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Public Opinion in Tbilisi, In the Aftermath of the Parliamentary Elections of November 2, 2003*

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Introduction

In November 2003 Georgia has moved to what is now wittingly labelled as post-post-Soviet era. Not only the new generation of politicians have come afore, but the events have shattered the very basement of post-Soviet establishment, symbolized here by the ever-present figure of internationally renown, wise and experienced but controversial and already aging Eduard Shevardnadze, under whose 11-year rule Georgia after first short-living successes gradually slid to economic disaster and failed statehood. Indeed, the failed parliamentary elections in Georgia of November 2, 2003 have been no ordinary event in the political life of the country. In fact, these elections marked the emergence to power of the new generation of politicians, those not burdened by Soviet legacy, and often speaking better English than Russian.



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The dramatic events have marked a pivotal change that was symbolized by the downfall of Shevardnadze, but the roots of this drama lay much deeper. While first years of his rule, especially 1995 – 1998, were the years of increasing stability, growth and development, from 1998 the overall situation worsened, along with the general economic crisis in Asia and Russia, but also the political authority of the leadership started to erode. While poverty remained widespread, a few accumulated great wealth, these few either belonging to the immediate family circle of the President, or - enjoying his overt protection or pragmatic permissiveness for some political reasons. Energy crisis made the cold and dark winter months unbearable for the majority of the population. Finally, international financial institutions got frustrated with the absence of progress in economic reform and suspended their assistance programmes, bringing the financial system of the country overburdened by internal and external debts to catastrophic consequences. Corruption became rampant, as was organized crime, often perpetuated by those public servants who were supposed to fight it. The economy became more and more dependent on external assistance, which, while often misappropriated and misused, at the same time imposed on the government the necessity of pro-Western orientation, certain political tolerance and liberalism, freedom of media and strengthening of the civil society, mainly in the form of NGOs located in the capital city of Tbilisi. At the same time, ongoing pipeline projects (Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan and Shah-Deniz/Baku-Erzurum) and the developments in the Middle

East increased hugely the geopolitical and strategic importance of Georgia for the West.

The November 2 parliamentary elections stood to be the key test for the willingness of the country's government to proceed further in the democratic transition process, the key test for Georgia's state-building efforts. International pressures mounted, demanding the elections to be held fairly, with unending sequence of high-profile political visitors reiterating this demand. At the same time it became clear that if the elections were to be held fairly, the ruling elites had next to no opportunity to win, so that they had either to resort to fraud or be ready to say goodbye to accumulated privileges and power. In a year and a half Shevardnadze's term was coming to end, and there was no clear scenario for power succession that could leave the general status quo if these elections were to be lost.

Under such conditions the incumbent president tried on one hand to secure at least Russia's political support for his rule, on the other allowed the electoral fraud to be prepared and implemented. Inability or unwillingness on the part of the government to prepare effective voters' lists became the first strong reason for public dissatisfaction, ignited by oppositional rhetoric and media. Highly effective protest activities by the youth movement "Kmara" (Enough) formed along the Serbian model (and allegedly supported from the West) supplemented the well-planned and rather aggressive campaign by two leading opposition forces – National Movement led by Michael Saakashvili and United Democrats under the leadership of former parliament speaker Zurab Zhvania whose party moved to leading position

after joining forces with Nino Burjanadze, incumbent speaker of the Parliament.

On November 2, Georgian voters went to the polls to elect the new legislature. However, elections, when they finally got held, were universally perceived as rigged, and the opposition led by Saakashvili, Burjanadze and Zhvania appeared able to transform the frustration caused by electoral fraud together with the general dissatisfaction with the state of affairs in the country and the government's corruption into mass manifestations that ultimately led to the resignation of President Shevardnadze.

One of the most interesting phenomena observed during and especially after the elections was the role of media, and particularly international media, and its impact on human minds. The CNN syndrome found its good illustration in the frequency with which Michael Saakashvili would repeat again and again that the whole world through CNN was watching the events in Georgia. Another interesting moment was the permanent effort on all sides to follow the letter if not the soul of the Georgian Constitution, or at least to demonstrate legalistic respect toward its provisions. Finally, it was the first time that the West, and the USA in particular, explicitly demonstrated its dissatisfaction with the incumbent leadership and supported the victorious opposition from the very start of its rule.

On January 4, 2004 the new presidential election were held, and subsequently the parliamentary elections at some point in the spring, provisionally in the end of March. While in the presidential elections there was an obvious favourite in the person of Saakashvili who actually enjoyed a landslide victory, there is more time for regrouping forces before

the parliamentary elections, and their expected outcome is still not fully clear. Under such conditions, it is particularly interesting to observe and understand public attitudes toward the recent and forthcoming events, assessment and interpretation. Our survey was designed with exactly this aim to record public opinion in this brief transitional period, which will influence developments for months and years to come.

Sample

The survey was carried out in Tbilisi, between November 27 and December 5, 2003 in all 10 districts of the city. Hierarchical sampling has been used – respondents were selected to represent age and gender structure as well as geographic distribution of the population of Tbilisi by districts. The total of 902 respondents (45% of males and 55% of females) in the age range 18 – 88 years olds have been interviewed.

The majority of respondent stated that during the last 5 years the economic status of their families either did not change (43.9%) or worsened (41.0%) and only 15% stated that it had improved. Still, the hope for future improvement of the situation is considerable – 75.9% expect positive change in the economic status of their family in coming 5 years, 20.7% do not expect any significant changes, while only 3.4% are pessimistic. It is interesting to note that improvements experienced in the past and those expected in the future are not correlated. Among respondents, 7.9% belonged to a political party. Out

of these, 29.7% were members of the National Movement, 23.4% of the Labour Party, 12.5% were members of United Democrats, 6.3% belonged to the Union of Democratic Revival, 6.3% to the Industry Will Save Georgia, and 3.1% to the Communist Party.

Voting in the November 2, 2003 Parliamentary Elections

While the roots of public dissatisfaction leading to the radical political reshuffle were numerous, it was how the parliamentary elections of November 2, 2003, were (mis) handled by the government that served as a final straw causing universal protest and mass manifestations that culminated in Shevardnadze's resignation. Hence, it is important to understand how the voters report their participation in elections, their attitudes and their choices in this regard. However, when interpreting the answers by respondents to some of more sensitive questions, it should be kept in mind that the interviews were carried out very soon after the new leadership came to power, which on one hand caused certain euphoria and high expectations linked to this leadership, on the other hand -reluctance to admit when the "wrong" (as perceived

today) choices had been made by respondents. It should also be noted that the picture that is formed based on sampling the population in the capital Tbilisi is quite different in detail from the overall pattern countrywide.

Among those who have admitted that they had actually voted, the majority of 37.3% claimed they gave their vote to Saakashvili-National Movement, 20.1% – to Burjanadze-Democrats, 14.1% – to Georgian Labour Party and 11.9% - to the New Rights. Only 2.2% reported voting for the Union of Democratic Revival (chaired by the controversial Ajarian leader Aslan Abashidze), the miniscule 1.8% – for the governmental New Georgia block, 1.3% for the Industrialists, while 2.2% voted for all other parties. 9.2% had either crossed out all the parties or refused to reveal their choice. It seems that these latter include respondents who may regret their choice after the subsequent change of political preferences and now refuse to admit their actual vote – this may partly account for a somewhat too low percentage of votes reported for the New Georgia. However, in the case of the Union of Democratic Revival, its low figure is less surprising as the party had naturally gathered most of its vote in Ajara, not in Tbilisi.

Table 1: Official and independently counted results of the November 2, 2003 parliamentary elections

Party/ block	Official results	Parallel count by independent Fair Elections Society
For New Georgia	21.32 %	18.92 %
Union of Democratic Revival	18.84 %	8.13 %
Saakashvili - National Movement	18.08 %	26.26 %
Labour Party of Georgia	12.04 %	17.36 %
Burjanadze - Democrats	8.79 %	10.15 %
The New Rights	7.35 %	7.99 %

According to our survey, the overwhelming majority of the Tbilisi population (92.4%) was convinced that the election results had been rigged (interestingly, already in June 2003 the majority of respondents – 61.0% – expressed the expectation that the election results would be rigged), and the majority of these is confident that it was the incumbent government who was responsible for rigging – 83% stated that they believed that elections were rigged by the central government, according to 47.2% this was done by Cen-

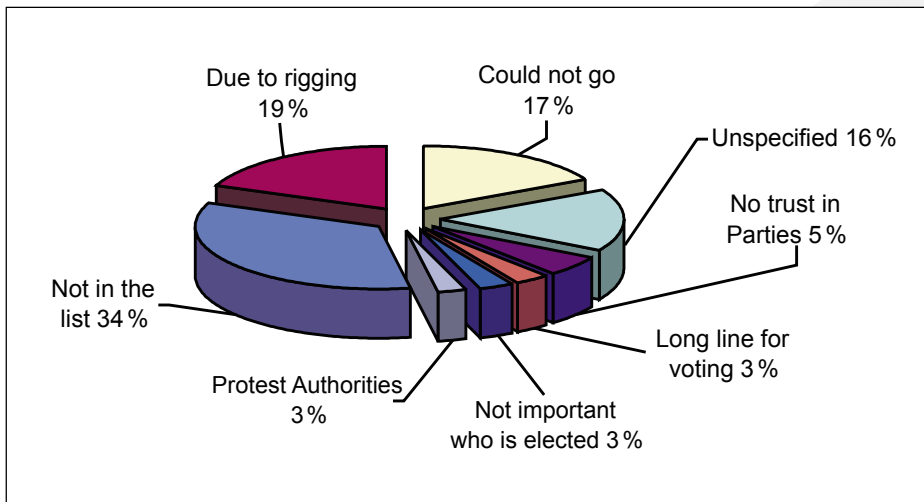
Formation of Political Preferences and the Pre-election Campaign

For many months, political debates in Georgia almost exclusively focused on such issues as compilation of voters' lists, new election code and the composition of election commissions. Fearing attempts from the government to manipulate the vote, opposition parties and civic organizations insisted that the opposition be granted greater representation in election commissions at all levels. However,

Another outstanding factor was the active role of media, Rustavi 2 TV station in the first place, in consolidating public opinion around the radical opposition. Finally, pre-electoral campaign was marked by explicit targeting of various groups by more successful contenders for political victory.

If previous electoral campaigns by opposition movement were totally based on negative rhetoric, dominated by criticism of the incumbent government (paradoxically enough, the best illustration of such approach was

Figure 1: Main reasons for not voting



the National-Democratic Party, which in these elections joined forces with the same ruling party it used to criticise so bitterly), the latter usually attempted to concentrate on its past achievements and forthcoming successes. Now, all parties while criticizing corruption and inefficiency of the government tended to focus on the future, on promises of positive changes and concrete policies. The clear message by the

tral Election Committee and by local governments (28.9%), while only 8.3% pointed to opposition. It could have seemed that the voting enthusiasm among the electorate was moderated by the early expectation of fraud or general disillusionment – only 62.1% of respondents indicated that they had actually voted (although such turnout may not seem too low in an established democracy). However, among those 37.9% who did not take part in elections, 33.9% did not do so as they were not on the voters' list.

during the last two months parties had activated their electoral campaigns, extensively using TV adverts, posters and meetings with voters.

There were several new features that have marked the electoral campaigns if compared to previous years. The most striking novelty was the total shift of the focus from purely political issues to those related to economic development. Even the political programmes and agendas of parties were actually economic development programmes, while most of accusations or promises by the opposition were related to the economic policies and failures by the government.

opposition was – current reality is unbearable, and there is obvious need to move to something radically new, but the old elites are blocking any positive development and need to be disposed of. Other messages stressed unequivocal integration with Europe and West, and in the case of Saakashvili-National Movement mixed with slight flavour of moderate nationalism.

Political sympathies were rapidly changing. Only half of the respondents (46.7%) reported that in summer they already had made the decision as for whom to vote, while 21.1% of them made such decision in September-October, and 32.2% – in

pre-election days. The Georgian Labour Party enjoyed the most stable electorate – 75.0% of those who cast a vote for them had made such decision by summer. The biggest share of electorate – 36.7% was attracted in September-October by Burjanadze-Democrats (boosted by the Parliament Speaker Nino Burjanadze joining forces with Zurab Zhvania of United Democrats), while immediately before the elections governmental for New Georgia was able to attract the highest proportion of voters, 37.5%, which however is statistically insignificant due to low support making only 3 respondents. Overall it can be said that the biggest proportion in absolute numbers, 33.7% have been given their

ents were asked to choose two items from the presented six, describing the reasons for their support of a party. The leading determinant of preference for a party was based on general trust toward the party and the liking of its leader. Among those who cast the vote 55.2% did so due to the belief that this party possessed both the will and the potential to change the current situation, while 45.2% were motivated by the liking and trust toward a party leader, one more demonstration of dissatisfaction by the political status quo and longing for change, on one hand, and the focus on individual attractiveness of leaders characteristic for transitional societies, on the other.

elections. Of course, the governmental block needed to be treated separately, due to different conditions and factors at play in its case. Respondents were asked to select two reasons (from the listed eight) that in their opinion determined the voting outcome for the block For the New Georgia. The most frequently chosen answers were the distrust as a result of corruption (62.3%) and the personal features of a leader/leaders (40.2%), even if in this case the personality of the block leader was somewhat ambiguous – Vazha Lortkipanidze was the first on the electoral list, but he kept low profile throughout the whole campaign period as well as afterwards, as compared to the State Minister Avtandil Jorbenadze and some others, including formally non-represented but obvious guru of the block Shevardnadze.

In the case of all other leading parties (although For the New Georgia was also included for comparison), respondents were asked to rate the shorter list of six factors that had influenced the voting outcome for each party: Personal characteristics of a leader, past actions of a party, pre-election promises, pre-election ads, radicalism and strength of position, opposition to the government.

