Lancaster, Gabriella R. Montinola⁹, Charles J. G. Sampford, Arthur Shacklock, Carmel Connors, Fredrik Galtung¹⁰, Seymour M. Lipset, Gabriel S. Lenz¹¹, and Transparency International. Special attention should also be paid to the case studies of political corruption presented by Michael Johnston¹², John G. Peters and Susan Welch¹³, Robert Williams¹⁴, Victor T. Le Vine¹⁵, Walter Little, and Eduardo Posada-Carbó.¹⁶

Ukrainian researcher Yevhen Nevmerzhytsky considers corruption to be a complex social-political phenomenon. He concludes that it is only possible to fight corruption in Ukraine if one takes into consideration the social and political development of the country, the crisis of fundamental political and economic elements of society, and the organisations of power involved in the transformational process from a planned to a market economy. Another Ukrainian political scientist, Andriy Saphonenko, analyses corruption with practical recommendations for combating the phenomenon in Ukraine. However, he has pointed out that Ukraine has thus far been unsuccessful in eradicating corruption. The academic study of corruption in modern Ukraine in the field of political science is represented solely by these two studies.

2. Definition

The problem of political corruption has been known to us since the times of Plato and Aristotle. Readers who turn to The Concise Oxford Dictionary for a definition of corruption will find: 'decomposition; moral deterioration; use of corrupt practices (bribery etc.); perversion (of language etc.) from its original state'. Here I am concerned only with corruption in an economic sense. The same economic approach to corruption is supported by Susan Rose-Ackerman¹⁷. My starting point is that a clear definition of corruption is essential before a discussion of the different challenges can take place. National laws as well as the internal rules of public and private institutions, including companies, can only be evaluated with specific criteria. Once a clear definition has been set, we can judge the actions of individuals and institutions as corrupt or uncorrupt, using our definition as a yardstick. Nye's definition (1967) explains corruption as: 'behaviour which deviates from the formal duties of a public role because of private-regarding (personal, close family, private clique) pecuniary or status gains; or violates rules against the exercise of certain types of private-regarding influence.' A later and fundamentally different definition is offered by Alam (1989) based on the relationship between principals and their agents. He states: 'Corruption ... may be defined as (1) the sacrifice of the principal's interest for the agent's, or (2) the violation of norms defining the agent's behaviour'.¹⁸

- 9 Lancaster, Thomas D., Montinola, Gabriella R.: Toward a methodology for the comparative study of political corruption, in: *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 1997, Vol. 27, No 3–4, pp. 185–206.
- 10 Sampford, Charles J. G., Shacklock, Arthur, Connors, Carmel, Galtung, Fredrik: *Measuring Corruption*, Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2006, <http://books.google.com>, accessed 13 March 2008, http://books.google.com/books?id=k06lmKacaqEC&dq=Political+Corruption&lr=&hl=ru&source=gbs_book_citations_r&cad=3_0
- 11 Lipset, Seymour M., Lenz, Gabriel S.: *Corruption, Culture and Markets*, in: Harrison, Lawrence E./ Huntington, Samuel P. (eds): *Culture Matters: How Values Shape Human Progress*: Basic Books, 2000, in: <http://books.google.com>, 22 February 2008, http://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=fv3roehD6MAC&oi=fnd&pg=PA112&dq=corruption,+culture&ots=PoQrggJ9p-&sig=d1FFXCGfqXM4sla0jUTjLV_OXVA
- 12 Johnston, Michael: *Political Corruption and Public Policy in America, U.S.*, Brooks/Cole Publishing Co, 1982
- 13 Peters, John G./ Welch, Susan: *Political Corruption in America: A Search for Definitions and a Theory, or If Political Corruption Is in the Mainstream of American Politics Why Is it Not in the Mainstream of American Politics Research?*, in: *The American Political Science Review*, 1978 (Vol. 72), No. 3, pp. 974–984.
- 14 Williams, R: *Political Corruption in Africa, England, Hampshire*, Gower, Aldershot, 1987.
- 15 Le Vine, Victor T. *Political corruption: the Ghana case 1975* – Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University, Stanford.
- 16 Little, Walter, Posada-Carbó, Eduardo. *Political corruption in Europe and Latin America*, New York: Macmillan Press, 1996, in: nd.edu/~kellogg/publications/workingpapers/WPS/346.pdf, accessed 21 May 2008.
- 17 Rose-Ackerman, Susan. *Corruption and Government. Causes, Consequences and Reforms*. – Kyiv: 'K.I.C.', 2004.
- 18 Senior, Ian. *Corruption the World Big C. Cases, Causes, Consequences, Cures*. – London: The Institute of Economic Affairs, 2006, p. 19.

