Civil Society or Civil War?

The project "Active society in practice"

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photo by Giorgi Tsagareli

The project "Active society in practice"

1

Contents:

Civil society or civil war ?

Civil Society or Civil War?

Introduction

The book «Civil Society or Civil War?» was prepared within the project "Active Society in Practice". The project was implemented by partner organizations "The Other Space Foundation" (Poland) and HCA - Georgia.

The reader can obtain information about the role, importance and the interaction of individual components of the whole complex system of civil society. Our colleagues form Poland prepared 10 short essays with analysis of several examples from the experience of transformation in Poland. The cases cover quite different by scope, thematic and involved subjects initiatives and very clearly illustrate positive as well as negative aspects. The cases were selected as the most useful for study and further application in Georgia.

The authors of the book draw attention of readers to the difference of views and dimensions as well as perception and understanding of the term *civil society*.

First of all it is about which institutes could be considered as civil and which could not. Is there any strategy or at least common vision towards this question on national level? Example of this – political parties, trade unions and etc.

Is it possible for our society to go away from majority democracy and if yes, then how it is possible to achieve peace and stable democracy?

There is paid attention to the problem of relationship of stable development of civil society and type of democracy, which we intend to build in the future, and the wars/ conflicts and political violence that creates instability in society.

The view on separate fragments of development of institutes of civil society in Georgia, starting from ancient times till nowadays is presented in the publication. The research shows that the culture of civil society is not strange for Georgia but have its own genesis which counts thousands of years. The legislative frameworks of civil society activities and dynamic of its changing during the last 20 years as well is covered in book.

The publication will be useful for all those who are directly involved into activities of different type of civil society institutes. The book will be also useful for representatives of international and governmental structures, interested in building stable democracy in Georgia and in the Caucasus region.

Fundacja Inna Przestrzen & HCA Georgia, Tbilisi 2010

Civil society or civil war ?

Active society
in Practice

Project description

The project was implemented with support of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland in the framework of the cyclical program Promotion of the knowledge about Poland.

There are several parts of the project:

- Research and publication on 20 years of civil society in Georgia

The research conducted by Georgian scientists encompasses several important topics, such as: participation of social groups in the social change, social involvement of media, barriers for cross-sector cooperation or Georgian non-governmental organizations and their image, that have never been sufficiently analyzed.

The publication will also include an analysis of selected cases of Polish transformation that could serve as good examples of what could be done in order to achieve a real social change. We also show limitations of the process in Poland for Georgian to learn and to... do it better.

The publication "20 years of civil society in Georgia" will systematize the knowledge about clue challenges for Georgian civil society, strengthen Georgian organizations working for social participation, procedures transparency and monitoring of development cooperation, and will better prepare foreign organizations (especially Polish) to cooperate with Georgian organizations promoting democracy in this country.

- Cross-sector workshops "Active society in practice"

The workshops will engage Polish experts involved in shaping of the social change in Poland. The cross-sector character of the workshops, led by renowned Polish public figures, will give their participants a chance to change their point of view on social life in Georgia and on cooperation between different actors of public scene, to develop their ideas and to find ways to put them into practice.

The visit of Delegation from Poland to Georgia

Report

Gela Amisulashvili, *SCIRS*

The visit of the delegation of polish experts was one of the key components of the project "Active Society in Practice". The delegation form Poland included:

Adam Michnik
Editor-in-chief of Gazeta Wyborcza, the biggest daily in Poland.

Historian, co-founder of KOR (Committee for the Defense of Workers) 1976, detained many times during 1965-1980, a prominent „Solidarity" activist during the '80ties, spent a total of six years in Polish prisons for activities opposing the communist regime, member of the Round Table Talks 1989, member of the first non-communist parliament 1989-1991, editor-in-chief of the first independent Polish newspaper - Gazeta Wyborcza.

Laureate of many prizes and titles: Robert F. Kennedy Human Rights Award, The Erasmus Prize, The Francisco Cerecedo Journalist Prize as a first non-Spanish author, Grand Prince Giedymin Order; Chevalier de la Legion d'Honneur; recipient of a doctorate honoris causa from The New School for Social Research in New York, from the University of Minnesota, University of Michigan, from Connecticut College; honorary senator of the University of Ljubljana, honorary professor of the Kyiv Mohyla Academy.

In November 2010 he was given the Order of the White Eagle - highest Polish decoration.

Civil society or civil war ?

Jacek Kozłowski
politician and manager, since 2007 voivode of the Mazovia region

In the 80ties he was an activist in the democratic opposition. Later he became an expert of i.a. the Council of Europe, and in different Polish state institutions, he lectured on various universities. He chaired the Foundation in Support for Local Democracy and Polish Bank Pekao S.A., for several years was consultant in the field of financial communication.

In 2003 he joined the Civic Platform party, and in 2006 led a successful presidential campaign for the present President of the Warsaw City Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz. after the elections he became the voivode of Mazovia.

Jan Jakub Wygnański
sociologist, NGO activist

During the 80ies he was one of coordinators of self-education movement in Warsaw secondary schools. He was also involved in works of Civil Committees, participated in the Round Table Talks which led to change of political system in Poland. Afterwards he left politics and became one of the most important animators of NGO movement in Poland.

He is co-creator of several associations and foundations, and many other civic initiatives. He was one of the authors of the Public Benefit and Voluntary Law and the biggest Polish Internet portal for NGOs www.ngo.pl. Author of many publications dedicated to the questions of civil society. For his activities he received several awards and prizes.

Witek Hebanowski
Founder and president of The Other
Space Foundation

Founder and president of The Other Space Foundation based in Poland (www.przestrzen.art.pl), vice-president of The NGO Development Foundation based in English-speaking Caribbean (www.NGOcaribbean.org). Initiator & co-organizer of varied initiatives: International Write-a-thon of Amnesty International, Transkaukazja festivals (www.transkaukazja.pl), ArtZone, (www.artzona.pl), Kontynent Warszawa (www.kontynent.waw.pl), Polish fundraising service for NGOs (www.NGOfund.pl) among others. Trainer and facilitator.

The numbers of meetings, public lecture, workshops for different target groups were conducted in the frameworks of the visit of delegation of experts from Poland.

9

Civil society or civil war ?

Mtskheta – the ancient capital of Georgia, center of Mtskheta Mtianeti Region

On November 11, 2010 the delegation from Poland visited Mtskheta, where they met with the governor of Mtskheta-Mtianeti region Mr. Caesar Chocheli, the vice-governor Mrs. Nunu Mgebrishivlii, as well as other representatives of the regional administration.

The issues of future interregional cooperation of the Mtskheta-Mtianeti region of Georgia and Mazowieckie voivodship in Poland were discussed during the meeting.

Experts from Poland visited the village Tserovani, one of the largest places of compact resettlement of internally-displaced persons from the Tskhinvali region and Akhalgori areas affected by the war in August 2008.

The meeting with representatives of the administration Tserovani IDPs' settlement took place. The delegation of Polish experts visited the office of a local nongovernmental organization "The Akhalgori Center on Business Consultations"(in exile), headed by Mrs. Nana Chkareuli.

Representatives of the "The Center of Children' Safety", created under the project "IDPs' Human Resource Development Center", implemented by the "Coalition for IDPs' Rights" as well as other local activists participated in the meeting.

Public lecture in Iv. Javakhishvili State University

More then 100 persons – lecturers as well as students of different Universities, mass-media and NGOs representatives attended the public lecture.

Experts from Poland drew attention to a number of threats the countries of the former Soviet Union are faced with. The lack of democratic culture is one of the main threat accordin to the experts.

The Dilemma of Adam Michnik – "Civil society or civil war?"

Speaking about the modern post-soviet states Adam Michnik underlined that the main conflict in this countries – is "the conflict between the idea of civil society and idea of ethnical society".

Earlier, he presented an important dilemma the modern post-Soviet societies are facing – "civil society or civil war?".

Adam Michnik said in his speech that democracy is the freedom within the law.

In post-soviet countries exactly the legal system, closely connected with economy, operating according to the principals of liberal market has the most problems.

He also paid attention to the fact that one of the key problems is wrong perception and comprehension of own history. The question connected with the process of de-communization and lustration is always raised. Very prolonged debates on this issue were conducted in Poland.

Michnik also referred to special role of traditional religous confessions in the development of modern society. He said that Church and religion in general contributes a lot in building a new state. Church played a positive role in Poland in the fight against Communism. During the last 20 years the role of religion has drastically increased and it's apparent that rhetoric of some pastors is changing. It is transforming from "Bible language" to political one and contradicts everybody thinking differently.

Civil society or civil war ?

11

Jan Jakub Wygnan'ski about the problems of modern selfishness

His speech perfectly presented to the audience the main problems of formation and development of modern civil society of Poland.

The problem of social inertness was named as one of the main problems of civil society. Jan Jakub Wygnański underlined that he sees the problem in the mercantilist of relations in society. According to his opinion part of society is oriented on own individual or narrow group interests that could be caused by a sharp transition from collectivism to reality of individualism. According to the opinion of expert the decline of enthusiasm and voluntary initiatives is evident.

Jacek Kozłowski about the origins of civil society in Poland

Jacek Kozlowski said that initiative at the local level or community-based initiatives was the main thing that the society has lost during the years of communist regime.

He recalled that in Poland in the 20's of the last century, before the loss of independence, there were various associations, unions, defending for example territories from natural disasters. There were collective farms, with common ground, which were used for general purposes, but these initiatives have disappeared. It is a complicated task in the conditions of market economy to restore the same kind of thinking.
The interests of small groups of owners come on the forefront instead of public interest, and public space civil property is gradually disappearing.

Workshops

The topics covered during the public lecture, were discussed on the parallel workshops, held on at the offices of HCA-Georgia, and WIC on November, 12, 2010. The seminars were attended by representatives of different target groups.

The first workshop consisted of two presentations and it was addressed the issues of transformation of the social and political system in Poland. Journalists, representatives of civil society and independent experts attended the meeting.

In his presentation Adam Michnik again drew attention to issues of socio-political processes in Poland and their transformation in post-soviet period. The rise of nationalism was seen in post-soviet countries after the collapse of communism. The society was in front of choice between ethnocentric model of state and real democratic reforms. Authoritarian populism was the main characteristic for all post-soviet countries.

According to Mr. Michnik a lot depends on the attitude of citizens in overcoming the disease.

There is a need in carrying out of reforms of institutional, systemic and functional character for the development of the state and integration into the international community. The civic control should change the old system, by breaking the stereotype views on relations between the state and society. Feedback in the political system should not get stuck in the bureaucratic corridors.

Adam Michnik also made some parallels with Georgia, comparing the current processes and relationships in post-soviet space.

After the workshop the debates took place on the transformation of civil society and democratization of the country.

The second part of the workshop was devoted to issues of social involvement of the mass media, the practical aspects of planning and implementation of social campaigns. Witek Hebanowski presented the experience of his organization in the conducting of social campaigns.

Practical examples of three social campaigns having different thematic and target groups and implemented in Poland and Azerbaijan were presented together with the methodology of planning/implementing of social campaigns.

Participants of the seminar had opportunity to plan themselves a social campaign in the working groups. Two projects were presented by participants. One of the projects was about the problem of employment of adults and effective use of their professional resources. The second project was covering the problem of access to higher education for young people.

The discussion within the third workshop was devoted to inter-sector cooperation. Representatives of local NGOs, local authorities, governmental structures had the opportunity to study the experience of cooperation of local/regional authorities, central authorities, civil society institutions on the example of the Mazowieckie region.

Jacek Kozłowski presented the Mazowiecki region, and administrative-territorial

13

division of Poland. He paid special attention regarding the distribution of power between the different units of administrative authority - voivodship, counties (powiats) and communes (gminas).

He mentioned that the governor represents the state power in the region. The administrative office of which is supervising the activities of local self-government.

In particular, the governor plays a key role in implementation of international policy of the region. The governor represents decisions of the Minister of Foreign Affairs on the adopting of agreements on regional cooperation, as well as the decisions on joining international and regional associations.

Mazovia is the central and one of the largest regions of Poland and it is ranked first in Poland in terms of GDP per capita in Poland. Representatives of regional administrations and local governments at the meeting, in their turn, presented a model of local government in Georgia and discussed the possibilities of regional cooperation of Mazowiecki region and regions of Georgia.

Wygnański told about the structure of civil society of Poland, counting over 120,000 registered entities of different types, varying from the firemen brigades, the unions of parents to political parties and trade unions. Two possible legal forms of organizations of the third sector: associations and foundations are presented in Poland. Organizations in the field of sport, tourism, and arts and culture are on the first place according to activity area. Then follow such areas as education, social services, health care.

Organizations, whose budget is based on membership fees, as well as structures that receive funds from local government sources have leading position from point of view of income sources. They are followed by organizations that receive funding from private individuals / companies and governmental structures.

The main problems faced by the organization of the third sector, are the difficulties in raising of finances, lack of technical equipment needed to ensure the permanent functioning of the organization, lack of people willing to work on volunteer basis.

Mr Wygnański underlined as well the achievements of the third sector of Poland - the adoption of Law on Public Benefit and Volunteerism, a new law on social entrepreneurship, close cooperation with the Parliament.

Rustavi - the center of the Caucasian metallurgy - the capital of Kvemo Kartli

The meeting of delegation from Poland with the Deputy Governor of Kvemo Kartli region, Mr. Zakaria Darchiashvili and other representatives of the regional administration took place on November 12, 2010

There were also discussed perspective areas for bilateral Polish-Georgian inter-regional and inter-municipal cooperation. In more detail these directions of cooperation will be discussed during the next visit of representatives of the Mazowieckie voivodship in 2011.

Action plan for the development of the objectives of the project **"Active Society in practice"** and other agreements reached at the result of the visit:

- **Development of partnership of the Mazowiecki region of Poland with Mtskheta-Mtianeti and Kvemo Kartli regions of Georgia:**
  - The development of cooperation of cities of Rustavi and Radom (or Plock);
  - Organization of visits of delegations of the Mazowieckie voivodship to Georgia and vice versa;
  - Organization of the visit of tour operators from Poland to Georgia (to all regions). Organization of meetings with representatives of the Department of Tourism and tour operators in Georgia;
  - The development of ethnographic tourism. Research and production of the film "Sights: Poles in Georgia, Georgians in Poland";
  - Establish partnership between the school Tserovani and one of the schools of the Mazowieckie region (it would be preferable to choose a school which is under the patronage of non-governmental organizations, where the curriculum includes such questions as, for example, civic education, etc.);
  - Creation of the Association of Metallurgy Cities (or regions) (Rustavi (Georgia) and Rodom (Poland) as the initiators of this process);
  - Research and adaptation of experience the of mountain regions of Poland in agrarian tourism and creation/promotion of products with local brands.
  - Study of experience of different structures of Mazowiecki region on the issues of children's safety.

- **Establishment of a "Research Center the Third Sector in Georgia". Eloboration of a "roadmap" for the third sector in Georgia.**
- **Prepare candidates from Georgia for participation in the Lane Kirkland scholarship program on the following topics:**
  - "The third sector in Poland", with an internship at the Centre of Sociology of Warsaw University;
  - Management of Museums;

- **Participation of delegation from Georgia in the NGO Forum of Poland in 2011;**
- **Creation of Polish-Georgian NGO Forum;**
- **Study visit of representatives from Georgia to Poland to study the experience of Polish NGOs, in organizing social campaigns.**

Civil society or civil war ?

10 Successes of Polish CivilSociety (1989-2010)

We proudly present a compilation of various issues related to the last 20 years of civil society in Poland. As every ranking - our selection may be biased. There are 10 short essays, each on different topic: from the Polish non-governmental sector to the Jewish-Polish dialog. We will talk about smaller and bigger subjects: and, for instance, celebration of the 20 years of the Third Republic of Poland appears together with the day of Smolna street. We wanted our study to be as useful to a foreign reader as possible, therefore, while describing given successes in short forms, we also tried to pay attention to the failures connected to them.

Fundacja
Inna
Przestrzeń

Selection of the described cases was a two-phase process. Firstly, we generated a list of 20 subjects related to the Polish transformation and civil society. By "we" I mean: Kuba Wygnański (The Unit for Social Innovation and Research – Shipyard), Witek Hebanowski, Julia Missala (The Other Space Foundation), Marcin Serafin and Jan Strzelecki. Secondly, experts from the Southern Caucasus Institute for Regional Security chose 10 issues to be fully developed.

1 Pillars of third sector

Condition of the non-governmental sector is one of basic indicators determining the condition of civil society. In the Communist times in Poland there were no independent NGOs. The transformation of political system changed this situation – a sudden development of the third sector occurred. The dynamics of establishing associations and foundations were systematically growing till the year 2000.

Last 20 years mean a fast development of third sector in Poland. Number of foundations and associations and people employed by them has risen essentially. Although we mainly show the biggest and the best ones, it is worth stressing that an average foundation remains poor – in 2006 75 percent of organizations claimed that they practically had no financial reserves.

In 2008 a total number of active NGOs was estimated for 40-45,000. More and more people were finding work in the non-governmental sector – a number of its employees almost doubled: from 67,000 in 1994 to 120,000 in 2008.

We would like to attract your attention to successes of self-organizing of the third sector: **National Fora of Non-governmental Initiatives** (OFIP), Internet portal **ngo.pl** and so-called **infrastructural organizations**. We shortly present two foundations which through their activities have been contributing to the development of other NGOs for several years : the Stefan Batory Foundation and the Polish-American Freedom Foundation.

National Forum of Non-governmental Initiatives (OFIP)

The Forum takes place every three years in Warsaw. It offers a chance to meet for representatives of the non-governmental organizations. OFIP also stimulates the debate between the third sector, public administration, world of business, media and science. The first Forum was organized in 1996 at the University of Warsaw . It encompassed a two-day-long conference accompanied by presentations of activities of different NGOs. Over 3000 people participated in the Forum, among them the representatives of 800 Polish and foreign NGOs and of the public and local administration; entrepreneurs, members of the parliament, journalists. The participants focused mainly on the role of the third sector, its relations with the public administration and on the issue of financing NGOs' activities. During the second Forum in 1999 the main theme was the position of NGOs in the European integration process, its relations with the local government and with the media. 2002 was a year of the debate on the subsidiarity principle and on the cooperation within the non-governmental sector. Three years later collaboration with the business and media was discussed. During the meeting in 2008 participants tried to find an answer to the question "What does it mean to be an active citizen?". Another subject for talks was a document drafted by the Polish government: "Implemented and planned activities of the government supporting the development of the Polish civil society".

NGO.pl

Ngo.pl is currently the biggest Internet portal on the civil society in Poland. The site was launched between 2000 and 2001 within the framework of cooperation between the Polish-American Freedom Foundation and the Klon/Jawor Association which remains its administrator until nowadays. The creation of the portal was supported also by the Association Forum of Non-Governmental Initiatives (the host of the above-mentioned OFIP). At the beginning only a few posts a week were published on the ngo.pl. Now a team of ngo.pl is built of six people and there are more than one hundred news added every week. The portal has become an interactive tool to acquire information on the third sector in Poland – it contains the biggest database on Polish and foreign non-governmental organizations. Different studies confirm that the ngo.pl is recognized by half of all associations and foundations operating in Poland.

On the portal www.ngo.pl you can find i.a.:
- the biggest and most up-to-date database of NGOs and other institutions managed by the Klon/Jawor Association. There are over 150,000 of records (www.bazy.ngo.pl);
- news related to the third sector;
- thematic areas, i.a., People of the sector, Social aid, European Union, Structural Funds, Research – civicpedia;
- regional portals, which inform on activities of the third sector in different regions (www.regiony.ngo.pl);
- portraits of the most important activists of the third sector.

The ngo.pl has supports many social campaigns, cooperates with the public administration and with the media, provides e-mail accounts for NGOs free of charge, enables launching websites of various organizations. Everyday there are over 30,000 users on the portal (what amounts to approx. 7 million a year).[1]

Infrastructural organizations

An important phenomenon of the last 20 years of the Polish democracy was the establishment of infrastructural organizations (so-called *supporting organizations*) which have been helping to solve various problems of the third sector.

> **Infrastructural organizations:**
> - provide information on legal regulations regarding NGOs and on sources of financing,
> - provide basic data on the sector;
> - organize workshops and seminars on management of an NGO and promote them, give consultations and advices on how to build a strategy of an NGO.

Their activities comprise mainly: providing information and advice, integrating NGOs, and financing selected projects. It is worth to name at least a few of them: The Federation of Non-Governmental Organizations Szpitalna Center, MAZOWIA Federation, The Network of Information and Support for Non-Governmental Organizations SPLOT, National Federation of Non-Governmental Organizations (OFOP).

The infrastructural organizations contribute primarily to the improvement of standards of services provided by the Polish NGOs.

The Stefan Batory Foundation
www.batory.org.pl

The Stefan Batory Foundation was established in 1988 by Polish oppositionists and American financier and philanthropist George Soros. The main sponsors of the Foundation are the Open Society Institute (www.soros.org) and the Ford Foundation. "The mission of the Foundation is to support the development of an open, democratic society in Poland and other Central and Eastern European countries."[2]

The main activity of the Foundation is grant raising for NGOs' projects. Moreover, the foundation implements its own projects related to social campaigns, monitoring of public institutions, corruption counteracting. The Batory Foundation for years has been organizing open debates involving politicians, experts and journalists.

It is impossible to describe all the projects in which the Foundation has participated. For over 20 years the organization has conducted several grant programs, including *Equal Opportunities Program* focused on equalizing educational possibilities and *Democracy in Action Program* promoting civic attitudes.

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[1]   http://portal.ngo.pl/
[2]   www.batory.org.pl

> **Priorities of the Batory Foundation:**
> - enhancing the role and involvement of civil society in public life
> - promoting the rule of law and transparency in public life
> - developing international cooperation and solidarity

The Batory Foundation has been involved in management and promotion of different international programs such as *The East-East, Civic Coalitions or Open Europe,* main aim of which is abolition of visas between the countries of Eastern Europe and European Union. Only in 2009 the Foundation supervised fourteen national and international research programs, conceded over 350 grants of total value of approx. 4 million USD.

Polish-American Freedom Foundation
www.pafw.pl

The Polish-American Freedom Foundation began to operate in Poland in 2000. It aims at strengthening the civil society, democracy and market economy, as well as equalizing development chances. Important part of the foundation activity area compromises also supporting the transformation in other countries of Central-Eastern Europe. The Foundation received 250 million USD from the Polish-American Enterprise Fund to carry out its mission. PAFF is above all a donor institution. It recruits NGOs for cooperation and obliges them to effectuate specific programs, mainly educational and those supporting local communities. The Foundation also leads programs which aim at sharing Polish experiences of transformation with other countries (*Regions in Transition "RITA" Program* and *Lane Kirkland Scholarship Program*).

Undoubtedly, a huge merit of PAFF is the introduction of higher standards of work among NGOs in Poland. Prof. Anna Giza-Poleszczuk who researched activities of the foundation thinks that "PAFF proved to be a great help to the Polish third sector. What really counted [in the third sector] was the mission, thus we wore old sweatshirts, we were against all the procedures. PAFF carefully introduced western standards in regard to application process, timetables, financial plans and reports. Many people said that all that prepared them to apply for the European funds."[3]

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[3] http://wyborcza.pl/1,75515,7879724,10_lat_Polsko_Amerykanskiej_Fundacji_Wolnosci__Po-maga.html

2 Legislation for the third sector – 1% for Public Benefit Organizations and system of contracting public tasks to non-governmental organizations

Reconstruction of the social system after the year 1989 required creation of legal regulations concerning functioning of the third sector. In the period of over 20 years of the transformation important mechanisms and institutions have been established in this area.

> Changes in legislation contributed to a development of the Polish third sector and to a better cooperation with the public administration. A key role was played by the 1% system – 1% of the income tax may be given to the public benefit organizations. However, this law also led to a decline in a number of donations for NGOs and an increase of bureaucratization and usage of marketing in a daily activities of organizations.

We would like to present shortly two solutions: the possibility of transferring 1% of the income tax for the public benefit organizations and regulations related to contracting public tasks to the NGOs..

Both mechanisms were introduced by virtue of the Law on Public Benefit and Volunteer Work dated April 24, 2003. First initiatives connected to works on regulations of relations between the third sector and the public administration were undertaken already in 1996. In the same year, the first National Forum of Non-governmental Initiatives took place, where several postulates on the proposal of the law were formulated. In the following years a series of meetings on that particular subject were convoked. In 2001 after consultations with interested organizations the Association Forum of Non-Governmental Initiatives proposed its own project of the law. When Jerzy Hausner became the Minister of Work and Social Policy, his institution adopted a project incorporating a majority of the postulates of the non-governmental actors. The project was later consulted with other ministries, local authorities and NGOs. In 2002 a so-called *Contact Group* to work on the law was created. It comprised several representatives of the non-governmental organizations. In the same year the project was transmitted to the Sejm (lower chamber of the Polish Parliament). In the course of parliamentary works many amendments were introduced - often against the will of the NGOs. In April 2003 the Law was passed and in the following month it entered into force.

1% of Income Tax for Public Benefit Organizations

Since 2004 by virtue of the Law on Public Benefit and Volunteer Work Polish taxpayers for the first time had the possibility to transfer 1% of their income tax for a chosen public benefit organization. This solution was modeled on a similar mechanism introduced in Hungary in 1996.

Civil society or civil war ?

An implementation of the system of the 1% was meant to strengthen numerous financially weak organizations and to give the citizens an opportunity to decide on allocation of their taxes. It was also supposed to promote pro-civic and pro-social attitudes.

In order to prevent situations when money would be given to accidental people, actors eligible to receive support in the framework of the 1% system need to obtain the public benefit organization status. In 2010 over 7 000 NGOs had this status. It is granted to "organizations that undertake activities for the general community, or for the benefit of a determined group of persons under the condition that this group is singled out because of its difficult living situation in comparison to the rest of the society". Obtaining the status also obliges organization to fulfill several duties, among them to publish reports from their activities.

Year of tax return	Amount of tax transferred to NGOs (PLN)
2003	10 365 000
2004	41 616 000
2005	62 332 000
2006	105 438 000
2007	296 227 000

Thanks to the opportunity of transferring the 1%, an essential growth in the financing of the third sector occurred. Each year more and more people were resort to this solution. The biggest increase of the financial means transferred in the framework of the 1% took place in the first year of functioning of the mechanism and between the years 2006 and 2007 when the group of taxpayers entitled to hand over their 1% was widened and procedures simplified. Nowadays, taxpayers do not even have to make the wire transfers to an account of a chosen organization themselves – they just have to indicate it in their annual tax return and the adequate tax authorities will transfer the money directly to the organization.

A big advantage of the mechanism was a huge increase in incomes of the NGOs what helped the development of the third sector. Thanks to this fact more organizations could obtain their statutory goals.

Unfortunately, there are also some dangers generated by the 1% system. While amounts of money handed over within this mechanism has been increasing, all the other donations given to the NGOs have been steadily declining. One of the advocates of the 1% regulations, Kuba Wygnański, says: *This [the transfer of the 1% of the income tax] is not a philanthropy as we do not give anything. We only indicate to whom should the Tax Office give a part of money which we anyway would have to give back. Still it is often a moral justification, some say directly: "I will give nothing, because I have already given the 1%".* Also worrying is the fact that a successful fundraising within the framework of the 1% system is usually based on an efficient marketing, and not on real social needs.

Contracting public tasks

In the Constitution of the Republic of Poland from the year 1997 the subsidiarity principle which states that the authority has a supporting function towards activities of individuals was incorporated. The principle implies that social problems should be solved on a level as close to the citizens as possible.

The already mentioned Law on Public Benefit and Volunteer Work [4] introduced a possibility to put into practice the subsidiarity principle through delegating selected public tasks to the non-governmental organizations. The delegation may have two forms: financing a totality of a given task or supporting an implementation of the task by partial financing. The delegation of public tasks of a value surpassing 10,000 Polish zloty (approx. 2500 euro) is made in a form of a contest of offers. In those contests only actors eligible for public benefit activities can participate: non-governmental and church organizations, legal persons, cooperative societies, joint-stock and limited liability partnerships, sport clubs, associations of the units of local self- government.

The Law contributed to strengthening the NGOs and accelerating the process of the cooperation between the public and local administration and the third sector. Introduction of clear rules of access to the public funds and an obligation to consult planned directions of public activities with the NGOs have also influenced the transparency of all public institutions.

The increasing institutionalization of the NGOs can sometimes also raise doubts. A very interesting debate has been initiated by an article by Agnieszka Graf published in 2010. She wrote: *instead of building movements for systemic social changes, NGOs have to plug holes left by the state regressing from many spheres of social life. (…) The more the NGOs do, the less does the state. Meanwhile small constantly fighting for survival organizations, are not capable of satisfying the sea of needs. While trying to do so they only generate bigger and bigger claims and demands, and at the same time loose the vision which accompanied their establishment. And so the vicious circle closes.*[5]

23

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[4] Aktualna wersja ustawy: http://www.pozytek.gov.pl/Public,Benefit,and,Volunteer,Work,Act,567.html

[5] http://wyborcza.pl/1,75515,7425493,Urzedasy__bez_serc__bez_ducha__Organizacje_pozarzadowe_.html

3 The Great Orchestra of Christmas Charity and situation of volunteer work in Poland

While analyzing the development of the civil society and volunteering in Poland it would be impossible not to describe the phenomenon of the Great Orchestra of Christmas Charity (WOŚP, www.wosp.org.pl). It is above all known from the annual charity fund-raising – the Great Finale of WOŚP.

> WOŚP is a true phenomenon: from the beginning it has bought medical equipment worth approx. 105 million USD. All that time the Foundation maintained very low administrative costs. Last year, in 2009, 120,000 volunteers participated in the Great Finale. Unfortunately, the success of WOŚP does not necessarily influence the development of volunteering in Poland, especially in regard of the long-term involvement – for a couple of years the number of people helping others has been systematically declining.

The Great Orchestra of Christmas Charity

The Orchestra is a unique project on the European scale, not only because of the amount of money it collects, but also due to its range – every year it mobilizes masses of volunteers who help raising the money. WOŚP is the best recognized charity action in Poland and enjoys a very high confidence of Poles – accordingly to a research of CBOS (Public Opinion Research Center) from the beginning of 2010, 88% of Polish citizen trust the Orchestra. It is a lot more than those who rely on labor unions (26%), the parliament (21%) or political parties (14%).

The first edition of the action took place in 1993 thanks to an initiative of journalist and medical milieus. From the very beginning a key role in the undertaking was played by a journalist of the Polish National TV, Jurek Owsiak, an outstandingly charismatic person. The goal of the Orchestra was to improve the quality of healthcare by purchasing specialist equipment. The success of the first money -raising (over 1,5 million UDS) surpassed all the expectations. Jurek Owsiak recalls: *Firstly we thought about a one-off happening and a great party which could bring about real benefits. But how big? Nobody could have predicted. The success of the first Great Finale made it possible to divide the collected money among all the pediatric heart surgery centers in Poland. The action was constantly expanding, and in sequent editions previous records of collected money were beaten.* In 2010 the XVIII Great Final of the Orchestra collected over 14 million USD.

The successful results of the action were in a great part due to an unprecedented media coverage. The Finales of the Orchestra were related in the biggest TV stations in the country all-day-long. Every year 120,000 of volunteers were involved in the actions, among them - representatives of the government, politicians and other celebrities.