Table 2: Reasons for voting preference

Rank	Reason	Yes %
1	Belief, that supported party has will and potential to change current situation	55.2
2	Liking of and trust toward the party leader	45.2
3	Party programme / action plan	24.1
4	Party s record / actions in the past	10.8
5	Public speeches of the party leader	9.6
6	Other reason, unspecified	3.8
7	Advertising	3.3

support to Saakashvili in pre-election days, as related by good timing and efficiency of his rather aggressive and confrontational electoral campaign. It should be added that while Burjandaze often enjoyed more public sympathy, it is the symbolic figure of young Saakashvili who demonstrated strong will and uncompromising position that created ground for public confidence in ultimate victory of the opposition and attracted support in decisive moments.

Supporters of different parties based their preferences on a number of factors. Respond-

We have tried to determine those factors, as perceived by respondents, which had impact on the results of the November

Table 3: Factors that determined the results of elections for the governmental block For the New Georgia

Rank	Reason	Yes %
1	Distrust ensued from corruption	62.3
2	Personal features of the leader	40.2
3	Ineffective policy	35.8
4	Weak pre-election campaign	11.2
5	Weakness of position	8.6
6	Wrong external political orientation	8.4
7	Promises of situation improvement by opposition	7.5
8	Cannot say	4.7

Table 4: Proportion of respondents evaluating positively the impact of respective issues on voting outcome, by party (%)

	Issue	New Rights	New Georgia	Burjanadze-Democrats	Democratic Revival	National Movement	Labour party	Industry Saves G.
1	Leader's personality	36.6	10.9	85.2	10.3	80.8	35.8	28.2
2	Past actions	14.1	5.7	33.9	8.3	58.7	43.3	22.3
3	Pre-election promises	39.6	9.6	69.2	10.6	80.5	36.5	24.1
4	TV ads	35.5	15.3	52.8	6.5	57.6	16.6	16.1
5	Strength of position	17.6	4.3	77.3	8.1	84.8	26.5	10.1
6	Opposing authorities	22.1	6.4	79.2	7.8	84.6	29.7	10.3

According to respondents' opinion, personal characteristics played the most important role in the cases of Burjanadze-Democrats (85.2%) and Saakashvili – National Movement (80.8%), as ascribed to the popularity of both Nino Burjanadze and Michael Saakashvili, while they were the least important in the case of to the Union of Democratic Revival (10.9%), with the popularity of Aslan Abashidze falling to its lowest after the post-elections events.

The evident success of Saakashvili-National Movement was explained by respondents as influenced by: past record of a party (58.7%), pre-election promises (80.5%), TV ads (57.6%), and the radicalism of position (84.8%) along with the opposition to government (84.6%). As compared to these, For the New Georgia and the Democratic Revival got the lowest scores in virtually each of these dimensions. As can be seen from the Table 5, Saakashvili-National Movement and Burjanadze-Democrats are leading in all features, with only one exception – past actions of a party, where Labour Party is on the second place. On the last places in all cases is the block For New Georgia with the only exception of pre-election ads where the lowest appraisal has the Union of Democratic Revival.

Considering the data from party perspective demonstrates that the strongest point of the New rights is pre-election promises (39.6%), of the New Georgia – pre-election TV ads (15.3%), of Burjanadze-Democrats – opposition to the authorities (79.2%), of the Union of Democratic Revival pre-election promises (10.6%), Saakashvili-National Movement – strength of position (84.8%), the Labour Party – past actions (43.3%) and of the Industry Will Save Georgia – personal features of the leader (28.2%).

Lack of differentiation between various factors demonstrates certain influence of emotional attitude of respondents – overall liking or dislike towards a party on the assessment of its qualities, rather than their ability to reflect on, analyse and distinguish factors of political success or failure.

Media, “Kmara” and Elections

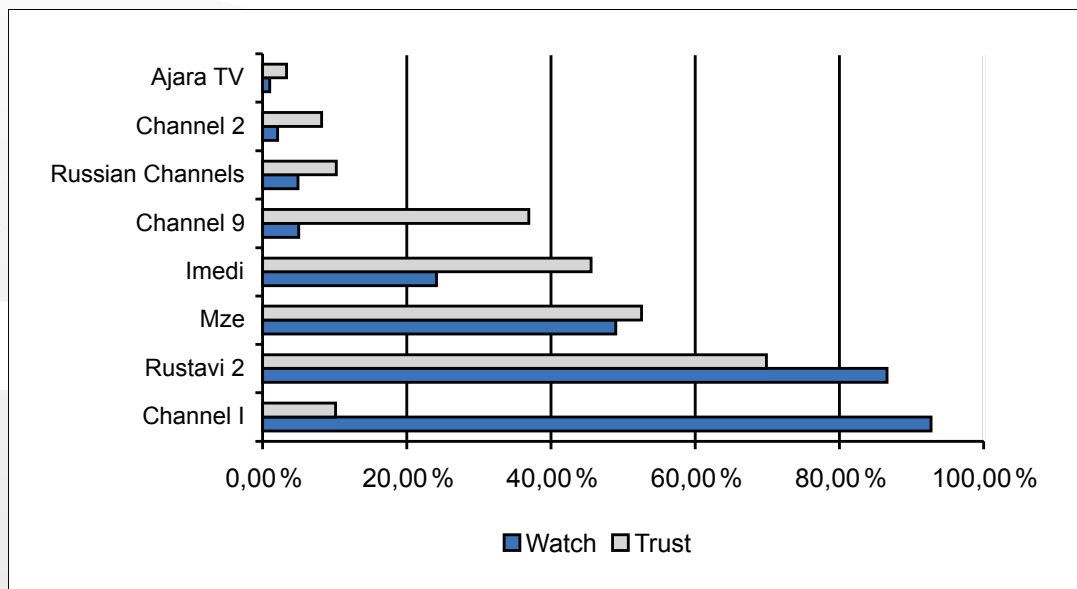
Although the majority of respondents do not fully admit the importance of media campaign and adverts, their role is not to be underestimated. Actually, as already said above, local and international media played extremely important role both before the elections and after them, particularly the TV. At some points, both the opposition and

the government communicated with the population through respective TV channels, calling for this or that urgent action. Equally important role was played by electronic media in communicating pre-electoral messages to future voters, forming and influencing rapidly changing political preferences.

In the survey, respondents were asked to check if they saw and remembered electoral advertisements of the parties on TV and to express their assessment of them. In general, respondents demonstrated high acknowledgment of remembering electoral TV ads, actually of virtually every leading party. Still the highest proportion of respondents (87.4%,) saw the ads of the New Rights, who spent significant resources on advertising on TV, while the smallest share of 69.6% saw ads of the Union of Democratic Revival, which was mainly using Ajara TV, less popular in Tbilisi (the ads of the Democratic Revival were also the least liked by respondents, only 7.6% having mentioned liking them). The most liked ads were those of Saakashvili-National Movement, approved by 46.3%.

The demise of Shevardnadze's rule marked also the change in the status, as well as perception, of leading TV channels. Now Rustavi 2, traditionally perceived

Figure 2: Viewing TV channels after the November 2003 elections



ment. The majority of respondents, - 59% - positively evaluated the actions of “Kmara”; among these, 25.6% or less than half believed that “Kmara” was useful and approved its conduct, while 33.4% disliked the

by public as in permanently opposing the government, enjoys the support of the interim government and can hardly be described as oppositional. The survey attempted to pay attention to the new disposition of perception structure by TV audience. Respondents were asked to indicate two channels on which they predominantly watched news after the elections. The majority, 97.2% - mentioned the state-owned Channel I of Georgian TV. However, while this channel may enjoy the biggest audience, the

picture is different in regard to the trust factor regarding news programmes. As is evident from Figure 2, Channel I is watched but not trusted. The majority of respondents (69.9%) would rather trust Rustavi 2, while the least trusted is Ajara TV (3.3%).

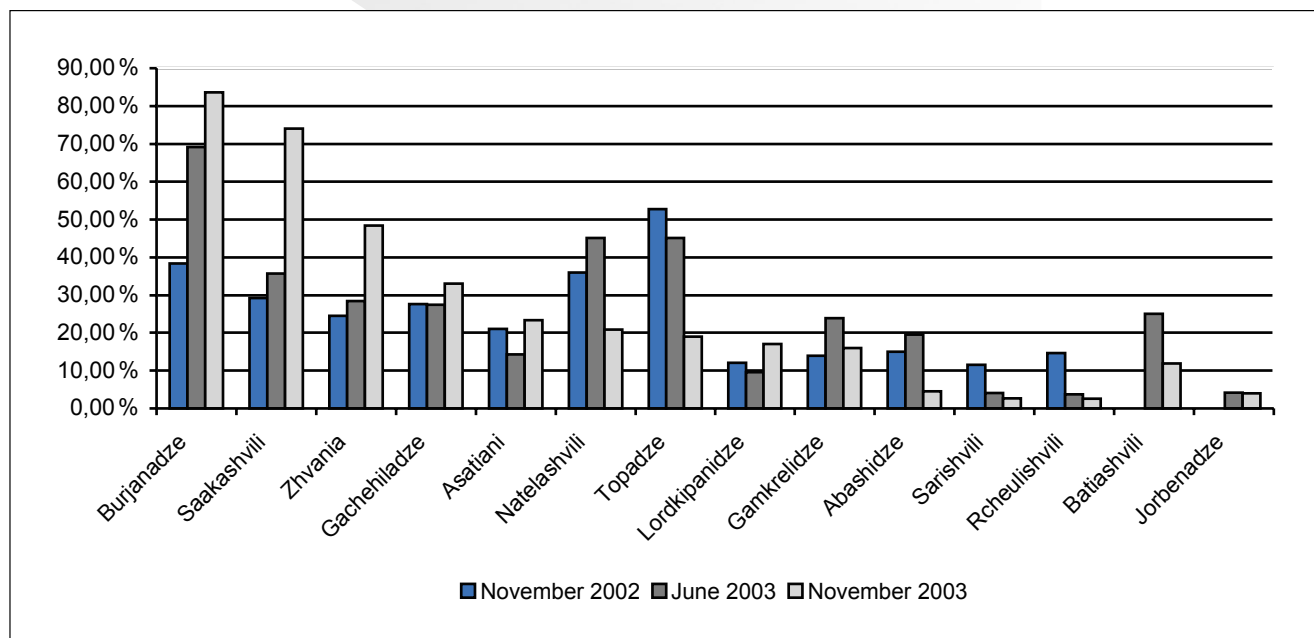
Another media-related component of the pre-electoral struggle was the activity of the youth movement “Kmara”, actively involved in sharp criticism and demonstrative protest (high-profile, if sometimes controversial) against the incumbent govern-

ments but liked the goal. 15.3% of respondents expressed a negative attitude, 12.1% - neutral, while 13.6% would not answer the question.

Politicians through Voters' Eyes

Respondents were asked to evaluate twenty-one politicians and public servants by indicating approval, dislike or neutral attitude to them, as well as general awareness regarding this or that person. Respondents have demonstrated relatively high level of “who-is-who” awareness – while

Figure 3: Approval of politicians and public servants over the last year



respondents were the least aware of Akaki Asatiani's personality, still only 5.0% did not know who he was. Nino Burjanadze was known by the biggest portion of respondents - only 0.2% did not know her. She was also the most liked politician on the list - being liked by 83.6% of those who knew who she was. The least of approval respondents have expressed towards Levan Mamaladze, the controversial supporter of Shevardnadze - only 1.4% liked him. However, it is not only the approval of politicians that may be of interest, but also the balance of neutral and negative attitudes as well, presented on the Table 9. The most neutral respondents were towards David Tevzadze, as expressed by almost half of respondents (46.2%), while Mamaladze has deserved the most negative attitude (88.5%).

Comparison of the results with the data of June, 2003 and November 2002 (possible in 14 cases) reveal drastic changes in the structure of public approval. Many attitudes were formed or changed during the last month after November 2002 elections, caused e. g. by a much despised position or action, as in the cases of Aslan Abashidze, Irakli Batiashvili, Gogi Topadze, Irina Sarishvili or

Vakhtang Rcheulishvili, whose approval plummeted. At the same time Nino Burjanadze, Mikhail Saakashvili and Zurab Zhvania demonstrated high gains in public approval.

Ahead of the presidential elections, it was of great interest to understand what are the opinions and expectations related to leading political figures in this regard. Mikhail Saakashvili was most often nominated as the desired president of Georgia - 48.7% of respondents want him to become the president. Nino Burjanadze was named by 35.7%, Shalva Natelashvili by 3.1%, Igor Giorgadze by 1.9%, Jumber Patiashvili by 1.9%, Zurab Zhvania by 1.0%. Besides them, 24 persons were named by 7.7% of respondents, although none of these proposed candidates have reached 1% of support.

Political Developments after the November Elections and the Future Expectations

In the wake of dramatic events of November 2003, public attitudes underwent many changes both in the assessment of past events and in the anticipation of future developments. The events continue to occupy minds, while

their interpretation and reassessment is still taking place. Among the questions that occupy minds are those related to whether there were better options to be taken, and what will be the ultimate outcomes of current developments.

Reflecting on what actions would have been appropriate to carry out by the government and the president after the elections and subsequent turmoil, the majority, - 68.1% pointed to the abolition of the disputed election results and holding new Parliamentary elections as the most appropriate decision. 24.7% considered the general idea of finding compromise with the opposition, 3.9% would have suggested to having taken firmer position not allowing opposition rallies to take place, 3.3% could not answer.

In the similar manner, respondents estimated the appropriateness of actions by different political forces after the elections. The strong majority of 81.2% positively evaluated the actions of Burjanadze-Democrats, equally high (80.2%) was support for Saakashvili-National Movement. The smallest portion (5.5%) positively evaluated actions of the Union of Democratic Revival (which angered the population

Figure 4: Opportunities and hopes following Shevardnadze's resignation.