Corruption has been cited as a fundamental constituent of the following paradigm: development necessitates economic reform, which is again dependent on political and administrative elements like good governance, civil service reforms, accountability, human rights, multiparty liberalisation and democratisation. At the same time, very high levels of corruption have been observed in nations where the government is regarded as illegitimate in the eyes of the population (implying widespread disrespect for legal procedures) as well as in countries where the state plays an interventionist role in the economy. Therefore, understanding the role of the state and politics is essential for understanding corruption.¹⁹

In a stricter definition, political corruption involves political decision-makers. Political or grand corruption takes place at the highest levels of the political system. This type of corruption occurs when politicians and state agents entrusted to make and enforce laws in the name of the people are themselves corrupt, i.e. use the political power they are vested with to sustain their power, status and wealth. Thus, political corruption can be distinguished from bureaucratic or petty corruption, which occurs in public administration when political governance is implemented.²⁰ In Sida's view, petty corruption can be said to occur when a public servant, e.g. a customs officer, doctor or policeman, extracts illegal fees from the general public.²¹ In general, bureaucratic corruption follows the same pattern, but takes place in public agencies.

In summary, almost every conceptualisation of corruption principally focuses on the state and politics ('the corrupt'), taking a 'demand-oriented' perspective. In the definition shared by most political scientists, political corruption is any transaction between private and public sector actors through which collective goods are illegitimately converted into private payoffs.²² These definitions of political corruption do not distinguish clearly between the corruption of state agents and their citizens versus political corruption in party finances and the electoral process, however. There is generally little discussion about the political level on which this corruption takes place.

According to the definition proposed by the Council of Europe, political corruption poses an important challenge to European democracies. It contributes to the decline of public trust and confidence in democracy and weakens democratic principles and processes. Key areas of concern include (1) political finance, (2) conflicts of interest, (3) lobbying and (4) undue influence on the justice system.²³

The issue of political corruption has to some extent been revived in the political and economic sciences due to a renewed interest in the role of the state in the developing world, with particular emphasis on the idea that the state is an indispensable instrument for economic development.

3. Data Analysis

The Berlin-based organisation Transparency International annually rates the perception of corruption in 180²⁴ countries. In 2007, it bumped Ukraine down to 118th place, with a confidence range of 2.4–3.0, from the country's previous ranking of 99²⁵ (see Figure 1 overleaf). However, it is commonly thought that Ukraine is no longer plagued by systemic corruption, whereby a small elite linked to political power divides

19 Amundsen, Inge. Political Corruption: An Introduction to the Issues // WP, 1999. – #7. – p. 7– 8.

20 Caiden Gerald E: Toward the Theory of Official Corruption, in: Asian Journal of Public Administration, sunzi1.lib.hku.hk, sunzi1.lib.hku.hk/hkjo/view/50/5000279.pdf, accessed 21 March 2008.

21 What is Corruption?, in: Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency, http://www.sida.se/sida/jsp/sida.jsp?d=439&a=1443&language=en_US, accessed 7 June 2008.

22 Heidenheimer, Arnold, Johnston, Michael. Political Corruption: Concepts and Contexts, in: <http://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=49y50pzjAzAC&oi=fnd&pg=PR11&dq=political+corruption+contexts&ots=WbkjccmFaf&sig=uqhYk9DCovl7OASsyovGoOlbEWo>, accessed 24 November 2007.