The organizer of the annual Finales of the Orchestra is the Foundation established in 1993. Its goal is prevention and health promotion. The Foundation has four national programs which aim at purchase of different medical specialist equipment. It is worth stressing that administrative costs constitute only 5% of all gathered money what is a phenomenon on the European scale.

In the course of last years the foundation has been involved in many different initiatives: educational projects (such as CPR for Schools Program, Peace Patrol, WOŚP University) which aim at improving the quality of Polish rescuing and at training as many people as possible in the area of first aid.

When in 2010 a flood brought about enormous damages, WOŚP launched the *STOP floods* program and organized money collections in order to purchase special equipment to eliminate results of the catastrophe.

A very popular initiative of WOŚP is *Przystanek Woodstock Festival*, inspired by the legendary Woodstock. Organized every year since 1995, this one of the biggest music events in Europe is a gesture of thanksgiving to all the volunteers working for WOŚP. We should also mention that the WOŚP's experiences in organizing mass events will be used during the preparation for the European Football Championships EURO 2012.[6]

Volunteer work

Surprisingly, the success of WOŚP is not accompanied by a development of the volunteer work in Poland. Therefore, it is very important to differentiate between so-called *one-action volunteering* and the regular involvement in working for others. The annual *one-day carnival of charity* (i.e. the Great Finale of WOŚP) does not necessarily generate more durable forms of involvement in social help, neither in the sphere of volunteering nor in the philanthropy. A cyclic research made by the Klon/Jawor Association showed an explicit decline in percentage – already small! –of Poles who dedicated their free time to voluntary work.[7]

Volunteering in Poland is mainly short-term: researches from 2008 showed that 84% of volunteers had spent less than 50 hours per year on working on behalf of so-called *noble cause*. More than half of all NGOs have problems with gaining a regular volunteer support.

Volunteer Centers

www.wolontariat.org.pl

In spite of the weakness of the volunteering in Poland, there are many organizations that undertake initiatives for a long-term involvement of Poles in an unpaid work for other people. A good example of such actions is the volunteer center network. It is composed of a dozen of regional organizations which promote the idea of volunteering in Poland, which play a role of a "contact box" for institutions looking for help and for people who want to dedicate their free time to a gratuitous social work. The Centers also provide educational programs related to volunteering in Poland.

[*6] Na podstawie wośp.org.pl

[*7] <http://www.wolontariat.org.pl/repository/Wolontariat%20w%20liczbach/cale%20badania/2008.doc>

4 Pubic awareness campaigns – social involvement of media

In the last 20 years there have been countless social campaigns conducted throughout Poland. Apart from individuals they have involved also other social agents, i.e. the NGOs and the world of business. Social campaigns raise important questions, introduce forgotten issues to the public debates . While attracting the public attention to varied problems, social campaigns contribute to evolution of attitudes of the citizens. The most successful campaigns influenced decisions of politicians and forced specific institutional solutions.

One of most recognized social campaign in Poland is an action called ***All of Poland Reads to Kids*** (www.calapolskaczytadzieciom.pl). Its mission is *supporting emotional health – psychological, mental and moral – of children and adolescents through awareness, education, promotion and lobbying.*[8]. For the last 12 years organizers of the initiative draw attention to the problems of education of children and they promote reading.

One of the key factors which enables carrying out an effective and broad campaign is participation of the mass media: social involvement of the media greatly facilitates conducting actions and makes it possible to reach a big number of citizens. We would like to illustrate this process with an example of two campaigns: ***Childbirth with dignity*** and ***School with class***. Both campaigns show how media can contribute to building the civic society.

Childbirth with dignity

One of the most famous social campaigns in Poland is the *Childbirth with Dignity* campaign. Its aim was to improve the poor quality of maternity care and to raise social awareness of the rights of patient.

The action started with an appeal to send letters describing conditions of childbirth and stay in hospitals. It was published in December 1993 in the magazine *Your child (Twoje dziecko)*, and repeated in May 1994 in *Gazeta Wyborcza,* which dedicated a series of publications to this campaign. The involvement of a major Polish newspaper provided the success of the action – the number of received letters greatly surpassed all the expectations of organizers. On their basis a *Guidebook on obstetric hospitals in Poland* was written. Described histories made the scale of problems connected to the maternity care visible. Thanks to the first edition of the *Childbirth with dignity* the problem was brought to the public and the process of implementing necessary changes was launched.

One year later the action received support not only from the *Gazeta Wyborcza,* but also from the national public television and the *Super Express* newspaper. From the very beginning participation of local media was essential, as they kept people informed on changes in particular hospitals. In 1995 in sequent edition of the *Guidebook* almost every obstetric ward in Poland was presented and assessed.

15,000 women answered the appeal to send letters describing giving birth to their children. A mass support for the action changed social attitudes towards the maternity care: women started to choose wards offering better services, in this way leading hospitals to improvement of their standards.

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*[8] http://www.calapolskaczytadzieciom.pl/nowa_eng/index.php?page=misja_fundacji&lang=

The success of the action was also related to some negative consequences. "Childbirth with dignity" contributed to the growth of expectations towards the quality of maternity care. Many public hospitals begun to charge additionally for "over-standard" conditions. A conviction that you have to pay for a "childbirth with dignity" functioned among parents. Therefore, the aim of next two editions of the action (in 2000 and 2006) was to fight against this negative phenomenon. The motto from 2006 "Childbirth with dignity is not a privilege" was to draw attention to the problem of unequal access to a proper maternity care. On the one hand, actions focused on trying to make women realize that they have the right to a "human" care, on the other – the pressure to counteract the illegal charges was put on hospital management and the Ministry of Health. Unfortunately, in spite of all the efforts, the problem remains unsolved. A report of the Supreme Chamber of Control shows that in 2010 many hospitals have been charging additionally – and illegally – for services related to childbirth.

Irrespective of the flaws, "Childbirth with dignity" campaign was a great success. It has become a model for many other social actions, like, for instance, follow-up project of Gazeta Wyborcza: "Dignity in Dying", or "We, NarcoPoles".

School with class

www.szkolazklasa.pl

A good example of cooperation between third sector and media is a program "School with class", the social action aiming at uniting pupils, teachers and parents in efforts to improve the quality of education in polish schools. Center for Citizenship Education (www.ceo.org.pl) – an educational institution working for the civil society development, stands behind this idea.

Similarly as with "Childbirth with dignity" the support from Gazeta Wyborcza was a key to the success. The project was financed by the Polish-American Freedom Foundation and the Agora Foundation (related to Gazeta Wyborcza). The then President Aleksander Kwaśniewski patronized the whole action.

The campaign began in May 2002. Primary and secondary schools were invited to participate in the project. Every school had to fulfill 6 specified tasks related to the 6 principles of the "School with class". They were meant to influence the efficiency and level of the education. It was also desired to make pupils, teachers and parents more involved in the life of schools.

In the first three years over 6,500 schools participated in the program. In many

localities schools which did not take part in the action were a minority. The brand of "School with class" became widely recognized, and influenced parents' and children's choices of schools. In a report dedicated to the action Grażyna Czetwertyńska stressed that the project contributed not only to an improvement of exam results, but also to an increase of the independence of pupils. The popularity of "School with class" resulted

Six principles of the "School with Class"
1. The school teaches each student well.
2. The school evaluates each student fairly.
3. The school teaches to think and to understand the world.
4. The school promotes social development and teaches sensitivity.
5. The school helps students to build self-confidence and creates positive atmosphere.
6. The school prepares for the future.

in follow-up projects in the following years: „Academy of School with class", „LEGO, COGITO, AGO", „Pupils with class", "Teachers with class" and "School of thinking".

Of course there were many other social campaigns in the last 20 years: destined to increase the participation in elections or promoting healthy way of living (e.g.:"All of Poland runs")

The support given by the mass media was essential for all the campaigns – it not only helped to publicize selected problems, but also to involve other social actors (like Ministries, professionals etc.) to solve them.

5 Social dialog – institutional solutions

After the fall of the communism it turned out to be necessary to build the social dialog from scratch: labor unions only theoretically had defended rights of workers in the past era. Neither was the beginning of transformation a good time for social consultations.

The first Minister of Finance after 1989 and author of the so-called "economic shock therapy" - a program of strict reforms of the Polish economy – Leszek Balcerowicz, was convinced that the reforms should be introduced "fast, in packages and at once"[9]. That opinion contradicts the very idea of the social dialog which is based on the concept of compromises.

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[9] J. Gardawski Dialog społeczny w Polsce - teoria, historia, praktyka, Warszawa 2009, s. 133.

> Social dialog includes all types of negotiation, consultation or simply exchange of information between, or among, representatives of governments, employers and workers, on issues of common interest relating to economic and social policy.
>
> *International Labor Organization*

Therefore, we can talk about the beginnings of institutionalization of the social dialog only from 1992. That year Jacek Kuroń, the then Minister of Labor and Social Policy, initiated negotiations on the so-called state-own enterprise pact. Its goal was to create an institution enabling to build a dialog between the government and workers of state-own enterprises undergoing privatization. The Pact was signed in 1993 by two biggest labor unions - "Solidarity" and "OPZZ" ("All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions").

Trilateral Commission for Social and Economic Affairs

One of the main stipulations of the Pact was founding of Trilateral Commission for Social and Economic Affairs which is composed of representatives of the government, private entrepreneurs and labor unions. Based on experiences of Western Europe it was supposed to be an advisory body to the government. It was established in 1994.

> **Trilateral Commission** – despite many flaws – played a significant role in the transformation period. Thanks to this body the social dialog in Poland started to institutionalize. Recently it is more and more often discussed to broaden the formula of the social dialog and include actors of civil society and civic dialog.

From the very beginning Trilateral Commission's works were hindered by different factors. One of them was the fact that the idea of social consultations was poorly-rooted in Poland. Therefore, the social dialog was based mainly on the individuals with sense of mission: one of them was Jacek Kuroń, and the second – his deputy and future Minister of Labor, Andrzej Bączkowski. As Kuroń contributed to the establishment of the Commission, Bączkowski was its first head and played a crucial role in the first years of its functioning.

At the beginning the Commission worked efficiently and dealt with issues of great importance: system of determining average salaries in the public and private sector, and organization and functioning of pension funds. Nevertheless, after the death of Andrzej Bączkowski, the Commission began to lose its significance.

The second problem of Trilateral Commission was the politicization of social partners. Both OPZZ and Solidarity were closely linked to the political parties what had very negative consequences for the work of the Commission. First of all, labor unions instead of cooperating towards the best interest of workers were fighting with each other. Secondly, the labor union which was at given time linked to the ruling party, was talking directly with the government, skipping works of the Commission.

Civil society or civil war ?

A fundamental problem resulting from i.a. the lack of trust of social partners toward each other was a very low willingness to reach any compromises. Every party of the dialog was only fighting for its own interests and goals.

In spite of those limitations the Trilateral Commission in the first phase of the transformation was "an important social innovation that enabled limiting conflicts emerging at the initial period of systemic transformation."[10]. The way it was constructed, its procedures and charter predestined to be a "safety-valve" for the social tensions. Professor Kazimierz Frieske – sociologist and observer of the works of the Commission – thinks that the Trilateral Commission was a "great social laboratory that enabled testing of social consent for various decisions in public affairs" for successive governments. For this very reason the Trilateral Commission was often dealing with issues which were not directly linked to labor relations, like housing policy, health service reform, or reform of social security.

Civic Dialog

For a couple of years it has been more and more often claimed that the formula of the Commission should be modified. Some experts and representatives of the government call attention to the fact that Trilateral Commission in the present composition represents only selected social actors. Moreover, membership in labor unions is constantly decreasing, so it is reflecting smaller and smaller parts of the society.

So the idea to add also representatives of the groups not belonging to the "employee-

> **Civic dialog is** a form of contact between the public authorities and organizations of the third sector, based on mutual exchange of information, opinions and decisions regarding goals, instruments and strategies of implementation of public policies.

employer" axis, like unemployed or the third sector, appeared. This way the social dialog would be completed with the civil dialog, and the Trilateral Commission would become a multilateral body.

For the time being we can talk only about the beginnings of the institutionalization of the social dialog in Poland. By virtue of the Law on Public Benefit and Volunteer Work the Council on Public Benefit Activities was established[11]. The Council is an advisory body to the ministry responsible for social security. It is composed of representatives of the public administration (5 persons), of local self-government (5 persons), and of the third sector (10 persons). Sociologist Anna Stokowska thinks that the establishment of this body was "an incident of irrefutable significance for the process of forming institutions of civil dialog in Poland". Tomasz Schimanek, social politician and expert on the third sector, thinks that if reformed adequately, the Council could become an axis of the system of the civic dialog in Poland. We will see if it will happen.

[10] http://jerzyhausner.bblog.pl/wpis,dialog;obywatelski;zamiast;korporacyjnego,2529.html
[11] The up-to-date text of the Law: http://www.pozytek.gov.pl/Public,Benefit,and, Volunteer, Work,Act,567.html

6 Social economy – fight against social exclusion

Development of social economy in Poland should be seen as an attempt to respond to various social problems, including those which are the result of the transformation. The change of political system in the country was not only the success of the development of democracy and of the GDP growth, but also increased inequalities and created many areas of social exclusion. The dynamic change of the economic system was accompanied by the systematic growth of unemployment and structural poverty.[12] In the years 2004-2005 12% of the Polish population lived below the living wage.[13]

Social marginalization in Poland results i.a. from the exclusion from the labor market to which specific social groups were primarily exposed: homeless, disabled, former addicts, former prisoners or those with low qualifications.

> Poland is a country with a low level of social cohesion. The accession to the European Union has brought significant development of the social economy. However, what is really worth to mention is mainly the development of the environment which deals with the social economy. In the society the subject is still not very popular.

The easiest way to define the social economy is by referring to an institution that constitutes its "core" - to the social enterprise. By adapting the definition after "ekonomiaspołeczna.pl" we can say that "the social enterprise is an activity with mainly social objectives which profits are reinvested into these objectives or in the community, and do not serve to maximize profit or income of the shareholders or owners".

We can talk about social economy in Poland only for the last few years. The beginnings of the development of SE were related to the accession to the European Union. Two key factors played a crucial role: on the one hand the necessity to adjust Polish law to the European standards, on the other hand – financial support from the EU (e.g. in the framework of EQUAL Initiative).

It is hard to say if in the case of social economy we can talk about a success. Although in recent years social economy has become undoubtedly a very fashionable term, also due to the amount of money destined for this aim, it was not supported by any real achievements. What is more, as researches prepared by the Klon/Jawor Association show, the social economy remains something new and unknown in the Polish society.[14] However, comments on the development of social economy do not change the fact that also in this area we can talk about some kind of successes. After several years of rapid growth in Poland, we certainly have a very professional and well-organized

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[12]   Por. Edmund Mokrzycki, „Bilans niesentymentalny", Warszawa 2001.

[13]   http://www.stat.gov.pl/cps/rde/xbcr/gus/PUBL_zasieg_ubostwa_2005.pdf

[14]   <http://www.ekonomiaspoleczna.pl/files/ekonomiaspoleczna.pl/public/biblioteka_eS_pliki/Raporty_teksty_opracowania/raport_kontekst_spolecznyKLON.pdf>.

Civil society or civil war ?

community involved in the field. The most significant foundations in this area are the Klon/Jawor Association, the Foundation for Social and Economic Initiatives (FISE) and Unit for Social Research and Innovation Shipyard. Essential for the development of the social economy was a project carried out in 2005-2008 - in search of the Polish model of social economy. In 2006-2008 the Social Economy Manifesto was created. It contains 21 points which set out the concept of social economy in Poland, shows trends and challenges in this sector.

The Social Economy Manifesto:
- The social economy is not owned by any political party.
- The social economy is one of the best methods for activation of the long-lasting unemployed.
- The social economy is based on mutual mechanisms, including trust between its participants. It has significant advantages also in the competitive economy.
- Very important is its communal character;
- The market is not the answer to all the problems of the present.
- Public administration is one of the largest purchasers of goods and services on the market.

What we can surely call a success is the Internet portal www.ekonomiaspoleczna.pl. It provides a guide to the social economy in Poland *(In English: <http://www.ekonomiaspoleczna. pl/x/433523>)*. What is more, it includes comments on current events, answers to basic questions about the social economy, information for the business connected to the social economy and publications where you can find an anthology of texts, numerous studies and reports from researches in this field. The website has also an extensive section on good practices from Europe and the United States. There is collection of best practice in social economy which, as its authors says "was created for the promotion of Polish social economy enterprises, in other words those which try to combine social objectives with the effective operation on the market. Currently, Atlas describes 43 such initiatives. We would like to describe one of them – "Mr. Cogito's hostel".

Mr. Cogito's Hostel

Mr. Cogito's Hostel in Krakow is one of the best known examples of social economy in Poland. In fact it is a dynamically developing social enterprise which tackles one of the most important social problems - a low percentage of people with disabilities who are active in the labor market.

Currently, the hostel hires 21 people who have had a nervous breakdown. The idea of such an institution comes from Scotland. "At the end of the 1990s representatives of NGOs, local governments and universities visited the partner city of Krakow - Edinburgh. There, among other things, they were shown how the Six Mary's Place was functioning - Guest House run by people with mental disorders. It was an impulse to start such an institution in Poland."

Main goals of "Mr. Cogito Hostel":

- social and professional activation of people who suffered from nervous breakdown
- rehabilitation activities
- creation of a work place prepared for people who suffered from nervous breakdown
- developing positive attitude toward the mentally ill
- helping people to cope with their illnesses

Launch of the project was possible thanks to the grant received from National Lotter Charities Fund, which covered 20% of the administrative costs of the project. "Mr. Cogito" obtained financial support from Scottish NGOs and the University of Edinburgh. These institutions not only shared their previous experience but also supervised the project. Another important step was to find a suitable place for the hostel. With the help of the authorities of Krakow, who provided a 40-year lease on the historic building, it was possible. Renovation of the building was carried out with the help of several public and private entities.

The opening of the pension in 2003 was preceded by a two-year course for staff of 40 people with a history of mental illness. During the course future employees gained specific skills needed to work in the tourism market (e.g. in kitchen, service reception, computer operation and marketing). Course participants also had internships at various hotels and cafeterias in Krakow. Finally, 15 people were elected from 40 participants to start their adventure in Mr. Cogito's Hostel.

Since the opening number of staff increased from 15 to 21. Also additional 7 people are hired (nurse, occupational therapist, a deputy head for the reception, a specialist in the tourism and hospitality, professional chef, a professional waiter, accountant). The hostel has 34 beds. It hosts around 2500 clients every year. The direct cost of current activity is 600 thousand PLN per annum. 300 thousand PLN of this amount is provided by funding. Profits from the business are earmarked for the rehabilitation of employees - to buy medicines, cover travel expenses and provide training.

7 June 4th as a "festival of citizens" – celebration of the 20th anniversary of the III Republic of Poland

On June 4th, 2009 – 20 years from the day on which Poles in a first democratic elections in years supported the democratic opposition with an overwhelming majority of votes – official celebrations commemorating the elections of 1989, graced

by the presence of the highest representatives of the Republic of Poland, took place in Cracow and Gdansk.

However, from the perspective of the civil society a much more important initiative seems to be the one organized by TOGETHER'89 (RAZEM'89, www.razem89.pl) - a coalition of NGOs, civic movements, schools and local self-governments. The organizers called this action "TOGETHER'89" to stress that June 4th should be a date which unites everybody. The initiative was very successful - this day was commemorated in many Polish cities. The celebrations have become a joyous festival of the civil society. Let's see how it has begun.

> Celebration of the 20th anniversary of the III Republic of Poland was organized thanks to the coalition of various NGOs from the initiative TOGETHER'89. In 2009, June 4th became a real "civic celebration of freedom". However, we still do not know how long will this young initiative last.

Organization of the action TOGETHER'89 begun with creation of a working coalition of various institutions, i.a.: The Stefan Batory Foundation, Polish – American Freedom Foundation, Civil Development Forum, History Meeting House – in September and October 2008. From the very beginning the goal was to invite as many actors of the civil society as possible. The action was officially launched on February 6th, 2009. On this day, on the 20th anniversary of the beginning of the Round Table Talks, the representatives of NGOs announced: "We have already united. And on the anniversary of a great historic agreement we want to invite all of you to work TOGETHER - because great things are achieved by working TOGETHER, above all divisions". At that moment the Initiative associated more than 30 partners.

On that date a website www.razem89.pl was also launched. It contains a calendar of events of 1989, a reading room, a bank of ideas and constantly updated information about the anniversary events. The action "Thank you for 20 years of freedom" where everyone could thank both to authors of the transformation and to their closest - gained popularity. Over 150 000 of the internauts took part.

The key to the success was a well prepared promotional action. The communication strategy of TOGEHTER'89 was divided into two stages. In the first one, the emphasis was placed on the dissemination of the initiative among journalists and on gaining financial support from governmental institutions. The aim of the second stage was to make this special anniversary constantly present in the public debate and June 4th an event where you just "have to be". More and more partners joined the Initiative – in the end there were more than 150. Thanks to the governmental financial support, each of them received promotional materials - T-shirts, balloons, posters, stickers, etc. The most popular were the cups TOGETHER'89. They were sent to the President, the Prime Minister, labor unionists, journalists and public opinion leaders. TOGETHER'89 was supported by many celebrities (musicians, sportsmen, actors, directors). Spots promoting the Initiative were emitted in cinemas and in TV stations which decided not to charge the organizers.

An important role in the action was played by the authors of the changes of 1989. TOGETHER'89 was supported by key persons, including the first non-communist Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki. One of the first activities of the Initiative was a meeting with the former President Lech Wałęsa at the University of Gdansk.

The culmination of the action was of course June 4th. The celebration organized by TOGETHER'89 were held throughout the whole country. On this day:

- eighty largest Polish newspapers and Internet portals wrote their titles in a font modeled on the Solidarity logo and Gazeta Wyborcza also included TOGHETER'89 stickers in its entire circulation;
- together with Gazeta Wyborcza the action "a toast to freedom" was organized. In Wyborcza you could read: "We ask anyone who wants to celebrate June 4th to organize a toast. We ask owners of pubs, cafes, restaurants to treat their clients with wine, champagne or juice for free or a very low price". All the media related the toast made by the first non-communist Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki in the legendary Café Niespodzianka which in 1989 served as headquarters of the electoral staff of the democratic opposition;
- in the biggest Polish cities (in Cracow, Poznan, Wroclaw, Warsaw, Sopot, Katowice and Lublin) mass events, concerts and exhibitions commemorating the anniversary were held.
- in Warsaw in cooperation with the City Hall a festival "SYSTEM OFF" was organised, which included: outdoor events, concert of the stars of the 80's, happenings and historical exhibitions. On that day the most representative street of Warsaw (Krakowskie Przedmiescie) was filled with celebrating crowd. There you could participate in meetings with members of the democratic opposition of those days, in occasional theatrical performances, open-air movie screenings, multimedia installations;
- during the whole day representatives of the Initiative commented the anniversary events in press, on the radio and in TV. The action became the news of the day almost everywhere.

RAZEM'89 was successful - it managed to unite 210 civil initiatives throughout the country. The evidence of the success is also the dimension of the events and the number of institutions, organizations and volunteers who joined the Initiative. TOGETHER'89 continued its activities: it was present on the celebrations of the 20th anniversary of the Fall of the Berlin Wall and on the annual music festival Przystanek Woodstock, which attracted about 400000 people, where one day was entirely devoted to 20th anniversary of polish freedom.[15]

In 2010 June 4th was celebrated again: the action "SYSTEM OFF" and the "toast for freedom" were repeated. It is worth mentioning that TOGETHER'89 won a competition organized by the Foundation for Social Communication and the Internet portal

[15] http://wyborcza.pl/1,75475,6885932,Rekordowy_Woodstock__ponad_400_tys__ludzi.html

Civil society or civil war ?

www.kampaniespoleczne.pl for the best public campaign of 2009 in the category "Civic Initiatives".

The best summary of the Initiative seem to be the words of one of its main organizers - Szymon Gutkowski - who said: „Maybe it was not a huge civil action - it reached several hundred thousand people, maybe a million, but certainly not 35 million. But we managed to get to the elites: journalists, academics and people in the biggest Polish cities. Moving the entire society, making June 4th a joyful celebration of universal freedom, is still ahead of us".

8 Public space – housing cooperatives and "street festivals"

From the beginning of the transformation in Poland the attitude to public space has been changing. Before 1989 the space, both private and public, was almost completely nationalized. The collapse of communism and the introduction of free market mechanisms led to a reverse process - the space was "privatized" to a great extent, regarded only from the perspective of individual property.

> First years of transformation brought about a dangerous phenomenon of privatization of public space, encompassing, for instance, fenced, guarded housing estates.
>
> Although the problem remains unsolved, in the last few years the public space has been discovered for the public debates – there are more and more grass-root and local initiatives (e.g. street feasts).

A good example of „privatization of public space" during the transformation period were the guarded housing estates which started emerging after 1989. The case of Warsaw is a phenomenon on a European scale - according to the EUROREG research from 2008, approximately 20% of population of the capital city lived in the guarded housing estates. Each of them may give a home to 5 000 people. The guarded housing estates cause exclusion of large areas from the urban tissue. They lead to a segregation of people accordingly to economic categories. Privatizing public space contributes to creation of the culture of fear in which the outside world is considered as dangerous and every stranger is seen as a potential criminal.

However, it may be tempting to say that the issue of public space in Poland has been "discovered". More and more people - sociologists, artists, social activists, journalists and politicians - have been debating about it. During these debates - organized e.g. by Duopolis (described in details in the chapter on Polish-German relations) - such questions as: what is the public space? what is the best way to arrange it? are posed. But above all more people start to work together in the shared space. The last few years have brought an increase in initiatives, concerts, happenings and art events. Many of them contribute to a greater civic participation.

Especially worth discussing are those local activities that have a grass-root character

– so the idea to organize them is born in local communities. It is worth mentioning here e.g. Open Gardens Festival (www.otwarteogrody.pl) in a framework of which inhabitants of Warsaw suburbs open their gardens and invite neighbors for concerts, workshops, tours etc.

Street festivals

While the fenced housing estates impede formation of the social trust, street festivals are examples of activities that build the social capital. They are an interesting form of animation of the public space. A couple of years ago they were something unique, but recently they have become increasingly popular. More and more streets and neighborhoods in different cities in Poland have their own parties with concerts, fairs and other artistic events. To name only a few: "Saska Kepa Festival", "Hożarty" (festival of Hoża street in Warsaw) or the festival of the Powiśle district „Powiślenia".

To illustrate this phenomenon we chose the **Smolna Street Festival in Warsaw**. Once a year this small lane in the city center is a real place to be. This all-day cultural and social event may be an example of the efficient operation of NGOs in a big city. In the framework of the Smolna Festival you can enjoy concerts, dance shows, photo exhibitions, organic food and books fairs, film screening, retro song contests, open-air painting, raffles, guided tours and stories of the Smolna street. Entrance to all the events is free. The Smolna Festival is organized by the Association of Inhabitants of Smolna Street which "works for the renewal of ties in neighborhood communities and for the mutual benefit of the small community from Smolna."

> The custom of celebrating on the streets is already popular in Western Europe. The first was France: every year on the streets of Paris crowds commemorate the Bastille day on July 15th. Each street exposes its unique character, e.g. rue de Turenne is famous for flower bouquets and on the rue de Rosiers the best cakes are baked. It is similar in Spain - residents have fun together, they meet and collect money for local activities. In this way social bonds are born, in this way the civil society is created.
>
> *Professor Bohdan Jałowiecki*

The inhabitants of Smolna undertake also other initiatives. They began to cooperate in order to get rid of the Labyrinth club and escort agencies. They succeeded - after a couple of years the club was closed. This success motivated inhabitants to act: "This event integrated our community. People became friends and decided that they will continue to work together, especially that there was still a lot to be done"- says Jarosław Cholodecki, Vice-President of Association of Inhabitants of Smolna Street.[16]

In the following years inhabitants led to the renovation of one of the buildings, fought against pornographic leaflets - advertising escort agencies - which are placed under wipers of cars, and together they painted over graffiti. In 2009 Smolna became

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[16] http://wiadomosci.ngo.pl/wiadomosci/428977.html

37

the first street in Warsaw to establish the Street Council. It has following goals:

- Inclusion of all the inhabitants of Smolna into activities aiming at improvement of the quality of life of the community,
- tightening of neighborly bonds,
- organization of free time,
- equalizing social opportunities and concert for a good education of youth[*17].

The Smolna Festival was initiated by this very active and well-organized community.

Housing cooperatives

Housing cooperatives are an attempt to cope with problems of administrating and maintaining buildings owned by more than one owner. The first housing cooperatives in Poland were created in 1995 after the Property Ownership Act had come into force. A housing cooperatives is a whole of the apartment owners in a given building. It comes into being at the moment when the first apartment is sold, so when the private property (i.e. the apartment) and the common property are separated.

The housing cooperatives are composed not only by apartment owners, but also owners of offices, stores and other commercial premises. In condominiums the owners are those who make decisions on administrative matters and incur expenses for maintenance of the common property. The housing cooperatives are also supposed to contribute to the increase of participation and activation of inhabitants. Annual meetings of all members of a community are required. They are a chance for all the inhabitants to meet, enable voting and select board of the community. The management of the housing cooperatives may be executed by the inhabitants, but they can also contract it to a different person or to an enterprise. The board is obliged to represent the community in external relations and in relations between owners of the apartments, to record-keeping, supervising services provided by external suppliers (water, gas, electricity etc.). Communities often decide to hire a professional manager of properties, thus there are many private companies specialized in administrating buildings.

Nevertheless, a far more interesting solution is an introduction of a form of self-taxation, i.e. of so-called "renovation fund": members of the condominium decide on the advance payments from which later necessary renovation works and investments are paid.

The example of Smolna street shows that common causes related to the administration of a building can lead to creation of solid local bonds and to broad social initiatives. In this way also the culture of trust is built – in 2009 inhabitants of Smolna destroyed last grilles in their windows and opened all courtyards. "We do not want fences anymore" -says Jarosław Chołodecki..

[*17] After http://www.smolna.eu/

9 Polish relations with neighboring countries

The last 20 years is a period of important changes in the Polish foreign policy. The geopolitical situation of the country has radically changed since 1989: the Eastern Bloc collapsed, the Soviet army left polish territory, Poland joined NATO and the European Union. In place of three neighbors (USSR, Eastern Germany and Czechoslovakia), there are now seven different countries: Russia, Lithuania, Belarus, Ukraine, Slovakia, the Czech Republic and Germany. Successive governments faced the necessity of re-arrangement of relations with these countries. Because of historical conflicts mutual relations were extremely delicate (it is not without reason that Polish politicians so often use the word "reconciliation" while talking about diplomatic relations).

Poland has had better and better relations with its neighbors. Important role in this process was played by the initiatives which have involved the citizens of each country. Particularly noteworthy are a number of projects related to youth exchanges and scientific cooperation (especially with Germany but also with Ukraine). In the case of difficult Polish-Russian relations a crucial role was played by Polish-Russian Commission on Difficult Issues.

Nevertheless, Poland has managed to build partner relations with almost all its neighbors.

