

Corruption as a Hybrid War Tool: Ukraine's Experience



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Impact of corruption and lack of integrity on national security



- **Systemic corruption environment dramatically decreases defense and security capabilities and effectiveness to resist external influences.**
- **Russia took systematic measures to collapse the Ukrainian security and defense sector in the period of 2010 – 2013.**
- **Corrupted and poor governed defense and security sector made Ukraine vulnerable to Russian aggression in 2014.**
- **National security and defense of Ukraine continues to feel the influence of the corruption and lack of integrity in the defense and security sector.**



Example: Ukraine's defence disaster in 2014



- **The inability of MoD to face Russian aggression.**
- **The Armed Forces were ruined and lacked everything.**
- **Outdated supplies and collapsed logistics.**
- **Role of volunteers on the front and in MoD.**
- **Massive intrusion of citizens' activity, patriotism and sacrifice saved the country and the state from occupation and destruction.**



Corruption as a tool in Russia's hybrid war





- **Hybrid war primary goal in Ukraine is raising internal chaos: government's collapse; ruining trust to authorities; loosing control over regions; inability to provide security.**
- **Russia (using corruption as a tool) continues to get under its control the big amount of opinion-makers in Ukraine.**
- **Russian export of corrupt big business and virus of corruption to Ukrainian and Western economies.**
- **One of the elements of Russian hybrid war against Ukraine before 2014 was to maximally corrupt defence sector in order to eliminate any possible military resistance at the beginning of the real military conflict.**
- **Corruption and the weakness of the state system give the enemy the opportunity to penetrate into structures that make important decisions and thus paralyze the state.**



Western and Eastern evaluations of Ukraine's role



-  At the beginning of 20th century Vladimir Lenin said that without destroying independent Ukrainian state no strong Russia was possible.
-  In the end of 20th century Zbigniew Brzezinski, former president's J.Carter National security advisor, repeated the thought under different angle – “Without Ukraine no reviving of Soviet Union is possible”.



Example: Results of corruption in defence and security – Russia’s annexation of Crimea and occupation of Donbass



- **In February-March 2014 Russia annexed Crimea.**
- **The majority of civil servants, police, military and security officers immediately after the escape of president Yanukovych, began to sabotage orders from Kyiv and turned to Russian side.**
- **Systemic corruption allowed fast annexation of Crimea and capturing territories on Donbass. If local police and security service would stay loyal to Ukraine the first stage of “Russian spring” on Donbass would fail.**
- **Corrupted influence on Donbass regional elites and big industrial and financial groups (oligarchs) allowed Moscow to receive their loyalty during the beginning of war on Donbas.**
- **Consequence of corrupted Yanukovych regime collapse left Ukraine without ability (command and control system, loyalty to new authorities) to promptly react on Russian aggression on Donbass.**