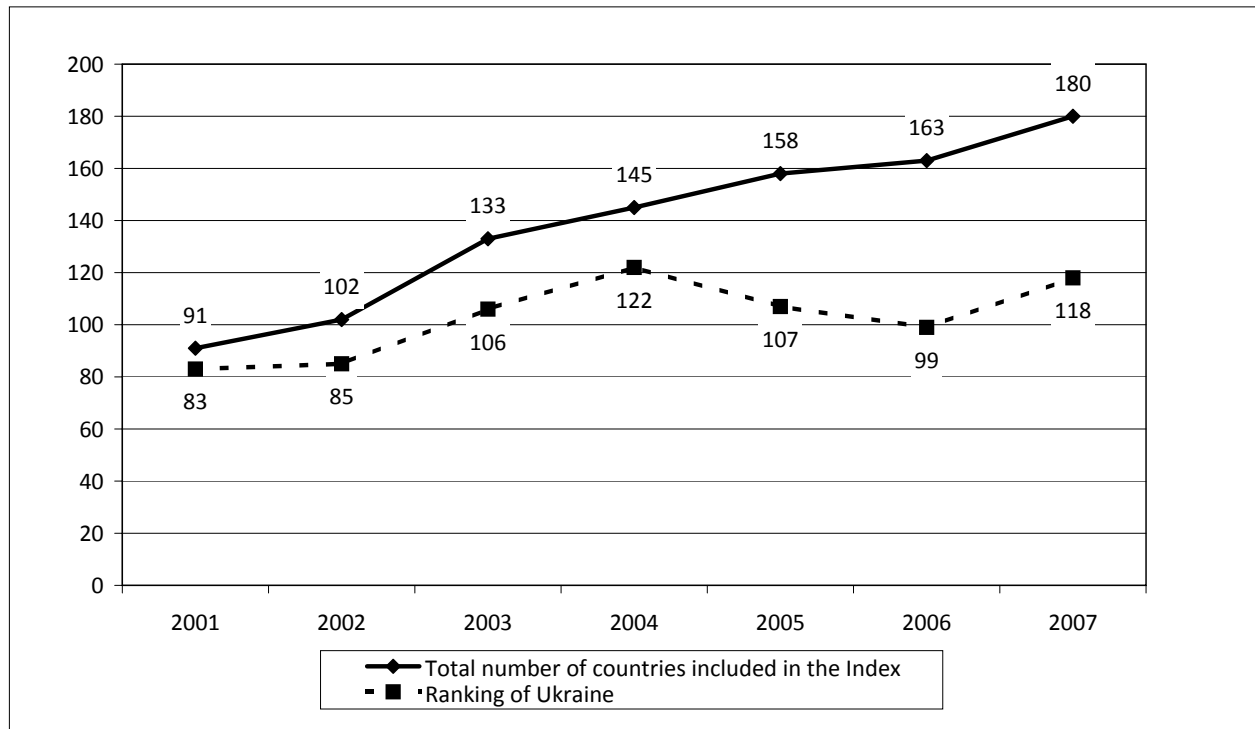
23 Seger A., Kos D., Vilks A., Genzkaya U., and others. Corruption and democracy: Political finances – conflicts of interest – lobbying – justice, in: www.coe.int, http://book.coe.int/EN/ficheouvrage.php?PAGEID=36&lang=EN&produit_aliasid=2294, accessed 20 May 2008.

24 180 countries in 2007, up from 91 in 2001.

25 Transparency International, in: <http://www.transparency.de/>, accessed 12 May 2008.

up most of the country's assets among themselves. Due to the current authorities' official efforts to combat corruption, Ukraine now seems more like a country where isolated incidences of corruption occur. In contrast, the issue of corruption was not even raised during Kuchma's presidency. In any case, corruption is a worldwide phenomenon. Political corruption takes place in the highest echelons of public administration and on a political level.