Current good relations of Poland with its neighbors are mainly a merit of politicians working on their improvement.

"Civic diplomacy, in other words, building understanding not only between governments but directly between people, it consists of refuting hereditary hostility and mutual prejudices, destroying false myths that all Germans, all Poles, Ukrainians or Russians are mortal enemies from cradle to death."

Jan Nowak-Jeziorański

However, while the politicians play an important role, it is societies who need to reconcile. That is why the initiatives from the area of civic (social) diplomacy are so vital.

NGOs in Polish-German relations

Currently, we can talk about a significant improvement, or even about a success, in the Polish-German relations. Certainly, **the Foundation for Polish-German Reconciliation (www.fpnp.org)** has played a great role in this process. It was founded

in the beginnings of 1990s and deals mainly with payment of German financial benefits to former prisoners of concentration camps and people forced to slave labor in the Third Reich. Since the beginning, the Foundation has paid compensations worth nearly 5 billion PLN (1.7 billion U.S. dollars). In June 2007 the Foundation for Polish-German Reconciliation initiated the Program of "Social and Medical Help" for victims. Money for the payment of benefits come from many foreign funds (including the German Foundation "Remembrance, Responsibility and Future" and the Austrian Reconciliation Fund).

The Foundation for Polish-German Reconciliation undertakes also other initiatives aimed at spreading remembrance of the Word World II – it collects records documenting the fate of victims of Nazism, which are then used in research projects. It already managed to gather documentation on the fate of more than one million victims. The Foundation also runs educational activities - such as organizing meetings with war survivors for students. In 2008 the website www.fpnp.pl/swiadkowie was launched. Profiles of people persecuted during the World War II are presented there. In addition to short biographies you can also find: memoires, interviews, original documents and photos.

Another important institution which contributed to the improvement of Polish-German relations, is the **Foundation for Polish-German Cooperation (FWPN, www.fwpn.org.pl).** Since 1991 the Foundation has provided support for about 8 000 projects (over 600 a year) with the amount of 250 million Euros. Projects funded by FWPN concern student's exchanges, education, ecology, conservation of monuments, health, transport and telecommunications. Foundation also runs its own programs such as Polish-German Calendar (handbook of events relating to the Polish-German relations) and Polish-German Media Days.

The next significant initiative which was also founded at the beginning of 1990s is the **Polish German Youth Cooperation Program (PNWM, www.dpjw.org).** This organization is modeled on a similar French-German program, which has been operating already since 1963. PNWM organizes projects which involve young people from Poland and Germany. These are theater workshops, training camps and ecological projects. All the activities are supposed to refute stereotypes and support cultural exchange with a particular emphasis placed on civic education and history. So far over 2 million participants took part in the initiatives. PNWM Program is funded by the German and Polish governments. In 2000 they allocated 9.53 million Euro (Poland - 4, 928 million, Germany - 4.602 million) for PNWM activities.

It is worth to mention also the cooperation on the level of specific cities. A good illustration of civic diplomacy could be the Duopolis Association (www.blog.duopolis.org). It brings together academics, students, artists and urban activists from two capitals - Warsaw and Berlin. As its founders say: the mission of the Association is "to act in favor of rapprochement and the development of both cities under the conviction that together they can offer Europe a new quality of urban life-style based on openness, tolerance and involvement of citizens".

Polish-Ukrainian relations

In Polish – Ukrainian relations cooperation between NGOs has specific significance. "Actually, there is no sphere in social life that is not covered by the Polish-Ukrainian cooperation ", writes Aleksandr Hnatiuk an author of *Polish-Ukrainian cooperation in the fields of culture, science, education and social sphere*. It is worth to notice the kind of 'decentralization' in Polish-Ukrainian relations which has taken place in recent years. There is more of bottom-up initiatives what is the result of cooperation between NGOs.

On the other hand, educational programs (Polish Government grants for Young Scientists, the International Foundation of the Visegrad scholarships, the Minister of Culture and National Heritage grants, "Gaude Polonia", Lane Kirkland's Scholarships) and cooperation between cities have improved Polish-Ukrainian relations. This year the 4th edition of "Teraz Wroclaw" program which aim is to promote Polish universities in Eastern Europe started. "Teraz Wroclaw" involved the most important universities of Wroclaw. This year 100 people from Ukraine, Belarus, Russia and Moldova will start their studies in Wroclaw (in the years 2006-2009, there were a total of 150).

In 2004 Orange Revolution took place in Ukraine. Poland supported its neighbor during this hard time. On the streets of many Polish cities people spontaneously gathered to express support for the Ukrainian opposition. They organized demonstrations and marches of solidarity with Ukraine, Polish musicians gave concerts for demonstrators in Kiev, there were websites providing information on the situation in Ukraine and Polish volunteers were sent as observers in elections. Also Polish politicians - including Presidents Lech Wałęsa and Aleksander Kwaśniewski were involved in discussions on resolving the situation in Ukraine.

Polish-Russian Group for Difficult Issues

Polish-Russian relations are the most important issues of Polish foreign policy. However, they were not so improved, as relations with Germany. Poland and Russia still differ fundamentally in such terms as: history, economic interests or their relations with Eastern Europe countries and the Caucasus. However, there are some signs of improvement in Polish-Russian relations. An important initiative is the establishment and functioning of Polish-Russian Group for Difficult Issues.

The Group is a team of Polish and Russian experts and scientists appointed to examine the most contentious issues in common history. The commission was formed in 2002 shortly after the visit of the former president of the Russian Federation in Poland, but due to the deterioration of relations between the countries it soon ceased operations. In 2008, the Group was reactivated with a new line. It has two chairmen: Russian team is headed by president of the Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO) prof. Anatoly Torkunov and the Polish side is represented by Polish Foreign Minister Prof. Adam Rotfeld. The group is now composed mainly of historians.

Polish-Russian Group for Difficult Issues deals with the conflicting issues arising from the legacy of history between the two countries. The initiative was created to improve

Civil society or civil war ?

scientific contacts, cultural and social links and to create a dialog box. As Prof. Rotfeld says: "According to the mandate case, we agreed that we do not want to replace the state institutions. We cannot make political decisions; we do not have any power to deal with legal categories. However, we can clear the way for an agreement between states, remove obstacles left by previous generations". The first publication of the Group ("White spots, black spots") is to come out at the end of 2010: "This book has 16 chapters. Each of them consists of two texts: one written by a Pole, the second - by a Russian, based on the principle of mirror reflection - explained Adam Rotfeld "[18]

This year, 2010, thanks to Polish-Russian Group for Difficult Issues, Polish government has decided to set up a team which works on the creation of the Polish-Russian Center for Dialog and Agreement. A similar institution is going to be created in Russia. Appointed by the Minister of Culture, representative Slawomir Debski acknowledges that there is far less institutions and NGOs which support Polish-Russian relations than these involved in Polish-German actions. Therefore the objective of the center will initiate a Polish-Russian research, dialog and exchanges of youth.

10 Breaking stereotypes - Polish-Jewish dialog

Political changes, which took place in Poland in 1989, were the beginning of new age in diplomatic relations between Poland and Israel. However, improving Polish-Jewish relations required to deal with difficult history: the Jews tragic memories of the Holocaust that occurred mainly on Polish area, Polish interwar anti-Semitism and anti-Semitic campaign in March'68.

> In the past 20 years Polish-Jewish relations have improved considerably. In Poland there is a growing interest in Jewish culture: festivals, bilateral youth exchanges, researches on the Holocaust are organized. In recent years an important role in all these initiatives was played by the Museum of the History of Polish Jews. Unfortunately mutual prejudices and stereotypes are still quite strong among the two nations

Because of all these reasons so important were the words outspoken by Polish President Lech Walesa, in the Israeli parliament in 1991: "We were helping you as we could. There were a lot of Poles among the righteous of the Nations (...). But there were also many criminals between us (...). Here in Israel, in the country of your birth and rebirth, I am asking you for forgiveness".

Over the past twenty years, Poland and Israel have become important international partners. Due to the nature of Polish-Jewish cooperation, apart from the political-

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[18]   http://www.tvp.info/informacje/swiat/polskarosja-biale-i-czarne-plamy/2774502

diplomatic and cultural contacts, significant are the civil actions which aim at overcoming stereotypes. We would like to introduce three important initiatives that contribute to the development of contacts between the two countries and draw attention to their common heritage: the Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Jewish Culture Festival in Krakow and the Polish Year in Israel.

March of the Living

Since 1988 on Holocaust Memorial Day thousands of participants march silently from Auschwitz to Birkenau, the largest Nazi German concentration camp complex built during World War II. Participation in the March is an expression of remembrance for the victims of the Holocaust, but also a testimony of commitment to values such as peace and tolerance. Initially only Jewish youth groups - mainly from Israel and the United States - attended the march. However, there is an increasing number of young Poles who participate in this memorial. Rabin Yochanan Fried said: „I have been coming here since the beginning and I see clearly that every year people are more open. There is more Polish people and we are trying to show our youth that this country is not only Holocaust but also 1000 years of Jewish history, culture and art.""

Museum of the History of Polish Jews

It is impossible to talk about Polish history without taking almost 1000 years of Jewish culture into consideration. The last 20 years in Poland has been a time for discovering the immensity of Jewish heritage and a common complex history of both nations - connections and contacts with Israel were sought, a lot of engagement put into projects related to historical memory . One of the key projects in this area is the construction of the Museum of the History of Polish Jews in Warsaw.

The initiative to create the Museum of the History of Polish Jews was born in the mid-90s in the environment associated to the Jewish Historical Institute Association - a state institution examining the History and Culture of Jews in Poland. In 1997, thanks to the Warsaw authorities, the land for construction of the Museum was designated in the former Jewish district. Construction of the building is funded mostly from the Polish public finance. What was also necessary for the creation of the Museum project and the preparation of exhibitions and educational activities, was raising funds from individuals and foundations worldwide. The Museum was able to persuade a lot of communities, NGOs and state institutions to cooperation. Committees were supported in several countries and the patron of the project was President Aleksander Kwasniewski. Former Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Israel Shimon Peres was the Honorary Chairman of the International Committee of the Museum, which consists of prominent personalities from many countries.

The museum is going to be a modern cultural and educational institution presenting the history of Jews on Polish land. The inspiration for the museum was the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington DC. The Museum is dedicated to "foster respect for Jewish tradition and culture and stimulate dialog in the spirit of mutual acceptance and tolerance". Although the opening is planned for 2013, this institution already runs extensive educational activities. For several years it has been organizing

exchanges, scholarships, seminars and workshops on Jewish culture. One of such projects is PIYE: Polish Intercultural Youth Encounters. This project is addressed to senior high school students from Poland and Israel. The program includes 3 months visits of Polish students in Israel, weekly stay of Israeli students in Poland and one-day students meetings organized in local schools. Every year thousands of Israelis visiting Poland spend a day with their Polish peers taking part in joint thematic workshops, discussions and meetings with invited guests. Only in 2009 over 4500 people took part in the initiative. The PIYE program serves the purpose of its participants becoming acquainted with one another, working and playing together, and thus building a mutual understanding between Poles and Israelis. It is a modern and unprecedented form of dialog where two cultures, Polish and Israeli, have a chance to meet.[19]

Jewish Culture Festivals in Poland

A manifestation of the growing interest of Jewish heritage and multiculturalism in Poland are also numerous festivals of Jewish culture. More and more Polish cities choose to host their annual events in Jewish issues. Festivals take place in Cracow (Jewish Culture Festival in Cracow), Warsaw (Festival of Jewish Culture in Warsaw - "Singer's Warsaw"), Lodz (Festival of Yiddish Culture and Festival Lodz of Four Cultures).

Nowadays, the biggest Jewish festival in Poland is the Jewish Culture Festival in Cracow. The first festival was held in Cracow in 1988. It was a modest event combined with a scientific session. Today, the Jewish Culture Festival in Cracow means nearly 250 different types of events a day: concerts, lectures, film screenings, workshops and debates. The event attracts visitors from all over the world – it has become an important meeting place for Poles and Jews. Janusz Makuch, founder of the Festival says, "If it is fashion, this is good fashion. It has existed for years (…) Jewish Culture Festival did not start in the axiological vacuum. Interest in it formed a kind of foundation, upon which arose in many people the fashion. "

On the other hand, an important project of Polish diplomacy in Israel was the organization of the Polish Year in 2008 and 2009. The event was organized by the Adam Mickiewicz Institute - a state institution dedicated to promoting Polish culture abroad. Polish Year in Israel was planned primarily to bring the nations together and strengthen the cultural, economic and scientific relations. To achieve this aim over 100 Israeli artists, heads of cultural institutions and journalists were invited. Within 14 months of the Polish Year 140 events in 20 cities were organized throughout Israel.

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[19]   Based on www.jewishmuseum.org.pl/

10 Successes of Polish CivilSociety (1989-2010)

Civil society or civil war ?

Civil Society Crisis as Basis for Political Unrest in Georgia

Alexander RUSETSTKY –
director of the South Caucasus Institute for
Regional Security

Civil Society or Civil War?

Civil society or civil war? That is the title that we came up with for this book. These words belong to outstanding polish public figure, founder and editor in chief of newspaper Gazeta Wyborcza, participant of given project – Adam Michnik. He allowed excellent chance to post-soviet civilization, which was going crazy to overcome the crisis, in which it has thrown itself. Can the civilization make good use of this chance? It is very difficult to forecast at current stage.

Adam Michnik, Tbilisi,
November, 11, 2010

Diagnosis of our society is very ob vious – lack of adequate level of political culture.
Lack of civil accord and mutual understanding leads us to de-humanization of society and to mass violence that we witness presently. That is why authors of given publication decided to make the reader face the choice, i.e. decide what we strive for – building of adequate civil society or be plunged into the chronic state of civil war?

Merab Mamardashvili

Way back in 1989 in one of interviews outstanding philosopher Merab Mamardashvili was warning us regarding giving threat, but unfortunately his words remained unheard. Merab Mamardashvili was saying the following: *«Biggest problem for Georgia is the civil war, which started in the 20s of the XX century and is ongoing up to now".*

Civil society or civil war ?

This assessment, made by an outstanding philosopher was not duly noted by the organism – the country, torn apart by internal discords and conflicts. Moreover, he was considered as an alien body, as agent of Kremlin. He was not taken by the organism as a part of the society, as he was considered as a social outcast. Exactly for the reason of such aggressive perception in one of Moscow airports he was approached by a group of extremists. They insulted him, an elderly man badly, which became the reason for his heart attack, from which he could not recover.

Yes, we are in the state of chronic civil war and this is primarily due to the fact, that we never properly realized notion of the civil society. Or we did not want to realize it. Or, we realized it in the manner, which was suitable for us, without taking into consideration interests of others. This is preconditioned by different forms of collective egoism, mainly – ethnic nationalism, which penetrated into all vessels of our public organism, including religious organizations.

Today attempts of representing nationalism in rosy and velvety manner, as well as unavailability of proper assessment of all the damage, that this form of collective egoism causes, is one of the main threats for modern civilization. This is especially true in regard to those countries, which have not yet managed to undergo relevant phase of their development and are continuing to fling around in search of their civil national project, which shall be able to resist nationalistic projects. All the above referred drag such societies into the abyss of chaos and mass violence.

In such cases differences between civil identity and ethnic identity show themselves especially clearly. Civil patriotism is opposed by ethnic patriotism, thus giving rise to destructive secessionist and separatist ideas.

Thanks to this very ideas and aspirations are formed separatist and irredentist movements, which undermine integrity of states and international stability.

Special threat to safety of the humankind represents the process of strengthening of religious component of ethnic nationalism. This satanic venture, in which some religious figures have been dragged into, divides societies into antagonistic groups, consolidates the conflict and makes it even more difficult to resolve. It is only natural, that as basis for these conflicts serve not the true values, but issues and interests of economic character. Escalation of such conflicts happens when there is he issue of primitive division of resources and welfare. Consequently, mechanism for resolution of such conflicts should also envisage methodology for resolution of economic conflicts.[*1]

[*1] Thus, the issue of division of water resources in the zone of Tskhinvali conflict. In the front-line zone we observe humanitarian catastrophe, when villages are left without water. People, who have no jobs or any other income and social protection are predestined for famine and death. Without factually being IDPs, they are people, who were forced to stay, as they staid behind because there was no place left for them in the large city.

49

Civil society or civil war ?

Ethnitization of the Process of Building of Civil Society

The process of ethnitization of the institutes if civil society is looking especially loathsome, as majority of such institutes are not only saturated with ideology of ethnocentrism and nationalism, but have also become instruments for further aggravation of conflicts. Major part of such civil institutions receive funding from western foundations and they declare liberal values, position themselves as human rights defender, charity or peace-building organizations, while in reality they are just ordinary screws in the apparatus of war . Majority of Georgian, Abkhazian and Osethian civil society institutions were created in such manner on the territory of post-soviet Georgia.

Consequently, while imitating different movements and building civil democracy, in reality we slowly but irreversibly move towards building of ethnic democracies in poly-ethnic societies. This is one of concealed forms of Nazism, which causes ethnic cleansing and creates unicellular social organisms with relevant pathologies.

We are responsible for all the above referred, although majority does not want to acknowledge this responsibility.

The Source of Peace-building

The process of civil and/or grass root diplomacy, which is otherwise referred to as peace-building diplomacy can realty be considered as such only partially. It helps to develop relationships between certain individuals, but not between societies, torn apart as a result of war at such terrible expense. The diversified natures of conflicts were downsized to their ethnic components. This happens in the following manner – legalization of all the moral breach of limits, which is characteristic and accompanying all such conflicts.

Disparagement of complex conflicts to ethnic ones and demolition of civil dimensions of understanding of conflicts is the essence of such conflicts. Thus, in this manner are formed and funded pseudo-peace building ethno-formats – "Georgian-Osethian" or 'Georgian-Abkhazian".

Millions of people are factually expelled from society and their rights and interests are ignored. They belong to this society only formally. Hundred thousands of mixed families have to make choice in favor of "mother or father". Instead of displaced persons in negotiations and projects are participating public officials from Tbilisi or representatives of civil society organizations, also based in Tbilisi. They shall not change this, as this status is handy for them, as well as for their partners and stakeholders in the process of negotiations – secessionists.[*2]

[*2] «Pseudo-conflicts and quasi-peace-building in the Caucasus", South-Caucasus Institute for Regional Security, 2009

1993, Deportation from Abkhazia, Giorgi Tsagareli

The Bridge over the river Inguri – the way to home, Giorgi Tsagareli

«Pseudo-conflicts and quasi-peace-building in the Caucasus",

Tbilisi, 2009

Publication "Pseudo-conflicts and quasi-peace-building in the Caucasus" was prepared within the framework of the project: Informational support for peace-building process for resolution of Tskhinvali conflict" in 2009. Project was supported by "Open Society Institute Georgia".

Publication "Pseudo-conflicts and quasi-peace-building in the Caucasus" contains analysis of Tskhinvali conflict, starting from its title and geographic spread, ending with its structure. It contains innovative approach towards description of conflicts and peace-building processes (on example of Tskhinvali conflict).

The last part of the publication contains ideas related to specific projects, implementation of which would promote establishing of new structure of peace-building process – congruent structure of conflict and mineralization of quasi-peace-building processes.

In the series of articles, included in the publication is provided historical overview, analysis and assessment of different aspects of current geo-political situation and practical experience accumulated during previous period of operation of peace-building organizations.

The reader shall find innovative approaches and proposals, implementation of which can contribute to strengthening of real peace-building process.

On International Organizations

It is noteworthy, that representatives of donor and international organizations are not very interested in elaboration of effective strategies for conflict resolution, while remain very happy to be paid well and continue enjoying their comfortable lives. For withdrawal of UN observers for Abkhazia was spent 15 million USD and the process took 6 months. This can not fail to irritate the local population, which is on the verge of humanitarian catastrophe.

Billions are spent on this quasi-peace-building by UN. EC and other international organizations. These processes are equally destructive on the level of civil society, as well as on the official level. Reason for this is unavailability of competent expert assessment of current events. Unavailability of effective mechanisms of evaluation causes further aggravation of these conflicts.

Conflict and peace-building process evaluation center

OBJECTIVES OF THE CENTER

- Complex research of factors, promoting to escalation of conflicts in Southern Caucasus, as well as factors, hindering correct and effective organizations of relevant peace-building processes.
- Establishment of effective integrated system of diagnostics and evaluation, allowing identification of incompliance of the structure and dynamic of development of conflict with the structure and dynamics of the system of conflict management.
- Promotion or development of cooperation between scientific circles and decision makers; strengthening of the role of scientific society.

Activities of the center

1. Maintaining of inventory of conflicts in the Southern Caucasus and typology of such conflicts, development of conflict maps.
2. Research and maintenance of inventory of current projects, programs and proposals on conflict resolution or transformation. Development of data base of publications and analytical articles and works.
3. Research of mechanisms of decision making on conflict resolution and their implementation on governmental private and international organizations; analysis of the system of management of processes;
4. Development of the system of observation, analysis and evaluation of conflicts and accompanying peace-building processes (on examples of armed conflicts in the Southern Caucasus)
5. Development of the system of cooperation and decision-making for management of conflicts and peace-building processes;
6. Development of effective mechanism of introduction of results of scientific works in practice and promotion of adoption of modern technologies in the sphere of conflict resolution.
7. Promotion of development of international cooperation in different dimensions and utilization of potential for establishment of new security system for southern Caucasus.

Civil society or civil war ?

On Social Responsibility of Intellectual Elite

Intellectual elite is the main responsible party for this, but its brain is also overtopped by ideology of ethno-nationalism. Analysis in the sphere of political science, history and international relations reveals that this process has gone way too far. Such analytical scientific publications reveal the basis for rooting of ideas, promoting conflicts, which does not leave "corridor of opportunities" for informational-analytical support of peace-building processes.

All this informational trash, which finds its way to the journalists turns into "dirty informational bomb". Modern journalism, which is oriented towards sensationalism and populism turns into a certain macrophage, who disseminates animosity and hatred. It is natural, that everything that we write about here does not concern decent experts, journalists, politicians and representatives of civil society organizations, but is related to the dominating majority, actions of which, related to given conflicts, from the moral standpoint represents specific form of modern pillage.

SCIRS with support of the embassy of Netherlands to Georgia has published the book "Informational Threats and Security Issues for Georgia", in which the reader can get himself acquainted with the situation in the area that the book covers.

Traditional and liberal institutions of civil society

In post soviet Georgia civil society institutions are divided into two main confrontational camps – traditionalist and liberal. The latter are aspiring for being the main defenders of civil society, while in reality both "ideological colonies" are poisoned to their roots by bolshevists, majoritarian ideas and their strategy is directed towards complete demolition of their opponents and their removal from the habitat.

The first are more oriented towards root instincts and resources (including Diasporas), while the second are oriented towards external resources (they receive support from external sources, such as different foundations and programs). This allows the first to accuse the second of expressing ideas of western players, treason of national and/or confessional interests. This is the basis for the system of public relations for traditionalist movements. In their turn the second camp for the purpose of self-defense try to seek and at times successfully find or imitate to find links with their opponents with special services of foreign countries, primarily Russia. As an example may serve the life story of Malkhaz Gulashvili, who immigrated to Russia and continues his active work from there, as well as hundreds of other political outcasts, representing different movements.

Georgia: informational threats and security related issues

Грузия: информационные
угрозы и вопросы
безопасности

Tbilisi - 2008

- Publication «Georgia: informational threats and security related issues" was prepared within the framework of the project "For support of ecologically clean informational space", implemented by hCa GNC/SCIRS with support of embassy of Holland in Georgia.

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- In the publication are collected articles, exposing informational aggression and threats related to it. The publication stresses the fact, that the society should perceive these threats, respond to them and prevent informational violence, which can grow into physical violence which might even acquire mass character. The reader can acquaint himself with methodology of detection of informational threats, as well as international and national mechanisms of prevention and protection from informational aggression.
- The publication is designed for editors and journalists, students of higher educational institutions, staff of press offices of public structures and political parties, public figures, interested in formation of ecologically clean and safe informational environment.

Traditionalists' movements and organizations

On the whole it can be stated, that traditionalist movements are more oriented towards the North, while liberal are oriented towards the west (although there are different project represented, such as Caucasus or Eurasian).

Given ideological conflict includes different social sub-systems. One of them is ethnic, which in the end of the day defines ethnic component of this confrontation. Thus, majority of ethnically Osethians are secessionist (including separatists and irredentists), who are oriented towards the North. The same is true in regard to those, who consider themselves as ethnically Abkhazians.

Orientation towards the North does not only have a mass character. There are some groups with clearly shaped anti-west ideology, who are carriers of Caucasians identity and position themselves as missionary organizations, who aspire towards unification of the Caucasus. Thus, there is Confederation of Caucasus Nations, which aims towards consolidation of people of Caucasus with the capital of Abkhazia Sokhumi. At the same time given groups are supported by such regional players, as Turkey and Russia. Other regional players are also trying to maintain their support groups locally, including radical Islamists.

Traditions may differ. Consequently, corresponding civil society formations of traditionalists are quite diverse. For example – nationalists (who are ethnocentric by majority), pre-Christian – pagan, Christian, Muslim, communist and etc. Some of them are supported by religious organizations (internally, as well as externally), while others – by corresponding political parties.[3]

[*3] Secessionists – supporters for separation; separatists – supporters of separation, motivated by the idea of formation of independent state; irredentists – supporters of separation, motivated by the idea of attaching to another state.

Barricades in the streets of Tbilisi, 1991, photo by Giorgi Tsagareli

Liberal movements and organizations

It is natural, that if liberal movements were not supported externally, their orientation towards the west would not be substantial.

Liberally oriented civil society institutions are representing complex system, which needs serious study and analysis. Their majority is quietly aspiring toward introduction of western values and social-economic technologies. But there are some ultra-liberal wings, which possess serious leverages, especially after the "Rose revolution".

The group of organizations, which are not subordinated to their values and don't share their approaches are considered by them as marginal organizations. For some the word 'marginal;" may sound as insult, for others may represent inferiority complex, while for other groups may be the search of their own truth. It may also be the first step towards building of pluralistic society.

After the 'Rose revolution" ultra liberals have absolutely suppressed ultra-traditionalists, driving them into semi-legal state. As we have stated above, many leaders and ideologists were either driven out of the country or arrested. Thus, Guram Sharadze was assassinated in strange circumstances.

1991, photo by Giorgi Tsagareli

Fundamental problems, arising from incorrect perception of civil society

Many understand civil society as a surrogate of non-governmental and civil society organizations. International organizations, investing into development of civil society institutions are distributing their resources unevenly, thus giving to this process a quite dangerous character.

Thus, for the purpose of supporting of initiative of "Eastern Partnership" OSGF established "civil society platform", a network of only non-governmental organizations, which is not a correct decision, as this is occupation of the brand by only one social segment, which represents fertile soil for unharmonious development of civil society at large. In this given case we see inadequate use of resources of civil society in the process of promotion of given international project. It should be noted, that Georgia is no exclusion in given regard. Similar processes are ongoing in all post-soviet space and don't promote cooperation between media and NGOs, but rather support confrontation between them. This is incorrect policy, which is introduced and supported by central structures of EC, which needs to be studied further and paid attention to. There are some other segments as well, which find themselves discriminated in given processes.

Following questions remain unanswered:
- Why in the process of planning interests of organizations, functioning on occupied territories are not duly taken into consideration?
- Should those organizations be considered as part of civil society of Georgia, which are operating beyond the territory of the country but are established by Georgians, such as organizations supported by Diaspora.

To certain extent these questions may be answered by the project, developed by Southern Caucasus institute for Regional Security "Global civil society "Georgia"".

Global civil society "Georgia GCSG"

a) Purpose
- Taking into consideration common interests of the population of Georgia and citizens of Georgia beyond its territory (notwithstanding their current level of identification with the current system) development of new vision for civil society of Georgia (its sub-systems – NGOs), ensuring its security, sustainable development of such unified system, conditional name for which may be "Global civil society "Georgia". (GCSG).

b) Objectives
1.(GCSG) adaptation of classification of NGO subsystem of the system to Georgian context – sociology of "complex organization".
2.(GCSG) definition of geographical dimensions
3.(GCSG) establishment of common interests and threats of sub-systems
4.(GCSG) promotion of establishment of constructive relations between sub-systems

Basis for Georgian quasi-democracy

Civil society represents foundation of the society and not the appendix of the state. Public infrastructure is anyway stuffed with persons from civil society. Primarily these are political parties and political movements. In case of crisis of given sub-system, such as during Rose revolution in 2003, major part of liberal sector representatives migrated to the public sector. Many of these people today are criticized, and quite often not groundlessly, but the real reason for their transfer into another social system is unavailability of effective political opposition.

Crisis of political power of Georgia is predetermined not only by the high level of distrust of population towards current political elite, but by complete distrust towards opposition as well, which could not oppose the ruling party and its leader – Michael Saakashvili, and could not offer worthy alternative. Moreover, complete discrediting of leaders and the parties of the opposition took place, who conditionally can be divided into the following groups:

1. Intra-parliamentary opposition
2. Extra-parliamentary opposition
3. Irreconcilable opposition (does not take part in open political fight, mainly representatives from informal anti-soviet nationalist movement of the end of the 80s and beginning of the 90s).
4. Political opposition from secessionist movements on occupied territories
5. Political opposition beyond the territory of the country (political emigrants)

Majority of them are quite satisfied with their place in the specter of opposition. They exist at the expense of their position and are just imitating desire to cause changes in the country and come to power. Some get dividends for covering up the ruling party, guaranteeing prevailing majority for it. Others are appointed to posts, whole some get bribes from the ruling party.

There are some, who just occupy themselves with politics to protect their family businesses from real attacks on it. There is not one organization, which would be able to form "shadow cabinet", and this is quite telling of overall situation. There is no political democracy in Georgia. Georgia is a typically quasi-democratic country.

Attitude towards democracy

Generally, attitude towards democracy is not adequate. For majority this is not the solution, but the problem itself, or object of ideological competition. This is a grant, a premium, which the winner gets. What type of democracy are we building – nobody is interested in that. Thus, we ended up with post-soviet quasi-democracy that we currently have. It retained main features of Lenin-Stalin-sectant democracy – majoritarianism, total demolition of political opponent, dictatorship of repressions and terror.

Each of given antagonistic pairs is fearing tomorrow. If I lose, then I shall be totally wiped out. Shall be demolished all the prosperity, that I have managed to accumulate so far and I shall be threatened physically. That is why compromise is impossible for the

political elite, which is poisoned by these Bolshevik or Menshevik ideology.

The epoch of October 1917 revolution has done away with the thinking person and promoted to birth of a person-machine; it has done away with the person who believed and gave birth to the generation of the fighters with the god. The epoch of Preobrajhenskis has promoted to birth of the Sharikovs and it is till flourishing and is creating something, that it can not manage or control itself.

At the same time political culture in the beginning of the XXth century has been much higher by many parameters than the present political culture. And this is the tragedy, which people don't want to acknowledge.

Is co-existence of political powers with different vectors possible?

It is, only in case if the political spectrum shall be diversified and new political organizations shall be formed. This needs formation of the "middle layer", which current political bureaucracy can't afford to promote, as it is scared of anything, which moves and develops. That is why into the society is inculcated the system of total control, comparable only to the system of Stalin. And the monument to Stalin was demolished not for replacement of his ideology but for better masking of such ideology.