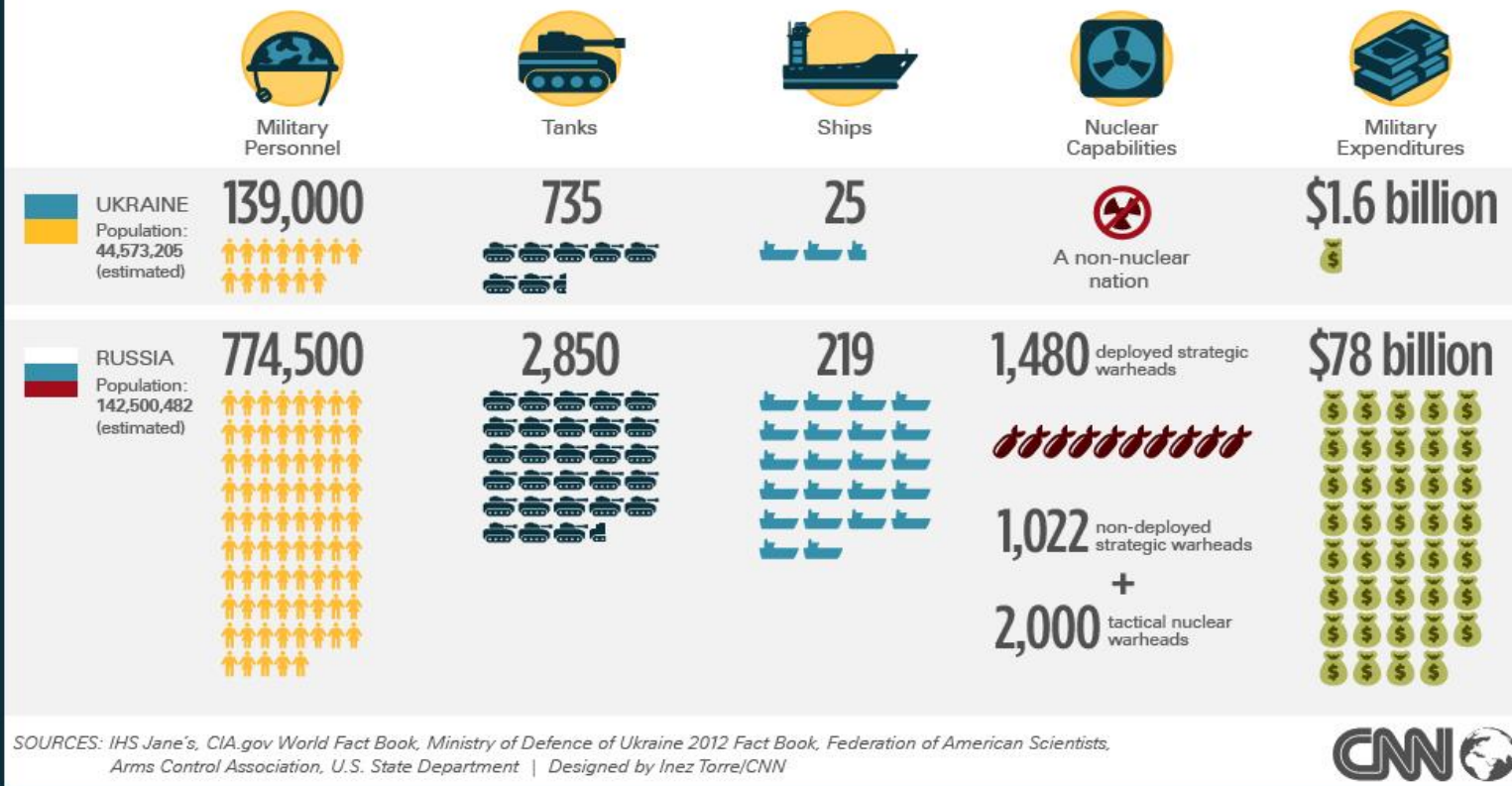


Ukraine vs. Russia in 2012



UKRAINE vs RUSSIA

Russia far outstrips Ukraine in military size, expenditures and might. A 2012 Ukrainian defense report stressed that the military is operating with outdated equipment. By contrast, Russia has poured money into its military, making it one of the world's most powerful. Here's a comparison:



SOURCES: IHS Jane's, CIA.gov World Fact Book, Ministry of Defence of Ukraine 2012 Fact Book, Federation of American Scientists, Arms Control Association, U.S. State Department | Designed by Inez Torre/CNN



Capture of Ukrainian state as the highest corruption' risk



- State capture is commonly defined as a type of systemic political corruption in which private interests significantly influence a state's decision-making processes to their own advantage.
- State capture occurs when the ruling elite and/or powerful businessmen manipulate policy formation and influence the emerging rules of the game (including laws and economic regulations).
- Money want silence: oligarchs are tired of war and are not ready to resist Russia in long run.
- Ukrainian oligarchs are remaining as one of the biggest hybrid threat to the country on the way of its true independence, sovereignty, democracy and prosperity.



Example: Oligarchs reaction on Russian aggression and shadow government



- Different behaviour of Donbass and Dnipropetrovsk financial and industrial groups during the beginning of the war in 2014.
- Could oligarchs possibly play any positive role for the state?
- Shadow government during Yanukovych period.
- US investigation results: former political technologist and advisor to ex-President Viktor Yanukovych Paul Manafort during his working time in Ukraine had a "shadow government" and influence on every ministry of the Cabinet, including MoD.



Conclusions



- The biggest source of chaos in Ukraine is straightforward Russian policy directed to eliminate Ukrainian state even by military means, including direct and open war.
- Export of corruption influence, way of doing business, corruptive erosion of society is the key element of new type hybrid war, developed by Russia.
- Ukrainian oligarchs are remaining as one of the biggest hybrid threat to the country on the way of its true independence, sovereignty, democracy and prosperity.



Can you imagine?



The situation in your country when:

- The top political leaders have fled the country fearing the punishment for their crimes?
- Key security ministers and their deputies had left the country leaving police, armed forces, security services, intelligence without any leadership capable to make decision and give orders?
- Having the only working institution, the Parliament, the country would be able to stop aggression of the 2nd strongest army in the world?

Ukraine had experienced this situation in 2014 because of systemic corruption and survived paying the high price of lost lives and territories.





Thank you!