Figure 1: Ranking of Ukraine in the Corruption Perception Index 2001–2007



Source: Transparency International

Corruption assessments have also been provided by USAID, the World Bank, and other agencies. Several international and non-governmental organisations track corruption through systematic indices based on surveys and expert evaluations. The most recent numbers on corruption in Ukraine by some of the standard monitors are provided below:

Freedom House – Nations in Transit 2007. Since 2003, Ukraine has stagnated at a rating of 5.75 [1=highly clean, 7=highly corrupt] in Freedom House's 'Nations in Transit' ranking on corruption. The ratings of the report are based on the consensus of Freedom House, its academic advisers, and the author of the report.²⁶

Transparency International Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) 2006. With a CPI of 2.8 [10 = highly clean, 0.0 = highly corrupt], Ukraine ranked 99th out of 163 surveyed countries in 2006. It shared this ranking with Georgia, Mali and Mozambique. The survey was based on the perceived degree of corruption by business people and country analysts. (The 2006 ranking was published in November 2006 and thus does not incorporate recent efforts by the Ukrainian government, which came to power in the winter of 2006.) For purposes of comparison, in 2004, Ukraine had a CPI of 2.2 and was ranked 122 among the 145 countries surveyed.²⁷

26 Nations in Transit 2007, Country Report for Ukraine, Freedom House, 2007, in: www.freedomhouse.hu, www.freedomhouse.hu/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=84-32k, accessed 14 May 2008.

27 Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) 2006, Transparency International, in: www.transparency.org, www.transparency.org/policy_research/surveys_indices/cpi, accessed 18 April 2008.

World Bank Institute – Governance Matters 2007. The World Bank's Worldwide Governance Indicators, which measure corruption in over 212 countries and territories, show that after an initial improvement from 2004 to 2005 (following the Orange Revolution), Ukraine's performance has since slipped from the 34.5th percentile in 2005 to 27.7th in 2006 [100th percentile = highly clean]. World Bank experts have also pointed out that following positive trends in 2005, Ukraine entered a downward trend with respect to five out of six governance indicators (including corruption), with 'voice & accountability' (free and fair elections, free media) being the only indicator to exhibit positive development.²⁸

Recent figures published by the MCC 2007 Baseline Survey on Corruption in Ukraine 25 indicate that the public believes that 'grand corruption' is widespread in Ukraine, with most Ukrainians themselves having experienced a significant amount of 'petty corruption' across a range of different sectors (government, business regulation and inspection, university, health care, etc.):

Sixty-seven percent of Ukrainians who have dealt with government officials over the past 12 months say that they have been directly involved in corrupt transactions of some sort.

Bribery and extortion by officials (25 percent) is twice as prevalent as voluntary bribe-giving (11 percent).²⁹

Large numbers of Ukrainians give bribes because it is customary and expected. Bribes are often given to ensure that public services are delivered or to increase the speed at which they are delivered.³⁰

4. Practical Issues

The 'Orange Revolution' of November-December 2004 represents a change in the political elite on the Ukrainian political stage. The presidential elections on 26 December 2004 brought the leader of the Orange Revolution to power, the current president Viktor Yushchenko. He declared the reduction of corruption as a top priority for his administration. However, the details of this policy have not yet been ironed out, and numerous obstacles to tackling corruption remain, such as the lack of a tradition of transparent decision-making and a high tolerance for corrupt practices among the public. As a result, both petty and grand scale corruption are thriving in Ukraine and impacting the daily lives of citizens, businesses and state-level decision-makers. The ongoing political struggle between Viktor Yushchenko and Viktor Yanukovich (ex-prime-minister of Ukraine and the leader of the opposing political party) has made it difficult to discern any efforts aimed at forming a separate anti-corruption agenda at the political level.³¹

Political corruption as a publicly recognised issue has a very short history in Ukraine. Various ways of evaluating the phenomenon therefore need to be established if corruption is to be eradicated.

Legal aspects. According to 'The Law of Ukraine on fighting corruption' from 10/05/1995, corruption is the activity of lawmakers exploiting the state's liability by using their powers in an unlawful way for material benefit, or abusing the benefit of services, facilities or other advantages. The individuals who are responsible for these state duties are often also self-governing officials working in local administration. According to Ukrainian legislation, corrupt actions can include acts committed by state officials, the prime minister, the vice prime minister, ministers, deputies of all levels, self-governing officials and military men. The law is limited in scope and only offers financial measurements as a means of disclosing corrupt actions. The

28 Governance Matters 2007, World Bank Institute, in: info.worldbank.org/governance/wgi2007/pdf/booklet_decade_of_measuring_governance.pdf, accessed 22 March 2008.