The society is ruled not by the "love for the kin" but by the fear. The world of repressions and depressions, but it should still give birth to the new form of protests, which shall be able to take the system to the new level of its cultural development. If this does not happen, then we are faced with a catastrophe.

Conclusions and recommendations

We can conclude that civil society of Georgia and the Caucasus at large is in crisis. There is only one way out:

1. Reduction of influence of ethno-nationalistic ideology;
2. Replacement of orientation towards building of ethnic democracies with the process of building of civil democracies of non-ethnic character, which shall be in compliance with the requirement of diverse composition and poly-culturalism of the country, as well as of the whole region;
3. We should refuse from the idea of majoritarian democracy (ethnic non-bolshevism) and move towards building of sustainable pluralistic democracy of modern type:
4. Such terms, as civil society, democracy, Abkhazia, Georgia and etc should not be occupied and monopolized by any ideological movement or certain groups of population. These terms are resource of the whole society, including those who are not disposed positively towards them. It is especially important to take this into consideration in complex and multi-component societies, such as post-soviet Georgia and the Caucasus society on the whole.

We would like to present to you ideas of outstanding Bulgarian political scientist and public figure Ognyan Minchev, who kindly provided to us his time in the process of working on the book. His standpoint on given issues is especially interesting, as we can see some similarities between situations in Georgia and Bulgaria, the country, which is currently member of EC and NATO.

For the purpose of creation of true democracy you should have at least 30% of population, leaving separately from the state, which is ready to opt for compromises to avoid civil unrest and dictatorship. We don't have such 30%. Post-soviet state is a weak state that is why we have unceasing civil conflicts between the candidates for monopolization of power in their own favor.

Question arises – are we doomed to live in dictatorship and chaos till we have this 30%, and how does this 30% appears, if the society does not provide conditions for their formation? There is another opportunity for building of democracy and civil society – this is consolidation of civil elites between the idea of the need for mobilization of traditional society and its movement towards democratic reforms. We should use natural leaders of the communities, economy and culture as mediators between the people and the state. Parties should rely on these natural leaders and require that they mobilize traditional communities in favor of improvement of state governance. And at the top – in the parliament and the government should grow understanding, that only compromise, desire to include equal groups into the process of decision making shall work for the country. Our problem is that we have done away with natural leaders and now there is nobody to act as mediator between the society and the state. Our economic leaders are rascals, our leaders from clans and communities are swindlers. Our intellectuals have emigrated and are taxi drivers now. We can not transform the state without transformation of the society. Unfortunately, the opposite is true too. We should start by undertaking small steps and involve civil society into operations of political institutions. Civil society – is the unity of citizens and not the unity of illiterate residents.

Ognyan Minchev,
*Executive Director of the Institute for Regional
and International Studies (IRIS), Bulgaria*

63

Civil society or civil war ?

Civil Society Development and Existence Problems in Georgia

Eka Gvimradze
*director of the Research Center
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In order to touch the problems connected to resources of civil society, first of all, it is important to form its definition, which contains whole union of nongovernmental relationships – economic, social, cultural (including religious).

Civil society is a sphere of associations and organizations, voluntarily formed by citizens-made spontaneous self-governments, where the intervention and self-administered regulation from the Government is protected by law. The sphere contains Individuals, social groups, groups with special interests, nongovernmental organizations, organizations and elite groups based on unity, which have ability and means to influence society as well as government. Civil society exists in a form of interest's diversity, which right of existence recognizes this society. This is a diversity sphere of understanding, sphere of existence of a lot of truth – universe, where every "I" has a right to search, find and strengthen his own truth and a society agrees with the existence of this right. This common agreement helps to create some associations of common interests and diverse structures of intervening institutions.

According to the second definition, raise of interest to the Civil society started only in1980s, which was connected to the post soviet structures. Social movements of Post soviet, partially inspired by post Marxist ideas took this concept to fight against political regimes.

According to Diamond, Civil society is an organized sphere of social life, which is voluntary, self-creative; (widely) self-developing; is isolated from the country and fixed with the legal order or unity of shared orders. Generally, it is different from "society", because individuals of civil society act collectively to express their interests, passions and ideas, to exchange information, to gain achieve interests, to raise requirements towards the states and to provide accountability of state officials. Civil society is an intervening formation, which is situated in the middle of private life and states. Thus, it does not include private and family life, profit oriented group activity (e.g. care about vacations, entertainment, spiritual satisfaction), commercial initiatives of private companies and political actions in order to achieve governmental control. People who act in a civil society need an institutionalized legal order to guard their isolation and freedom of action. Thus, civil society does not just make some limits for the government, but gives it a legitimate character in case, if this government is based on a rule of law. There where a state is breaking some rules, ignores individual and group isolation, civil society can still exist, (however in a "disfigured" way) if its components are acting according to some shared rules (which for example deny violence and respect pluralism). Existence of shared rules is an inevitable term to count this relationships as "civil".

One of the important characteristics of civil society is state control and activities of its bureaucratic organs by social organizations. The rule of law is one of the substantial and important among this types of society. Civil society strengthens activities of acting participants and raises their freedom.

Also remarkable is that a special attention of civil society is paid to achieving world peace and agreement, which is a basis of spiritual unity and human progress.

Civil society or civil war ?

About existence and development of civil society in Georgia, also about necessary resources for its existence, there are some problems, which will be discussed in the following part of an article.

One part of society think, that problems connected to civil society, appeared after "Velvet Revolution". Revolution partially had an influence on weakening civil society. Institutions of civil society were more actual in a period of pre-revolution. Traditionally, these organizations were not and are not linked to businesses, corporations or individual donations. On the other hand, because of the fact that does not exist a strong civil society, business is not able to articulate its collective interests. Weakness of civil society reflects on the business, as well as on a quality of rule of law in Georgia.

One of the problems is that the basis of civil society is a middle class, which has to be a majority of population. But there is no sign of formation of effective middle class in Georgia, because incomes of the majority of population is meant for "shadow field".

All of the mentioned is followed by another problem, in case of Georgia, which is the following consideration: There does not exist any middle class in Georgia.

The problem exists in a public relationships, majority of society is oriented on their narrow interests, which has a face of selfishness.

As a result of destroying Communism, institution of civil society got destroyed as well. It may be said that Georgian character took a very supportive part in it. In a free market economy conditions, a separate small owner groups are dominants, which is against social space and property.

Nowadays, there is no corresponding culture to civil society in Georgia,. Collective consciousness level is law and distrust is noticed towards nongovernmental organizations. Government does not support nongovernmental organizations. Civil society and democracy are being developed by founding marketing institutions and first of all, healthy competition. Citizens are united by common interests in civil society, which they have to protect in terms of competition. Solving above-mentioned problems will take a lot of time and energy. The detailed analyze of the every existing problem is important for the start, that will help Georgian society to achieve collective, common and social interests.

The
Social Contract

Marina Muskhelishvili
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20 years of social turnovers have been left in the past. Georgia today is far not the same country it was in the beginning of the transformation. All that could be built or destroyed proceeding from those preconditions which have developed in the beginning of the path, have been built and destroyed. However, practically none of the initial goals has been achieved. As practice has shown, the majority of formal institutions hastily erected on the basis of debris of ancient regime have turned out to lack the firm basis. Time to search for the new horizons of development has come. The major problem, which should have been achieved first of all still exists - *the social contract*.

The social contract is not a mere abstraction from philosophy area. It is a name for a value orientation, legitimizing occurrence and functioning of certain rules of behavior and institutions - whatever these rules are: constitutionally fixed laws or socially accepted norms. The same way as freedom legitimizes competition, the social contract gives strength to the institutions of cooperation. This cooperation is built on a principle of shared responsibility, limiting freedom of action of participants. Freedom without responsibility is a freedom without power. As the last years have shown, having acquired their freedom, Post-Soviet societies couldn't reach the power; in the absence of power they have gradually lost their freedom.

In the absence of social contract, political vector of struggle for freedom has been directed against the state power, putting individuals in the confrontation to the state along the one-dimensional continuum, on the ends of which were freedom and submission. The balance of powers between the state and the aggregated potential of the society in Georgia, however, oscillated for several times from one pole to another. Strengthening of the society has led to the state power weakening and on the contrary, state strengthening in recent years occurs at the expense of weakening of a society and abolition of its rights and freedoms. The cooperation based on mutual responsibility could lead to the simultaneous strengthening of both sides, state and society, but it has appeared to be a hardly attainable goal. Uncontrollable rivalry, competition and as a result - dissociation and antagonism have become defining patterns of behavior, both for the society, and the political leaders.

One cannot say that the weakness of the society has resulted from its passivity. Georgia cannot complain on a lack of political activity neither at the level of ordinary citizens nor at the level of political leaders. Tensions between the society and the state have periodically reached the heat point resulting in mass protests, and even revolutions. However between these two levels there is a so-called "bottleneck". Soon after disintegration of the Soviet Union Richard Rose has compared structure of Post-Soviet political activity to a hour-glass: high activity at the level of society and at the state level, but weak relation between these two.[1] For the last period this "bottleneck" hasn't disappeared, more likely, it has become steadier. Presence of "bottleneck" is indicative for rupture between rational interests and normative settings of actors, in other words it indicates absence of certain institutions. Rupture between rational interests and standard settings always existed in Georgia, but it has reached its extreme expression in recent years when the so-called "democrats" forge elections, "liberals" undermine principles of a fair market competition, and the former civil activists usurp institutes of a civil society.

Long-term balancing between chaos and dictatorship, freedom and submission, prevailing over all other aspects of the political agenda in Georgia has been predetermined not only by initial preconditions of transformation process, but also by erroneous understanding of what should have been undertaken first of all for transition to a new level of public relations. Political struggles have got so considerably antagonistic one-dimensional character substantially as a result of the erroneous plan of democratization. Too hastily political competition, typical for the majoritarian democracies and serving for regulation of political conflicts of absolutely different type,

[1] Richard Rose. 1995. Russia as an Hour-Glass Society: A Constitution without Citizens. East European Constitutional Review. 4. pp.35-42.

Civil society or civil war ?

has been declared to be that very institution which should have led to democracy. Attempts to solve problems requiring cooperation by means of those institutions which promote competition have only strengthened polarization, subsequently transforming into dictatorship. A competition under the conditions of the social contract is very different kind of rational action than the antagonism ensuing from «prisoner's dilemma»; these two lead to very divergent consequences.

The social contract means the mutual veto right

Proclaiming democracy is not enough in order to give people the real power. For the people to become a source of sovereignty it should possess capacity to create the collective power which is distinct from a majority rule. This power doesn't belong to anybody particularly, and it is not the privilege of "many". Each citizen possesses a share of this power; however this share "works" only upon integration with other shares. The power arises from a unification of all or doesn't arise at all. Thereby each member of a society has the certain veto on all the others - he can refuse to the others regarding his consent to any decision and therefore block possibility of its acceptance. The principle of power sharing limits a spectrum of possible actions to certain frameworks - all is admissible except that which harms another.

The veto right sounds ominously as an interdiction limiting a personal freedom and contradicting the democracy principles. Actually the veto protects rights of everyone - it limits a majority rule and accordingly prevents totalitarianism. Each individual in a society imposes the certain veto on behavior of the people around - without permitting them to offend, humiliate or in any way to discriminate him. Public norms in this aspect can be either strong or weak - however they always exist. The political system stands upon the balance of the veto actors - centers of power, capable to block activities of other actors. The mutual right of veto protects minority from arbitrariness of the majority. In the conditions of the right of veto, games of politics consider interests of everyone, and not just of the majority.

The veto right creates frameworks in which the freedom of action further becomes possible. It generates constitutional norms and coordinated rules of the game, setting border between freedoms and obligations of citizens. Thereby it regulates mutual relations of state and the society, without dictatorship. It establishes "fair" game rules, generates " games of fairness" which outline borders of an admissibility of action, both in the politics and in economy.

Unless society has a perception of shared power and responsibility, the space between the individual and the state rests empty and belongs to nobody. This emptiness is particularly well manifested in those areas where there is a necessity of collective action. So, for example, in rural areas, what one may observe, is powerlessness rather than freedom. Today, as before, sphere of a private responsibility of an individual, who still waits for resolution of local problems from any authorities, does not go beyond a gate of a private court yard.

Another sphere of collective action where the absence of shared power made its destructive influence, is a public media space. Emptiness of public virtual space is not

as salient as in the case of rural communities, at first sight it looks like a freedom of speech. However, even then when the public space is not controlled by the government, being neutral, it remains as arena of struggle without the rules, permitting any lie, propagation and manipulation. It becomes jammed with words and actions which have no sense, responsibility and belong to nobody. While in a case when the society declares its right to the public space, this space isn't empty - it becomes common. It is used by individuals sharing (to a certain limit) responsibility for what occurs in it.

The veto right cannot extend over all types of activities - otherwise the society turns motionless and loses freedom. Therefore it is necessary to provide constant renewal and correction of the social contract, negotiation of boundary between permissible and prohibited, freedom and responsibility, mutual relations of the individual and society. All this occurs within the framework of a civil society. The civil society, thus, arises as system of institutions of the self-restriction, creating conditions for cooperation independent from the state. Due to these very institutions the civil society acquires power necessary for finding not only an autonomy from the state, but also to influence upon it. With the purpose to swim between Scylla of dictatorship and Charybdis of chaos the society should limit freedom of the individual. Setting balance between freedom and self-restriction is the very routine work of the civil society - the work which the Post-Soviet citizens dislike so much, as any feeble efforts of external restriction goes against their basic instincts.

The society is civil only when it doesn't feel itself powerless

The political activity having structure of an hourglass, presence of a "bottleneck" between a society and the state indicates that the society is one of, but not the major and the more so not a unique source of power. More likely, it is, or tries to be, a pole in such confrontation, in which the other pole it cannot control.

It is a well-known fact that the political activity and high mobilization of a society unnecessarily means the presence of civil society. It is important to look at the nature of mobilization as well. Positive mobilization is directed on consolidation of resources for achievement of a specific goal within the existing institutional settings, whereas the negative - on antagonistic confrontation against the source of the power which is beyond the sphere of influence. In the first case we are dealing with competition alternating with cooperation, and in the second - competition and cooperation do not alternate - they have different partners: internal and external. A competition on the basis of equal access to the power and struggle against external threats are as far from one another as civil and mass societies. It is not accidental that political leaders, who aspire to keep the power in the conditions of high mobilization of the society, often seek to direct this mobilization against the external enemy, supporting nationalism and xenophobia. Constructing a civil society on the basis of a long-term, but ineffectual mobilization is dangerous - such mobilization inevitably acquires features of the negative one.

However, division into external and internal is not a given reality, it is more likely a part of political process. The distinction between negative and positive mobilization is mostly set by ideologies, or more likely by the mix of empirical and ideological evaluative judgments. In the absence of the social contract, in other words in the

absence of possibility to set a veto upon the dishonest actions of the opponents, two sides of a conflict lose trust to each other and turn out to be incapable neither of a competition, nor of cooperation as long as both are interfaced with the unpredictable risks. The presence of unpredictable risks finally leads to chaos - to a condition when nobody wishes to cooperate with anybody - because of high risk to be deceived in the expectations. This very condition of chaos characterizes the present-day Georgian society that is a consequence of a long-term experience of negative mobilization along several various lines of confrontation.

In spite of the fact that contradictions which generate an inequality and break the social contract in Georgia are numerous, all of them have one source - inability of the society to subordinate all existing sources of power upon the conditions of social contract. Stronger party constantly aspires to rely on *privileges* as a means of predominance over the weak party, unilaterally ignoring protests of the opponents. There are several sources of such privileges, but majors of them are - the Soviet heritage, geopolitical situation and globalization.

Unlike capitalist societies in which the main social inequality is generated by the inequality in economic wealth, in the Soviet society individuals first of all were drawing privileges from access to the state offices. A bureaucratic pyramid of power privileges though has been formally destroyed at the legislation level, it almost has not weakened in the Post-Soviet time. Each subsequent government - and there were several, replaced one by one during the last decades, appropriated these privileges immediately as soon as they got access to them, thereby breaking formally established equalities and freedoms of citizens. Rule of law was supposed to be implemented by these very actors for whom it represented irrational restriction of own power. The state, thus, was and is a side of the conflict, a source of power upon which the society cannot put a veto on so far, having subordinated it under the constitutional and legislative restrictions. The state as an external source of power still remains the main challenge for the society formation in the relation to which it applies a method of negative mobilization when it generates enough resources for this purpose.

It is noteworthy that during the entire transition period this problem was simply understood as a democracy problem. It was supposed that these are general elections that create channels of influence of the society over the state. This vision, however, turned to be quite superficial. Actually formal institutions of majoritarian representation could constrain, but not strengthen possibility to achieve the social contract. Only in the case when political cleavages are drawn by socially and economically conditioned inequalities, the state can develop into the legal arbitrator of conflicts. In the case of Post-Soviet societies where the state office by its own means more than any other social characteristic of an individual, majoritarian elections acquire absolutely different meaning - this is a possibility to take vengeance, nemesis, in the case when hubristic power goes too far in its infringement of public commitments.

The other direction of tensions has been generated by globalization and exit of Georgia from the Soviet space; along this vector a source of privileges being beyond control of the society was the West. Suddenness and speed of the transformations which have captured all areas of life have made effect of culture shock in the society. Having passed from one informational and civilizational space into another, the country has subjected its citizens to such risks which were uneasy to overcome for even the most successful individuals, not to mention the entire society as a mass. Depreciation of the cultural capital existing before and purely external sources of formation of the

new have generated inequalities and xenophobia, fundamentalistic religious moods and shared by large masses sense of being the second-rate citizens. Unfortunately, aspiration of the West to help the country in its transformations, and also inflow of the western investments have created additional external factors weakening virtual borders of mutual responsibility and abating potential possibility of achieving of social contract.

The economic inequalities, as it was shown by various polls, are not, somehow paradoxically, the considerable factors of political confrontation. On the background of growing social stratification, poverty and unemployment this is either a problem or a symptom of trouble, rather than the positive factor. Radically neoliberal and libertarian governmental policies haven't at all led to a fair competition and healthy market economy. Absence of fair competition in business, as well as combination of selective (by sectors) economic growth with growth of unemployment and complete decline of agriculture, apparently are consequences of joint influence of two power centers - the state and the external capital.

Finally, the most catastrophic direction of tensions for Georgia passes along the borders of ethnic and territorial conflicts. In this respect confrontation between Georgian nationalism leaning against the privilege of the majority and external support of secessionism - from Russia has created almost invincible barriers between the conflict parties.

Power sharing as an institutional direction of development

All the above mentioned conflicts can develop in future in either direction, and it is extremely difficult to predict it. However, if one agrees that social relations and politics are first of all things that occur in heads of individuals, and not things that exist objectively and are given by the historical reality, it becomes obvious that change of a paradigm of institutional development from democracy (as the government of majority) to the social contract (as power sharing) can contribute to improvement of a situation.

The social contract first of all implies institutionalization of mutual restrictions and obligations at the level of public values and standard norms of behavior and rules of game - and in this regard is a task of a civil society. Proceeding from the aforesaid, one could list some basic directions of such contract - the list is not completely exhaustive, however sufficient to understand all difficulties and long-term duration of such program. First of all, this is sharing of power with the minority in exchange for refusal of separatism. It is also a secular state in exchange for banning usage of foreign support in political struggles. Prohibition on the usage of the state power for acquiring political advantages over competitors under the threat of public ostracism, and finally - freedom of enterprise in exchange for social responsibility of business. No external factors, whether it is support of democracy or protection of the West or hope to have new leaders and a mysterious transformation of the state will not serve as a substitute to the social contract.

Sociology and Civil Society

Guram Svanidze
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Civil society is usually associated with the notion of the State. The State is a form of representation of the common interest; civil society is a sphere of the daily life of individuals. Civil society and the State complement each other and depend on each other.

People set up nonpolitical institutions for the realization of their interests and demands. These concern the include family, church, nongovernmental mass media, cultural centers and scientific, trade, professional and sports unions.

To sum up, all existing interpretations of civil society can be linked to one central idea: civil society is a phenomenon of Western culture that is a balance of three forces – the authorities, civil society and the individual. Their balanced interaction is a prerequisite for the permanent perfecting of the individual, civil society and of the State.

Sociology proceeds from the core notion of a developed civil society. Its inner pluralism and presence of the institutes of self-governance cause a demand for the operative self-determination, for the fixation of its self-perception in the changing reality. Sociology is an instrument of civil society for the orientation of time and space, in the various relationships between itself as a whole and its components and between itself and the State. It is an invention of democracy by virtue of which authorities retain the feedback.

Public opinion is an object of sociology. It is a circulating matter that reflects the interests of groups that compose civil society and State. The circulation of opinions is provided by the institutes concerning the right and the freedom to hold opinions, freedom of expression in general and the dissemination of information by means of mass media, electoral process and cultural sphere.

State of the Civil Society in Georgia

- **The Socio-economic collapse of the USSR resulted in the destruction of the class stratification and loss of its significance in Georgia**

Georgia is not an embodiment of utopian theories on classless societies. It has returned to its pre-class condition. This causes some confusion in civil society. Leftist ideology became non-prestigious here. It is symptomatic that there is no notion of "exploitation" in the social discourse. There is a low level of employment in the country that does not exclude the possibility of the abuse of local employers towards the employees. The notorious Labor Code has entered into force here. No objections of employees took place concerning this Code.

At the same time, the right ideology is in favor in civil society. It is associated with traditionalism and not with the interests of the propertied classes. Such confusion does not contribute to the formation of the concept of social justice within civil society.

- **The socio-economic collapse of the USSR resulted in the destruction of the socio professional stratification and loss of its significance in Georgia**

The Trade Union movements which safeguard the interests of the social professional groups are poorly developed. However, representatives of such mass professional groups as teachers and doctors display some activity. Most radical reforms are carried out in the education and medical sectors. These are in the sectors where employees have minimal salaries and do not enjoy sufficient social guarantees.

Civil society or civil war ?

President Gamsakhurdia tried to oppose the progressive degradation to lumpens of society by the concept of ethno-national unity

The accent was put onto the ethnic component of the social structure. However ethno-nationalism did not manage to become an alternative to the communist past. It significantly narrowed the consolidation base of society. Ethnic conflicts burst out in the country. Even the unity of the titular ethnos was put under the question mark.

- **Double standard**

Relationships between the State and civil society could be built in various ways – from the dominance of the State (totalitarianism) to the creative cooperation and double standard (ambiguous alliance). In the Stalinist era society experienced "total monism". There were no elements of double standard and the creative cooperation between civil society and State. The will of the State actually was a substitute for public opinion. In the period of Brezhnev's "developed socialism" the double standard was revived. From the Stalinist past civil society adopted superficial worship towards the authorities and made bargains with them so as to protect its own particular interests. Corruption is an essential component of relationships between governing bodies and civil society.

- **The NGO as an enzyme of the development of civil society**

The NGO sector should serve as a basis for a renovated civil society in Georgia. It reached the peak of its development during the time of Shevardnadze's rule. The sector really embodied the control that society gained over the Government structure. Its independence was ensured by grants that came from Western foundations. However, elements of the double standard occurred in the sector. Instead of the broadening of its social base, monopolization emerged and thus generated corruption. After leaders of the prominent NGOs entered the governing bodies the sector has weakened a lot. At the same time international foundations reduced their aid. Nowadays State construction in Georgia advances the formation of civil society to a significant level.

- **The degree of individualization in Georgia**

The critical situation that occurred in Georgia in the '90s did not bring about an atomization of Georgian society. Ethnic identity proved to be the last indivisible element of the social structure. It is the minimal level at which rearrangement and restructuring of the social system in Georgia proceeds. This level could be sufficient for adaptation to the changing reality. However, the rearrangement of systems and their restructuring which proceeds at the level of developed individualism are more dynamic and adaptable. In this case an individual arranges his relations on the basis of free choice concerning the participation in any social group. Membership of a Georgian individual to any particular group (especially to ethnic, kinship ones) remains extremely valuable but does not always imply a developed civil identification.

The Fate of Sociology

In such a situation the depletion of the spectrum of factors that formed public opinion took place. In fact sociology gradually lost its object and function in society. Its only use is a measure of the political ratings that are organized by the mass media. The latter is not interested in the quality of the information obtained. The main goal is to provoke a scandal. Instead of gaining knowledge about reality, contributing to the development of democratic institutions, sociology sometimes causes turmoil in the everyday life of society. It was the data of sociological researches that inspired the crisis situation during the election processes in Georgia. This data became a matter for political manipulation. As a result, the reputation of sociology was harmed.

- **The state of public opinion**

The state of sociology is conditioned by the state of public opinion. Inner "cross pressure" that accompanies double standard is tolerated in a stable society but turn into a burden at a time of rapid changes. This causes chaos in public opinion and its radicalization. Its reactions are aggressive or depressive, affective attitudes substitute the rational ones. Public opinion becomes unstable, easily manipulated and that decreases its competence.

Deficit in mature class and professional interests (interests of the large groups) is filled with struggles between particular aspirations of political parties which represent nobody. In this case public opinion lacks such an important attribute as representativeness. State monopoly on the formation of public opinion is a sign of a full capitulation of a civil society.

- **What are the perspectives?**

As it has been mentioned, nowadays State building in Georgia advances the formation of a civil society to a significant level.

We witness the process of the adaptation of civil society to the requirements of modernization. Collisions take place in some cases when traditional values significantly differ from the new ones. Will we have a real re-evaluation of traditional values? Sociology will be helpful in clearing up the situation.

Maybe people will reject new ideas and it will be done by senseless reactions, without analysis and realization of the logic of the choice. There is no need of sociology in this case. The same will take place if we return to the double standard and manage to bargain with the new challenges.

Civil society or civil war ?

Civil Society and Issues of Its Legal Regulation in Georgia

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"Civil Society" – this concept has been a subject of discussions for a long time already both between the members of this society and scientists, sociologists, politicians and representatives of other groups. It became extremely difficult to come to a consensus regarding the term definition itself. We come across quite interesting definitions in scientific papers and glossaries and these definitions are so diverse as the civil society itself in various time and epoch throughout entire period of its historical development and formation.

Among the diverse terms, it is interesting to mention one by the Centre for Civil Society **–** London School of Economics, according to which the civil society, in the first place, means voluntary union, joint activity for common interests, goals and values. It is different from state, family and market by its institutional form; however, there are close links and complex relations between the civil society from one side and state, family and market from another. Institutions of civil society differ by degree of formalities, as well as by autonomy and authorities, scope of activities, forms of businesses and major actors.

1. Civil society primarily includes following types of agencies: registered charitable organizations,
2. Development-oriented non-governmental agencies,
3. Community groups, women organizations,
4. Religious organizations,
5. Professional associations,
6. Professional trade unions,
7. Self- assistance oriented groups,
8. Business groups,
9. Social movements,
10. Coalitions,
11. Advocacy groups.

Civil Society and Issues of Its Legal Regulation in Georgia

Some investigators consider content of a civil society in a much broader way also implying political unions, however this approach has many opponents, since major goal of political parties or unions is to come to power, to participate in public government, which is of itself contradictory to the primary goals of a civil society, such as freedom, union, creativity and initiative. Members and institute of a civil society are acting on a following principle: whatever is not prohibited is permissible and moreover, often they struggle against these very unfair prohibitions, whereas the civil institutions and state bodies are acting on a principle: whatever law permits, is allowed. There is an essential difference between these two principles. State bodies and, therefore, the officials are able to implement only such authorities, which are conferred to them by the law and take only such decisions that are directly stipulated by the law. Whereas, members of civil societies have freedom of action and initiative so that they are able to do anything that is not prohibited by a law. Thus, these two fundamental principles considerably distinguish state institutions and agencies from civil society institutions and are related to struggle against communism in 1980's in the countries of central and Eastern Europe, hostile mood against Marxism and official communist ideology. This very ideology has been considered as a major opponent to the civil society.

As it is known this political context has conditioned rising of idea for development of a civil society and had a somewhat negative influence upon modern theory of civil society. Namely, sometimes there is an exaggerated romanticizing of a civil society, when it is put ahead in comparison with the state and economics and holds a central position.

In accordance with this theory, civil society represents a fundamental source of freedom in the present-day world. It is necessary to protect civil society from those aggressive forces, which are depressing it: on the one part from the state political power, and on the other – from the economic power of money. This theory of civil society practically contradicts characteristics of civil society: creativity, freedom, initiative and union to the realities of market economy, such as: spirit of enterprise, consumerism, inactivity, privatization, violence and so on.

When in the beginning of "Perestroika" they started struggle for democracy against totalitarianism, this democracy primarily implied freedom. Whereas the freedom, in its complete form, is unattainable in case there is any kind of political power, even democratic and some sort of money economy, even of market. In reality, it seems that slogans for democracy and market economy most likely did not express the thirst for freedom that is related to destruction of totalitarianism and the protesting wave of which was directed not only on transformation of soviet system, but also on denial of the present political and economic institutions in general, as long as these institutions are impersonal, strict and fastidious. In the judgment of some investigators, such

approach was not massive, but of élite and was carrying out from the perspective of world-view of the "perestroika's" dissident leaders.

In their opinion, struggle against totalitarianism in Eastern Europe, from the beginning was under the considerable influence of dissident intellectual leaders and their opinions. They were characterized by setting priorities not for struggle to get the political power, but by hostile attitude against any type of politics, desire for ultimate restriction of any power. According to their opinions, any kind of initiative related to public activities should come from the bottom – from people, instead of the state institutional structures. This view is most clearly evolved in the works of Václav Havel.

Anti- politics, the cornerstone of which was composed from distrust against official party politics, was considered as a driver for civil society, whereas politics was denied as an expression of thirst for power. In terms of Václav Havel, life, the goal of which is to implement one's own freedom, diversity, pluralism and self-organizing contradicts to any system that requires unification. The way out of it is not a substitution of one system for another, but it is necessary to turn to the life itself. In such case, structures of post- totalitarian system "will merely die and be cancelled and replaced by new structures that will develop from the "bottom".

In post-soviet countries, with Georgia among them, after acquiring of independence, in the 90s' they very actively started formation of such new "developing from the bottom" civil institutions, that was a very important step in terms of development of free, creative and civil thinking and which, in its turn, has triggered development of democratic processes in the country in general.

While discussing the civil society and its institutes, one should consider legal aspects of regulation and development of this society. Since the civil society is a part of a country, its constituent institutions are appearing, existing and acting within the state, and it is natural that state authorities provide their legal regulation and establish the relevant legal regime under which these very institutions have to exist and act. The more democratic is governance of the country, the more legitimate are the state and the rule of law and the more free is a civil society and its development is less restricted by various prohibiting norms and, on the contrary, the more non-democratic methods are used by governmental group to rule the country, the more limited is an arena of the civil society, and it is more complicated for civil institutions to have access to various circles of state governance with the purpose to control activities of the government and function as the so-called "watchdog".

Such circumstance itself creates more challenges for civil society and provides motivation for more activity and creativity to its members.

As we have mentioned, formation and activities of individual institutions of civil

society is regulated by just those legal norms. And it is the goal of the present article to review and provide relevant analysis of those norms.