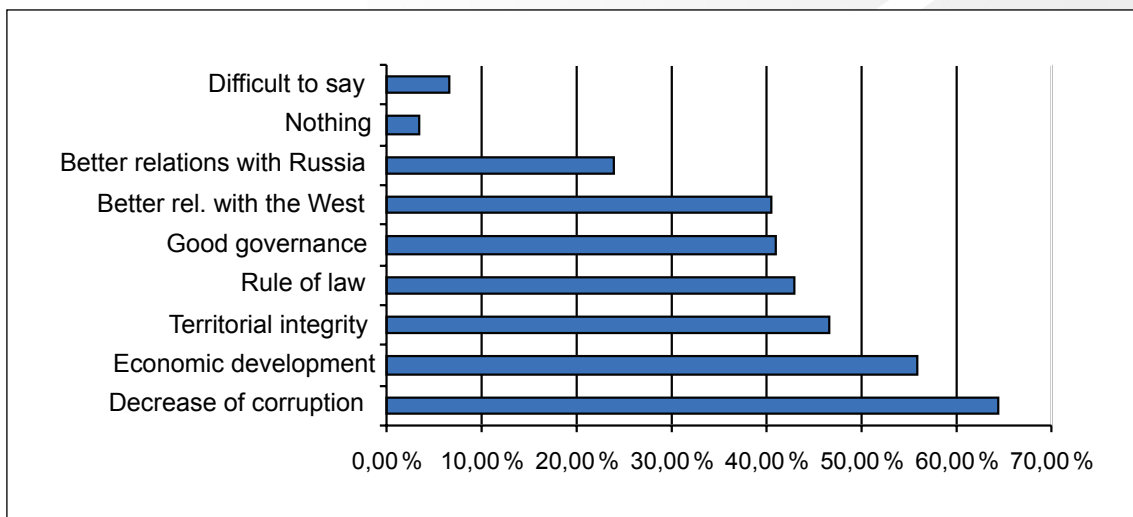
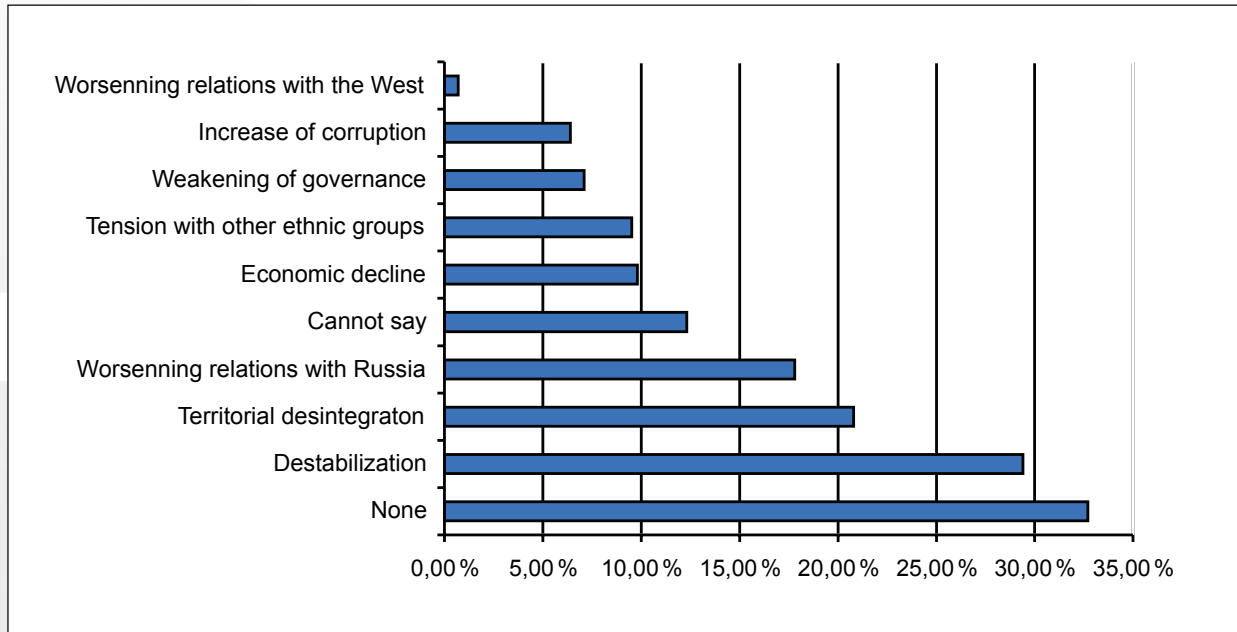


Figure 5: Increase in immediate threats following Shevardnadze's resignation



of Tbilisi by highly unpopular decision to organise alternative rallies in front of the Parliament, not to allow Saakashvili to take ground there. Equally low was the positive assessment of the actions by the For the New Georgia (6.6%). The overwhelming majority, - 83.6% estimated positively the stepping down of President Shevardnadze on November 23, when mass protest reached culmination, and the first session of the new Parliament got disrupted. 11.6% expressed neutral

attitude toward this fact and 4.8% evaluated it negatively.

Among the most important external players that influenced the direction of political events after elections were the international media, US and Russia. It is only too symbolic in the age of globalisation that the highest number of the respondents, - 79.8% pointed to the important role that international media (CNN in the first place and some other) played in the post-election developments (only 9.7% considered media role as unimportant and 10.5%

did not have any opinion). At the same time, 63.4% of respondents evaluated the role of Russia in the regulation of the after-election crisis as very important (17.3% considered Russia's role as unimportant and 19.4% did not have definite opinion). However, US role in the regulation of the crisis was appreciated by even higher proportion of respondents - 79.6% thought it was important (according to 7.3% it was not important and 13.0% had no definite opinion).

Figure 6: Threats that Georgia may face during the five-year period

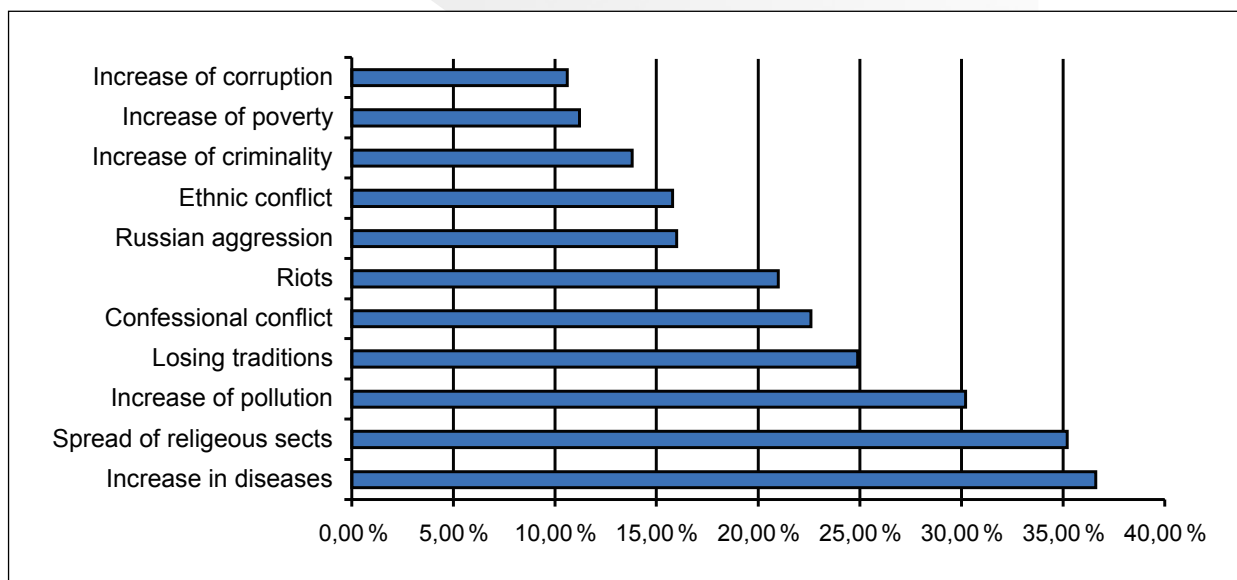


Table 6: Expected improvement of the economic status of a household in next 5 years. %

Survey	Will improve	Will remain the same	Will worsen
Nov. 2002	55.8	24.9	19.3
June 2003	56.6	32.3	11.2
Nov. 2003	75.9	20.7	3.4

The change of power brought both new opportunities and new threats for Georgia. Respondents were asked to check the list with eight items describing new opportunities and hopes that arose for the country after Shevardnadze's stepping down. It is highly indicative that the most popular item checked was the decrease in corruption.

When asked about new or increased threats, respondents demonstrated euphoric optimism – the highest rating got the “No new threats” item. Political destabilization as a possible consequence was named by 29.4% of the respondents, taking the second place. The least probable seems worsening the relations with the West.

However, in longer perspective respondents were more

realistic, when assessing potential threats that Georgia may face in the nearest five years time. For the majority such threat first of all was associated with the health conditions of the population. 36.6% feared the possibility of an increase in the incidence of illnesses such as AIDS/HIV, tuberculosis, oncological and cardiovascular diseases.

In general, respondents expressed great optimism regarding the future - 73.6% were confident of the general improvement of the situation and expected positive changes; 12.8% were not sure how things would develop, 11.1% expected nothing would change and only 2.4% of pessimists believed that situation would deteriorate.

Such optimism finds its manifestation in other areas as well.

About the half of the surveyed (47.2%) expressed opinion that now an ordinary citizen would have more influence on government decisions (22.9% do not think so, and 29.9% cannot answer). There is also more optimism regarding the possibility to lead a decent life by the honest work - 67.0% stated that this would become possible (as compared to 18.8% in November 2002 and 19.1%) against 11% of pessimists, while 21.1% have shown difficulty in answering the question. Such increase in optimism is obviously related to the recent political events, as demonstrated by the comparison of data on improvement of economic status of respondents' families.

Political future of the country, however, is related to certain political developments. Parliamentary elections are considered to be the second most important step after the presidential elections of January 4th. Respondents have named the party whom they most likely would vote for if the elections were held tomorrow. Again the preference was given to Saakashvili

Figure 7: Reported vote cast on November 2, 2003 vs. expressed future preferences one month after elections.

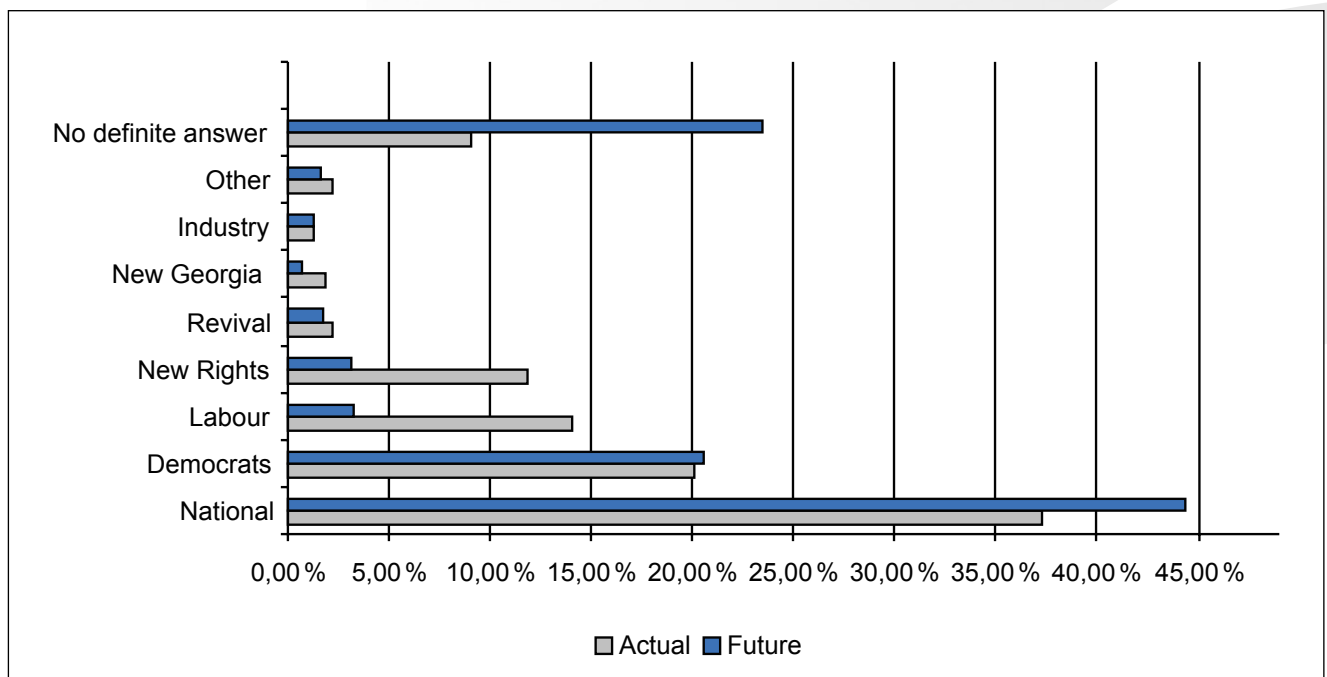


Table 7: Problems Georgia faces

Rank	Problem	%
1	Unemployment	72.4
2	Corruption	48.2
3	Low salaries, pensions and entitlements	41.4
4	Territorial disintegration	41.0
5	Acquisition of state property by clans	22.4
6	Inaccessibility of health service	18.5
7	Human rights violations	11.8
8	Tbilisi-Ajara relations	11.1
9	Crisis in education system	7.4
10	Bad governance	6.7
11	Uncontrollability of power structures	4.7
12.5	Living conditions of internally displaced persons	4.5
12.5	High level of criminality	4.5
14	Unsatisfactory work of courts	2.7
15	Lack of freedom of expression and media	0.4

- National Movement (44.3%) and Burjanadze – Democrats (20.6%). It is interesting to compare these preferences with reported vote in elections. As can be seen from Fig. 13, the support for Saakashvili - National Movement have increased since elections by 7%. There is a small increase in 0.5% of the support for Burjanadze-Democrats. The group of supporters for the Industry Saves Georgia is small and stable, while support for all other parties has decreased, in particularly dramatic way for the Georgian Labour Party - they lost 10.8% of their electorate, - as well as for

the New Rights, who lost 8.8% of supporters.

