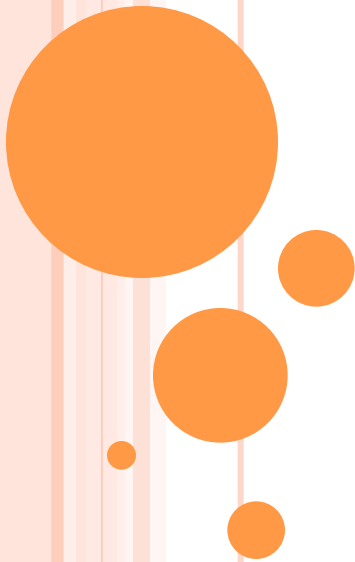


FIGHTING CORRUPTION AFTER EU- CONDITIONALITY IN EASTERN EUROPE

Nicole Gallina, Université de Fribourg



Difference between: Systemic corruption and single-politician-based corruption



**Gorilla
corruption
case in
Slovakia**

**Two of the
most
corrupted
Czech
politicians**



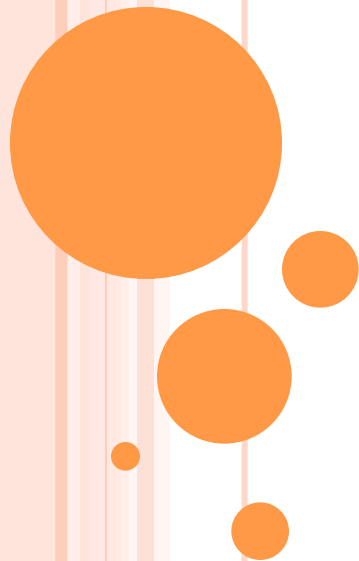
WHO ENFORCES ANTI-CORRUPTION MEASURES?

The European Union?

The Government? (Prime Minister? Justice or Interior Ministers?)

Single Politicians? (Party Leaders? Mayors?)

NGOs? (Open Society etc.?)



SYSTEMIC CORRUPTION? THE EXAMPLE OF CZ AND SK

CZ: The « Justice Mafia »: State prosecutors, judges.. are corrupted by the governing party and politicians



SK: « Gorila wire tapes»: The most important financial group of the country captures the economic and political system

DIFFERENT PHASES OF CORRUPTION: CZ

- **First Phase: Privatizations in the 1990s**
- **Second Phase: « Opposition Agreement » period**
- **Third Phase: Discredited political elite system (all political parties – established and new)**
- **Fourth Phase: ??**

CONNECTION TO EU- CONDITIONALITY?

- **No direct relationship (using corruption ratings, and qualitative research).**
- **Corruption has more depended on the persistence of parties, the election of new parties and new coalitions to parliament, especially protest parties (often themselves captured by corrupted party functionaries), and single determined politicians.**

CONNECTION TO EU- CONDITIONALITY IN SLOVAKIA?

- EU Pressure led to a regime change (Vladimír Mečiar) at the end of the 1990s.
- Corruption depends on governments: Governing of Dzurinda in the 2000s: Some success, but Gorila shows that the «deep state» continued to function, and infiltrated politics , especially in his second governing period.
- What comes next?



EU SUPPORTING CORRUPTION?

High corruption probability: Projects linked to infrastructure or EU-biddings

Freezing of Funds may reduce corruption (?)



How big and strong will be the next Gorila?