Naturally, after collapse of the soviet system and acquisition of independence, a legal reform has been implemented in Georgia, resulting in adoption of number of normative acts, which served to establishment of new life and democratic order within the country. In 1994, the Parliament has adopted the law "On Public Unions of Citizens".

The abovementioned normative act, on a legal basis, has somewhat regulated a process of formation of civil society and its individual institutions. The law defined concept of public union of citizens and indicated that public union of citizens is a voluntary formation of citizens of the Republic of Georgia, which is created on the basis of interests, goals and common activity principles of its members. According to the law, public union of citizens were represented by trade unions, organizations of women, veterans, youth and children organizations, creative unions, foundations, public movements, associations, scientifically-technical, cultural and education, sports, religious and charitable public organizations as well as other unions of citizens. In addition to organizations, which had commercial goals solely, the law, as we can see, has provided a listing on what kind of organizations could be considered as public unions of citizens; however, as long as a legislator could not foresee all possible types of the unions, the law indicated, generally "and other unions, except commercial", that is, the law has placed all possible public unions in one group and separated them from all entrepreneurial and commercial unions.

The law regulated the legal principles of activities of public unions and indicated that all such unions were acting on the basis of their own by-laws, given law as well as other legal enactments. The law has also defined goals for creation of public unions and of the activities, such as development of creative activity of citizens, protection of socially economic and cultural rights and professional interests, charitable activity, expanding of international links and relations. However, these goals, stipulated by the law on creation of public unions, has included still narrow scope and somewhat limited free development of civil society, for example, a legislator has ignored such an important scope of activity, such as a protection of civil and political rights of citizens and entire focus was concentrated on socially-economic and cultural aspects. One should pay attention to the statement of Article 3 of the law, according to which, public unions of citizens were entitled to carry out other activities that were allowed by the acting legislation. It also has indicated a prohibitive norm stating that it was inadmissible to create such unions and carry out such activities the goal of which was violent change of constitutional structure of the Republic, violation of its territorial integrity, stirring of religious and national feud, etc (it was natural that these statement were provided in the law adopted in 1994, as long as there was still a fear of fatal events of the early 90s' in the country, such as change of government by military

forces, civil war, contradiction between various informal unions and groups that has brought the country to very severe outcomes). As we have already mentioned, the law of 1994 enabled public unions to carry out the activities, which were allowed by the law, but not all those activities, which were not prohibited by the legislation. Although this very second principle is a generally recognized legal principle for action of civil society in a democratic community. When it comes to a principle defined by the law, it is the principle of acting of public agencies and institutions, which, in my opinion, was incorrectly applied by legislators. If we draw a parallel with the current present-day legislation, we will see that this defect has been eliminated and nowadays, institutions of civil societies existing in the form of various organizations and unions, associations and unregistered unions, coalitions and "houses", foundations and networks, have a scope of far more unrestricted activities.

In 1995, after adoption of supreme law of the country – the constitution, essential legal guarantees have been created for development of a civil society, namely Chapter 2 of the Constitution has protected human fundamental rights and freedoms, including the rights of legal entities taking into consideration contents of the rights. The Constitution of Georgia protects vitally important rights for the democratic society, such as: freedom of gathering and union; freedom of speech, expression of opinion; freedom of conscience, faith and religion, right of free development and other civil and political, socially-economic and cultural rights. The constitution also has defined that international agreements of Georgia, which do not contradict to the Constitution, have superior legal power in relation with internal normative acts. Therefore, starting from May 1999, when Georgia, along with other international agreements, joined the European Convention of Human Rights, more guarantees for protection of civil society and its institutions have been created within the country.

In 1997, the Parliament of Georgia has adopted a new civil code, following which the law "On Public Unions" has lapsed. The legislator has transferred the issues regulated by the indicated law into the civil code, namely: the second chapter was dedicated to legal persons. It separates concepts of entrepreneurial and non- entrepreneurial, non-commercial legal persons. The latter represents exactly the legal form, which primarily includes organizations, unions, institutions and associations of various profile and interests being parts of the civil society.

The Civil Code defines the rights of legal persons and stipulates that a legal person of private law is entitled to engage in any activity not prohibited by law, regardless of whether or not this activity is provided for in its charter (Article 25), unlike the law of 1994. Let us revert to this law once again. The law defined the principles of formation of public unions and activities of citizens, such as voluntariness, equality of rights, self-government, principles of legality, publicity and equality. The current Civil Code, namely the norms, defines principles of equality, freedom of civil circulation and honesty. Whereas the regulatory norms of legal persons do not separately address

83

the principles. When it comes to publicity, this principle is defined by regulatory norm for creation and registration of legal persons, which refers to publicity of data of entrepreneurial and non- entrepreneurial registry. The Code does not address any other certain principles, unlike the former law of 1994. Moreover, as we have already mentioned, the latter included special regulation that had defined goals of creation and activities of public organizations, that no longer exists in the acting legislation and a legislator completely commits institutions of a civil society to define their goals, tasks, to be engaged in any activities not prohibited by the law. The current acting legislation has gone even further and does not require by-laws at all, as a mandatory document necessary for registration of non-entrepreneurial legal person. Instead of by-laws, the founders may execute written agreement that is the formal aspects are much more simplified, which are necessary for official registration of any structural unit of a civil society in public registry as a non- entrepreneurial legal person. Current acting legislation was also simplified in the standpoint that it is no longer necessary to have a defined number of persons to create organization, union or association. For example according to the law of 1994, it was mandatory to have at least 50 members to create public union of citizens. Initially, the Civil Code adopted in 1997 recognized two kinds of non-entrepreneurial legal person: "unions" and "foundations", and it was necessary to have at least five founder members to create a union. In accordance with legal changes of 2006, one type – " non-entrepreneurial (non-commercial) legal person" has been defined instead of "unions" and "foundations", for the creation of which the law does not require any mandatory number of founders, that is, even one person is entitled to set up non- entrepreneurial, non-commercial organization, the fact that, in my opinion considerably simplifies creation of various constituent circles of a civil society, process of passing the official steps and state registration.

Approach regarding the professional trade unions is also different, where, in accordance with the acting law, at least 100 members shall be united to create the professional union.

Legal regulations related to public unions and state relations are also interesting. Initially the law of 1994 included special norm that had defined that state would provide protection of rights and legal interests of public unions; moreover, for certain types of organizations, such as youth, children and sports organizations, the state would assume responsibility to provide even financial assistance. The state prohibited interference of state bodies or officials into the activities of public unions, except the cases provided by the law. The law also had an interesting statement: public unions, under the law, were entitled to have meetings (protests), demonstration and movements, to protect rights and interests of their members in front of the state and other public agencies. It is obvious that when this law was written, inclusion of such a statement into the law was conditioned by socially political situation of the 90s', when peaceful protests and demonstrations were absolutely illegally broken up by violent methods. It appeared that this norm has provided more guarantees for the protection

and free development of a civil society. It is natural that later, when legal regulation of activities of public organizations have moved into the Civil Code, it would be absolutely unnecessary to transfer this norm hereto, as long as there is a separate acting law on "protests and manifestations", and also, starting from 2004 a special law on "Freedom of Speech and Expression" has come into force. Therefore, civil society and its constituent institutions and activities was supposed to be far more protected after adoption of the abovementioned laws and mostly, after adoption of the Constitution of Georgia, than it was in the early 90s'. However, it should be mentioned that recent amendments to the law on "protests and manifestations" have considerably restricted this fundamental civil and political rights protected by the Constitution and international agreements, which, of course, have a negative influence on a civil society and often, provides an unjustified obstacle for its certain activities.

Thus, in this article, we have briefly reviewed general characteristics and peculiarities of a civil society; we tried to display certain dynamics existing in regulatory legal norms of a civil society in Georgia. Although, we primarily referred to the institutes in the form of non-entrepreneurial legal persons, since, because of a small-scale format of the article, it was impossible to address such scopes as creative and professional trade unions, business groups and other, the activities of which are regulated by the relevant special legislation, such as the law on" On Creative Workers and Creative Unions", on ""Trade Unions", "Entrepreneuers", etc.

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Civil society or civil war ?

Civil Society in Georgia and its History

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It is interesting that the word "citizen" was applied in "Kartli's Life" during the reign of the king Vakhtang Gorgasali regarding the development of Tbilisi. Also municipal self-government "Tbileli Monks" was first mentioned in Tbilisi. In the XII century the special level of citizens was formed in Georgia that became the strong instrument in the internal politics of Georgia.

Introduction

The cities rose at that level of historical development when the social distribution of labor and processes of social differentiation in the society was under way and as a result of this other social groups (the ruling class, traders, artisans) were stand out from the main mass of the population related to agricultural work.

The first cities as administrative and religious, trade and workmanship centers were produced in IV-III thousand years BC. Construction of the cities had the major impact on the development of the society. They became centers of state government and organizational namely constructional and architectural development of cultural promotion and assisted the progress of workmanship and trade (among them international trade). Trade and usury capital was originated here. Technical progress was related to workmanship of the city.

Development of the Cities in Georgia

The progress of civil society in Georgia has been closely related to the history of city development generally in the Caucasus, the old Georgian sources describe about existence of the institute of headman, also the activity of the king Pharnavaz- reformer, who converted the ancient capital city-Mtkheta into the royal city.

The materials collected show us that the Georgian civil society went through long and difficult process. Such large states as Diaokhi[1] and Kolkha[2] existed on its territory. The notes about them we have received from the cuneiform inscriptions[3] discovered on the territory of Assyreti[4] and Urartu[5] that provided us the information about the existence of cities in these states. In particular; as a result of the contradistinction between Kolkheti and Urartu, according to the Urratian inscriptions we have found out that during one march the king of Urartu-Sardur II conquered Ildamusa-the city of vicegerent of Kolkheti in 747-741years BC, but the old state of Kolheti was destroyed by the invasion of Scythians firstly and then Kimmerians.

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[1] Diaokhi (also Daiaeni, Taokhi)- Old eastern-type state union of the Georgian tribes, on the south the territories of city Arzrumi were included in its borders, on the north it was bordered with Javakheti and on the north-west its power was extended to the Black Sea.

[2] Old Kolka-Kingdom of Kolkheti founded by rapid consolidation of neighboring tribes in this region in the XVII century BC, The powerful state that was admired in Greek mythology that became the reason for traveling of the Argonauts, home country of Medea and the source of magic mysteries, it was known as Khukha by the Urartians. (Also Kolkha or Kilkhi)

[3] Cuneiform Written Language-the oldest type of written language known to us. It was created by the Sumerians in the XIV century, and this language was applied by the Sumerians, Akkadians, Elamites, Kimmerians and Urartians.

[4] Assyreti-old state on the territory of today's Iran It was formed in the north part of Mesopotamia in II thousand years BC and existed at the end of the VII century. At that time the population of Assyreti was not distingioshed by language, ethnic origin, culture from the population of Babylon. Assyrian language is enetered in the group of semitic languages and it is dialect of Babylonian or Akkadian language.

[5] Urartu-one of the oldest state of the near east (on the territory of today's Armenia and Turkey) in the IX-XI centuries BC near the lake Sevani in the mountainous area. Capital city Tushpa (today's city of Vani in Turkey).Urartu is assyrian name of this country. Urartians themselves called their country "Bainil"

Civil society or civil war ?

Georgia in Antique Period

The civil society still developed in the antique period in Georgia and new cities were built, namely, on the coastline of the Black Sea. In the west part of Georgia the Greeks colonist from Greece appeared in the V-IV centuries BC, who founded here their own colonies (new settlements)-Phazisi, Gonio, Dioskuria and others.

The Greeks brought a lot of new things into the lifestyle of the Geeorgian civil society of that time, but it is noteworthy the fact that they faced with the quite developed society in Georgia in the form of own territorial-political arrangement with the king at the top that has been proved by the Greek myths from the one side and by the archeological excavations from the other side.

The famous Greek educational center-Phazisi higher rhetorical school was opened in Kolkheti, namely in Phazisi, where not only the Greeks got education but the Georgians too. In the historic works of Agatia Skolaqtikosi (536-582) the note about the Georgian political figures: Aieti[6], Partazi[7], Ioane Lazi[8], Petre Iberi[9] and other is found.

Construction of Tbilisi

The King Vakhtang Gorgaasali played the significant role in the development of the civil society in Georgia In the V century during his reign Tbilisi started to obtain the function of capital city. Large constructions both secular and ecclesiastical buildings and development of Large Silk Road induced in itself the appearance of stratum of citizens in Tbilisi. It is noteworthy that whole title of the work dedicated to Vakhtang Gorgasali is read to the following way "Life and Civil Duty". Therefore, we can conclude that it is allowable that in the V century the term "inhabitant' was replaced by the term "citizen".

Tbileli Monks

As it is indicated in "Kartli's Life" the type of municipal self-government was appeared in Tbilisi in the 40s of the 11th century, named "Tbileli Monks". Tbileli Monks were selected from the upper level of the citizens. They became the representatives

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[6] Aeti –Political figure of Georgia in the VI century, orator, noble representative of Kolkha. He addressed the people gathered at Egrisi meeting (554) held regarding the murder of the king of Laziki-Gubaz II by the Byzantines to support Iranian orientation. His speech represents the sample of classical oratory. The basis for communication with people Aeti considered virtue and "kind origin"

[7] Partazi-also political figure of Georgia in the VI century, orator, noble representative of Kolkha, who had Byzantian orientation.

[8] Ioane Lazi-Ioane Georgian, mithriddates, ierotheos, (†about 464-465, Syria). Georgian philosopher-theologist, a person having the same views as Petre IBeri and his friend. He lived In Georgia and Constantinople where cooperated with Prokle Diadokhos. He is considered as an author of Areopagite with Petre Iberi.

[9] Petre Iberi (411-419) Georgian theologist and philosopher, founder of Christian neoplatonism and its excellent representative. His name was Murvan as a layman (under Syrial sources-Nabarnug), he was the son of the king of Iberia-Buzmari, grandson of Bakur Great.

of this level and protected its interests at the palace of sheriff, so their government represented the body of municipal self-government. The board of Tbileli Monks consisted of 12 people who governed the city one after another for a month. This is worthy to note that another type of local self-government named "Board of 12 men" is proved to exist in Kakheti in which only local residents were selected. This issue needs future corresponding research-study. For the 80s of the XI century the institute of sheriff disappeared in Tbilisi and Tbileli Monks governed the city for about 40years.

Tbilisi during the Reign of the King David Builder

The king David Builder released Tbilisi from the supremacy of the Turks and turned it into the capital city again. Tbilisi started to develop and expand very quickly, strong stratum of citizens was formed, trade and workmanship were progressed, shop unions were created, credit companies of trade named double-arches[10]. Tbilisi for that period was multi-ethnical city. The Georgian kings supported cohabitation of various people of different religious with their loyal policy that resulted in stability of economical and social life of the city. This period is called as "Golden Age" or "Georgian Renascence"

Isani Shelter

The keen interest is provoked by the period of the reign of the king Tamar, namely the action of Kutlu-Arslan who relied on the Georgian citizens. It is noteworthy to mention the phenomen of Iuri Bogolubski or as he is also called Giorgi Russian and the movement risen for his support.

The period of the reign of the king Tamar (1160-1213). As we mentioned above during the first period of her reign the situation became strained between the great princess and the noblemen promoted during the reign of Giorgi III-father of king Tamar. This event caused the famous action from the side of Kutlu-Arslan who was head of pottery (chief of state treasury). He was supported by the certain part of the society, namely traders and middle stratum of the city residents. Under the request of Kutlu-Arslan the shelter was put up in Isani in which all internal and foreign affairs were to be discussed by the clerks gathered and then notify the King so *"Isani Shelter" may be considered as early form of parliamentarianism*

Under the command of the king Kutlu-Arslan was captured, but his armed followers requires his release. The country appeared towards the danger of civilian war. The king applied the kindest way; he sent two noble and respectable women in the camp of rebels, in particular Khuash Tsokali-the mother of the head of Kartli-Rati and Kravai Jakeli. Mediation of the women had so much influene on the rebels that" obeyed with the command of the king and while arrival before him worshiped, and swore an oath of loyalty and dedication to him"[11]

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[10]   Double-arches (in Turkish artak-associasion, comradeship), Credit-trade association in XII-XIII century in Georgia that lent money and things (real estate was left as deposit and made made benefit)

[11]   Basil Ezosmodzgvari-"Life of King Tamar"

Details of the
King Tamar's Marriage

After soothing the rebels the issue of marriage of the king Tamar was arisen, as you will see the below the citizens took active part in decision-making process. The choice was made to the prince of Kiev and Russian-Iuri Bogolubski (afterwards he was called a Giorgi Russian). One of the motives was the fact that this politician was considered at that time as the representative of democratic political culture that is known as "Veche".

Sheriff of Kartli and Tbilisi, named Abuslan said: "I have known the son of the Russian head of Andria Great, who had three hundred heads (nobles) under his patronage and was left alone after the death of his father, was persecuted from his uncle and was in the city of the king Sevinj"[12]

The ambassadors were sent from Tbilisi "a citizen known trader- Zanqan Zorababel" who took Giorgi Bogolubski in Georgia. He was the husband of the king Tamar for two and half years, Under his leadership the Georgian army won several significant battles. After this he was proscribed from the country to Byzantium due to political intrigues. Later serious rebellion arisen from the side of the feudal lords of west Georgia who supported return of Giorgi Russian from Byzantium, their rebellion was crushed down by the central government.

It can be said that in these battles the basis for such conflict as contradistinction between "royalists" and "republicans" was strengthened.

Georgia in the Empire of Russia

After joining Georgia to the empire of Russia strengthening of civil society was noticeable in the country. The young generation received European education. Political parties were established in Georgia that belonged to different courses.

Conquest of Caucasus region was made gradually in the 70s of the XIX century. Gerigan nobles made serious contribution in this process. It iw worthy to note that the Georgians young generation were studying in the Russian universities: Ilia Chavchavadze, Akaki Tsereteli, Niko Nikoladze, Giorgi Tsereteli and others. They tried to introduce the European model of civil society in Georgia.

Defeat of Russian in the Crimea War (1854-1856) made the king Alexandre II (1818-1881) provide some reforms in the country. Serfdom was abolished in the central part of the Russian empire in 1861, and it was abrogated in Georgia in 1864 that fasten the establishment of new types of civil society.

After abolishment of the institute of serfdom in the Russian empire formation of civil society was accelerated. It should be mentioned the period of activity of one of the best Russian politician and statesman, famous military general-Mikheil Vorontsovi. In 1844-1854 he was a vicegerent in Caucasus region." Under his initiative and assistance was established the first Georgian journal "Tsiskari" and also were formed the Museum

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[12]   "Kartli's Life"-Histories and Azmani Sharavandedtani"-

of Caucasus, the first public library and others.

The new phase of activity of civil society started in the Russian empire and Georgia in the 70s of XIX century by introduction of municipal self-government. On the 16th of September of 1870 the king Alexander II approved the municipal provision under which deliberative body became governing organ of municipal self-government. Competency of this body involves selection of the official persons, approval of budget and discussion of civil cases and others.

Self-government of Tbilisi

Revival of Tbilisi was mainly started from 1875. This is the period when Dimitri Kifiani-a famous statesman was the head of municipal self-government. He joined construction department of city to the municipality and managed to solve the issue partly that implied fulfillment of the obligation of the city to ensure military persons with dwellings, also he did estimation of the population, cancelled some old rules that was incompatible with new ones, introduces a new administrative-economic system.

At the begging of the XX century, in 1905 as a result of the revolution, the manifest of 17 October was published, according to which was permitted the right of assembly. This manifest was developed by the count- Sergi Vite, who was by birth from Tbilisi. As a result the emperor of Russia- Nikoloz II set parliament or duma, and no laws were passed without this body, however, the emperor has the right to put a veto.

After the break up of Russian empire social-democratic party came to the government of Georgia in 1918 that took certain actions for performance of reforms and it was ended by the enactment of the constitution of Georgia.

The Literature Applied

1. "Kartli's life"-volume I Tbilisi 1995
2. Teimuraz bagrationi-"History started from Iveria i.e. Georgia taht is whole Georgia"-Petersburg 1848
3. "Kartli's Life"- "Histories and Azmani Sharavandedtani"
4. Ivanov V. –"Semiotic Study of Cultural History of Big City"
5. Maks Veber-"City"

Civil society or civil war ?

Civil society and infrastructure of its education

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Introduction

The word „education" refers to the whole process of social life, through which individuals and social groups are studying to deliberately develop their personal abilities, attitudes, inclinations and knowledge in favor of the national and the international communities[1].

Education is a unity of the level of systematic knowledge, skills, beliefs, educational and practical readiness. Education is available at educational institutions, through self-education and public engagement activities.[2]

This is one of the most important strategic sectors the country may have. Therefore, more attention should be paid to the development of this sector.

Ensuring people with an effective education is a difficult task, which cannot be overcome by state institutions solely.

Hence, the more developed education system is in all three sectors (state, private and public), the more citizens are provided with this service, and the more alternatives it has and more chances to acquire knowledge and experience beneficial for community. Thus, we are referring to the development of the "three-sector education" system.

Thus, the article is dedicated to the "third sector's" potential in education policy and instruments of its effective use as well as prospects of introduction and development of the "three-sector education" concept in Georgia.

Education system.
Its types and strategic importance

1.1   Formal and non-formal education

Formal education means organized, structured type of education the activities of which are mostly defined by the state sector[*3]. Formal education institutions are:

- University, institute, academy (higher education)
- School, secondary school, vocational school, high school, upper secondary school (secondary education)
- Pre-school education.

Non-formal education means teaching method different from the formal learning. In accordance with the GEGSTAR[*4] explanatory dictionary, non-formal education is a professional education, which was acquired by the person independently from the professional educational institution or either through learning by the unaccredited educational program.

93

[*1] UNESCO recommendation 1974 . (Source: National Library of the Parliament of Georgia, ""Glossary of Civil Education". http://www.nplg.gov.ge/ , 2010 .)

[*2] Georgian encyclopaedia (chief scientific edition, Tbilisi, 1977 Vol. 2).

[*3] Sarah Eline Eaton," formal, non-formal and informal learning".

[*4] Vano Khukhunaishvili Center for Effective Governance System and Territorial Arrangement Reform

1.2   Dynamics of education system development in post-Soviet Georgia

In Soviet period, Georgian education system, similar to that of other republics, was centralized and completely controlled by the state.

Reformation of the education system became a subject of consideration from the 90s' in the post-soviet countries, however, due to the unstable situation in the country in this period of time, essential reforms were not carried out in this sector (significant reform of this period was decentralization of education and creation of private educational infrastructure).

It is natural that essential changes in the field of education failed to be implemented until 2004. In 1997 a number of issues reflected in the "Law on Education" were actually resolved after 2005. The "Law on Education" of 2005 displays such reforms, as for example 12-year secondary school, accreditation system, establishment of board of trustees, teachers' vouchers, introduction of the United National Exams, etc[*5].

It is noteworthy to mention the "Deer's Leap" project, which aimed to introduce teaching methods on the basis of informational and communication technologies. One should also mention that financing system became more transparent for this period.

1.3. Development of education system in terms of requirements of „standards of tomorrow"

In July 2010, President of Georgia   Mikheil Saakashvili stated that the country's most important and strategic sector is education, however, unfortunately, the current standards do not meet requirements for tomorrow[6], because there are some serious shortcomings in this direction.

With regard to the development of education system, one should pay attention to the "ISCED" document[7], since it displays new tendencies of the education sector in various regions worldwide, as well as the ways of their promotion. This document underlines the necessity to make such amendments as the requirement for increase diversity of educational institutions and necessity to provide wider application of the "*distant*" and other educational possibilities related to the modern technologies.

"ISCED'"s [*8] assignment is to introduce a new definition of education. The term "education" implies any purposeful and systematic activity, which aims to meet the requirements in learning. It also includes various events, trainings and seminars.

"ISCED" program includes a variety of programs and types of education which are designated in the national context, such as *regular education, non-formal education, alternative education, initial education, continuing education, distance education, part-time education, apprenticeships, technical-vocational education, special needs education*.

One should underline the recommendation of *Budapest - Vienna* Declaration of the

94

[*5] B.Selakauri (2010). "On Education Reform".

[*6] "Civil Georgia ", news from Georgia (Tbilisi, July 22, 2010).

[*7]   International Standard Classification of Education of 1997 (ISCED);
    document elaborated by UNESCO

[*8] "ISCED" education program was published in 2006 in Georgian language with the help of co-financing of the EU "Tasis" program ".

*Bologna Pro*cess document of 2010, which states that academic freedom, similar to the autonomy of higher educational institutions, represents the principle of the European Higher Education Area. Education should be student-oriented, assist a student to be educated and *irrespective of the form of education, to help him in making the best decision for the selection of the sustainable and flexible way of learning,* which also requires collaboration of teachers and scientists through the international network.

Thus, one could provide the following answer to the question - how should the education field develop in terms of the requirements for tomorrow?

- It is necessary provide liberalization of education system and diversification of educational institutions and educational programs of various types and levels.
- Such approach will contribute to merited involvement of people into the education process that will make this process creative and more comfortable for users.
- It is necessary to develop the "*three-sector education*", which means that the education system shall evolve evenly and harmoniously both in the state sector, (sector I), and in the private sector (sector II) and surely, in the "*third sector*" or the civil sector.

• Perspectives of the development of "three-sector education" system

2.1. Higher education in state and private sector

Georgian higher education system consists of three steps: baccalaureate, magistracy and doctoral candidacy.

Georgian state higher educational institutes are:

1. *College* (implements professional higher education program and baccalaureate education program)

2. *Educational university* (implements higher education program except doctoral candidacy, also implements magistracy education program)

3. *University* (implements higher education programs of all three levels and scientific researches).

The state recognizes only those qualification-certifying documents, which are issued by the accredited higher education institutions. The accredited higher education institutions are: state educational institutions, (for example "*Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University*", "*Ilia's University*", "*Tbilisi State Medical University*", etc), business sector – based private higher education institutions (for example "*University of Georgia*", "*Free University*", "*Black Sea International University*", "*Caucasus School of Business*", "*Caucasus University*", etc.)

It should be mentioned herewith that knowledge acquired in private educational institutions is more useful nowadays than that acquired in the state educational agencies. Their standards are closer to the "*Bologna Pro*cess[9]" –standards. They fruitfully collaborate with the leading foreign universities, provide interesting youth exchange programs, summer schools and other interesting events. However, in spite of the fact that some of these private institutions provide certain privileges –discounts for

95

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[9] In Italy, 1999, 29 European countries signed the „Bologna Declaration", By signing it, the states expressed their common readiness to participate in establishment of the European United Higher Education Area. Georgia has joined this process involving 46 European countries in 2005 at Bergen Summit.

Civil society or civil war ?

diligent students, they are still very expensive for the majority of population and most of students cannot afford studying in those institutions.

Culture of the "*third sector education*", non-governmental, non-commercial higher education has not been established in Georgia so far, thus impeding the proper and harmonious development of education system.

As we can see, traditional, state and private educational institutions are still considered as major methods of learning. Although, do they have enough capacity to create such an educational process, which would prepare a student and make him competitive in the international labor market?

Not too long ago, completing the higher institution and taking diploma – were the mainstream priorities. However, they were less concerned whether this or that person could use his diploma in real life. Ensuing from this, number of good professionals and qualified persons was not high. All this has generated need to seek for other, alternative ways of learning. Alternative education is also known as "*non-traditional education*", since it differs a lot from the traditional methods of education and is based upon more flexible and effective learning method.

2.2. Initiative : „three-sector education"

As it has been mentioned above, effective ensuring people with education is a complex task that cannot be overcome by the state and private educational institutions solely. Development of education only in state and private sector is not sufficient to provide full-fledged operation of the whole education system.

When it comes to the "*third sector education*" - it has not been developed in Georgia so far, that is considerably hindering the effective operation of the entire system.

There is a term "three-sector economics[10]", however, there is no relevant term – "*three-sector education[11]*"

"State organizations, commercial organizations and non-commercial organizations jointly represent those three sectors which have a great influence on development of economics".

"Three-sector" model of economy is based on Karl Popper's[12] "Open Society", ideology that works as a role model for the present-day democratic countries worldwide.

Major principles of existence of the "Open Society" are:
- Law-based society
- Market economy
- Civil society

[*10] Term „Three-sector economics" was first introduced in 1935 by the economist - Allan Fisher. It is also called the ""service industry". It means that in this case services or information („Three-sector economics" in scope of its services, along with other filed incorporates media, franchising, bank services, healthcare, education, etc) are offered to a consumer as certain product. On this stage, „Three-sector economics" is the biggest and most increasing sector of economics.

[*11] Nowadays, in western world the term „three-sector education" is used only as a synonym of the third sector stage, which implies learning in college, institution or other higher institution after school,

[*12] Karl Raimund Popper (1902-1994). British philosopher and professor at the "London School of Economics". He is regarded as one of the greatest philosophers of science of the 20th century; he worked extensively on social and political philosophy. He was one of initiators of setting up the international organization „Mont Pelerin Society", which contributed to establishment of freedom of speech, free market economy and political values at the „Open Society" , (source: Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia, 2011).

It is clear that necessary condition for the development of society is a parallel and harmonious development of these three sectors. (A. Rusetsky, 2000).

The following question is raised: Why not to adopt this pattern to the education system and create the system of "three-sector education", which will be the unity of state sector, private sector and the civil society. Education of all three sectors should balance and supplement each other and jointly create the so –called "*three-sector education*" system.

To achieve this purpose, it is necessary to introduce and develop the "third sector education", "alternative education", the culture of which is not established in Georgia so far.

2.3. Initiative : „ the third sector education"

In regard to this issue, I would like to insert example of my personal experience.

In October 2009, quite randomly I visited the NGO "Georgian National Committee of Helsinki Citizens' Assembly" (hCa GNC) , which enabled me to get involved into the organization's activity, to get acquainted with non-governmental, non-commercial structure and operation principles and to acquire alternative education.

One of the major priorities from the wide variety of the organization's activities, are topics on improvement of efficient management of effective governance of educational programs and non-commercial education, conducting of trainings and seminars, internship programs (including "distant education") . This organization enables people (particular attention is paid to IDPs), with the help of qualified experts, to define and select interesting for them directions, to acquire required knowledge, to raise their skills, to create their own structure and to work on various interesting directions, to participate in various scholarship programs, to study abroad and later to introduce and develop this knowledge and experience in Georgia.

From this perspective, for Georgia one should mention the acting Polish-American Freedom Foundation and the Polish - U.S. Fulbright Commission, Lane Kirkland[13] scholarship program, which is designated for young leaders with higher education, which are interested in the development of democracy, economics and civil society within their own regions.

In my opinion I had a unique chance to select the direction, ensuing from my interests and follow it, as the strategic vector of my future career. Education management turned out to be the field of my priority. I have conducted researches in this field and found out that in Georgia they pay too little attention to the direction of „*alternative education*" – the fact that considerably impedes the full-fledged development of education sector in general.

This situation encouraged me to scrutinize thoroughly importance of role of non-governmental sector in the effective governance of education management and to think how to contribute to introduction of this system into Georgia. I decided to give this direction the form of a project and started to work hard on the above-mentioned topic.