Not only the forthcoming parliamentary election is important by itself, even more important is how it will work and what decisions it will make. Respondents were asked to choose from the listed thirteen - three issues which the future Parliament should discuss in the first place. Interestingly, notwithstanding the seemingly evident preoccupation with economic matters, the majority choose “Regulation of the conflict with Abkhazia”, and only then “increased employment” and the “decrease in corruption”.

Economic and Social Priorities and Policies

Due to the specific nature of the legislature, issues prioritised for the Parliament are not necessarily the same as the most burning problems faced by the country. Accordingly, respondents were requested to choose from the listed fifteen - three the most burning problems that Georgia now faces. Unemployment got the highest rank (72.4%), followed by corruption (48.2%), then low salaries, pensions and entitlements (41.4%).

It is natural to complement this list of problems through the next question asking respondents to prioritise issues that the new Georgian government should solve in the first place. Again unemployment was considered by the majority as the first problem to be dealt with, checked by 63.5% of respondents. There is a slight difference with the previous ranking in the ordering of the second, third and fourth most pressing problems. While respondents considered corruption as second in rank and low salaries the third, when it comes to actions precedence is pragmatically enough given to the increase in salaries, checked by 41.7%. Re-establishing of territorial integrity was the third issue in rank, checked by 38.1%.

Table 8: Ranking of the actions for improving the situation (respondents chose two answers)

Rank	Action	%
1	Punishment of corrupt persons and those who misappropriated state property	43.8
2	Improvement of legislation	43.6
3	Decrease of taxation	39.4
4	Support of small business	31.0
5	Decrease of import, protecting local producers	21.5
6	Developing industry through attraction of foreign investment	13.4
7	Strengthening local governments	7.3
8	Other	0.8

Although correcting mistakes made during privatisation process occupies the last rank in the list of problems to be solved, 73.9% still think that the new owners who had privatised enterprises with violations should be deprived of property rights (9.8% thinks that everything should stay as it is, and 16.3% does not have a definite answer). Along the same lines, 91.3% of the population would support state control over strategically important sectors of economy, such as energy production, water supply, and railway transportation (2.7% state that it should be in private hands and 6.0% do not have a definite opinion).

It was naturally more difficult to formulate how the concrete policies should be planned. When asked as how to achieve the improvement of the general situation, the highest proportion (43.8%) of respondents sug-

According to the relative majority of respondents in the survey (42.9%), the fate of Georgia depends equally on her and on other countries. 37.5% still think that it depends mostly on Georgia, while according to 19.6% - mostly on other countries. It is interesting to note that seemingly recent events have clearly demonstrated the importance of external world, as becomes evident by comparing these data with previous results - in June 2003 as many as 57.8% respondents believed that the future of Georgia mainly depended on Georgia, 33.5% thought that it depended to equal extent on Georgia and other countries, and 8.8% - mainly on other countries.

The more so it is important to be well aware of reliable international partnerships. Respondents were requested to choose two countries that in their opinion were the best friends of Georgia,

to choose between Russia and USA as a better potential partner for Georgia, 62.2% made choice in favour of the US (in November 2002 respective rate was 53.7%, while in June 2003 it rose to 55.1%, showing stable increase).

Civil Participation and General Values

The majority of the respondents (72.3%) were convinced that the solution of the problems that Georgia currently faces is possible only through public participation. Comparing this result to the answers of the national wide surveys of November 2002 and June 2003 - revealed the increase in the recognised importance of civil participation (in Nov 2002 - 62.6%, in June 2003 - 65.6%, in Nov. 2003 - 72.3%).

When in June 2003 respondents were asked whether in their opinion an ordinary person might have influence on government's decisions, only 15.3% admitted such a possibility (11.6% were not sure, and the remaining 73.1% did not believe in such a possibility). However, in the end of November when respondents were asked the same question, but directed toward the future, asking if in ordinary person will have a say, the proportion of people believing in such a possibility actually tripled reaching 47.2%, while only 22.9% did not believe in such possibility and 29.9% had no definite answer.

In fact, 40.2% of the surveyed respondents had participated in protest rallies after the November 2 elections, while only 12.3% took part in any type of collective action from the beginning of the year until elections. At the same time, participation is mainly understood as a confrontational action. So, the most acceptable form of participation with the goal of influencing the government was stated to be the attend-

Table 9: Countries perceived as friendly or hostile toward Georgia

Country	Friendly %	Hostile %
USA	99.9	8.0
Azerbaijan	19.4	10.9
European Union	40.2	5.3
Turkey	2.0	26.3
Russia	14.3	72.7
Armenia	5.8	50.1
Ukraine	36.6	3.8

gested the punishment of corrupt persons and all those who had misappropriated state property. The second rank was allocated to the improvement of legislation, as chosen by 43.6%.

Georgia's External Orientation

Recent events have once more time demonstrated how sensitive Georgia is to external influences. This is as well realised by the population as by experts.

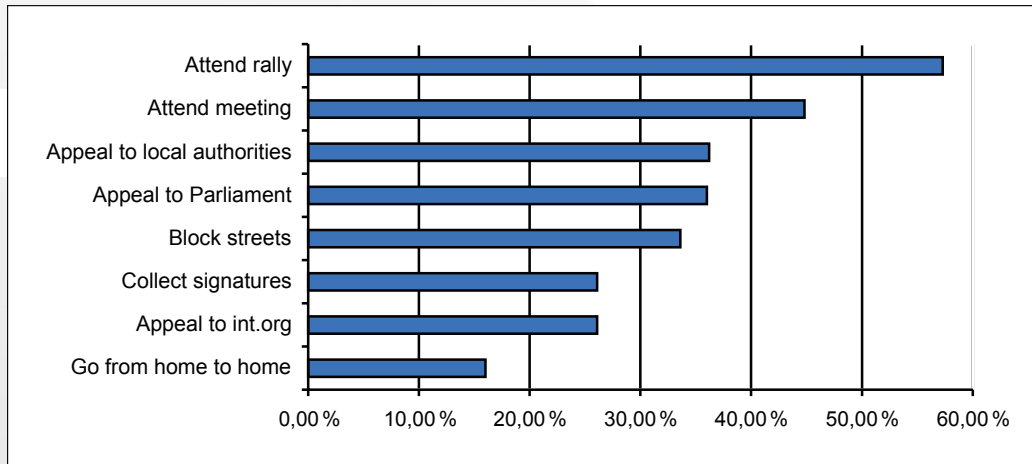
as well as two who they considered as hostile to the country. The most frequently named friends appeared to be the US (99.9%) and the European Union (40.2%), while Russia (72.7%) and Armenia (50.1%) were considered to be more hostile. However, with regards to the US there was certain ambivalence, as a number of respondents chose US both as a friend and as an enemy. The choice of the second hostile country was problematic for many respondents. When asked

ance of a protest rally, 57.3% of respondents claiming their readiness to engage in this activity. The next best preferred activities

assessed Shevardnadze's resignation, against 11.6% of those who did not have a definite attitude and 4.8% of those who estimated

believed that the situation in the country would improve (*Chi square* 175.4, *df.* 3, $p < 0.001$).

Figure 8: Readiness to get engaged in activities aimed at influencing governmental decisions.



are attending a meeting (44.8%) and appealing/complaining to the local authorities (36.2%). It is interesting to note that in November 2002 only 26.9% expressed readiness to attend a protest rally, even less so in June 23.3%, but in November 2003 respective rate more than doubled reaching 57.3%.

Such confrontational attitude is closely related to general mistrust toward officialdom, and reluctance to use legal ways of protecting own rights. According to respondents, in case of violation of their rights they would appeal to friends (77.1%) or relatives (71.8%), but only 46.4% claimed they would appeal to courts.

At the same time, the absolute majority of respondents (79.6%) expressed preference to democracy as a governance system, while only 8.7% preferred authoritarian rule (11.8% - not able to make a choice).

Profiles of the Supporters of Change

As noted above, the majority of the respondents, 83.6% positively

it negatively. We have tried to find out the difference between those with positive viewpoint ("Pros") and those with neutral and negative ("Cons") assessments on a number of other issues. Statistically significant differences were found in the following areas:

Optimism:

"Pros" were found to be more optimistic - 78.8% of them believed that the economic condition of their families would improve in the coming five years, while such belief was shared by 61.9% of "Cons" (*Chi square* 19.2, *df.* 2, $p < 0.001$). 73.6% of "Pros" compared to 36.1% of "Cons" believed that it will become possible to earn a decent living by honest work (*Chi square* 108.1, *df.* 2, $p < 0.001$). More "Pros" (77.7%) than "Cons" (70.1%) supported the idea that what one achieves in his life depends more on himself than on the others (*Chi square* 3.9, *df.* 1, $p < 0.05$). The optimism of "Pros" covered not only the future of the respondents and their families, but also the future of Georgia. 82.1% of them compared to 30.8% of "Cons"

Participation:

Most obvious was the difference on issues referring to participation. 75.8% of "Pros" were sure that the solution of the acute problems that the country is facing was possible only through civic participation. So thought 53.8% of "Cons" (*Chi square* 29.4, *df.* 1, $p < 0.001$).

More "Pros" (81.2%) than "Cons" (71.4%) expressed preference to democracy over dictatorship (*Chi square* 10.7, *df.* 2, $p < 0.005$). In general "Pros" also have expressed more trust in people - 61.8% claimed that the majority of people could be trusted, while 47.6% of "Cons" did not think so (*Chi square* 10.2, *df.* 1, $p < 0.005$). 52.6% of "Pros" compared to 19.7% of "Cons" believed that in the nearest future ordinary persons would have more say on government decisions (*Chi square* 75.1, *df.* 2, $p < 0.001$).

External orientation:

Less "Pros" than "Cons" believed that the fate of Georgia mainly dependent on other countries (17.3% against 31.7% (*Chi square* 16.5, *df.* 2, $p < 0.001$)). Also less of "Pros" (34.1% against 59.1%, *Chi square* 29.5, *df.* 1, $p < 0.001$) thought that the country should be orientated more on Russia than on US.

Age Factor

Age plays an important role in determining political preferences, and there were significant differences between various

generational cohorts. It can be said in general that not only the recent events demonstrated the generational change in Georgian politics, the new cohort of politicians, more determined and radical, were mostly supported by younger people who are more pro-western, more optimistic and open-minded.

Young adults (respondents were divided into three age groups – 18-34, 35-64, and 65+) proved to be more active in the rallies after the elections - 48.3% of them as compared to 40.2% of people in the middle and 24.7% those in late adulthood, - took part in rallies (*Chi Square* 35.6, *df.* 4, $p < 0.001$). As already mentioned, difference was found in the preferred external orientation of Georgia - more older adults (53.1%) than young ones (32.4%) or persons in the middle adulthood (36.4%) opted for Russia and not USA (*Chi Square* 18.1, *df.* 2, $p < 0.001$) when offered a choice.

Youth is more optimistic indeed - difference was quite pronounced in regard of the prospects of economic improvement in the next five years (*Chi Square*

21.7, *df.* 4, $p < 0.001$) – young adults (83.4%) were most convinced in the future improvement of the situation, while less - 75.0% of middle and 63.5% of older adults have expressed expectation of such improvement. The young people are also more to the right in their social standing. Indeed, different generations revealed different attitude toward rich people (*Chi Square* 29.2, *df.* 8, $p < 0.001$). Soviet legacy seems to have played a role too as the negative attitude shows increase with the age - 5.8% of people of young, 11.2% of middle and 20.7% of older age have expressed dislike for the rich.

Satisfaction with life in its turn has decreased with the age. Young people were more satisfied with their life (23.6%), than persons in the middle (16.6%) or late adulthood (11.3%) (*Chi Square* 33.8, *df.* 4, $p < 0.001$). At the same time respondents in middle adulthood revealed the most internal orientation - 63.4% of them believed that what one reaches in life mainly depends on him/her rather than on others, while such attitude was shared by

61.7% of old and 52.4% of young adults, natural for those who feel more dependent.

Concluding remark

Political events that took place throughout November 2003 appeared to be of enormous importance for Georgia's future. Although there are many reasons to say this, here it would be more appropriate to speak about the changes in the popular attitudes, actually by themselves serving as the main factor of the dramatic political transition. Whatever other political developments, it is evident from the results of our survey that there was a landslide increase in the readiness for and confidence in civil participation, optimism, self-confidence, pro-democracy and pro-western orientation of the population. If this trend is not reversed, we are observing how democracy is maturing in Georgia, not so much through formal transformation and structural change inasmuch through liberation of human minds.



Public Administration Reform in Serbia

Prof. Vojin Rakic, VVMZ B.V., Beograd, Serbia & Montenegro

The Current State of Affairs in the Public Administration System in Serbia

After the new democratic government took office in Serbia in January 2001, the reform of the public administration system appeared to figure as one of its strategic tasks. Two government agencies were immediately created with the ambition to streamline administrative reforms: the Agency for Public Administration Development (APAD) and the Civil Service Council (CSC). The

former was in charge of the implementation of reforms, whereas the latter was envisioned to be a strategic advisory body to the Government. In addition to APAD and the CSC, a Government Committee on the Judiciary and State Institutions (CJSI) had the task to oversee the entire public administration reform effort. The Ministry in charge of public administration reform (PAR) used to be the Ministry of Justice and Local Self-Government, but in the summer of 2002 a new Ministry of State Administration and Local Self-Government (MSALSG), was

created, which took over the task of administrative reform.

In spite of the establishment of these bodies, an apparent initial willingness by the Government and the Prime Minister to undertake serious administrative reforms, as well as a number of obvious successes in other policy domains, PAR proceeded in a rather sluggish fashion. Some useful projects were administered by APAD, a functional review of the Ministry of Health was conducted and a number of civil servants have been trained in a variety of skills, but the over-

all public administration system still resembled the one inherited from the period of state-socialism. The structure of the ministries remained more or less unchanged, whereas the inflow of new civil servants into the system was limited. The initial enthusiasm of the Government appeared to subside as well, with the chance of radical administrative reforms taking place during its first mandate becoming slim.