29 Corruption in Ukraine – Final, in: www.acus.org, www.acus.org/docs/071016_Corruption,%20Democracy,%20and%20Investment%20in%20Ukraine.pdf, accessed 10 May 2008.

30 MCC 2007 Baseline Survey on Corruption in Ukraine, in: www.acus.org/docs/071016_Corruption,%20Democracy,%20and%20Investment%20in%20Ukraine.pdf, accessed 16 April 2008.

31 Richter, Patrick/ Niklaus, Andy: Ukraine: after the 'Orange Revolution,' power returns to the oligarchs, in: World Socialist Web Site, 3 October 2005, in: <http://www.wsws.or>, <http://www.wsws.org/articles/2005/oct2005/ukra-o03.shtml>, accessed 28 April, 2008.

violation of the law leads to administrative prosecution but does not involve a criminal prosecution.³² However, a protocol for crimes of corruption could be drawn up if there were proper channels for prosecuting corrupt actions. It is very difficult for anyone to expose corruption in Ukraine, because there is no legislative or regulatory protection for whistleblowers. Legislation implementation adopted in the field of fighting corruption has thus far been coordinated by the Committee on Fighting Organised Crime and Corruption of the Ukrainian Parliament and the public prosecutor's office. In summary, we can assume that the term 'corruption' in this law is synonymous with political corruption; other levels of corruption are not taken into consideration. Some points of the law are diffuse and inaccurate, especially those pertaining to weak systems of control over corruption in the country and detection of corrupt deals. A new law concerning preventing and fighting corruption is currently being drafted that should clear up some of these problems.

Economic Aspects. The shadow economy and the shadow politics of corruption go hand in hand. Furthermore, although the economic reforms promised by President Viktor Yushchenko have been slow to arrive, experts say that significant numbers of businesses are leaving the shadow economy, more people are paying taxes, and fewer officials are taking bribes. Government tax receipts rose by 30 percent in the first nine months of 2007, despite a sharp economic slowdown, thanks to individuals and companies emerging from the shadows to pay their taxes. For example, foreign investors received a heartening sign when one of Ukraine's biggest steel mills, Krivorizhstal, was 'reprivatised' and bought at open auction by India's Mittal Steel Co. for \$4.8 billion. The same company had previously been sold to the son-in-law of then-President Leonid Kuchma for just \$800 million. This example is a good representation of how systemic corruption is changing the political and economic scale.³³

The oligarchical influence on the political and economic life of Ukraine and its regions is critical because state officials and parliamentarians combine their mandates with business interests. This unholy alliance is the main reason why corruption is a problem at all levels of society. Parliamentary lobbyists in the employ of large industrial entrepreneurs often combine the interests of the state with their personal interests³⁴, such as when they voted on the WTO Agreements. A 2004 review of all business-related legislation estimated that over 5500 regulations either did not comply with state regulatory policy or were outdated, contradictory and excessive. This has resulted in 82% of businesses making unofficial payments in their dealings with public officials.³⁵ In conclusion, contradictory legislation, the use of bribes to navigate through swathes of bureaucracy, and the twin phenomena of a shadow economy and political corruption are readily apparent in Ukraine.

5. Political and Social Issues

Official statistics estimate the number of administrative misdemeanors involving corruption at 3,000 to 5,000 incidents per year. These documented acts are mainly committed by civil servants of the lower ranks. These official statistics do not necessarily present an adequate picture of corruption in Ukraine. Moreover, around 3,000 cases of bribery are registered each year. Of these, only 398 people were charged in 2005. Of those charged with abuses, only about 1 in 10 is ultimately punished³⁶ (see Table 1 overleaf).

32 The Law of Ukraine 'On Combating Corruption' of April 3, 1997, in: www.rada.gov.ua, accessed 16 October 2007.

33 Maskalevich, Ihor. Re-Privatization: a Cure or a Disease?, in: Zerkalo nedeli, 2005, Vol 537, No. 9, in: <http://www.mw.ua/2000/2060/49462/>, accessed 27 March 2008.

34 Parliamentary Lobbying between Civil Rights and Corruption, in: www.politika.lv/index.php?f=249, accessed 26 April 2008.