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[13]   Lane Kirkland (1922-1999) – US labor union leader for many years (AFL-CIO), board member of Polish-American Industrial Foundation, one of initiators of Polish-American Freedom Foundation. Lane Kirkland scholarship program is a long-term activity of Polish-American Freedom Foundation, which launched in 2001. Administered by Fulbright Commission in Warsaw. .

Civil society or civil war ?

There is a huge resource and potential of intellect and knowledge in non-governmental sector. Why not carrying out " inventory " and application of this resource?

Through implementation of this initiative, user will have an opportunity to acquire practical and necessary knowledge and experience.

Ensuing from the fact that, first of all, it is necessary to provide adequate educational and scientific and consultation system for effective operation of the "*third sector*", the main goal of my project was to establish a center of "alternative education" in Georgia that will be rather interesting and "Know-how" initiative for the current education sector of Georgia.

The paradigm of this project would be to use potential of the "third sector" and to develop culture of "alternative education" so that to contribute to introduction and development of the *"three-sector education"* system in Georgia.

All the above has generated the idea to write an article, which, as I have already mentioned above, is dedicated to potential of the "third sector" in the field of education policy and tools for its effective application.

Alternative Education - Innovation in the field of education

3.1. Structure of alternative education

There are several types of alternative education. These are: educational institutions financed by the government though maintaining independent management system and autonomy, educational institutions financially independent from the government, educational institutions and educational centers, private structures (e.g. various scientific-research institutes, unions, alternative educational resource-centers) established on behalf of non-governmental, non-commercial organization.

Alternative education includes so called "Privileged schools[14]", "Free schools", "Free universities", "Independent schools and independent universities[15]", private lectures,

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[14] "Privileged school" is a kind of educational center financed by the government though not subordinated to the statute and regulations of the Ministry of Education. Attendance in such a school is optional as well. Mostly such schools are established by teachers, parents' union and non-commercial organizations that can not adapt to traditional educational methods and are not satisfied with the current system. Initially the idea to establish "Privileged school" came to USA Massachusetts University Professor Ray Budd in 1988. Since 1991 spreading of such schools commenced throughout the entire territory of United States of America and 225 such schools were already registered by 1997. (e.g. due to current data up to 200 such schools are registered in Canada). Successful management of "Privileged school" became famous and adoption has started even in Europe. For example: in 1988 several schools were constructed in Great Britain under the grant distinguishing with their autonomy. In accordance with the 2010 data number of such schools already exceeds 200 (source: Wikipedia, free encyclopedia, 2010).

[15] Educational institutions known as "Independent schools" and "Independent Universities" financially are completely independent from the State and are managed by the board of Directors (e.g. due to the latest data 32 thousand students are enrolled in such schools in Great Britain, in accordance with the data of 2010 there are 13 such private institutions in Austria. 83 "Independent Universities" are registered in Germany). It is worth to mention that private institutions, alternative educational methods culture exists in China, Canada, and India especially since 1990s (source: Wikipedia, free encyclopedia, 2010).

trainings, conferences as well as "Distant education". There exist "virtual schools" so called "cyber schools" wherein the education process is conducted in "online mode".

Alternative education refers to self education, international scholarship programs, exchange programs, summer schools (where participation in trainings, workshops and conferences and valuable knowledge obtaining is possible) and certainly alternative education possible to obtain in non-governmental organizations.

3.2 Culture of alternative education

Educational system inefficiency resulted in necessity of optimal resolution creation in 1980s. After revealing inefficiency of educational system legalized by the State educational revolution was triggered by the people who created alternative programs, different educational methods[16]. The first similar "Alternative school" was opened in 1991 in United States of America that was oriented not towards the regulations established by the State but towards the student himself.

Educational revolution in America was started after publication of the A.S. Neill's17 book "Summerhill"[18].

The book was published in 1960 and already by 1970 its training principles were considered by over 600 university educational courses. It had great influence on education system and gave rise to thousands of "democratic" and "alterative" educational institutions[19].

3.3 Alternative educational institutions and initiatives. Their goals

Several major aspects of alternative institutions establishment are as follows:

1) To offer the student updated, innovative, effective and academic practical knowledge preparing the student for the living and self realization in the current competitive age.
2) To provide the student with more comfortable and at the same time effective educational program through informational technologies adoption that means "Distance education".
3) To develop training program for the student so that the student shall not leave the educational institution untimely, shall not be left without the diploma, shall not be subjected to negative, street influence and shall obtain professional education.
4) To provide the student with training conditions so that not to lag behind the other students as he/she can not follow defined training program. Special individual training method shall be developed for such a student to avoid exclusion from the school due to lagging and low grades.
5) Economical motives.

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[16] Mintez J. (2002) "Firm education".

[17] Scot teacher (1883-1973). Founder of "Summerhill" school. The school was officially acknowledged due to progressive and democratic educational process.

[18] "Summerhill: A Radical Approach to Child Rearing". "Hart Publishing Company"-New York. (Publication 1960), Author: Alexander S. Neill

[19] http://www.google.com/images?hl=en&q=a.s%20neill%20summerhill&rlz=1W1SKPT_en&psj=1&wrapid=tlif12916968797811&um=1&ie=UTF8&source=og&sa=N&tab=wi&biw=1259&bih=767

Civil society or civil war ?

Nowadays not everyone may get education because of financial reasons especially now when the education becomes more and more expensive.

Non-governmental, non-commercial organizations have developed alternative initiatives to this direction (e.g. such as "Diploma+" financed by USA non-governmental organization[20]) encouraging the students to get respective education in alternative institutions. Students from the regions are especially supported. (This topic is greatly considered in United States of America. The President Obama assigned grant of 900 million in 2010 for such initiatives facilitation).

Unfortunately we don't have the experience of similar scope in Georgia.

The legislation of the Parliament of Georgia on "Education" from 1997 till 2010 (including) has been studied.

The term "Alternative education" is not even mentioned in "Explanation of the terms". Instead the term "External studies[21]" is mentioned that refers to familial education, distance education, other forms of education by correspondence; however alternative means of education are defined only in the law on "General education"[22]

The State may finance only internal education. For today there are no funds assigned for such initiative that shall encourage "Alternative education" adoption and development in Georgia.

3.4 „Distant education"

"Distant education" is a method of training that is focused on providing education to the students unable to attend the lectures. Thanks to contemporary interactive technological facilities students shall be able to actively participate in training process in "online" mode.

Method of "Distant education" becomes known to us since 1840 when "Distant education" started development in Great Britain through the mail[23]. In 21st century along with Internet development "Distant education" methods became more diverse and available.

Under the data of 2006 96% of mega-colleges and universities of United States of America suggested customers "Distant education" that becomes more and more popular.

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[20] Project of "Commonwealth Corporation" of the year 1996 "Diploma+" the model of which was distributed in almost the entire United States of America because of its effective and successful system. In 2003 this project was officially acknowledged by "Association for High School Innovation" as the initiator of an alternative, new higher education system.

[21] In accordance with the legislation a person obtained education through "External studies" shall be entitled to pass the validation tests under the rules defined by the Ministry of Education and to proceed with the education on the following stage by any means after obtaining the respective State Education Certificate (only in specific fields defined by the Ministry of Education).

[22] In article nine of chapter two of the legislation (1997) (and updated in clause five of article nine of chapter two in the publication of 2005) it is mentioned that getting of general education may be provided through alternative means under the rules defined by the Ministry of Education of Georgia that doesn't mean right if avoidance of obligatory education.

[23] Initially in 1858 "London University" adopted distant education course. Since 1990 this direction started development and strengthening throughout the entire Europe. The greatest distant university is located in Great Britain and is known as "Open University". This university was established in 1972.

Nowadays the most schools and universities in the world apply the method of "Distant education"[24]. To this end famous international "online" training programs of non-governmental organizations "INACOL"[25] and "ECDL"[26], "Sloan Consortium"[27] should be mentioned. The organization "Blackboard[28]" and "Cyber Extension[29]", organization "Moodle[30]" represent free of charge "online" learning popular program available for everyone. It is known as "VLA[31]" as well.

"Distant education" experience exists in Georgia since Soviet Union ages. In 1980 existed "correspondence schools", also it was possible to get education by correspondence through the first channel of television. Learning was conducted in Georgian language in various fields (e.g. there were lessons of English, French, Russian, Georgian languages, lessons of physics, historical programs, etc.).

It should be noted that nowadays positive processes are observed from the point of view of "distant education" development in Georgia.

United Nations organization required from all the ministries of education, science and culture of all the states education system perfection be means of informational-communication technologies. Institute of informative technologies learning of "UNESCO[32]"

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[24] To this end shall be noted "Privileged cyber school" of the United States of America where 9 thousand students are registered. It is significant that "Virtual universities" are being established as well. Currently up to 3 million students are enrolled in mega-universities oriented on "Distant education" throughout Great Britain. It should be mentioned "Phoenix" University (established in 2010 in United States of America, State Arizona) completed oriented on distant education. 200 000 students are enrolled there (source: source: Wikipedia, free encyclopedia, 2010).

[25] "International Association For K-12 Online Learning" "online" learning international association established in the United States of America in 2003 that today includes 1 600 "online" students.

[26] "European Computer Driving Licensing" was established in 1997 in Dublin. 148 countries are its user and includes up to 10 million program participants.

[27] Was established in the United States of America in 2008. More than 4 million students are enrolled in higher education course of the center. It implements master's and doctor's "online" programs besides of that bachelor's.

[28] United States of America, Washington, 2004

[29] United States of America, 2003

[30] "Modular object-oriented dynamic learning" - Modular object-oriented dynamic learning environment. Besides this system is developed for teachers for efficient "online" courses collaboration and application in teaching process. Due to data of 2010 this system serves about 37 million users and has more than 3 million courses.

[31] "Virtual learning environment"

[32] "United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization" established in 1954. The head office of the organization is located in Paris. 193 states and 7 associated members are united in "UNESCO". Georgia is the members of the organization since 1992.

developed regional program "Perfection of educational systems of Independent States Commonwealth countries based on (ICT[33])[34]" for the following countries: Azerbaijan, Armenia, Belorussia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kirgizia, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Ukraine.

Under the program was scheduled: teachers' training and skills improvement in computer application, multimedia development in education, (ICT) in "distant education", (ICT) application in scientific studies, electronic libraries in education, (ICT) in foreign languages learning, information educational net establishment with (ICT), etc.[35]

State center of "Information technologies professional education" of Georgia is interesting from the point of view of "distant education" development in Georgia conducting its activity for already the three years and improving information and communication technologies (ICT) of European standards level. This method gradually penetrates the other professional educational centers as well. Electronic and distant learning system "Moodle" that is popular throughout the world is being adopted, that due to foreign experts' evaluation is leading one in Georgian educational space.

On its server are provided training materials available not only for students; for the first time matriculants were admitted to this center in real time "online" mode through electronic testing. In accordance with the information provided by the center the first "ESDL" – certification and testing authorized center in Transcaucasia operates based on it that enables strengthening of learning standards in Georgia that are acknowledged in Europe in the field of information technologies.

3.5 „Third sector" and alternative education

In the beginning of 1990s when Soviet Union existence was terminated *Civil society[36]* used to be considered as one of the instruments that could lead the post-soviet society towards the democracy.

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[33] "Information and communications technology" – information and communications technologies program.

[34] Research of "State University of Agriculture of Georgia" on "Distant education".

[35] To this end should be noted "British council" "online program" of English language learning, "Distant learning" program "IREX" of internet application and learning program of "Free University" in Georgia (it represents international non-commercial organization that implements innovative programs for the purpose of education level improvement, free media strengthening and public development supporting. The organization was established in 1958 and in more than 50 states conducts consultancy activity. It cooperates with Georgia since 1994) (IATP). It is significant that nowadays similar programs are being refined in other private universities. Even state universities commenced development to this direction. For example: "Tbilisi State University" (TSU) develops electronic learning programs of medical faculty, "State University of Agriculture of Georgia" also adopts "distant", new interactive technology direction, etc.

[36] Union of persons governed under the law. Their non political association aimed towards individuals' diverse interests' satisfaction (Hegel).

Informal and afterwards non-governmental organization, so called "Third sector[37]" is the active member of civil society that began development after soviet empire destruction through the efforts of the West. Non-governmental, non-commercial organizations are the active groups comprising of qualified specialists working on such projects that shall satisfy *civil society* priority fields (e.g. health, struggle against poverty, regional development, education, etc.).

On the background of new challenges and new perspectives that face a contemporary person, knowledge obtained through traditional education appeared to be insufficient for formation of a citizen prepared for integration in modern social life.

Currently one of the means of such skills development is collaboration with non-governmental organizations and incorporation within their activity offering the users not traditional, alternative education whereas non-governmental organizations posses sufficient recourses to improve younger segment consciousness, conduct trainings in the country and abroad, increase their intellectual level.

It should be noted that the trainees and so called volunteers that are actively incorporated within activities of *non-governmental organizations* and contribute to civil sectors development, as a result are being formed as leaders, adapt to take initiative and learn ways of problem optimal settlement, i.e. they get alternative education in these organizations.

It should be mentioned as well that the higher education in the west enrolled a new age wherein higher managerial principals and methods are intensively adopted. Non-governmental institutions represent important actors in this process.

Currently 50% of universities and colleges in America operate under the status of non-governmental organization; such schools as famous "Harvard[38]" and "Princeton[39]" universities (where great attention is drawn to getting of alternative education including "distant education"[40])

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[37] Non-governmental organization, so called "Third sector". Structure independent from the state, public organization wherein citizens are enrolled based on common interests and goals (Wikipedia, free encyclopedia). It is significant that non-governmental organizations monitor various structures. For example they observe even such a structure as UNO humans rights council. Some organizations are quite large and have the status of international status (e.g. "Red Cross", "Amnesty International", etc.), there are non-governmental organization of local importance, e.g.: organizations working on assistance of IDPs, women's rights protection, etc. (source: national library of the Parliament of Georgia, "Civil education dictionary", http://www.nplg.gov.ge/ , 2010).

[38] was established in 1636 in the United States of America, in Cambridge, State of Massachusetts. The university was named after one of the founders John Harvard. (source: Wikipedia, free encyclopedia).

[39] was established in 1746, in the United States of America, in Elizabethtown. In 1756 it was moved to the State of New Jersey. (source: Wikipedia, free encyclopedia).

[40] Source: Wikipedia, free encyclopedia, (2010).

Civil society or civil war ?

Recommendations for the development of alternative education in Georgia

4.1 Autonomy of the education system

One important issue should be particularly considered.

The law of Georgia on "Professional education" reads: "The law completely complies with education reforms fundamental principals: education system decentralization and legislative institutions autonomy".

Educational institutions should be autonomous and independent, with stable self-management. This system monopolization should not be allowed. Authoritarian style of management that may be expressed in attempt to control educational institutions by the State shall not encourage democratic principles strengthening in this field that shall result in not a single problem in a further development of the entire system.

4.2 „Summerhill" version for Georgia

In 1970s adoption of "Summerhill" learning methods was a very important event for development of educational system of the United States of America that was followed by the alternative methods introduction opportunities within the entire system. It laid the foundation to the establishment of "democratic" and "alternative" educational institutions.

Based on "Summerhill" example Georgia shall implement alternative programs and different learning methods introduction. "Summerhill" is not translated into Georgian language. This book should be published into Georgian.

"Revolution" in the field of education may take place in Georgia as well based on the experience of these materials using the other countries practice.

4.3 The state's support of alternative education

The government of Georgia similar to foreign leading states should support and finance non-commercial organizations' initiatives on alternative educations obtaining and availability whereas such initiatives shall facilitate alternative institutions development and students shall have the opportunity to get respective education.

Based on the example of USA project "Diploma+" officially acknowledged as alternative, new higher education system initiator, the similar project should be developed in Georgia considering that this project is spread almost throughout the entire United States of America due to its effective and successful management. This project should be lobbied and developed.

4.4 Strengthening the role of the third sector in the direction of alternative education

Currently there are no accredited and licensed "Alternative schools" and "Alternative universities" in Georgia operating under non-governmental status. The main reason of that is that diversification of different type and range of educational institutions is not implemented. Liberalization, diversification of educational institutions should be implemented that makes learning process more efficient and comfortable for a student.

One more complicacy is the fact that registration and accreditation process is complicated in this system.

Higher managerial principals and new methods of learning should be permanently adopted. Registration process should be simplified as the most important and experienced actors of abovementioned direction adoption are exactly non-governmental organizations[41]. "Third sector" really owns intellectual recourses and ability therefore. However, unfortunately we don't' have the culture of non-governmental higher education institutions existence in the country that no doubt hinders educational system harmonic and efficient development.

Georgia shall consider successful states' diverse practice to this end and based on their experience shall commence introduction of abovementioned institutions.

4.5 Development of „distant education"

Complete computerization shall ensure educational process effectiveness improvement, new information technologies adoption in university educational, scientific-research and administrative-economy units.

From this point of view the priority direction is: establishment of university computer net, joint database formation, all personnel and student service possibility through internet electronic mail, development of university distant learning automated system and consultancies.

"Distant education" introduction without location and time limitation shall enable familiarization with foreign countries educational systems, taking courses developed by the best professors and teachers of European and American higher institutions, participation in web-conferences, passing exams, obtaining certificates and searching for the job[42]. Application of new technologies of learning is considered as major state priority in the most countries of the world. From this point of view good practice of

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[41] To this end it is important the document on "The National youth policy of Georgia" elaborated in 2010 by the Ministry of Sports and Youth affairs of Georgia wherein "Alternative education" adoption in Georgia is discussed as well. In accordance with the document there are quite experienced, qualified human recourses in non-governmental sector acting not only on local but also on international level. It is mentioned that it is necessary to increase possibilities of get informal education getting and to develop young people residing in regions, to inform on informal educational programs. Young non-governmental sector institutional development should be encouraged. United standard on educational programs shall be developed that unfortunately currently doesn't exist in Georgia.

[42] Recommendation of the research of "State Agricultural University of Georgia" on "Distant education".

Civil society or civil war ?

the foreign countries should be considered that is vital for current educational system reforms in Georgia[43].

4.6 „Intellectual migration"

A lot of honored teachers and professors migrated from Georgia live and work abroad who devote their intellectual resources and potential to foreign educational institutions. So called "intellectual re-migration" shall be implemented that shall result in sharing of such persons' knowledge to Georgian students. It shall no longer be important whether the lecturer is in Georgia or not.

This goal achievement shall be impossible without modern informative technologies adoption and application.

One of the first initiators of such new system adoption in Georgia is Bonn University professor Mr. Akaki Rusetsky who implements virtual training program for our students under the contract signed with Tbilisi State University. Mr. Akaki actively works on the initiative in accordance with which the student shall be enabled to get master's degree of any foreign university.

Such initiatives shall be systematically collaborated and developed.

Conclusions

Why is it necessary to adopt „Alternative education" in Georgia?

The main idea shall be comprehended: today „Alternative education" development in Georgia is a very important and priority issue as if there are more alternatives a person shall have more opportunities to obtain useful and necessary knowledge and experience. Therefore educational system shall be develop equally in state as well as in private and public sectors as if there is more developed educational system in all the three sectors, more opportunities shall be provided to a person to properly face challenges encountered by a contemporary human, shall become successful and competitive in international labor market.

We hope that during the coming years the culture of "Alternative education" shall be adopted in Georgia without which "three-sector education" is inconceivable, that shall increase education level, shall comply with the market requirements of tomorrow, shall encourage getting of innovative, effective, academic education and acknowledgment of Georgia within the international commonwealth.

[43] http://www.google.ge/images?um=1&hl=ka&rlz=1R2SKPT_enGE396&biw=1259&bih=767&tbs=isch%3A1&sa=1&q=distant+learning

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Civil society or civil war ?

Women hold
up half the sky:
What if they filled half
the parliament?

Elene Rusetskaia,
Director of the Women's Information Center

Women's political fighting for equal rights and opportunities is a universal phenomenon in the modern world. Women's movement, especially in the second half of the 20th century gained quite big success and together with the traditionally unsolved tasks, it raised a bigger question – a real provision of the free and equal development of women. It tended to break the monopoly of men in the government and to increase women's representation in different political and social institutions.

60s of the 20th century is also characterized as the period of "women's revolution", when they promoted their main slogan: "Women hold up half the sky: What if they filled half the parliament?" (Portugal: The Parity Parliament.)!" Right that time appeared a new concept - Gender, or socially divided roles of men and women.

In 1945, when the United Nations was established, fighting for gender equality was at the first stage. The UN Charter was the first international document, which officially addressed the issues of equality between the sex and which did not prioritized any of them.

In the first three decades the UN activities for solving the problems of women dealt with their legal and civil rights as well as gathering information about conditions of women worldwide. It became obvious that the Law was not sufficient for providing equal rights.

The second stage for fighting for gender equality was the four conferences initiated by the UN aiming at improving women's conditions through elaboration of strategy of action plan. Women's participation on decision-making processed was underlined at all conferences and women's problems were included in adopted documents and issues for consideration.

Despite that, one can say that the new chapter of fighting for gender equality started at the fourth World Conference dedicated to women's problems, which was held in Beijing, 1995. The Beijing declaration and Platform for Action was adopted at the conference, which represented the agenda for solving problems related to widening women's rights and their potentials.

The Beijing Declaration gained a big success with its scope of the participant countries and results. It was the broadest meeting of representatives of state structures and non-governmental organizations – 17000 delegates from 189 countries. With the

Civil society or civil war ?

conference, Forum held by the non-governmental organizations removed all records, as more than 47000 participants attended.

The Beijing Conference became the main point in development of women's movement and gender equality in Georgia. Georgian delegation of state and non-profit sector participated in the Conference. It was mainly caused because of the fact that Georgia signed the Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination towards Women (CEDAW) and it took the responsibility to present periodical Alternative Report about women's conditions in every four years.

After the Beijing conference women's NGOs in Georgia started to carry out actions for promotion of gender policy. In 1999 under the decree of the President of Georgia the first structure on gender issues was established – "the State Commission for Improvement State Policy on Women's Promotion". In 1997-2004 years the first Action Plan on improving women's conditions was elaborated.

In the beginning of 2000, terms such as "gender" and "feminism" were still unknown for the wide range of society. Population was not aware of the organizations working on gender issues and women's rights.

In 2000 with support of the OSCE\ODIHR Coalition of women's NGOs was created aiming at lobbying women's participation in decision-making processes at all levels in Georgia. Organizations united in the Coalition defined the main 8 priorities: women and politics, institutional mechanisms, women and economy, women and mass media, women and peace-building, women and healthcare, women and education, women and environment and global security. The organizations joined the groups and began active working to achieve one joint goal. "Women and Peace-building" was the biggest group and it was caused by the conflict situations in the country and the region. The Group was the initiator of the project "Women's Peacemaking Council", which was carried out by women, amongst organizations of internally displaced women. The group was the initiator of the project "Women's Peacemaking Council", which was carried out by women, amongst, organisations of IDP women and working in conflict zones.

This project was a real example of women's effective work in peace processes. This project became a fundament of networking in Georgia and in the whole region. Promotion of implementation of the UN Security Council Resolution 1325 in Georgia first started that time. In the years 2003 -2006 the process was actively supported by the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM).

Information exchange, partnership, joint prospects and initiatives demanded expansion of the activity area of the women's organizations in Georgia. Women's movement gradually covered the regions of Georgia, where access to information was more acute problem and, therefore, problems such as domestic violence, early marriage, sexual exploitation, trafficking, gender stereotypes and other were not put in the agenda.

In February 2004 Coalition of women's non-governmental organizations presented a package of recommendations for the creation of effective institutional mechanisms on gender equality to the President and the Prime - Minister. The government responded to the initiative and set up a State Working Group (temporary working group), which consisted of representatives of women's NGOs.

It took a long time and a great effort for the international and non-governmental organizations to come up to the current situation in terms of institutional and legislative framework.

Date	International commitments	Institutional mechanisms		Legislative base	
		Legislative branch	Executive branch	Law and Legislation	Action Plans
1994 year	Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)				
1995 year					"For improvement of conditions of women and children in Georgia" (Cabinet of Ministers, resolution # 702)
1996 year	Convention on the equal payment for the equal work of men and women (Cabinet of Ministers, resolution #153)				
1998 year			The State Commission for the improvement of the state policy to promote women (Presidential Decree # 48)		

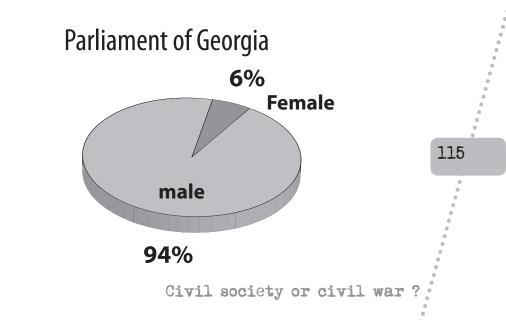|					
1999 year				About activities strengthening protection of Women's human rights (Presidential Decree #511)	
2000 year					"Action plan on Violence against women for the years 2000-2002." (The Presidential Decree #64)
2004 year					"Action Plan 2005-2006 on combating Human trafficking" (Presidential Decree #623)
			Creation of the State Working Group (temporary working group)		
			Creation of the Gender Equality Advisory Council		
2005 year	Convention on women's political rights (Resolution #1652)		Creation of the State Comission on Gender Equality		
2006 year					Law of Georgia on Combating Human Trafficking
					Law of Georgia on Elimination of Domestic Violence, Protection of and Support to Its Victims
					the State Concept on Gender Equality
			State Fund for Protection and Assistance to Victims of Trafficking in Persons		
			Interagency Coordination Council for Carrying out Measures against Trafficking in Persons		

photo by Giorgi Tsagareli

2007 year					"Action Plan of Georgia on gender equality policy implementation 2007-2009 " (The Government Decree # 539)
			"Interagency Coordination Council on Gender Equality (the Government Resolution # 211)		
2008 year			Interagency Council on Domestic Violence		
2009 year					Amendments to the Law of Georgia on Elimination of Domestic Violence, Protection of and Support to Its Victims are adopted
					Action Plan of Georgia on combating domestic violence and protecting victims of domestic violence, 2009-2010
2010 year			Permanent Council for Gender Equality		
					Law on Gender Equality

					Elaboration of the Action Plan on combating Trafficking in persons 2011-2013 is in process
Currently					Elaboration of the Action Plan on gender equality policy implementation 2010-2013

Contribution of Ms Rusudan Kervalishvili - speaker of Parliament, Chairperson of the Parliamentary Council, is huge to these processes and to the successes. With the effort of Ms Kervalishvili, women's NGOs, UN agencies and international organizations, we have a permanent institutional mechanism and the Law on Gender Equality. The year 2010 can be considered as a historical for gender equality development. Of course, improvement of the laws is needed as well as reviewing, initiating the new draft law, improving institutional mechanism, Gender Mainstreaming in all fields, in order to become de facto effective and to have influence on policy and improvement of women's status. Over the years the state elaborated and adopted action planas. Yet the country has implemented two Action Plans: on Domestic Violence and human trafficking.

Despite the fact that today there is legislative basis of gender policy implementation in Georgia, still, the problem of women's participation in decision-making bodies remains a problem.

Parliament of Georgia

6%
Female

male

94%

Civil society or civil war ?

Nowadays, vision of men politicians does not reflect women's needs. Anti-gender"
statistics in the legislative and executive authorities indicates the quality of democracy
in the country.

Representation of women in government			
Year	Total number of ministers	Female ministers	Women's Participation %
2003	18	2	11%
2004	24	5	21%
2005	21	4	19%
2006	21	1	5%
2007	22	3	14%
2008	18	0	0%
2009	17	1	6%
2010	19	2	10,5%

Date of elections	Legislative body	Total number of deputies	number of deputy women	Women's Participation %
1919	The constituent assembly	130	4	3%
1990	The Supreme Council	250	18	7,2%
1992	Parliament	222	14	6,3%
1995	Parliament	250	16	6,4%
1999	Parliament	235	17	7,2%
2004	Parliament	235	22	9,4%
2008	Parliament	150/138 *	9	6,5%

After the so-called "Rose Revolution" during the 2004 parliamentary elections, 22 deputy women were elected at the country's supreme legislative body. This was the highest number in the history of the state's independent existence. In 2004, the cabinet of ministers was occupied by 4 female ministers. Majority of the second positions at the Ministries consisted of women as well. It is important, that the state makes important decisions during this period in terms of gender equality.

In 1998, local government elections were held first time in Georgia. That time number of female deputies in the Municipality counted 15%. In the elections conducted in 2002 number of women candidates was a record figure; number of deputies elected to the Tbilisi City Council was 18%, while 11.9% was elected to the first level Municipality.

In 2006, number of female deputies reduced and amounted 11, 4% as a result of changes legislation in to improve local authorities.

During the elections Coalition of women's organizations worked very active in terms of gender policy implementation. The Coalition was able to accomplish its main function - began to support women leaders. In spite of what was the result of this work, it was clear that only joint forces could achieve gender equality in the country.

The last election, in 2010, percentage of women candidates to the local self-government bodies was quite high, but the legal environment, unequal conditions of political parties, and absence of the special programs for women's advancement caused the fact that in all Municipalities number of women accomplished 10% - which is the lowest indicator of the local government elections.

What is the solution of women's organizations in this regard? In 1999 women's NGOs initiated that the presidential decree # 511 "Strengthening Measures for Women's Human Rights" outline mechanism of quotation in the parliament. The first paragraph contains the text of the necessity of implementing the mechanism at the parliament, which has not been fulfilled yet.

For advancement of women on decision-making level, example of the joint actions became draft law initiated by the women's Coalition, according to which women should have a sufficient number of MP seats in parliament - taking temporary measures (quotetion).
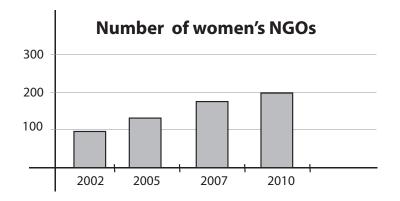
The Coalition held the action and collected signatures for the adoption of the amendments to the two laws: "The Election Code of Georgia "and the "Law on political union of citizens." On May 2, 2008, 32400 signatures supporting the draft laws went into the country's parliament. But the events of 2008 helped postpone the process indefinitely. This indicates that the 32 000 voters are ready and willing to see more women in power.

Civil society or civil war ?

For the last two years, women's organizations have gained experience; they created strong connections with international organizations and state structures. They started to participate actively in various political processes in order to implement Gender Mainstreaming.
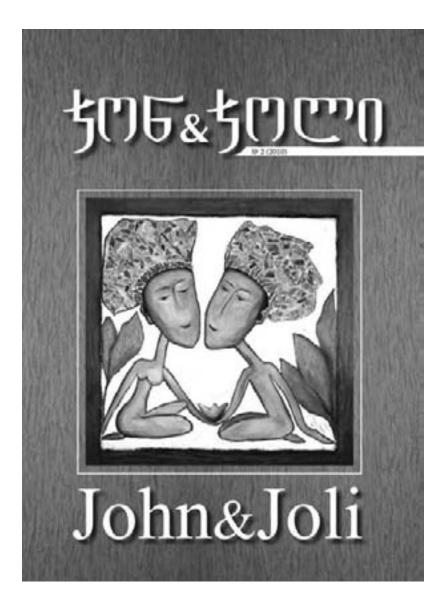
Women's NGOs in the last decade

In 2002 with the initiative of Women's Information Center, first catalog "women's rights and gender issues in the South Caucasus" was created. It included the contact information of women's organizations and networks throughout the region. Number of organizations working on women's and gender issues is increasing every year in Georgia, in 2002 it amounted 132 and today, according to the Women's Information Center, number of such organisations count 217.