The primary reasons for the relatively slow pace of PAR need to be sought in the following:

- The tasks of the previously mentioned agents of PAR were either not clearly defined or not clearly understood; the functions of the CSC and the CJSI, the CSC and APAD, as well as APAD and the MSALSG showed significant overlap in the practice of their work.
- There was no strategic body under the Prime Minister's Office in charge of PAR.
- There was no real champion of PAR among the most senior leadership in Serbia (the PM, the Deputy PMs or the President).
- The Serbian Government was a coalition of 17 (previously 18) parties, whose leaders frequently were members of the Cabinet, sometimes more inclined to follow the interests of their parties than the policy of the Government.

Nevertheless, the chances for future successful administrative reforms are not to be underestimated:

- A number of significant systematic or spontaneous preparatory activities for radical PAR have taken place.
- The educational level of the professional (including political) elite in Serbia is high, with many professionals who left the country during the Milo-

sevic era returning home with degrees from a variety of Western universities; a number of these people are engaged in PAR.

- The chances of the parties of the previous regime to regain power are slim and it is likely that the reforms will continue at some pace.

Important PAR projects

We will concentrate in this section on the first reason we gave for our relative optimism concerning future PAR., i. e. on the fact that the system is to some degree prepared for administrative reform. In that regard, we would like to highlight the following projects that were undertaken since 2001:

- A diagnostic study of the central Government machinery in Serbia, conducted in 2001 by a Norwegian expert team; the study recommended that priority should be given to the strengthening of the support functions of the Prime Minister, especially through a reform of the General Secretariat of the Government (Holland and Eriksen, 2002); the recommendations have not been implemented yet.
- A diagnostic study on the system of governance and human resources development in Serbian public administration, conducted in 2002 by a Danish expert team; the team recommended the establishment of human resources management units at a variety of levels in the public administration system (Moeller, 2002); the recommendations are currently in the implementation phase.
- A functional review of the Serbian Ministry of Health, conducted in 2002 by a local expert team, supported by foreign consultant; although the review was a pilot effort, the

Minister of Health accepted the recommendations, which are now in the implementation phase (Rakic, 2002).

- A functional review of the central support functions of Serbian Ministries (the "CSF Project"), conducted by a local expert team, funded by the Dutch Government, administered by UNDP and the Serbian Agency for Public Administration Development, and supported by Bannock Consulting and the Dutch Royal Institute for Public Administration (ROI); the review was a systemic analysis of the Ministers' Cabinets and the Secretariats of the Ministry of Mining and Energy, the Ministry of Science, Technology and Development, the Ministry of Construction and Urban Planning, as well as the Ministry of Agriculture and Water Management.

In addition to these three projects, a large number of training events for civil servants ought to be mentioned as significant contributions to PAR in Serbia. These events were primarily administered by APAD, the UNDP and the CSC, and were aimed at developing a variety of skills, such as project management or report writing, but also at developing comparative insights into other public administration systems. A specific education and training centre for civil servants, however, has not been established yet.

Legal reforms were neither widespread nor radical. No new law on public administration or civil servants act have been adopted (although draft versions are circulating in Government institutions). Since 2001, two new laws on Ministries have been adopted by Parliament. These two laws introduce a number of specific changes (the abolish-

ment of some Ministries and the creation of new Ministries), but no systemic, overall changes of the institutional set-up of Ministries are envisioned.

The fact that legal changes are slow may turn out to be an advantage if organizational analyses of state institutions are conducted first. Efforts in transitional countries to facilitate PAR through isolated changes in the legal framework proved to be unsuccessful. The popularity of functional reviews in those countries is to some degree a consequence of this insight. Serbia can learn from these experiences and perform thorough functional reviews (and other types of organizational analyses) as another preparation for PAR and their enactment in new laws.

Since the CSF Project is the first systemic functional review in the country, envisioned to provide the Government with recommendations that apply not only to the four Ministries, but to the entire public administration system, its impact might be significant. Hence, let us say something more about the goal of that project, and note its significance for PAR in Serbia.

The Goal of the CSF Project and a Look into the (near) Future

The CSF project began in November 2002 and was finalized in September 2003. Its objective was to review the relations between the Secretariats of Ministries and the Cabinets of the respective Ministers. The methodology used consisted of semi-structured interviewing of civil servants in the Secretariats and the Cabinets, participant observation and desk analysis. The work was carried out by four work groups, their coordinator, the project manager, a senior national consultant and a UNDP special advisor to the

Government of Serbia in functional review and organizational analysis (who is the author of this text).

Secretariats in Serbia are considered as the “backbones” of Ministries and generally include civil servants in charge of legal issues, financial issues and personnel issues. They are headed by a Secretary, who is appointed by the Government and who is frequently being replaced by another Secretary when the Minister changes. Nevertheless, the Secretary is usually a career civil servant.

Minister’s Cabinets usually consist of his or her closest staff: the “Chief of Cabinet” (who heads the Cabinet), the Minister’s advisers, a personal secretary, a PR person, a driver, and in some Ministries of someone in charge of public administration reform in the Ministry. Legally speaking, however, Minister’s Cabinets do not exist in Serbian public administration. They are a creation of the new Government and a consequence of the need of new Ministers to have reform oriented and reliable staff around him. On the other hand, Secretariats are generally dominated by career civil servants, which are considered as paramount to the “old guard”.

It is obvious that the dualism between the political and career role of Secretaries, the dualism between political and non-political staff in general (frequently congruent with the dualism between the “old guard” and the “new guard”), the legally undefined role of Cabinets and their staff, as well as the from all this derived tension between the Secretariats and the Cabinets, is a huge problem that is addressed by the CSF project.

If the Government accepts and implements the recommendations of the experts who worked

on the CSF Project, can we expect a major change in Serbian public administration. Reforms of the Ministries’ Secretariats and the Ministers’ Cabinets, as well as other reforms envisioned by the recommendations, will profoundly affect the entire administrative system. Thus, the CSF Project is a highly important preparatory activity for major change in Serbian public administration. If it is accompanied by political stability and the adequate use of expert resources both from Serbia and abroad (having the Serbian professional Diaspora in mind as a crucial component), can we expect major reforms in public administration quite soon.

Notes:

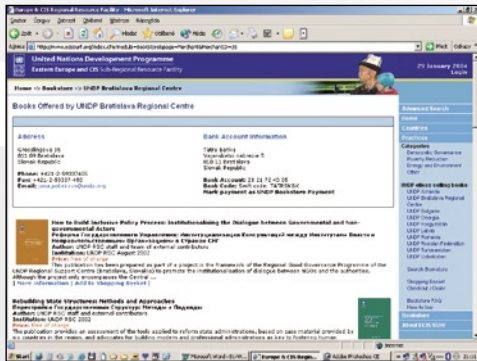
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Transformation, Integration and Globalization Economic Research (TIGER) at the Leon Kozminski Academy of Entrepreneurship and Management, Warsaw, Poland.



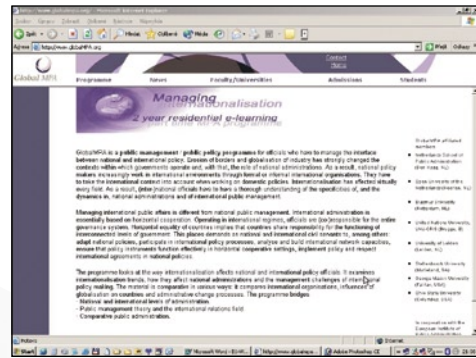
<http://www.iasisa.be/iias/aicor/aikorea.htm>



Information, registration/accommodation forms, for the IAS 26th International Congress of Administrative Sciences, which will be held in Seoul, Korea, from 14 to 18 July 2004, on the theme: ***"E-governance: Challenges and Opportunities for Democracy, Administration and Law"***



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GlobalMPA is a **public management / public policy programme** for officials who have to manage the interface between national and international policy. Courses of leaders and global actors of industry have already changed the context within which governments operate and with this, the role of national administrations. As a result, national policy makers are increasingly working in international environments through formal or informal transnational organisations. They have to take the international context into account when working on domestic policies. Internationalisation has affected already every field. As a result, global national officials have to have a thorough understanding of the specificities of, and the dynamics in, various administrative and international public management.

- National and international levels of administration.
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- Comparative public administration.

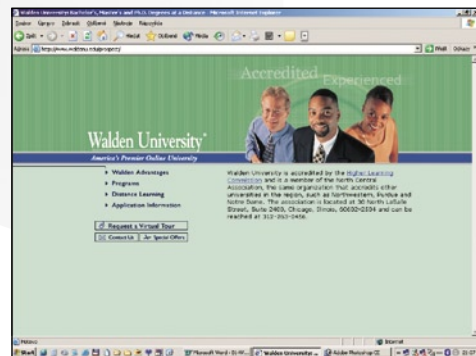


www.fss.muni.cz/struktura/zahranicni/fellowships.html

School of Social Studies in Brno is offering Postdoctoral Fellowships for the Academic Year 2004/2005. This programme is designed to promote mutual openness, understanding, and co-operation among university teachers and researchers in social sciences in the countries from Europe. Period covered is September 2004 to June 2005 (9 months). Applications have to be submitted by March 31 2004. *E-mail address of Department for International Relations: zahr@fss.muni.cz.*



<http://www.waldenu.edu/prospect>



The Walden University, an American, accredited online university is offering Master's and Ph. D. degrees in public policy and administration online, specialization in non-profit management and leadership, e-government, health services, knowledge management, public management and leadership, public policy.

Calendar of Events

February 6, 2004, "62 International conference of University of Latvia" (for professors and students)

Working language: Latvian, English

Contact:

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February 12 – 13, 2004, eDemocracy Seminar

The seminar held in the European Commission, provides a platform in which to take stock of eDemocracy experiments and exchange opinions on the role of ICT for reinforcing participation in democratic decisionmaking. This is also an opportunity to highlight achievements and landmark national projects, as well as look forward to challenges and priorities for future eDemocracy research.

Contact:

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Karolien.debuquoy@cec.eu.int

February 19 – 20, 2004, International Seminar "Labour Market Policies in the European Union – Learning from the Best Practices"

Contact:

E-mail: info@cicerofoundation.org,

web: www.cicerofoundation.org

March 2004, Special Course "Training for the local initiative groups in the project called ATHEN"

The covered topics include: coalition-building and human resource management; citizen participation (public hearings, advisory councils, "report cards", etc.); strategy development, and project management.

Working language: Romanian

Contact:

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email: cnovac@rural-center.org

March 4 – 5, 2004, International Seminar "Decentralisation, Economic Development and the Management of Diversity in the EU context"

Working languages: English, Spanish and Catalan

Contact:

Ms. Caroline Layous, European Centre for the Regions (EIPA – ECR),

C/ Girona, 20 – 08010 Barcelona,

Spain, Phone: +34 93 567 24 00,

Fax: +34 93 567 23 99,

e-mail: c.layous@eipa-ecr.com

March 16, 2004, Seminar "Quality in Training of the Officials of Self-government Units"

Contact:

Dr. Miroslava Holubova, Ministry

of Interior, Prague, Czech Republic,

e-mail: holubova@mvcz.cz

March, 26 – 27, 2004, Conference "Theoretical and Practical Aspects of Public Finance"

Working language: Czech and English

Contact:

Karel Vit, University of Economics,

Department of Public Finance,

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Czech Republic, e-mail: vit@vse.cz

April 15, 2004, Conference "Coordination and Networks in the Public Sector"

Working language: Estonian

Contact:

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April, 22, 2004, Conference "Political Economic and Socio-cultural Aspects of Regional Management in European North"

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phone: +8-7-8212-244039,

fax: +8-7-8212-446124,

e-mail: academy@rkomi.ru,

goncharov88@hotmail.com,

goncharov88@rbcmail.ru,

web: www.rkomi.ru/academy

April 23, 2004, 5th International Conference "Business Options, Problems and Solutions Concerning Globalisation"

Working language: English, Latvian and Russian

Contact:

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68, Riga, Latvia,

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web: www.turiba.lv

May 4, 2004, Seminar "Actual Questions of Public Finance 2004"

Working language: Slovak, Czech

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jan.sebo@umb.sk

May 13 – 16, 2004, ENCATC Conference "Managing Cultural Dynamics within the Renewed Europe"

Contact:

e-mail: info@encatc.org,

web: [http://www.encatc.org/EN/](http://www.encatc.org/EN/activities/events.lasso)

[activities/events.lasso](http://www.encatc.org/EN/activities/events.lasso)

May 14, 2004, International conference organized by TIGER on "ICTs as Drivers of Economic Development in Transition Countries"

Working language: English

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fax: +48-22-814 0870,

e-mail: tiger@tiger.edu.pl

May 28 – 29, 2004, Conference "Public Management in the Theory and Practice of Local Governments and Other Organisations"

Working language: Polish and English

Contact:

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Lodz,

e-mails:

konferencja@wzkwartalnik.pl;

zerm@uni.lodz.pl

May 11 to June 3, 2004, Maymester study abroad program "Government, Society, and Public Health in Transition"

The University of Georgia will conduct a program in Ukraine that will provide courses for ten to fifteen undergraduate students on "Health Problems and Issues of the Former Soviet Union", "Comparative Health-care Systems", "Politics of Post-Communist Systems", and "Social Changes."