35 Corruption Assessment: Ukraine, in: ukraine.usaid.gov, ukraine.usaid.gov/lib/evaluations/AntiCorruption.pdf, accessed 15 April 2008.

36 Neutze, Jan, Karatnytsky, Adrian. Corruption, Democracy, and Investment in Ukraine // Policy Paper, The Atlantic Council of the USA, 2007, in: action-ukraine-report.blogspot.com/2007_10_01_archive.html, accessed 12 May 2008.

Table 1: Information on Keeping the Law 'On Combating Corruption' in Ukraine

Name	Number of cases
Number of criminal protocols	5274
Number of court cases	4509
People who paid fines	3854
People who were fired	1
Criminal proceedings	11

Source: State Committee of Statistics of Ukraine

On one hand, the theme of political corruption is widely used by different politicians for rhetorical purposes. Some claim that corruption could threaten state legitimacy. It is worthwhile to remember that Viktor Yushchenko removed one of Ukraine's Constitutional Court Judges from office. The president's actions were politically motivated and directly interfered with the Court's autonomy. The dismissal of the judge could potentially influence the outcome of the Constitutional Court's ruling on the president's decree #370/2007 from 1 May 2007³⁷ and the appeal by the Parliamentary majority, seriously undermining confidence in Ukraine's judicial system and the Office of the President. During the two terms of Yuliya Tymoshenko's cabinets, the theme of corruption was widely publicised in Ukrainian society. In the first period, politicians talked about fighting corruption in the sphere of taxation and customs, and now they are aiming their efforts at the Tender Chamber of Ukraine. The issue is that when the actions of high officials become publicly known, big problems for Ukraine's image result, which in turn hurts the potential to improve living conditions.

On the other hand, political corruption is a hidden phenomenon in the non-public sphere. However, there are very strong anti-corruption movements in Ukrainian society right now. The Orange Revolution transformed public consciousness and led to upheaval in the government. Yushchenko's chief of staff, Oleksander Zinchenko, made an allegation about the corrupt deals of the president's inner circle and subsequently resigned. Shortly thereafter, Yushchenko dismissed his national security advisor, Petro Poroshenko, followed by the resignation of Tymoshenko's cabinet. Unfortunately, such cases are random and there is no way for the public to control corruption in Ukraine.

Because it was hidden for many years, political corruption in Ukraine is seen as a relatively new phenomenon; it has only recently come to occupy an important place in the policy agenda. We should examine the different reasons for its development and come up with new ways to fight it. The problem must be tackled at the national and international levels. Ukrainian authorities have pledged to fulfill the Copenhagen criteria of democracy, human rights and a functioning market economy, criteria that determine whether a country is eligible for membership in the EU. The assessment of the current situation in Ukraine shows a recent increase in corruption due to an apparent lack of political will and an entrenched political culture that is amenable to corruption. The Ukrainian government's commitment to meeting these criteria could have far-reaching implications for the development of democratic institutions and the spread of a democratic political culture; the relationship between the state and society might also improve as a result. These kinds of changes have traditionally been associated with lower levels of corruption.

Despite widespread cynicism about the will of Ukraine's current leaders to tackle corruption, it is clear that there are significant societal forces interested in good and transparent governance. Among these are the independent media, the civic sector, significant portions of Ukraine's dynamically growing private sector, a middle class chafing under petty corruption, and a growing number of foreign corporations and investors who are attracted by Ukraine's economic growth. The objective consequences of political corruption, such as legal defects and a shadow economy, along with subjective ones, like a low level of political culture in the upper echelons of government and popular acceptance of corruption as a normal facet of everyday life, all serve to hinder the fight against it.

37 The Decree of President of Ukraine 'About The Dismissal of S. Stanik from The Post of Judge of the Constitutional Court of Ukraine' # 370/2007 from 1 May 2007, in: www.zakon1.rada.gov.ua.

Table 2: Corruption Index According to Ukrainian Regions

Ranking of regional index of local authorities' corruption	Region	Index
1	Eastern	0.359
2	Kyiv	0.346
3	Northern	0.327
4	Central	0.320
5	Southern	0.306
6	Western	0.229

Source : Center of Social Forecasting, 2003

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