Number of women's NGOs

Since 2005 on the basis of the catalog Gender Information Network of South Caucasus functions in Georgia, - the only trilingual (Georgian, Russian, English) portal in the post-Soviet space, which provides its users with information on gender equality and women's rights in the region, as well as in the entire world. During its existence the portal won a huge audience, number of demand and the visitors has been increased. Portal has become a digital archive, which includes the activities of women's movement in Georgia in the last decade. In the beginning the process of preparation of catalog was supported by the International Organization OSCE/ODIHR, then - Open Society Georgia Foundation (OSGF) and the Swedish Organisations "Women to Women" (Kvinna till Kvinna). Unfortunatelly, despite the important work that this network provides to wide public awareness, it does not have a permanent source of funding.

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John&Joli

Role of Independent Small-Scale Libraries in the Development of Civil Society

Tamar Kobakhidze & Sophia Tabatadze
experts

The changes occurring in Georgia for last 20 years have been promoted creation of the new social infrastructure consisting of interdependent institutions with different degrees of independence. Development of these institutions and integrity of an infrastructure are important for growth of well-being of citizens and society development as a whole. In turn special conditions are necessary for development of separate systems of an infrastructure. One of the most important conditions is information service of system units since a process of "useful" transformation of a modern society is impossible without corresponding information support - dataware. The information is necessary for adaptation to changes, both for individual citizens, and the large number of various social institutions. Efficiency of carrying out of reforms depends on to what extent the reformed institutions and members of a society as a whole are informed, and to what extent the changes are made by competent people.

This social role, or even the mission – belongs, in particular, to libraries.

Libraries as the information support centers play an important role in support of democratic processes, in development of a civil society.

Being a special kind of the organization, they can play an important role in transient process; namely, promote social stability and society democratization.

Issues of Libraries' Functioning

Within the conditions of the social and economic crisis, the library infrastructure created in Soviet period has suffered a lot. The majority of libraries have been closed, premises were illegally privatized. The same libraries which have maintained their existence, nowadays as a rule, are facing similar problems.

Due to the lack of means, library funds are not regularly replenished with the modern literature and, accordingly, the library infrastructure isn't capable to completely satisfy interests of the users. But again absence of means explains that in the libraries there are no adequate conditions for comfortable operation of visitors and for storage of books. In the libraries there are no elementary temperature conditions (in winter it is cold indoors, hot- in summer, and damp in fall and spring), there is a problem with power supply, the user is not in a condition to work fruitfully and his or her desire to come to the library next time vanishes in general. The system of reception of information through nonconventional sources of information is not developed.

However all these problems in a greater degree are a consequence of the fact that management of libraries has become outdated and fails to be operative in the present-day conditions.

Origination of New Generation of Libraries

Any reforms shall necessary begin with transformation of structures and mechanisms of information technology in a society. For this purpose it is necessary to have a creative approach and hold information on the international experience. One should introduce multimedia methods for information presentation, possibility of consultations with foreign experts, retraining of employees and managers of libraries is necessary. These very managers of libraries should be one of major "agents" of changes in our society. Communications, public relations are becoming more and more important in the activity of modern library. Especially big role play the libraries and, namely, school libraries in the remote from capital Georgian regions where the issue of information support for a society is a burning one.

Many had an opinion that libraries became a burden for a society; however it is not like this. Necessity of adaptation to new conditions promoted creation of small, target libraries. One of the first small- scale libraries is the «Samizdat.ge» library.

The library was set up in 1989 in the blossoming period of the National Georgian Movement. The Association of the National Consent of Georgia has created the first independent library in Georgia which had been functioning till 1991. Necessity of existence of such organization has been caused by insufficient information support of arising democratic movement, as well as by need of an information exchange between democratic institutes of the Post-Soviet states. Similar libraries were functioning in Moscow, St.-Petersburg and other cities.

During this period the library represented a collection of the informal periodical press, in other words "the Samizdat" that was published in Georgia, Russia, Ukraine and in the Baltic States during the period from 1988 till 1993. Nowadays the given collection has kept only about 420 releases of the informal periodical press which

make up the basic archive of the library.

Since 1991 all materials of the library have been transferred to the office of the Georgian National Committee of Helsinki Citizens' Assembly. The library has been replenished and supported by efforts of the Committee employees.

Independent Library "Samizdat.ge" Today

To date the independent library "Samizdat.ge" is one of the non-governmental non-profit organizations being part of the partner network of the Georgian National Committee of Helsinki Citizens' Assembly.

The primary goals of the "Samizdat.ge" library are as follows:
- To increase efficiency of NGOs, operating in regions, by means of providing them with information (a role of local and regional offices);
- To increase efficiency of NGOs' activities, being part of the HCA Georgia network through the information support of their needs;
- To provide distribution and exchange of literature and other types of information at the regional and international levels for the purpose to support development of democratic institutions at South Caucasus.

Library Collection

There are about 7200 books and materials in the collection of the "Samizdat.ge" library. Literature of the following classification is brought to the attention of the library readers:

- protection of human rights;
- conflicts and their resolution;
- the legislation;
- nonstate sector;
- peace-making initiatives;
- migration;
- the finance, funds, resources;
- social studies: political science, sociology, philosophy, psychology;
- religion;
- the interstate organizations;
- management, organizational development;
- periodicals;
- dictionaries, manuals

The library also possesses methodological materials. The library collection is being

replenished with information materials of conferences, trainings, seminars in which the HCA Georgia representatives are participating. In addition there are various booklets, bulletins, information leaflets, a unique collection of old maps of the XIX-XX cc.

The "Samizdat.ge" library holds information not only in the form of books and printing materials, but also as video and audio materials, as well as information recorded on CD/DVD disks. The "Samizdat.ge" library constantly updates its collection. The library conducts monitoring of demand on literature based on the results of which the literature is being acquired.

Monitoring and Analytical Activities

«Samizdat.ge» represents not a simple library in its classical meaning. From the moment of its creation independent monitoring of periodicals, search and collection of information through Internet is carried out here, they conduct analytical work and hold thematic meetings.

Important and interesting materials are copied from newspapers and classified by thematic boxes. Thus, the library has concentrated the unique material of press monitoring starting from 1998.

Due to such press monitoring representatives of the HCA Georgia partner network, and also students and experts can use information necessary for them classified by separate themes. Materials of press monitoring are used during work on articles for bulletins and magazines, preparation of reports, yearly projects and theses.

More than 100 students of such high schools as the Georgian Polytechnic University (Department of public administration and conflictology), Tbilisi State University (TSU) (Department of international relations and foreign languages), the Sukhumi branch of TSU (Department of Russian language and literature), the Gori University (Department of journalism), the Warsaw University, Southern Federal University (Russian Federation) have prepared their yearly projects and theses by using the "Samizdat.ge" library's service, and all these works were awarded by only the highest grades. The library information was used by interns from Azerbaijan, Armenia, Holland, Poland, Canada, Austria and the USA.

Network of Small-Scale Libraries

One of the major initiatives of the "Samizdat.ge" library was the idea of creation of a network of small-scale libraries which can provide various social classes of the society with the information, thematically sorting the literature.

Unique feature of such networks is a distribution of the literature in small libraries, according to themes and purposes, instead of their mere collection in large national libraries.

Such small-scale libraries can be placed separately in a building of library or in various relevant organizations and are capable to serve to various target groups of consumers.

Mainstreams of development of a new library network in Georgia will consist in the following:

- Development of small and average-scale libraries;
- Strengthening of general communications;
- Creation of private or social (non-governmental) libraries;
- Membership in the international system;
- Change of a financial management of libraries;
- Preparation of staff and statement of social problems;
- Social activization of libraries, creation of numerous organizations, for example trade unions, for resolution of existing problems;
- Automation of libraries;
- Creation of new educational structures etc.;
- dentification and concentration on groups of consumers.

Therefore, in the conditions of market economy the network of small-scale libraries of Georgia will reflect needs of professional and other social groups according to our stratification. That is why the problem can't be solved in narrowly professional frameworks and deserves special attention from the public and the governmental organizations. Development of library structures in Georgia should be in avant-garde of processes of the social and economic changes.

Just recently, the idea of small-scale libraries' network has been transformed into the new project – «Library of the 3rd sector of Georgia». This project means expansion of communications between the existing small libraries and encouragement of creation of the new ones.

The project aims to create general information space of the 3rd sector in Georgia. Within the frameworks of the project they plan creation of the general information resource - a website providing information on all small-scale libraries, on information archives, rendering services and thematic activities. Creation of the "Library of the 3rd sector of Georgia» will simplify work of students and experts in carrying out their research activities.

Implementation of the project would also contribute to a formation of the general library policy promoting perfection of information support - dataware.

«The Library of the 3rd Sector of Georgia» can become partner of the «NGO Map» project, aiming to strengthening of cooperation of various types of structures of a civil society for the purpose of assistance in achievement of goals of the EU Eastern Partnership Program. And within this process integration of information resources of the 3rd sector organizations will be of a crucial importance.
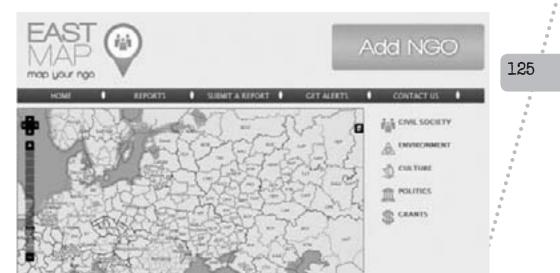
"NGO Map"

The Eastern Partnership Program (EaP) – launched on May 7, 2009 – aims at creating a new dimension of cooperation and partnership of EU member states with six post-Soviet Republics of Eastern Europe (Belarus, Moldova, Ukraine) and Caucasus (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia). The initiative holds many opportunities for the partner countries, including transferring and sharing European know-how by means of trainings and workshops, which is critically important for transitional economies and reforming democratic institutions.

Unlike other EU initiatives, the EaP is supported by the general public. The Partnership provides an innovative platform of bilateral, as well as multilateral cooperation between the EU and its Eastern neighbors. The number of initiatives on the level of civil society has already been launched and executed. The Civil Society Forum of the EaP was organized in December, 2009. October 2010 was marked by international conference "Go East".

The NGO Map is one of the projects initiated in order to help achieve the objectives of the Eastern Partnership by establishing an interactive database of the civil society institutions from EU member states and the EaP countries basing on the Ushahidi platform (http://www.ushahidi.com/). The project aims at strengthening cooperation between different types of civil society organisations and their partners (including state institutions and international organisations) at bilateral and multilateral level.

The "NGO Map" will allow NGOs to create their own profiles, share the news about their activities and programs and also find partners and grants from the institutions interested in the region. It is an easy and practical tool for communication between NGOs from EU and EaP states.

The project has already invoked interest from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Poland, which financially supported the study visit of representatives of the NGOs from the EaP states to Poland. The Polish Foundation Common Europe has provided financing for preparing the website. The study visit was hosted by Eastbook - Portal on Eastern Partnership (http://eastbook.eu/). During the visit the participants discussed needs and shared experience of civil society in the EaP states and established how the NGO map could become useful. Moreover, they expressed their willingness to join experience and enthusiasm to work together as authors of "NGO map" initiative. They have become coordinators of the initiative on behalf of their states.

Segment of Political Parties in Integral System of Civil Society

Teona Abashidze,
intern of HCA Georgia

Introduction

Ideological diversity and relevant powerful political parties are considered as an important factor within the process of formation of civil society and country democratization. Parties have strong influence upon formation of pluralistic civil society.

Electoral success of parties cannot be achieved without their stable grounds within the society and, ideally, they should reflect interests of wide circles of the society.

Political parties represent integral and most essential part of the civil societies.

This article is focused exactly on definition of role of political parties' segment in the formation of civil society.

Georgian Reality in Terms of Collaboration of Political Parties and the 3rd Sector

Non-governmental, public organizations, which (for some reason in Georgian reality) are considered as major instruments of formation of civil society, unlike the political parties, are trying to refine political system without coming into power, for example, through controlling the governmental power.

They also are united around certain values.

Collaboration between non-governmental, public organizations and political parties is beneficial and even necessary in terms of increase of efficiency of their own capacity; For example, in such sector as rising of civil awareness.

In Georgia, political parties enjoy rather low level of legitimacy. One of the reasons lies in their own improper functioning and inconsistency, since according to a theory of political identity, formation of identity takes place by political elite upon fulfillment of political functions.

In reality, there is no community-based western type party in Georgia. As a result, within such conditions, collaboration and solidarity between individual groups and organizations is impossible, and therefore, they have no influence on political or public processes.

If we recall the latest events, when after protesting of students, principals of schools were dismissed (or either forced them to write an application and leave – according to a main evaluation of this event) - this fact went by almost without any reaction. Whereas, this problem should have been raised by trade unions, so that to cause response from political parties followed by negotiations with the relevant governmental agency. However, this fact went by rather quietly. No sense of protesting has been officially raised either from the community or political sides. This clearly witnesses the lack of collaboration culture between the segments of civil society.

Similar situation took place after the forced break up of veterans' protesting that was followed by response from the political parties, several individual non-governmental organizations, which held a joint press-conference, addressing the Minister of Internal Affairs and General Prosecutor to adequately investigate forced break up of veterans' protesting, that was followed by signing of joint declaration[1]. However, in terms of strengthening of result-orientation, it surely would be more beneficial if they

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[1] http://transparency.ge/post/general-announcement/arasamtavrobo-organizatsiebi-ertobliv-gantskhadebas-akveqneben-3-ianvars-v

Civil society or civil war ?

127

collaborate with political parties, so that to make influence on the government more attainable.

Although, in reality the situation is different in Georgia. There is no trust factor that collaboration between them (political parties and other civil institutions) will be implemented for common interests and would not turn into the subject of speculation for any party, this is also conditioned by absence of institutionalization and complete personification of the above mentioned organizations. As a result, it is natural that relation will not be refined and will not develop unless these organizations take adequate form themselves. And indeed relations between the organizations shall not be identical to the relations between the charismatic leaders of the organizations. This is not a norm, but an indicator of a low level of social commitment.

Conclusion

Thus, consolidation of civil institutions and their proper functioning play a defining role in a formation of civil society, the main issue of which is a problem of institutionalization, without which the political parties and organizations fail to function on a principle basis.

For the purpose that political parties were considered as a part of civil society and had an actual influence upon political processes, we believe it is necessary:
1. To make them functioning upon the stable institutional bases;
2. Ensuing from common purposes, to elaborate coordinate collaboration and common rules of game between the political parties and other civil institutions;
3. Common protection of interests and rights of various circles of population.

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Development of culture of peace and non-violent protest in Georgia

Ms. Aleksandra Gryźlak
Lack of the culture of protest

One of the most significant ingredients of civil society is the ability to express resistance and achieve its goals. For Georgia undergoing rapid democratization role of former dissidents and research about anticommunist opposition might be very useful and significant. However it is almost not used. Diversified forms of protest are not visible. It is hard to notice forms of protest other than demonstrations connected with occupation of the main city street or square as well as hunger strikes. Both of them are very radical and they make the return to negotiations table very difficult if not impossible. In practice they do not solve anything and often they lead to tragic and dangerous results – like the ones we could observe in Tbilisi November 2007 (anti-president mass demonstrations brutally dispersed by police and special forces).

The lack of developed culture of protest is raising the risk of instabilities and is causing tensions. It is also a threat to those steps that Georgia already passed on its way towards democracy. Another problem is unresolved conflicts which are used by authorities to discredit and silence opposition.

Not only inadequate forms of protest but also lack of support from societies is a difficulty in development of civil society in Georgia. Most of the protest movements don't know how to formulate their demands in order to be understood by the society. That is why public opinion often recognizes them not as defenders of democratic freedom and their rights, but as individuals whose only aim is to gain political and economic power.

Political events in Georgia in years 2008 and 2009 show that still culture of protest is significant phenomenon in political and social life of our society. In the meantime lack of the tools, knowledge and skills for the efficient and in the meantime peaceful process brings in violent and unconstructive political and civil conduct. Many citizens stay away from the realization of the won right for peaceful protest as far as mainly see it an instrument in hands of politicians or hooliganism in the streets. All mentioned above hampers development of the mobilization potential of the civil societies and promotes further political manipulation with public consciousness.

"The Center for Research the Culture of Protest"

In order to address those problems on the basis of HCA Georgia an initiative group of "The Center for Research the Culture of Protest" was established in order to realize projects intended to develop a culture of protest in Georgia.

Its main goal is to strengthen the development of civil society, socially activate young people and give quality to the public debate in Georgia by raising the level of the culture of protest – both in theory and practice. Theory refers to academic research about history and contemporary issues connected to protest. Practice is connected with supporting political and social activists with theoretical knowledge, professional advice and practical abilities in order for them to adequately and successfully achieve their goals in respect with democratic rules. In realization of our projects we are planning to gain from experiences of countries that also had to pass through transformation period – like Poland.

Authorities of Georgia under pressure of public started solving the problems of IDPs. The IDPs decided to create organization "Civil Movement" in order to protect own rights.

On Wednesday apartments were allocated for six IDPs from Abkhazia whom were without food during the week with sewn mouths.

The Minster of Internally Displaced Persons from the Occupied Territories, Accommodation and Refugees of Georgia Mr. Koba Subeliani made this statement…

http://www.ekhokavkaza.com/content/article/2146589.html

http://donbass.ua/

Civil society or civil war ?

The role of mass media in the development of the civil society of Georgia

Svetlana Muradyan,
journalist

Introduction

One of the most important segments of a civil society is mass media[11].

Nowadays, mass media in Georgia is represented by a wide spectrum of such means of communication like: newspapers, journals, press, television, radio, internet publications and social media. Depending on various factors, they may be subdivided into such subgroups like:
- Governmental, private, corporate
- Commercial and non-profit
- Georgian, English, Russian and etc.
- Central and regional

The division of mass media types into commercial and non-profit is explained by the objectives of their creation: in the first case these are received profits, and in the second case-only the spreading of information, the reaction on socially important events and other motives not connected with material profit.

From the history of independent mass media in Georgia

The first non-governmental mass media publications (proclamations, appeals, leaflets) in the Georgian SSR were printed by anti-Soviet underground groups which in such way reported to the society forbidden ideas and facts spreading with the officially accepted version of the government. Aggressively tuned actors performing the role of the journalists of these underground newspapers and leaflets also tried to fix the occasions of breaching of the basic rights and freedom of a man in the Soviet Union. For this purpose, upon the suggestion of the dissident Valery Chalidze in 1970 the academician Andrei Saharov created the commission for the protection of the rights of a man, which had to produce valuable recommendations upon the legislation of the USSR in this sphere[2].

Various types of organizations, expressing the interests of oppositionally tuned groups and units, began to be created in the beginning of 80s in Georgia. In their editions they printed publications containing critics of the government politics. Despite the fact that such activity was strictly punished, there brewed revolutionary mood in the society and this process took a mass scale.

In the second stage, in the beginning of 90s, there rose a question about the creation of a press bulletin, a new type of printable production. At the same time, in the parallel regime, there was a work on three press bulletins in journalistic circles.

Those were:"Spectrum" of Manana Iashvili," Vestnik" of Vakhtang Bakhtadze and

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[*1] What is mass media? Means to deliver information (verbal, aural, visual) on a broadcast channel, covering a large audience and acting on a permanent basis.

[2] "The road from the thin leaflets to the interior magazine, newspapers", Tariel Gviniashvili, Georgia: IT threats and security issues, the South Caucasus Institute of Regional Security. Tbilisi, 2008.

Civil society or civil war ?

"КСЦ"of Mikhail Tavkhelidze[*3]. The first to be observed was "Spectrum", which was favorably accepted by readers and even, caused serious dissonance in the society. Step by step people were prepared for the idea that with Georgia's independence, mass media would become free in the expression of any idea and everyone would be able to criticize the authorities as he would like.

One of the first independent newspapers in Russian represented even in the Soviet Georgia, is "Resonance". The circulation of the newspaper was exported abroad as to the former Sovet Republics as to the other foreign countries." The circulation of the newspaper was exported abroad as to the former USSR republics as to the other foreign countries."Imported" samizdat was received in return.

There was established the first independent library in the country. Already at that time there were made attempts towards the cooperation in the matters of objective coverage of events.

[*3] also see: "The history of independent journalism in Georgia and its role in breaking the totali-
tarian mentality, " Manana Iashvili.

First independent library in Tbilisi (31 Tsinamdzgrishvili ave.)

Reality

Nowadays, such principally new types of mass media like social media - blogs and social nets, take part in the formation of social opinion. In reality, today a representative of media owns almost unlimited opportunities for the implementation of his responsibilities. But is everything as unproblematic as it seems?

Not long ago (in 2010) the respected western NGO Freedom House published a report concerning the condition of free media in the countries all over the world. Every country was given a point corresponding the degree of its mass media independence. The highest indicator meaning absolute freedom of word, according the 100-point scale covered the gap from 0 to 30, the worst (constrained media) were the points from 61 to 100. The Georgian media received 59 points according the 100-point scale and was recognized "partially free". Unfortunately, this indicator hasn't changed form year to year. Among the negative factors, found during the process of investigation, there is said to be pressure from the side of media owners, controlled income from advertising, extremely low wages for journalists and etc[4].

Contrary to the laws of morality and common sense, the workers of some mass media often represent their readers, listeners and spectators distorted, overdone or incomplete information about what is happening in the country. They give subjective evaluation to various events, use inadequate terms which attach aggressive color and negatively influence social opinion. The degree of independence of journalists in such governmental mass media is extremely low.

Concerning non-profit mass media, the degree of their media production differs from "registered" governmental or oligarchic structures. They shoot films, TV programs, invite experts for discussion, hold press-conferences and round tables on topical themes. In such way the association "Studio Re" has been working for already 18 years in this sphere and has reached particular results. However, the representatives of this sector are under serious influence and some are at risk to fully represent the events of current interest.

Along with the problems "from the outside" there should be mentioned the fact that journalists often don't follow the requirements of professional ethics and provide the public with destructive information. In pursuit of sensational stories they attach aggressive color to the events, use the terms causing ethical intolerance, publish unlimited flow of negative information. Unfortunately, this tendency is seen in the work of mass media of many countries and in Georgia it took a mass scale. Destructionism and negative mood of our media demand immediate intervention because to form social opinion with the help of such information is rather easier than with the help of neutral and incomparably more harm made by it.

[4] Not long ago scandalously famous journalist Vakhtang Komakhidze who shot documental films for NGO, together with his family received political shelter in Switzerland. The reason was that he was posed a threat of physical violence in the motherland.
Despite a lot of attempts directed to create a unified informative space in the states of a region, the regional journalism didn't manage to be spread.
Reporters, writing about their country, aren't aware of what is happening in neighboring states and this fact deprives them of objectiveness during the process of evaluation of international events.

Civil society or civil war ?

Mass media in the system of civil society

In order to provide the functioning of mass media, civil society establishes arbitrary structures, which particularly defend the interests of journalists. Association of regional broadcasters of Georgia, association of TV and radio broadcasting of Georgia, association of Georgian press, foundation in support of media freedom - this is an incomplete list of the organizations that express the interests of mass media, observe the way the current legislation is exercised towards informative politics, the way appeal to authorities is published. Not long ago, the initiative group of experts, representatives of non-governmental sector and active journalists, prepared a bill about the improvement of the media-sphere in Georgia, in which fundamentally new conditions for our reality were reflected. The bill which was positively evaluated by international organizations and diplomatic representations in Georgia, was introduced to the parliament by the Christian-democratic party and was held at the first hearing. The second hearing of the bill will be held in February during the spring session of the parliament. According to the participant of the initiative group, the chairman of the Georgian press association Lasha Tugushi, if the bill is accepted, it will be a serious step towards the realization of freedom of word in our country.

The relations between mass media and other institutions of civil society are not always of positive character. Not seldom journalists give disappointed evaluation to the NGO sector, calling non-governmental sector as a "dead sector". According to statistical data, there is activated extremely low percentage of the whole population, which works not on the voluntary basis but is financed by international organizations; this fact explains the reasons for their interest. From press pages and internet resources there are found out the statements about the fact that the chronic illness of the Georgian society-inactivity in the matters of civilian rights and responsibility- is very serious and NGOs aren't able to change the situation.

Media rushes to give poor definitions to the activity of associations and centres : "inefficient", "disabled", "meaningless"[5]. And this fact only strengthens the treatment of society towards the nongovernmental sector[6]. It's not surprising, that comparing the situation in post soviet space with the experience of the western countries, journalists make the following conclusion: in the conditions of mutual mistrust, intimidation, and indifference people can't manage to unite around the idea.

136

[5] A blogger, a public figure Giga Zedan: "Is there a civil society in Georgia? »http://liberali.ge/node/2995 (05.01.2011)

[6] Treatment of non-governmental organizations on the media: http://www.polity.ge/oppinion/societe/1413-saqartvelos-arasamtavrobo-organizatsiebis-gantskhadeba.html (05.01.2011)

Perspectives

For the situation in the country to change for the better in the foreseeing future, there must be strengthened the following factors: increase in professionalism degree of mass media representatives, implicit compliance with the journalistic code of ethics, the development of media-structures in Georgia. The names of the major TV channels and print must be known to the public and pressure on a journalist must be excluded.

Making the conclusion, there should be mentioned: for the improvement of the current situation the institutions of civil society must monitor mass media, finding out and condemning the examples of bias, aggression and ignorance in press, on TV, radio and in internet. Only with the help of joint efforts something may be changed and these are not simply words. There must be taken measures to support the journalists in the regions of Georgia, strengthen cooperation across the South-Caucasian region, and stabilize the influence of civilian opinion on the owners of major mass media.

Development, independence, cooperation with the colleagues at least from neighboring countries-these must be the main priorities for our mass media.

Svetlana Muradyan, journalist

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137

Professional Unions as elements of Civil Society

Anastasia Amisulashvili,
Center for Research of Professional Groups

Active elements of civil society are the groups and organizations that bring people together on a professional basis. many factors depend on their being active- such as stability in the country, the level of development of different spheres of economy, efficiency of use of the intellectual and labor potential of the country's population, legal and social protection of individuals and their families. Such associations may differ in form of organization, goals and objectives; scope of activities, the main criterion for their formation is representation of a particular profession.

Some history of creation of professional associations

In order to protect the interests of certain professional groups in the period of early history, different types of corporations and associations were created – guilds and shops (German Gilde. Zeche- the union).

Formation of this type of organization is closely associated with the development of commerce, cities that were the centers of various crafts. Shop - was an alliance of artisans of given or related specialties, while the guild – was created by representatives of merchant estate. As a rule, the guilds were established to defend themselves when because of general commercial interests the merchants joined together on the trade routes in caravans. The workshops' and guilds' activities were regulated; the members had to follow strict statutes and regulations. The functions of the shops included maintenance of the highest quality of products, support of equality of their members, assistance to the needy craftsmen and their families in case of illness or death of a breadwinner. In some cities workshops were participating in protection of cities and put their troops in the urban militia.

In Georgia, the artisans' associations also existed in almost all major cities and most widely were represented in the XVII - XIX centuries. Particular success by handicraft production was reached in Tbilisi. Markets, the caravanserai and the stalls of the city were occupied mostly by shops of craftsmen, which were divided into rows and blocks, according to type of production they were involved in. Even the modern appellations of Tbilisi are keeping the names of certain guilds. For example, the place of Dabahana - territory at the confluence of the rivers Kura and Tsavkisistskali -represents the territory where there was a craft shop dabahchey - manufacturers of leather.

In the end of the XVII century the shops in Tiflis were identified by Arabic word "asnaf" or "esnaf (pl. number of "senf "sort, category). Later, craft associations have been called "amkarstva". The Guide to Tiflis (Tiflis and its suburbs. Illustrated guide, reference and address book . Ed. Tiflisskiy Zhurnal, 1913) stated, "Any activity, any work can connect people into one "amkarstvo"... Amkarstvo, at least, at the present time- is not the closed organization or restricted to given number of members, any nationality or religion: one can join it on the condition of following the established rules and customs".

Along with this, "Amkarstva" were needed for successful competition with impoverished peasants coming from the villages, who also undertook the craft. Later merchants also created "amkarstva". In charge of "amkarstv" was "usta-bash" (Turkish for"chief master") to monitor compliance with customs and regulations of the Union and who had the right to try the members. Each "Amkarstvo" had its own funds, replenished by fines for various infractions.

Professional associations today

Today, in Georgia, there are also professional associations: the Association of Young Economists, Association of Psychotherapists and Psychologists, the Union of Manufacturers, Importers and Consumers of Petroleum, Georgia Farmers and Landowners Association, Association of Bread Producers, Association of Journalists. Listing could go further, although it should be noted that there is no consolidated information about the professional associations of Georgia. No full picture exists of what professional groups are structurally organized and which are not; how well developed and active are existing organizations, which range of tasks they solve.

Typically, the main activity of most professional associations is the certification of experts (including at the international level) - in these organizations, assessment of professional level of members is done and its level is guaranteed; they encourage implementation of professional ethics. One of the goals of these associations is also to develop and improve the profession, qualifications of members of association, develop and implement new technologies and methodologies. These structures play an important role in the process of self-regulation of professional activity, and also in the process of securing the labor market by qualified personnel. Professional associations can play an important role in addressing the issues of employment, effective use of human resources of the society.

In some cases, professional organizations are the initiators of the introduction of legislative changes, or carry out the expertise of the legislative drafts.

Some of the professional associations also implement the socially significant projects aimed at providing specific assistance to certain categories of people. For example, the Association of Psychologists and Psychotherapists (established in 1999, on the basis of young Psychotherapists' Association), in addition to promoting the professional growth of Association members, conducts research activities, works with groups such as juvenile delinquents, street children, victims of violence, etc.

Widely known in Georgia and abroad is the Association of Young Lawyers, which is also in addition to training lawyers, is actively working to protect the rights and freedoms. One of the goals declared by organization is to "establish a legal framework for the smooth functioning of civil society and the rule of law."

In 2006 the Union of Georgian Wine Producers was created, whose goal is to combat counterfeiting of Georgian wine, assist the process of revival-sector development of viticulture and wine-making, monitor the processes in the industry and develop recommendations, the protection of consumers and producers.

HCA-Georgia initiated the creation of such professional bodies as the Association of Young Archaeologists, Guild of Stove-makers.

Facilitation of the process of self-organization of professional groups will assist the process of protecting the rights and interests of members of different professions and small and medium-sized businesses, improve product quality, help development of healthy competition.

Trade Unions as a special group of professional associations

According to the definition "trade unions are voluntary public association of people bound by common interests in the nature of their activities in manufacturing, in services, culture, etc. Associations are formed to represent and protect workers' rights in labor relations, as well as socio-economic interests of its members, with the possibility of a broader representation of employees. "

In terms of membership scale the trade unions can be compared only to the religious and faith-based movements, in fact, they became one of the first forms of self-organization of employees.