Working language: English

Contact:

Dr. Rusty Brooks, International Center for Democratic Governance, Vinson Institute of Government, University of Georgia, Athens, GA 30602, USA, phone: +1-706 542-7502, fax: +1-706 542-6594, e-mail: rbrooks@cviog.uga.edu, web: <http://www.icdg.uga.edu/ukraine/index.php>

May – July 2004, Conference: "Current Problems of Public Administration"

Working language: Bulgarian

Contact:

Prof. Ph. D. P. Pavlov, Varna – 9007, Zlatni Piassatsi, Bulgaria, phone/fax: +359-52-356 740, e-mail: unk_on@vfu.bg

July 3 – 5, 2003, International Conference on Transition Economics

Contact:

Ms. Janet Seabrook, fax: +44-20-7878 2999, email: jseabrook@cepr.org, <http://econ.core.hu/eng/hirek/rendezv.html>

June 28 – July 16, 2004, "11th Intensive Seminar on the European Union"

Working Language – English

Description – A full immersion into EU affairs during a three-week stay at the College of Europe campus in Bruges. The intensive programme includes lectures, conferences, workshops, speeches, social events, and a visit to the European Institutions in Brussels.

Contact:

Mr. Robert Dresen, College of Europe, Brugge, Belgium, phone: +32 50 477 311, e-mail: rdresen@coleurop.be

Events of Belarus State University of Economics, Minsk, Belarus

Working language: Russian

April 21 – 24, 2004, Conference "The Social and Economic Policy of the Belarus State in conditions of Open Economy"

Contact:

Mrs. Urgel, phone: +375-17-214 9557, fax: +375-17-495 106, e-mail: rector@bseu.by

May 18 – 19, 2004, Conference "Enhancing of the European Union and Place of the Republic of Belarus on a New Border: Problems and Prospects"

Contact:

Prof. Mikhail Mishkevich, phone: +375-17-249 8204, fax: +375-17-495 106, e-mail: Mishkevich@bseu.by

Events of the Central European University, Budapest, Hungary

Working language: English

May 10 – July 11, 2004, Course: Intergovernmental Fiscal Relations and Local Financial Management distance learning segment

July 5 – 16, 2004, Course: Urban and City Development Strategies in a Globalized World

July 19 – 30, 2004, Course: Intergovernmental Fiscal Relations and Local Financial Management

July 19 – 30, 2004, Course: Central European University Summer School Course "Globalisation and Public Policy"

Contact:

Katalin Teller, e-mail: summeru@ceu.hu, web: <http://www.ceu.hu/sun/index.html>

Events of the University of Lodz, Lodz, Poland

Working language: Polish ~

March 1, 2004, Seminar "Modernization of Pension Systems in the EU"

Contact:

Prof. Bogustawa Urbaniak, University of Lodz, Lodz, Poland, phone: +48-42-635 5244, 635 5041, fax: +48-42-635 5304, e-mail: frankow@uni.lodz.pl, bogelur@uni.lodz.pl

April 23, 2004, Conference "Polish-Russian Economic Relations – On the Eve of the XXI Century"

Working language: English, Polish

Contact:

Filip Kaminski, Warsaw School of Economics, World Economy Research Institute, ul. Rakowiecka 24, 02 – 551 Warsaw, Poland, phone/fax +48-22-848 9132, e-mail: weri@sgh.wa

April 26, 2004, Conference "HRM and the European Integration – HR Problems in we Region of Lodz"

Contact:

Prof. Stanisława Borkowska, 90-214 Lodz, 39, Rewolucji 1905, str., Poland, phone: +48-42-635 5244, fax: +48-42-635 5304, e-mail: frankow@uni.lodz.pl

Events of the Meeting and Conference Center, Branch of the Black Sea University Foundation, Bucharest, Romania

Conference: Implementation and Enforcement of International Market Acquis (PHARE)

Working language: English

April 2004, 1st Conference: "Standardisation, accreditation and certification"

June 2004, 2nd Conference: "Market surveillance"

July (August) 2004, 3rd Conference: "Strengthening the enforcement on industrial and intellectual property rights"

Contact:
Alexandru Tanase,
phone: +40-21-337 4371,
fax +40-21-340 0285,
e-mail: bseau@xnet.ro

Events of the Moscow State University, Russia

January 28 – 29, 2004, International Conference "Moscow State University and Russian Intelligentsia"

Working language: Russian

February 17, 2004, Seminar "Management education: problems of teaching process"

Working language: Russian

May 25 – 29, 2004, International Conference "Public Administration: New Technologies"

Working language: English, Russian

Contact:
Olga Holuternekh,
e-mail: science@spa.msu.ru

Events of European Institute of Public Administration (EIPA), Maastricht, The Netherlands

February 26 – 27, May 13 – 14, October 7 – 8, 2004, An Exclusive European Programme for Top Executives in Public Administration addressing Critical Europeanisation and Modernisation Challenges

Contact:
phone: +31-43-329 6325,
fax: +31-43-329 6296,
e-mail: a.barragan@eipa-nl.com
web: www.eipa.nl

March 16 – 18, 2004 (working language: English), April 26 – 28, 2004 (working language: French), June 14 – 16, 2004 (working language: German), Seminar "Committees and Comitology in the Political Process of the European Community"

Contact:
Ann Stoffels,
phone: +31-43-3296 317,
fax: +31-43- 3296 296,
e-mail: a.stoffels@eipa-nl.com

March 22 – 26, June 21 – 25, October 4 – 8, November 29 – December 3, 2004, Multinational Seminars on "European Negotiations"

Contact:
Ms Noelle Debie,
phone: +31-43-329 6226,
fax: +31-43-329 6296,
e-mail: n.debie@eipa-nl.com

March 25 – 26, 2004, Health Seminar: Long -Term Care Financing: How to Strike a Balance between Services and Resources

Contact:
Mr Michele Faldi,
m.faldi@eipa-it.com

March 25 – 26, 2004, Seminar: State Aid Policy and Practice in the European Community – An Integrative and Interactive Approach

Contact:
Ms Sonja van de Pol,
s.vandepol@eipa-nl.com

March 29 – 30, 2004, Seminar: The Stability and Growth Pact

Contact:
Ms Gediz Cleffken,
g.cleffken@eipa-nl.com

April 15 – 16, 2004, Seminar: Financial Management of EU Structural Funds

Contact:
Ms Lisette Borghans,
l.borghans@eipa-nl.com

April 19 – 20, 2004, Seminar: Introduction to the EU Rules on How to Organise the Recognition of Foreign Diplomas

Contact:
Ms Winny Curfs,
w.curfs@eipa-nl.com

April 19 – 20, 2004, Legal Seminar: The Legislative Package and Recent Case Law of the European Court of Justice

Contact:
Ms Gediz Cleffken,
g.cleffken@eipa-nl.com

April 22 – 23, 2004, Seminar/ Workshop Legislative Decision-Making in the Enlarged Union: An Advanced Course for EU Practitioners

Contact:
Ms Araceli Barragan,
a.barragan@eipa-nl.com

April 26 – 27, 2004, Seminar: Is Private Sector Human Resource Management Right for the Public Sector?

Contact:
Ms Eveline Hermens,
e.hermens@eipa-nl.com

April 29 – 30, 2004, Seminar: Changing Pension and Labour Market Systems – Designing a New Social Security Architecture in Europe

Contact:
Mr Michele Faldi,
m.faldi@eipa-it.com

Events of the Lviv Regional Institute Of Public Administration, UAPA, Lviv, Ukraine

April 16, 2004, Annual Student's Conference "Theory and Practice of Personnel Management in Ukrainian Enterprises and Organisations"

Working languages: Ukrainian, Russian, English, German and Polish

Contact:
Ruslana Rudnizka,
fax +380-322-593 463,
e-mail: lvivacademy@mail.lviv.ua

May, 21, 2004, Workshop "The Influence of Local Governments' Policy on Formation and Development of Enterprise"

Working language: Ukrainian, Russian, English, German and Polish

Contact:
Oleksandr Chornobyl,
phone/fax +380-322-593 463,
e-mail: lvivacademy@mail.lviv.ua

Recent Publications



Public Management and Governance

Editors: Tony Bovaird,
Elke Löffler

Price: 80 GBP (Hb), 23.99 GBP (Pb)

Resume:

This textbook examines what it means to have efficient management and good quality services in the public sector and how public sector performance can be improved. It explores how the process of governing needs to be fundamentally altered if a government is to remain legitimate and make use of society's resources.

Contact:

Routledge, fax: +44-1264-34 3005,
phone: +44-1264-34 3071 (for
credit card orders), e-mail: book.orders@routledge.co.uk,
web: www.routledge.com

A Clause by Clause Analysis of the Practical Guide (The PRAG) in comparison with the EC Directives on Public Procurement (Sigma Report on Public Procurement)

Publisher: SIGMA/OECD, France

Resume:

The Practical Guide (The PRAG) sets out the procedures to be used for the award of contracts financed by the EC under various external action programmes. This Report by Sigma results from a study commissioned by DG Enlargement, European Commission.

Acceding Countries and candidate countries currently subject to the PRAG for EC assistance programmes, for example under Phare

and ISPA, will shortly be able to apply national provisions adapted to the Directives. Given the intention of a number of such countries to continue to use the Guide as part of their national provisions, the purpose of the study is to establish the extent to which the provisions of the PRAG are compatible with the Directives.

As a continuation of this task, Sigma has been asked by the European Commission, DG Enlargement to prepare a revised Practical Guide compliant with the Directives for use under national rules and procedures in due time before date of accession.

Contact:

SIGMA/OECD, Paris, France,
e-mail: sigmaweb@oecd.org,
web: <http://www.sigmaweb.org>

Education of the Territorial Self-governmental Units' Senior Civil Servants (General part)

Authors: Rektorik, J.,
Selesovsky, J. et al.

Publisher: Masaryk University,
Brno, Czech Republic
Language: Czech

Resume:

This publication tries to explain the topics that are considered to be the important part for every senior civil servant education. Text of this publication is related to issues like the management in public administration, regional and municipal policy, public project evaluation, public relations, European integration etc.

Contact:

Jaroslav Rektorik, Masaryk University,
Faculty of Economics and Administration,
Lipova 41a, 602 00 Brno,
Czech Republic,
e-mail: rektorik@econ.muni.cz

Publications of the Institute for Economic Research, Ljubljana, Slovenia

Environmental Sustainability in Slovenia, Working Paper No. 20, 2003

Author: Renata Slabe Erker

Perception of Income

Satisfaction and Satisfaction with the Quality of Living; an Analysis of Slovenian Households, Working Paper No. 21, 2003

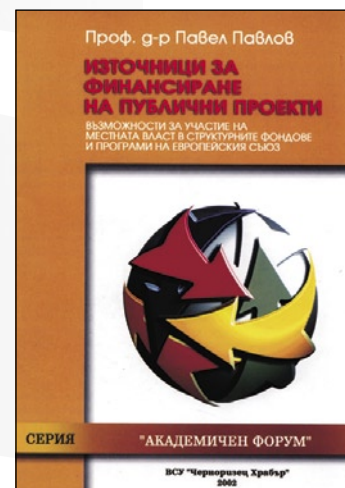
Authors: Tine Stanovnik,
Miroslav Verbic

Contact:

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fax: +386-1-5303 874,
e-mail: recnikm@ier.si,
web: www.ier.si

Publications of the Varna Free University, Varna, Bulgaria

Sources for Financing of Public Projects – Possibilities for Participation of the Local Authorities in the Structural Funds and Programmes of the European Union

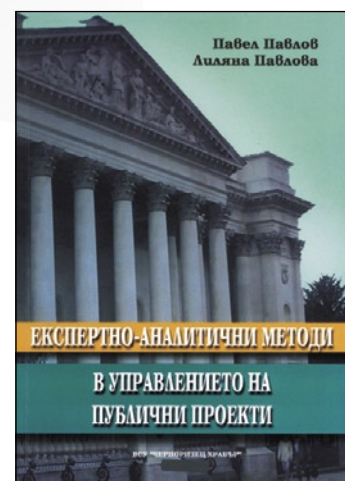


Author: Pavel Pavlov

Price: 2 BGL

Language: Bulgarian

Expert-analytical Methods in the Management of Public Projects



Authors: Pavel Pavlov,
Lilyana Pavlova

Price: 3 BGL

Language: Bulgarian

Resume:

The book is developed to help the teaching process of the specialized master's programme "Management of the European Projects", which is directed to leaders, experts and specialists from central and local administration.

The book offers us applied science's technologies for an expert-analytical assessment according to the methods "Brain Attack" and "Delphi". These technologies can be used into the direct work of the specialized administrative links, engaged with the management of public projects, which are financed of the pre-accession instruments of European Union for Bulgaria.

Contact:

Ms. Kremena Andonova,
phone/fax: +359-52-356 740,
e-mail: unk_on@vfu.bg

Publications of the Lviv Regional Institute of Public Administration, UAPA, Lviv, Ukraine

Public Service in Ukraine: Legal Regulation

Editor: Oleksandr Sushynsky

Price: 12.90 UAH

Language: Ukrainian

Resume:

This book is a full collection of legislation about the institute of public service in Ukraine

Technology of the Decision-making in Public Administration and Local Government

Authors: Myron Lysechko,
Anatoly Chemerys,
Ruslana Rudnizka

Price: 30.00 UAH

Language: Ukrainian

Resume:

Contemporary state of theory and practice of the decision-making in public administration and local government is described. Theoretical and methodological principles of management decisions preparation,

adoption and implementation are considered. Psychological features of decision-making are shown and recommendations for efficient team building are given. Authors suggest approaches for improvement of the theory and practice of decision-making, for drafting social forecasts and use of game theory in management decision-making.

Administrativa Audit

Authors: Anatoly Chemerys,
Myron Lysechko,
Ruslana Rudnizka,
Oksana Chemerys

Price: 15.00 UAH

Language: Ukrainian

Resume:

The exposition from institute series "Master of Arts Library" gives method of administrative audit (evaluation of effectiveness and efficiency in work of public institutions). Administrative audit is described as important tool for raise of effectiveness of public institutions. Authors devoted attention to research and analysis of developed countries experience in evaluation of effectiveness and efficiency in work of public institutions. Authors compare administrative audit with financial audit and other evaluation methods. Domestic practice situations and international experience of public institutions evaluation, which proposed in book, are assist in development of administrative audit use abilities.

Book consists of two parts. The first part consists of five chapters and every chapter contains questions for check, control tests, exercises and questions for self-supporting study, which are based on analysis of suggested practice situations. Second part contains International standards of administrative activity.

Investment Management in Municipalities

Authors: Yevgen Matviyishyn,
Maksym Artemenko

Price: 10.50 UAH

Language: Ukrainian

Resume:

The exposition from institute series "Master of Arts Library" developed theoretical principles of investment

management and practical aspects of their use for evaluation and implementation municipal projects and programmes. Significant attention devoted to practical use of computer toolkit in investment decision-making, to features of bringing in resources and funds for project's realization.

Social Policy and Social Security of Human Being

Authors: Petro Shevchuk

Price: 11.25 UAH

Language: Ukrainian

Resume:

Theoretical aspects and methodological basis of social policy and social security of human being are expounded. Work market and employment, ways of poverty overcoming, methods of social insurance and social help are considered. Examples in social policy field implemented in worldwide practices are given.

Regional Economic Development

Authors: Brian Tutt,
Pat Grey,
Olga Kraynyk

Price: 15.00 UAH

Resume:

Basic components of economic processes that provide economic regional development are expounded. Necessity of strategic planning as an instrument for determination of ways of regional economic development is grounded.

Basic approaches to industry policy are defined and the role of small and middle businesses as the important sources of economic development of a region is provided. Problems and ways of bringing in of the investments by the enterprises of a region are considered.

Particular part is assigned to the questions of budget regulations on regional level and to the changes appeared after adoption of Budgetary code of Ukraine.

Contact:

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phone: +380-322-593 374,

e-mail: admin@academy.lviv.ua

Seminar: Change Management in PA in the Context of EU Integration

Bucharest, Romania, 24 – 26 November 2003

Between 24–26 November, the National Institute of Administration from Romania organized in Bucharest, in partnership with the European Institute of Public Administration (EIPA) from Maastricht (NL), the seminar **“Change Management in Public Administration in the Context of EU Integration”**.

The seminar intended to offer more than a “classical” approach of an EU related topic by highlighting the impact of the European integration process to the level of the professional activities of the civil servants. That is why the seminar focused on a **double perspective**: management of change at the individual and organisational level and national co-ordination in the context of European integration.

The sessions related to the **challenge of EU integration** showed in which context national authorities are involved in the EU decision-making process, and highlighted the importance of a new type of thinking required for (about-to-be) members of the EU, namely thinking horizontally rather than vertically. In adapting to the EU integration requirements, **improving performances** is essential and the seminar intended also to offer tools and methods in this respect. Appropriate measurement is an important tool for public organisations, but it must be carefully handled. Everyone knows that “what gets measured gets done”, but what if you select the wrong performance indicators? With regard to recognising and rewarding good performance, performance-related pay is

a relatively new phenomenon in the public sector that focuses on motivating individuals by providing additional rewards for additional output. But what happens to existing intrinsic motivators and the ethos of public service for its own sake? How can you offer incentives at the level of the organisation? Communication and participation are increasingly seen as mechanisms for improving performance, but are we doing it properly? What about managing underperformance? How do you know when someone has “done a good job”, especially when there are no quantifiable outputs?

These were some of the questions that the seminar was intended to answer to during the first two days, from both a practical and an analytical perspective offered by the invited EIPA experts: Mr. Tore Malterud and Mr. Sean Fitzpatrick.

The participants in the seminar consisted of about 50 civil servants and other categories of employees working in the public sector in Romania and in other Central and Eastern European Countries (Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Latvia, and Moldova). The seminar benefited also from the participation of specialists coming from EU countries (France, Germany, Netherlands, and UK) as well as from non-EU countries (Canada and USA).

In this context, the third day was dedicated to an enlarged exchange of experience and interventions of the Romanian and foreign experts and officials, in the frame of a round table

entitled “Experiencing change”. After a plenary session during the morning, the participants had the opportunity to focus on more practical and specific issues related to their activities, in the frame of two simultaneous workshops: one called “Reform experience and institutional change” and the other “Training, expertise and change of mentalities”. The workshops contained presentations of pre-accession capacity building or training projects in different countries, as well as comparative and conceptual approaches, allowing discussions about lessons learned in these fields but also about cooperation opportunities. The papers will be soon available on INA’s web site: www.ina.gov.ro.

In conclusion, the scientific input of the EIPA experts was highly appreciated, as well as the possibility of sharing complementary points of view and experiences in different countries. The National Institute of Administration plans to continue to organize such events in the future, in the frame of its partnership with EIPA, so that the seminar **“Change Management in Public Administration in the Context of EU Integration”** will be the first of a series of similar events taking place in Bucharest or in other cities of Romania.

Graduate School of Public Policy and Management

GCCPM is First Foreign University Accredited in the Republic of Macedonia

In September 2003, The University of Pittsburgh's Graduate School of Public and International Affairs (GSPIA) welcomed 18 students to their first official class session at the Graduate Center for Public Policy and Management (GCPPM) in Skopje, Macedonia. "The establishment of the Center represents nearly a decade of joint planning with university, government, and business leaders from the United States and Macedonia," said Dr. William Dunn, Director of the Center. "It is the first graduate school of public policy and management in Central and Eastern Europe," Dunn continued. "Its primary mission is to create a critical mass of well-trained public servants to lead the process of administrative reform in the Republic of Macedonia."

"The center provides an opportunity to prepare current and future leaders for positions of public service," said GSPIA Associate Dean David Miller, who is also Co-Director. "At a critical time when countries in the Balkans are transforming their economies and reforming public administrations to better serve their citizens, experienced, knowledgeable leaders are essential to ensure that these changes are based on sound policy," said Miller.

The program attracts highly qualified students with five or more years of professional experience. Most students are employed in government positions with significant responsibilities for policy-making and management in the areas of finance,

education, governmental reform, security, environmental protection, and European integration.

"More often than not, universities go in 'thinly' to a new location," said Miller, "and we wanted to avoid that. When the University of Pittsburgh's Graduate School of Public and International Affairs was considering a location that would be most appropriate for its mission of contributing to the process of administrative reform in Eastern Europe, it chose Macedonia and the Balkans, a country and region where professional relationships are deep and long-standing." "A long history of collaboration between the cities of Skopje and Pittsburgh, who have a sister-city agreement, helped forge new educational partnerships, as did some 10 years of prior planning between GSPIA, the U. S. Mission in Skopje, and the Macedonian business and governmental communities," said Dunn.

Students may earn either the Master in Public Policy and Management for experienced professionals or a Certificate in Public Policy and Management for students with an undergraduate degree and limited work experience. Courses are offered in English by a team of GSPIA faculty and adjunct faculty from Macedonian universities, who use traditional and Web-based, distance education to deliver lectures. Leaders from business, government, and nongovernmental organizations frequently visit GCPPM for special lectures, engaging students in a variety of timely topics ranging from local government reform to accession to the European Union.

A hallmark of the program is the integration of existing and cutting-edge distance learning technologies. A partnership between UNET, an Internet Service Provider located in Skopje, and the University of Pittsburgh's Center for Instructional Development and Distance Education created an innovative distance learning approach that provides live interactive education from Pittsburgh to Macedonia. The full multimedia experience of GCPPM's distance education lectures can be experienced by visiting their Web site at www.mk.pitt.edu and following the link for "Distance Learning."

For Further Information:

Skopje:

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tel: +389 2 306 3560
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Pittsburgh:

*Ms. Jacqueline Saslawski, Coordinator-Registrar, Graduate School of Public and International Affairs, Macedonia Program 3J35 Wesley W. Posvar Hall, Pittsburgh, PA 15260
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e-mail: Saslawski@birch.gspia.pitt.edu*

High Level Meeting on The Capacity to Govern in Central and Eastern Europe

December 18 – 20, 2003, Prague, Czech Republic

Ludmila Gajdosová, NISPACee Executive Director



From the left: Vladimír Špidla, Prime Minister of the Czech Republic, Jiřina Dienstbierová, Prof. Martin Potůček, Ludmila Gajdosová, NISPACee Executive Director.

This meeting brought together about 50 participants including high representatives of governments of ten accession countries to the EU (Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia, and Romania) with advisors to heads of governments and invited experts, mainly highly recognized academicians, in order to make aware of and bring the attention of politicians and civil servants of these ten Central and Eastern European countries to the strategic importance of improving the capacities to govern and to help transform this awareness and attention into the practice of public policy making in the region by upgrading core governmental capacities and social requisites for making critical future-shaping choices.

The main issues addressed by the meeting theme were deeply targeted by four keynote presentations during the first morning of the meeting. Yehezkel Dror, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, Israel focused on “The

Strategic Mind in Central Government”, Martin Potůček, Charles University, Prague, Czech Republic on “Capacities to Govern in Central and Eastern Europe”, Maria Joao Rodrigues, Social Sciences

Advisory Group to the European Commission, Lisbon University, Lisbon, Portugal spoken about “The Lisbon Strategy and its Relevance to Central and Eastern Europe” and Geoff Mulgan, Strategy Unit, Prime Minister’s Office, London, United Kingdom presented the British experience in “Formation and Implementation of Strategies at the Central Level of Government”.

The keynote presentations were followed by extensive round table discussions, presen-

tations of country experiences and selected case studies from Poland, Estonia and Romania. In addition the work of NISPACee research working group on “Strategic Leadership in Central Government” was introduced and possible alternatives of preparation and training of governmental leaders were discussed. Most of the time of the meeting was devoted to in-depth active discussions on the practical application of the presented findings and recommendations to the accession countries to the EU.

Finally, the entire meeting participant agreed on conclusions, which are addressed to governments of all participating countries. In addition, the conclusions of the retreat will be summarized and, together with presented keynote papers and country studies, will be published in a *book* format by NISPACee and widely distributed to governments as well as other relevant institutions for practical and academic utilization in CEE countries.



From the left: Prof. Martin Potůček, Prof. Barbara Kudrycka, NISPACee President, Prof. Yehezkel Dror.

The meeting was organized by NISPACee jointly with the Centre for Social and Economic Strategies, Faculty of Social Sciences, Charles University Prague (CESES), Prague, Czech Republic, under the auspices of the Prime

Minister of the Czech Republic, Mr. Vladimír Špidla grateful to the co-operation and support of the Czech government, United Nations Division for Public Administration and Development Management, Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UN DPADM/DESA) New York, USA and UN DESA/IASIA (International Association of Schools and Institutes of Administration, Brussels, Belgium) initiative on the strengthening of governmental leadership through the world, United Nations Development Programme, Regional Support Centre (UNDP RSC), Bratislava, Slovakia and the World Bank, Washington DC, USA. NISPAcee would like to express its thanks to all the partners, speakers and participants for their contribution to the success of this important event. A special appreciation is given to Tomas Kucera and his colleagues from the Faculty of Natural Sciences, Charles University for an excellent professional organizational background which made the meeting remarkable not only because of its highly important subject matter which was highlighted and discussed, but for its overall working and social atmosphere as well.

Conclusions

Key executives of governments, academics and policy advisors from ten Central and Eastern European countries (Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia, and Romania) met in Prague to discuss the strategic importance of improving the capacities of governance in their countries. They exchanged their views, shared their experience and agreed upon the following conclusions:

There is a common need in all participating countries to upgrade core governmental capacities and social requisites



to strengthen strategic, long-term and holistic thinking in government for making critical future-shaping choices.

Several parallel streams of actions are to be taken in order to achieve this core goal, namely:

- To prepare and utilize forward studies as a policy compass and as a way to facilitate the civil society participation in governance and mobilize support for long-term efforts.
- To build qualified administrative capacity and strategy oriented units at the central level of government, comprising staff near Prime Ministers, and in central ministries as well as “Think Tanks”.
- To develop specific programmes and courses at universities and in-service institutes to provide advanced professional training in strategic issues, public policy, administration, EU enlargement demands for civil servants, politicians and policy advisors.
- To upgrade citizenship preparation at high school and universities for prospective thinking and decision-making.
- To utilise the opportunity of approaching the EU enlargement and learn strategic thinking and decision-making from the EU practice (with a particular emphases on the implementation of the Lisbon Strategy and different EU poli-

cies), while enriching it by one’s own experience. Special focus is needed on new demands of EU membership.

- To encourage public discussions and stakeholder consultations about core developmental threats as well as opportunities in order to provide politicians, mass media commentators, academics and intellectuals, grass root activists etc. with opportunities to take a deeper look at main national policy issues.

NISPAcee and CESES are asked to explore suitable institutional settings at regional level to bring strategic issues closer to top politicians and senior civil servants.

It was agreed that national representatives will appoint one delegate each to the Strategic Coordinating Panel, an informal body whose mission will be to further facilitate the exchange of information, ideas and experience in the field of strategic thinking and decision-making among participating countries. NISPAcee is ready to support the operation of this body. The second conference dealing with these issues is envisaged to take place at the end of 2005.

All participants express their thanks to the organizers and donors of the conference, namely Czech Prime Minister Mr. Vladimír Špidla, the NISPAcee, CESES at Charles University in Prague, UN DESA, UNDP, and the WB.

Appendix to the conclusions

Guidelines to Improve Strategic Governance in the New and Acceding Member States – the Critical Path

The new and acceding EU Member States should face the new situation of becoming members by focusing on the following tasks and priorities:

1. to develop strategic thinking (general and by policy fields):
 - to define a general strategy for EU membership
 - to adapt the European policies to the national specificities
 - to discuss European policies as Member States
2. to develop concrete membership exercises:
 - prepare the EU meetings
 - adapting the European concrete measures to the national specificities
 - launching pilot programmes
3. training public administration for EU membership:
 - top level meetings on key strategic issues
 - specific policy fields training
 - managers training
 - impact assessment training
4. modernizing public services according to the EU standards:
 - centralization or decentralization, where appropriate
 - public service quality
 - provision models
 - management by objectives, where appropriate
5. improving policy coordination and integration:
 - government level
 - department level

- interfaces between European, national and regional levels
6. developing new forms of communication and participation:
 - information from and to the citizens
 - information from and to the organized civil society
 7. developing new forms of partnership between public services and organized civil society by:
 - combining initiatives
 - sharing costs
 8. regular monitoring and evaluation:
 - developing specialized services
 - turning evaluation into a learning process

The Lisbon Strategy

Policies, European instruments and concrete measures

Policies	European Instruments	Some Concrete Measures
Information Society	e-Europe Action Plan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Internet access in schools, public services, companies • e-commerce
Enterprise Policy	Multi-annual Programme for Enterprise and Entrepreneurship European Charter for Small Enterprises	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support to start-ups • Cutting red tape
Innovation Policy	Framework of Common Objectives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Developing the national systems of innovation
Research Policy	6 th Framework Programme European Research Area Towards 3% of GDP Action Plan for Research	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Networks of excellence • Integrated projects
Single Market	Single Market Agenda Financial Services Action Plan Risk-Capital Action Plan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Telecommunications package • Energy • Single sky • Community patent • Gallileo
Education	Common objectives and targets e-Learning Bologna Process for High Level Education Copenhagen Declaration for lifelong learning Action Plan for skills and mobility	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New tools for lifelong learning • Convergence of degrees and recognition of qualifications
Employment	European Employment Strategy: Joint Employment Report, Employment guidelines and Recommendations for Members States' employment policies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Better employment services • Adaptability with security • Equal opportunities • Active ageing
Social Protection	Common objectives for pension provision Integrated approach for safe and sustainable pensions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Coping with ageing
Social Inclusion	Common objectives Community Action Programme to combat discrimination Framework strategy on gender equality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Targeted measures for the National Action Plans
Environment	EU strategy for sustainable development 6 th Community Action Programme for Environment Community Eco-label working plan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community Eco-label awards • Environmental inspections
Macroeconomic	Broad Economic Policy Guidelines	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Redirecting public

Training Course “How to Be a Better Policy Advisor”

St. Petersburg, Russian Federation, October 1 – 4, 2003

Lesya Il'chenko – Syuyva, Ukraine – leading trainer

The training course in St. Petersburg was conducted as a continuation of the series of “How to Be a Better Policy Advisor” trainings previously held in Almaty, Kazakhstan and Bratislava, Slovak Republic (2001); Cluj-Napoca, Romania and Odessa, Ukraine (2002). The training has been hosted by one of the oldest educational institutions in Eastern Europe – Saint-Petersburg State University.

The training was based on the training programme developed under the auspices of the UNDP RBEC Regional Support Centre/ NISP Acee project “Build-

Twenty-five candidates out of almost 200 applicants were selected for the training. In order to ensure the highest efficiency possible, 25 participants formed two relatively equal groups lead by two international teams of trainers (Lesya Il'chenko-Syuyva (Ukraine) and Georgi Shopov (Bulgaria); Zulfiya Tukhtakhodjaeva (Uzbekistan) and Bolotbek Orovov (Kyrgyzstan)). It was a real challenge to conduct the same programme with two groups of participants simultaneously. However, trainers worked in close co-operation and on step-by-step basis to ensure two groups are following the

interpersonal communications as well as sharing experience of working the government bodies. Also, participants expressed their willingness to have some kind of a manual for trainers that will help them from time to time to refresh their knowledge and skills gained during the training.

**Oleg T. Guchgeldiev,
Turkmenistan – participant**

Training in St. Petersburg brought us the unique experience not only by gaining the knowledge, but through by creating the unique environment in which everyone working, whether personally or as a team, could share the knowledge of their country. The content of the course was generally aimed at the discussion of approaches to consult the government and their applicability in every country's specifics. It provided us not only with theoretical knowledge but with practical tools.

Finally, I really enjoyed working together with a group of young, interesting and bright professionals from CEE and CIS. I am telling my friends back in Turkmenistan that I have never spent my time surrounded with so many intelligent men and women as I did in this course.

I am negotiating with the government various consulting assignments and discussing with colleagues the idea of establishing a non-governmental agency to provide the government structures with advice on various issues, including PA reforms, economic policy and etc. I hope that co-operation with the NISP Acee and newly established relations with new colleagues will make this



ing Advisory Capacities in CEE Countries.” Trainers as well as trainees were highly appreciative that the manual “How to be a Better Policy Advisor” which was translated into Russian as well as a manual for trainers that incorporated a wide experience gained during previously held trainings.

same programme in terms of the context, materials, as well as time frame and meeting specific requirements of the two groups. During and after the training, participants have repeatedly highlighted their high interest in the training and its importance for their further career development. A considerable amount of time was spent developing

idea to come true and be successful.

**Mrs. Gayane Selimyan,
Armenia – participant**

The workshop “How to Be a Better Policy Advisor” organized by NISPA in St-Petersburg was a unique experience for me. It gave me solid knowledge of whom and how can serve as a policy advisor; it explained the best way of communication and also mapped the road to success as an advisor. The topics of the workshop were so useful and discussions were so interesting that we all regretted that it only lasted four days. Moreover, this workshop helped me greatly in my professional development. Upon my return, I started to look for potential clients using my acquired knowledge and managed to find a position as an advisor for external links with the one of the leading banks in Armenia – the Anelik Bank. I want to say thank you to the organizers of this workshop and especially to Elena Zakova for a wonderful job. Every time I attend NISPA’s events I really reach new horizons. Thank you very much, NISPA!!!

**Mr. Dymitry Markusheuski,
Belarus – participant**

The training in St. Petersburg “How to Be a Better Policy Advisor” was a useful lesson of communication in an ambience of similar as well as different people: intellectually advanced and purposeful young individuals. I heard new opinions and acquainted with more effective approaches to the problems that had been seemed to be solved already. It is the difference between types of consulting, between “expert” and “adviser”, which is more obvious to me now. And I’ve accepted as my own manual the expertise presented by trainers and some

participants. The discussion on step-by-step and cyclic planning was very interesting and polemic especially when implicated with practical exercises.

Let me take this opportunity to thank the trainers and organizers of the training in St. Petersburg.



**Ms. Victoria Antonova, Russian
Federation – participant**

It is a pleasure to share my impressions on participation in the NISPAce training course *How to Be a Better Policy Advisor*. It was for the first time I took part in such kind of training dealing with the development of knowledge and skills on public policy advising and I am very satisfied with the results. I was impressed by the team-work atmosphere the trainers have created during the class-sessions. I felt that all the participants (including myself) were encouraged to share their own advice delivery experience in front of the audience. That was another advantage of the training course – I have got a chance to learn from the other’s practice, to compare my particular professional problems with the problems of my colleagues from different countries, to ask questions and to get an evaluation on my thoughts and ideas from

the trainers and trainees. I met some people who are involved already in policy advice delivery as well as people who have just embarked on this path. I also would like to emphasize that I have established some interesting contacts with my colleagues

during the course and these contacts seem to be promising and fruitful. And what is even more important from my point of view – the design of the course was created in accordance with the participants suggestions. That allowed us not to waste time on minor issues and to concentrate on the challenging aspects of the policy advisor practice. Moreover, all the handouts were very informative and useful. All in all this course was very important and helpful for me as a beginner in policy advising and I am very grateful to NISPAce for the opportunity to participate in it.

SIGMA and Other Publications – Translation into CEE National Languages

Goal of this project is to translate SIGMA and other relevant publications from English to CEE national languages based on requests and needs of governmental institutions or NISPAcee member institutions from CEE countries.

How to apply:

Eligibility is limited to members of NISPAcee and other institutions with professional interest in public administration in Central and Eastern Europe; Applicants will have to prove the utility of the translated publications in their

respective countries, the distribution policy, quality of translation, and an ability to cover the distribution costs; Priority will be given to institutions, which will distribute the publication at their own expense; Applicants should determine clear overall calculation of costs of translation (checking/editing) and publishing (priority will be given to reasonable price quotes for translation and publishing).

NISPAcee make a general agreement with the EIPA (European Institute of Public Administration,

Maastricht, The Netherlands) for the translation of EIPA publications within this project. All institutions interested in translation of the EIPA publications are invited to apply for the translation grants to NISPAcee. Information about the publication you can find at the homepage of EIPA <http://www.eipa.nl> Please send letters of inquiry and applications to NISPAcee Secretariat.

The deadline:
- February 29, 2004

Call for Project Proposals “Public Health Sector Management and Policy Improvement In Cee Through Education and Training Collaborative Initiatives”

“The project will be to support a set of small/medium size projects in Central and Eastern Europe which will contribute to improvements in the areas of health policy and management education and training, as well as health policy development and implementation, through the linking of local/regional governments and higher education institutions. The major goal of the project is to strengthen the

capacities of existing and emerging higher education institutions to support the building of new, more effective and responsive systems of health care delivery.

Project proposals undertaken jointly by schools of public administration, medical schools and national or local governments in countries in the CEE and NIS regions are welcomed and preferred.

Detailed information including application form are available at the NISPAcee web site:
www.nispa.sk

Deadlines for applications: April 30, 2004

Contact
Juraj Sklenar
NISPAcee Project Manager
Sklenar@nispa.sk

NISPAcee Occasional Papers

CALL FOR PAPERS

We invite colleagues to submit their research papers in English for review. Papers should be written on relevant public administration and public policy issues based on empirical investigation carried out in central and eastern European countries. The papers should not exceed 40 pages in length. If a paper is written in a native language, a three-page long English language summary could be submitted with

the bibliography of the referred literature, and with information about the length of the whole paper. Each author can propose two reviewers for their submitted paper, but the final decision to select the reviewers remains at the discretion of the Editor. Those authors whose papers are selected for publication will receive a modest honorarium.

Contributors are invited to send their papers (hard copy and an electronic format as well) to the NISPAcee secretariat (contact information on the last page of the Newsletter).

If you feel you would need further information, please contact the NISPAcee Secretariat.

Invitation for the 12th NISPAcee Annual Conference "Central and Eastern European Countries Inside and Outside the European Union: Avoiding a New divide"

Vilnius, Lithuania, May 13 – 15, 2004

Conference venue: Hotel Reval Lietuva, Vilnius, Lithuania

Organized in cooperation with the Lithuanian Public Administration Training Association, Vilnius, Lithuania

Notice: The information on the Conference is continually updated on the NISPAcee website: www.NISPA.sk

The Main Conference Theme:

As we meet in May 2004, an historical change will have taken place in Europe. Several former communist countries of Central and Eastern Europe will have joined the European Union, an unprecedented voluntary association of democratic states with market economies, and its emerging Constitutional identity. The entire structure of political, economic, and social relations in Europe will change. What will be the impact of this change to public policy and administration in countries both inside and outside the EU borders? What will the challenges be of this new membership to public policy and administration of the new member states? What actions will need to be taken to avoid the new divide between them and the other countries of the region, and to harmonize the way in which public interests are followed throughout the entire continent?

Papers are invited on the main themes of the conference:

- A. Problems facing the new Member States
- B. Problems facing the States outside the enlarged European Union

C. Common problems

Panel Sessions and Forums

- Panel Session on European Accreditation of Public Administration Programmes
- Panel Session on Joint NASPAA – NISPAcee Governance Improvement Cooperative Project
- Forum for Heads of Training Centres and Institutes of Public Administration
- Forum for Young Professionals in Public Administration

Working Groups

I. Working Group on Politico-Administrative Relations

Theme 2004: "Various Decision and Discourse Arenas at Different Level and Stages of the Policy Process"

II. Working Group on Public Sector Quality

Theme 2004: "Public Sector Quality in Policy Making"

III. Working Group on Strategic Leadership in Central Government

IV. Working Group on Democratic Governance of Multiethnic Communities

Theme 2004: "Diversity and Public Services: Introducing New Standards of Diversity Management in Changing Europe"

V. Working Group on Public Sector Finance and Accounting

VI. Working Group on e-Government

VII. Working Group on Capacity Building of Civil Servants Training System according to EU Requirements

Registration and Hotel Reservation

ON-LINE registration and hotel reservation is available on the NISPAcee web site. All participants, including authors of the accepted papers for the conference are kindly asked to register for the conference and make the hotel reservation.

Deadline for registration:
February 28, 2004 at the latest.

Deadline for reservations

- **Hotel Reval Lietuva:**
February 28, 2004 at the latest.
- **Hotel Ecotel Vilnius:**
March 30, 2004 at the latest.

Deadline for payment:
March 15, 2004

All information about the conference are available on the Internet:

NISPAcee homepage
<http://www.nispa.sk>

Contact person:

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NISPAcee MEMBERSHIP

Presently, the NISPAcee enlists 117 Institutional members (from 22 countries), 33 Associate members (from 16 countries), and 210 Observers (from 35 countries).

New Institutional members of the NISPAcee

Training Institute of Public Administration, Tirana, Albania

Faculty of Economics, University of Rijeka, Rijeka, Croatia

Institute of State Administration, Office of Government of the Czech Republic

Faculty of Management, University of Lodz, Lodz, Poland

New Associate members of the NISPAcee

School of Public Management, Carinthia Tech Institute – University of Applied Science, Spittal, Austria

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– The Local Government and Public Service Reform Initiative Open Society Institute, Budapest, Hungary – SIGMA/OECD, Paris, France (SIGMA-Support for Improvement in Governance and Management in Central and Eastern European Countries is a joint initiative of OECD/CCET and EU/PHARE mainly financed by EU/PHARE) – USAID, New York, USA – NASPAA (National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration), Washington, USA – UNDP RBEC (United Nations Development Programme, Regional Bureau for Europe & the Commonwealth of Independent States), Regional Support Center, Bratislava, Slovakia – The Austrian Federal Chancellery, in particular the Federal Academy of Public Administration, Vienna, Austria – UNDESA (United Nations Division of Public Economics and Public Administration) New York, USA

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NISPAcee News is published quarterly. We invite individuals as well as organisations to contribute to the third issue of volume X. NISPAcee reserves the right to edit submissions for clarity, style, grammar and space.

The deadline for the next issue is March 31, 2004.



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