Trade unions play an important role in protecting human rights, in particular the rights of employees. According to the experts, trade union activities aimed at "democratization of the system of relations" employee - employer. "

Trade unions are in fact mediators in the relationship of workers / employees and employers. According to the definition of civil society, given by American political scientist Philippe Schmitter in *Reflections on Civil Society and Consolidating Democracy*: "Under the "civil society" we understand complex or system of self-organized mediator groups."

In the context of this definition, the trade unions act as a mediator between employees and employers. They play an important role in the establishment and development of the sustainable social partnership.

• Trade Unions of Georgia: Past and Present
Trade Unions of Georgia have more than 100-year history. United Trade Unions of Georgia was created on December18, 1992.

During the Soviet times, the activities of Trade Unions of Georgia, as in other Soviet Republics, were *pro forma*. These organizations were the addition to the administrative system of enterprises. As a rule, there was a practice of automatic membership of the unions. The main functions were the protection of the interests of its members by organizing the working and living conditions, leisure, health, cultural and sports entertainment, etc. During this period, union leaders have become a privileged group belonging to the ruling establishment.

With the collapse of the Soviet system, because of social and economic crisis, many largefactoriesceasedandcollapsed,manyprofessionalassociationshavebeendissolved.

Civil society or civil war ?

Trade union organizations traditionally have been the rich organizations, which owned large property. Interest to the property of Trade Unions has led to many conflicts in the post-Soviet period. Over the time, in new economic reality, new industrial relations began to build. In 2005 there was a change in leadership of the United Trade Unions. The updated structure - *Confederation of Trade Unions of Georgia* - now includes 25 organizations (2 regional and 23 sector organizations).

According to experts, Georgia's trade union movement is on its initial formation stage and not yet seen as a real force neither by the workers nor by their employers. The activities of Trade Unions are not taken seriously by the governmental agencies. According to the report of an international organization -"Freedom House" (2010) - in terms of Trade Unions and protection of workers' rights, Georgia was placed in the category of partially free countries.

The representatives of the Confederation said that they have to act in fairly difficult environment. In 2006, the Georgian parliament passed a new Labor Code, which appears to be in conflict with existing Law on Trade Unions. In particular- in case of disagreement, the employer may rely on the Labor Code, and the Union on the above mentioned Law. Following the adoption of new Labor Code the existence of a collective agreement between the Union and the administration of the enterprise has become problematic. The Administration may waive this document, justifying its decision by saying that it is not required by law to sign this document.

Confederation of Trade Unions of Georgia has prepared the amendment to the Labor Code that is not yet adopted. Dialogue between the government and unions over changes to labor laws, according to representatives of the trade union movement, is more *pro forma* process than the actual one.

Representatives of the Georgian Government believe that today the serious economic incentives are more important for the country and when the current level of social development policies in Europe will be achieved, then "our legislation will be more harmonious and social protection higher".

One gets the impression that the activities of Trade Unions of Georgia, today has a more declarative, presentation nature. Protests of Trade Unions, held in February / March, 2009, 2010, passed without much resonance. After a series of explosions in Tkibuli mines in 2010, resulting in human casualties, the Georgian Trade Unions held a silent rally outside the Parliament in Tbilisi, has made several statements about the need for safety measures at work. Partial success has been achieved by the employees of Zestafoni ferroalloy plant, which is part of the largest holding company in Georgia- *Georgian Manganese Holdings Limited*. The owners of the holding, agreed to some concessions after the strikes of workers of the plant in 2010.

142

There are problems within the union movement. The past year was marked by scandalous "showdowns" within the Trade Union of Teachers. After former president- Manana Gurchumelidze, has left her post and applied for political asylum in Canada, the need to hold the extraordinary congress arose. The election of a new leader has led to a split of the organization into two camps. One group of teachers filed a law suit in the municipal court, contending the election results by claiming them as fraudulent.

• Support of Trade Unions in Georgia by the International Organizations

The development of the trade union movement in Georgia is supported by the international organizations. The Confederation is working closely with the International Labor Organization (ILO), Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES) in Georgia; the collaboration is expressed by support of institutional development of individual trade unions, for example, FES is actively assisting the newly created Union of Mass Media Workers. Much attention is paid to the development of effective social partnership. Although, according to the results of the first international conference on social dialogue and labor standards in Georgia held in November, 2010 – we have a long way to go in order to reach European labor standards.

Center for Research of Professional Groups

In 2010 at HCA Georgia the Center for Research of Professional Groups was established. The Center was established based on the fact that the potential for professional associations and trade unions are not used sufficiently.

The purpose of the Center is the information and analytical support of the process of formation and development of professional groups, promotion of the efficient use of their resources.

The Center activities include:
- Monitoring and analysis of occupational groups and their activities;
- Research and adaptation of international experience in professional groups and movements;
- Facilitation of the process of institutionalization of professional groups which do not have   organizations representing their interests;
- Consulting and methodological support of existing professional groups and movements;
- Implementation of educational programs for professional groups on negotiation, facilitation;
- Support of their integration into international professional associations;
- Revitalization of the occupational groups in peace processes;
- Development and promotion of recommendations on professional development.

143

Civil society or civil war ?

Resources of Professional Groups for strengthening the Peace Process (pilot)

Project Originator:
Research Centre for Professional Development

Project Justification:
Potential of the occupational groups and professional associations is still very poorly used in planning and implementation of peace initiatives. Among such inter-professional cooperation can be noted co-operation of power engineers in Abkhazia on the Inguri Hydroelectric Power Station, de-miners, journalists, school teachers. Particular professional group is represented by drivers carrying cargo and passenger transportation to- and from the occupied territories, for example Akhalgori.

A serious peacekeeping resource, which unfortunately, was not seriously used until now, is a professional association, created by members of isolated societies.

Professional groups can solve the problem of the specific professional group, protecting and defending their rights and interests; also regulate the relations between certain occupational groups with the society; thereby, reducing tension and conflict situations.

Promoting the establishment of relations between the people of the same profession, representing isolated societies, organization of programs for joint training, identifying common problems and finding ways to deal with them is an important element in restoring confidence and understanding.

The relationship between Trade Unions and- in general- between the professional groups are one of the aspects that need to be actively used in the formation of peace processes; as belonging to one occupational group creates unique opportunities for dialogue, building trust and understanding.

• The main goal of the project
Using a diverse potential of professional groups to enhance the peace process to resolve conflicts in Georgia.

Project Activities
Within framework of the project 20 working meetings (20-25 people) will be held with representatives of professional organizations identified in the expert selection.

The main objective of these meetings is the formation of Action Plans for specific professional groups for their participation in the peace process, protection of the rights and interests of members of professional groups. Working meetings will also facilitate the process of self-organization of representatives of various professional categories.

Based on the results of each meeting the following will be developed:
• The concept of the participation of professional groups in peace processes;
• Program of Action (which will include at least 20 units for specific occupational categories).

As a result of working meetings the publication will be prepared, which will include information on the discussions, documents developed as a result of working meetings. In order to promote the developed concept and attract investments for implementation of the Action Program- conference/ presentation will be held on the final stage.

Additional talks will be held with the relevant governmental agencies for integrating the developed program in State Strategy of Georgia for Occupied Territories and in strategy of international peacekeeping organizations.

Civil society or civil war ?

The Role of civil society in conflict prevention and resolution

Olga Dorokhina –
Program manager, HCA Georgia

Preamble

Problem description

The Caucasus countries represent examples of unstable democracies. Evidence of this is found in the unceasing civil wars, ethnic and political conflicts, armed coups, acts of terrorism, economic instability and a low level of political culture on the whole. The democratization of a post-totalitarian society is a very complex task. Over the course of the last few years the depth of the democratic changes in the Caucasus has been negligible. Authoritarian regimes remain entrenched in several regions and military regimes control the situation in conflict zones. There are uncontrolled territories where drug trafficking and other kinds of criminal activity dominate. The illusory nature of these democracies means that they may regress as of tomorrow to become antidemocratic regimes.

We therefore worry about the following question: how to build viable democratic institutions, in particular nongovernmental organizations, as well as what the best means to strengthen and develop them is. This would involve the creation of natural mechanisms of self-organization and self-management while avoiding orientation towards today's hotbed conditions created by the international community through humanitarian investments and grants; how much the peacemaking charge presents in it and how much they are infected by conflicts.

Events in the Caucasus force everybody to think about what must be done to prevent further violence in the populace and new bloodshed in the region. Frozen conflicts do not merely fade away; they have a tendency to fester. The responsibility for possible victims lies with each of us, to a certain extent.

There is a commonly held opinion that *politicians* are responsible for one conflict or another. More precisely, however, they hold the instruments of power in their hands, enabling them to make decisions on which the fates of millions of people depend. The mistakes they make lead to mass tragedies.

Many people also accuse representatives of mass media of kindling conflicts, with reason. *Journalists,* either intentionally or unintentionally, may spread information in such a way that it promotes aggressiveness, creates negative stereotypes of the other ("the enemy"), and increases xenophobia and chauvinism creating the preconditions for open or latent violence. Some mass media simply serve for this.

Unfortunately, few people today understand that *scientists, analysts,* and *experts* play no lesser of a role in conflict escalation. Having made professional mistakes in their analysis of a situation, they create the informational and ideological basis for conflict development. Each of these professional groups assumes no practical responsibility. They support one or another side of a conflict expanding it, and hence influencing the scale of possible catastrophes.

The activity of *international organizations* working on conflict resolution is also fairly ineffective. These organizations often fail to realize the true nature of a conflict and so perceive it inadequately. They may also have concrete interests coinciding with the

Civil society or civil war ?

interests of one or another side of a conflict, limiting their peacemaking abilities.

NGOs are infected by the same problem. Even though a certain level of development of civil institutions in Caucasus countries has been achieved, we can establish the fact that serious efforts to develop a just peacemaking regional movement have not been made. *As a result of the above, there is a lack of peacemaking movements, a crisis in the peacemaking process as a whole, and a discrediting of it as well. NGO leaders take insufficient responsibility for their role in this process.*

Proceeding from above-mentioned, the purpose of this article is to promote the development of a peacemaking movement in the Caucasus. This is a necessary condition for strengthening the process of resolving the present conflicts. Integrating politicians, analysts, mass media etc. in the peacemaking movement may achieve meaningful success.

Some notions and definitions

Strategic purpose
- Building stable peace; ensuring well-being and bright future of population in the region.

Basic objective as a necessary condition to achieve purpose
- Assistance in the development of the peacemaking process by strengthening a purposeful regional peacemaking movement; defining the role of civil institutions in this process.

Peacemaking process – response to the conflict development process. It is totality of the activities (peacemaking activities), directed at conflict prevention, de-escalation and localization, as well as at confidence building and mutual understanding aimed at search for solutions of the problematic issues,

which constitute system of the very conflict, for complete and unreversable resolution.

Subjects of the peacemaking process
are different social institutions, states, and individuals who for their turn organize subprocesses. Different methods of influence are applied at the level of sub-processes. Efficiency of the peacemaking process depends on the extent to which roles and functions of particular participating subjects, their viewpoints, interests and motivations are defined correctly.

Official diplomacy serving as a part of the peacemaking process is put into effect at the level of state political institutions and international agencies.

Non-formal diplomacy posses wide range of various methods, such as civil diplomacy and public diplomacy.

Civil diplomacy is defined as activities of the separate citizens or groups of citizens coming out with peace initiatives i.e. citizens or civil society organizations act as subjects of the civil diplomacy.

In contrast to civil diplomacy *public diplomacy* represent peacemaking activities, as subjects of which traditional social groups (not civil institutions) could serve, e.g. fathers' councils.

Politicians standing different positions also take part in non-formal diplomacy activities,

e.g. former presidents. It is extremely important to provide involvement into the peacemaking process of the representatives of expert community and analysts.

"Peacemaking organizations" - traditional civil institutions and nongovernmental organizations acting for prevention and resolution of conflict

"Peacemaking movement" - purposeful united activity of peacemaking organizations; the complex system representing the totality of nongovernmental peacemaking organizations and individuals working in this field. Does not refer to the automatic or artificial union of organizations.

Peacemaking movement is constituted of activities conducted by separate individuals and organizations trying to influence conflict proceedings, take action on cease of violence, localize conflict, change paradigm of the peacemaking process by arranging it in the most efficient way possible.

Peacemaking movement often represents random activities. Level of its organization, efficiency and extent of influence on peacemaking process in general

"History and perspectives of peacemaking movement in the Caucasus"

Basic objective of the book:

To raise the level of peacemaking culture and culture of public diplomacy in the region, to mark the historical achievements of peace-makers, also point-out the certain problems in the sphere, bring together the authors from different parts of the Caucasus.

Thematic of the edition:

- History of peacemaking movement in the Caucasus
- Perspective models of cooperation at national and regional levels
- Critics of peacemaking initiatives
- Level dependency of public diplomacy and official process
- Problems in peacemaking organizations
- Economical aspects of peacemaking activity etc.

Civil society or civil war ?

depends on ability of leaders to consider recommendations of professional experts and to integrate into movement ranks analysts supporting emotional constituent of the movement and in the meantime enriching rational and constructive ones.

Sad to say, but there is no such movement in the Caucasus (!). Separate constituents are twisted and confused, there are no strategy and tactics of action and distribution of functions between different groups participating in the peace movement. There are some peacemaking activities carried out at the level of civil or public diplomacy but they don't serve as a factor of significant influence on the prevention of conflict aggravation. Aggravation of the situation in the area of the Georgian-Ossetian armed conflict in summer, 2004 can exemplify respected thesis. Mentioned above events proved that even those civil society organizations which enjoyed long-term international support in capacity of the peacemaking organizations did not beard against ongoing process of militarization and armed conflict thereby bearing joint responsibility with state authorities and international agencies for the current aggravation.

Our task lies in transformation of peacemaking movement into more efficient one, as far as it serves as a key element of human security and tool for public seeking to exercise more influence on the peacemaking process by making it efficacious and smooth for all.

Is the peacemaking movement necessary?

Unfortunately, there is a perception that it is not necessary. On psychological level, the population of the region in more inclined toward a state of permanent tension than to striving for conflict resolution and stable living conditions. National goals directed at building a narrowly defined, nationalistic, ethnocentric peace, promote this mindset. Numerous victims even plead this ideology. In other words, amidst the region's populace there is a quantitative lack of human resources ready to actively advocate the non-violent, peaceful resolution of one or another conflict. Often during informal talks, even representatives of peacemaking organizations reveal their desire for a strong army that would solve these problems once and for all.

This became especially apparent during the events of this summer (2004 in the territory of the South Ossetian Autonomous Region) and during the August 2008 War. At that time, the majority of active NGOs in Georgia were operational in the region while the others were making themselves scarce. So-called civil society institutions were unable to back away from a new wave of violence in the region. They didn't discharge their mission, didn't resist the war's evil. Separate declarations in "salon" and small speeches had more of a character of officially fixing their activity than promoting a really well-considered activity directed at positive results. There were no real antiwar antimilitaristic statements made. Moreover, some former human rights defenders actively served as reservists, going around military bases and supporting the martial

spirit of soldiers and officers. Some representatives of "peacemaking forums" were even seen running around with guns defending their interests. One month later, they were meeting each other at international conferences discussing strategies for financing new projects.

It is necessary to note here that such conferences must be held outside the region as most of the representatives of civil society, especially in conflict zones, are forbidden by Secret Services to take part in these meetings and negotiations. These activists, who all decided on communication and cooperation, are declared "enemies of nation". What are the representatives of Special Services afraid of? What frightens them? Possibly they are more interested in the escalation of these conflicts and the maintenance of the current state of affairs?

It is thus possible to draw a sad conclusion. The position of most organizations, whether or not they so desire, is determined by the actors in political conflict, i.e. there is no independent civil society. Even that segment of society which is able to hold an alternative opinion is so weak that it has no influence on the situation.

Over the last few years, more than 15 million US dollars were spent on informal diplomacy in the Caucasus. Most of these projects had no serious results and stopped short of playing a role in providing a foundation for the building of a peacemaking movement. However, they were able to create the possibility of maintaining relations between activists of various sectors of societies divided by conflict.

It is very important to develop criticism in this field since criticism is one of the tools of peace-building. Peace-building without criticism involves making serious mistakes because there is no accountability. Everybody must have social responsibility. In a number of cases such peacemaking activity may become dangerous and harmful for society.

The existence of a scientific analysis and approach is also very important; criticism must be objective, correct, lean on expert analysis and opinion and promote the development and improvement of the peacemaking movement. Having a variety of directions for criticism, especially self-criticism, is a component in developing a system of self-management, itself is a major component of organizational potential. Criticism is a corrector of the social processes of civil institutions and especially of peacemaking movement.

Unfortunately, research in this direction has a spontaneous and disorganized character that doesn't permit the permanent observation of this complex process and the answering of important questions. Some of these questions are:

- What is the paradigm of development for peacemaking movements in the Caucasus?
- What are the problems in peace-building?

Civil society or civil war ?

- Are these problems legalized?
- Have the need and readiness to solve them been formed in society?
- How much is society able to react adequately and effectively create mechanisms of self-defense?
- Is anybody responsible for the passivity or activity of actions?
- What kind of process should there be – spontaneous or guided?
- On what levels is it possible to influence this process?
- What kind of patterns and features should there be in the development of a peacemaking movement?
- Does there need to be a general strategy and tactic?
- If so, who should develop it and how?

These are only some of the questions to which, unfortunately, we still have no answers.

What kind of peacemaking movement should there be?

- Qualitatively new.
- Strong, independent, non-politicized and respected by society.
- Many-sided, heterogeneous, professional and competent.
- Purposeful.
- Self-determined rather than externally dictated.
- Stable, enduring and reproducible.
- Addressing adequately the needs and requirements of society.
- Socially responsible.

It is necessary that it have an independent, nongovernmental peacemaking infrastructure, i.e. a strong, self-organizing system consisting of various peacemaking organizations.

Roles of institutions of civil society

Unfortunately, civil society institutions were not at first considered to have peacemaking potential. Many politicians supposed that it would be possible to build civil society after the resolution of one or another conflict. Some politicians considered that the process of building civil society institutions would promote the resolution of armed conflicts. The latter opinion would be correct in the situation where these institutions developed relatively uniformly across all parts of a society divided by war.

One of the main components of civil society is NGOs. This section will explain our opinions about their roles. Maybe this article will be the base for creating future strategy adjustments and programs necessary for activities, the implementation of which will influence the rapid increase of the capability of peacemaking movement and process as a whole.

Definition of the role of various NGOs

Analytical organizations/experts' society
Taking into account that the peacemaking process is directed at conflict resolution, analytical organizations' basic role must be based on analysis of various factors promoting or creating additional threats to security and stability. Analytical organizations (so-called "think-tanks") also develop strategic directions and recommendations for international, governmental and non-governmental organizations.

At present, analytical organizations have a short history of existence. They started to be established five or six years ago and are only now starting to develop. This can be explained partly by the fact that analytical outputs in the Caucasus have not been presented sufficiently and direct relations between analytical groups are weak. Consulting institutes to develop relations between analytical groups and governmental structures, decision makers, and nongovernmental organizations have not been developed in the region. Diversification of the activities of analytical groups occurs gradually, together with research and analysis of general aspects of security, and an emphasis on different directions (among which the most important is that of conflict).

Analytical centers should carry out diagnoses of existing conflicts and conflict generating situations. In turn, diagnosis of conflicts implies research into all components of conflict, correct definition of direct and indirect actors and objects of each component, revealing the positions and motivations of each actor etc. Possible negotiation formats are determined on the basis of diagnoses, bringing about a search for an algorithm for transition to new levels of relations. In addition to researching present conflicts and elaborating approaches to conflict resolution, the most important role of analytical centers consists of predicting conflict emergence and elaborating measures and recommendation packages for preventative activity.

Analytical support is very important for the peacemaking process as is revealed by the negative experience of peacemaking initiatives carried out without expert evaluation, doing more harm than good for negotiations and trust-building. It is important to note that analytical organizations can be established as networks rather than static, localized institutions.

Trust groups and conciliation commissions
The potential of these institutions particularly is not used in Abkhazian and Tskhinvali region conflicts. The initiatives could be on unilateral and bilateral levels.

Well-known figures in politic, culture, health protection, even crime bosses participate in the process of informal diplomacy (one of the good examples could be Alik Tskhovrebov who assisted for negotiations on the settlement of Tskhinval/i conflict on non-formal level).

Educational institutions
The ability to manage problems and process decisions is important for solving problems. It is necessary to note that the other types of organizations mentioned below in this article can meet the education function for various target groups. Educational organizations must focus on training peacemakers.

Civil society or civil war ?

Kodori Trust Group, 2009

Educational entities must solve a number of tasks in the process of teaching peacemaking, tolerance and other related subjects. It is important to develop an information-methodological ground and cooperation on academic level, elaboration of scientific approaches in the field of conflict and peace studies.

One of the main functions of educational organizations is to prepare the society to the idea of necessity to conduct the dialog, negotiations. Sometimes we realize that the activities of individual peacemaking organizations come to nothing only because the society in the whole is inert and not ready for possible transformations. It is necessary to note that several faculties teaching conflict science have been established in some institutes of higher education. This subject has even been made obligatory in the curricula of some specialties. However, it is necessary to enlarge the target audience and to implement this subject on other levels, e.g. on medium level. It is important that peace be not only around us, but also in every family, in every human being; educating the spirit of peace is vital.

Particular work should be conducted with representatives of governmental structures and decision makers as the process of formation and running of negotiation processes is very much dependent on the level of their knowledge in this field. Sometimes incompetent statements of officials aggravate some conflicts. An example of this exists in the frequent usage of the term "conflict internationalization" by state officials and parliamentarians with respect to the Georgian-Ossetian conflict. In their opinion, this term expresses the involvement of the international community in the process of conflict resolution. However, the term "conflict internationalization" means

the involvement of international forces in the conflict such that one of its components is intensified and developed. In the former case, it would be more precise to use the term "internationalization of peacemaking process".

Culture and art

Culture and art workers, created by them works of art, cultural events (concerts, exhibitions, festivals and etc.) on this or that way are involved in to public processes and have influence on formation of ideology, relation of people towards the problem of war and peace.

In the conditions of conflict the civic position of art workers could play significant role both in more estrangement of conflict sides or opposite on their rapprochement. Art and cultural awareness organizations play an important role of popularizing a culture of peace and non-violence.

Therefore integration of art workers into peacemaking processes, organization of cultural interventions to conflict zones and adjacent territories is crucial. Significant role plays art in ensuring of human security and prevention of violence.

Cultural awareness organizations play the important role of popularizing a culture of peace and non-violence. The activity of the NGO "Caucasian House" in uniting representatives of various ethnic groups living in the Caucasus is important in this field.

The theater in the village Disevi. The theater has unique architecture and was built during 17 years by efforts of only one person - local dweller Valentin Chilashvili. The destiny of the theater is not known now as during the August 2008 War the most part of houses in Disevi were burnt out or destroyed and dwellers of Disevi left their homes.

Civil society or civil war ?

Students of the # 8 Public School of Gori are painting the wall

Courses in Caucasian languages are offered at "Caucasus House" and they regularly organize meetings of scientific and artistic intellectuals and young people. They also celebrate the jubilees of famous writers and poets and edit the collected works of such writers and poets. This is far from a complete list of the activities of "Caucasian House".

(*Not only people but also monuments of history and culture have suffered from wars and conflicts. The state of the Kosta Khetagurov monument, the greatest Ossetian poet, located in the yard of secondary school in the village of Arishperani (eastern Georgia), serves as evidence of this barbarian attitude. The monument was blown up 12 years ago during the Georgian-Ossetian conflict. Only a few fragments were left intact on the pedestal. The fate of this monument has been determined: it was restored using the resources of "Open Society - Georgia" fund. However, how many similar conflict victims also exist?)*

Cultural awareness organizations, also referred to as educational organizations, should also play a role in solving a series of problems in training peace-building and tolerance in order to educate people in the spirit of peace.

Trade unions and groups

The importance of uniting by professional principle was partly touched when analytical and educational organizations were examined. Trade unions established by representatives of divided societies possess significant peacemaking resources during conflict resolution. Teacher, journalist, and writer trade unions have already been

established and are working actively. These organizations work out joint approaches, implement joint programs and activities and develop an atmosphere of trust and mutual understanding. However, it is necessary to include other professional groups in this process, for example, physicians, businesspeople and others. Such unions and groups can solve the problems of a concrete professional group by defending their rights and interests and also settle the relations of certain professional groups with society, thus reducing tensions and origins of conflict situations.

Sports organizations

Sport has vital importance in the process of resolution of conflicts and civil wars, development of negotiation processes and non-formal diplomacy on the level of divided societies. Now a days sport and sport organizations represent certain peace resource.

It is necessary to use the potential of professional as well as amateur sport on the process of supporting of peace initiatives, creation atmosphere of peace and understanding between representatives of different ethnical, confessional and ideological groups.

The old slogan "Sport for Peace" is still relevant. To date, sports and sports organizations are another definite peacemaking resource. The most popular sport in this respect is soccer. An example of this was the "Consent" soccer tournament held in November 2002 in Telavi. For the first time since the beginning of the Karabakh

Team "Unionist of Georgia" in Odense

Civil society or civil war ?

conflict, teams from Armenia ("Lori" – Vanadzor) and Azerbaijan ("Kyapaz" - Ganja) were brought together. The "Kakheti" team (Telavi) and the "Dinamo" team of veterans and IDPs from Abkhazia (Sukhumi) also participated. Other than the tournament, it is impossible not to mention the mixed professional soccer team "Liakhvi" in which Georgians and Ossetians play together; and the Georgian soccer player Gela Ketashvili, in playing for the soccer team "Alania" (Vladikavkaz, North-Ossetia), did more for the peacemaking process than any other.

In August 2009 football team – a team made up of former football players who are now internally displaced persons from Abkhazia and the Tskhinvali region – the 'Unionists form Georgia' successfully participated in the Social Inclusion Games in Odense (Denmark).

Organizations of mixed families

In each conflict the fate of mixed-ethnicity families represents a special problem. They are under constant pressure and most of them have broken up. The problem of national and ethnic identity is greatly aggravated for them and many suffer from an inferiority complex regarding their ethnicity. At the same time, these families are a united power, a potential peacemaking resource which is underused in conflict resolution.

Prior to 2002 there was no organization in the Caucasus engaged in the protection of the rights of mixed-ethnicity families divided by war. People were forced to find their relatives by themselves in roundabout ways, meeting in whatever way possible in order to maintain some form of contact. In 2002, with the assistance of HCA GNC, the "Association of Mixed Families Divided by the Abkhazian Conflict" was established and headed by Rezo Bendeliani, an IDP from Abkhazia. A similar organization, headed by Marina Beppieva, was established to help work on the Georgian-Ossetian conflict. More than others, these organizations promote the removal of "enemy stereotyping" and develop dialogue because blood and relational ties form their basis. Mixed families are the best examples of tolerance. Despite the different natures and specific features of the conflicts, the problems of these families have a lot in common. Therefore, the consolidation of the efforts of these organizations at regional and international levels is important. Such organizations should be established all over the Caucasus, and it would be good idea to organize a regional conference on the problem of mixed-ethnicity families and the actuation of their role in peacemaking processes.

Women's organizations

Women's organizations are in the vanguard of peace-building. For more than ten years, the involvement of women in the process of conflict prevention and peace-building has been the topic of discussion on various levels. Putting this question to discussion has achieved results and today, women's organizations are more involved and participate more actively in peacemaking activities. Women's organizations play a significant role in educating younger generations in the spirit of peace; they work to change the vision of people who think that only war can solve their problems.

The activity of the South Caucasus regional coalition "Women for Peace" is one positive example. Women's organizations from Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia

formed the coalition in March 2003 with the support of UNIFEM. At present, the coalition is still in its creation and development stage. Despite the fact that coalition was established only last year, the member organizations of the coalition have already made an important contribution to the processes of prevention and resolution of conflicts and the popularization of a culture of peace and non-violence. Now, the coalition is developing a recommendation package for the UN: "The role of women in the peacemaking process, the prevention of new or further conflict situations, and the resolution of existing conflicts". The women's organization "The Committee of Soldiers' Mothers" (Russia) played a big role in the release of prisoners of war and hostages taken as a result of the Chechen conflict.

Youth organizations

One of the roles of youth organizations in peace building is bringing together the views and interests of youth who represent societies divided by war. Youth organizations permit the integration of young leaders, victims of conflicts, students, young teachers and young representatives of governmental organizations into active peacemaking activities. Winter and summer schools play an important role in the actuation of the youth role; young leaders acquire knowledge and develop contacts. It is necessary that young leaders from conflict zones participate in these schools.

Youth from Tskhinvali region

Civil society or civil war ?

Human rights activists from Georgia –Nana Kakabadze and Gela Nikolaishvili ("Former Political Prisoners for Human Rights") meet with representatives of human rights organization from Russian Federation in the office of HCA Georgia: Oleg Orlov (Memorial), Tatyana Kasatkina (Memorial), Varvara Pakhomenko (Center "Demos")

Human rights organizations

One of the most important problems in human rights activism is ethnocentrism. Ethnocentric views impede the entire human rights process. Documents developed separately in Sukhumi and Tbilisi unmasked violations of human rights committed by one side or another of the conflict, including genocide and ethnic cleansing. This kind of defense of human rights is inferior. Despite the importance of collected materials, they have a biased character and are directed at carrying out political games rather than defending victims.

Of course, when ethnocentrism and particularism dominate the human rights infrastructure, it is early to talk about building a perfect civil society. This problem requires more serious analysis and is the corner stone of developing cooperation between organizations and human rights defenders on all levels. Cooperation along narrow, targeted lines is potentially the best direction for relations between human rights defenders. Therefore programs and national and regional projects are important which bring together these interest groups.

If a regional congress of human rights defenders is organized, the action program of this congress will consist of separate purposeful programs in various activity directions. Reality requires this and the future of human rights infrastructure and the situation of human rights defense in the Caucasus region depend on this.

Veterans' organizations

Veterans' organizations unite people who participated directly in armed actions and experienced the full weight of armed conflict. They represent one of the crisis groups; therefore the self-organization of this category fits into a series of positive moments for peace-building. It promotes reducing tension in this group and solving socio-legal and economic problems. Nongovernmental organizations of ex-combatants have been established and function in the Caucasus organizing joint meetings.

Business associations

Business associations play an important role in peace-building. Businesspeople and entrepreneurs can invest resources in peacemaking activities. Before the war in August, 2008 there was joint Georgian-Ossetian enterprise the "Lomisi" beer factory, in which joint capital was invested and operations were engaged in by representatives of the two ethnic groups. One of the agents, representing the Ossetian diaspora in Russia, invested in the building of the Georgian church in Saint-Petersburg. Business associations can promote the creation of new work places or special programs on providing employment to victims of war and violence. The development of relations between businesses from divided societies is also important. There were many ideas about developing this kind of cooperation, for example, between representatives of the divided society of Abkhazia. The Sukhumi joint-stock company, "Sukhumpribor" ("Sukhumi Instruments"), has a program for rehabilitating the production industry of balls for fountain-pens as well as a program for the creation of a joint enterprise to process bay leaves.

NGO supported media

The role of NGO supported media is to overcome the vacuum of information and develop an atmosphere of trust in the region. The "Obshaya Gazeta" newspaper, edited by IDPs from Tskhinvali region/South Ossetia, aims to restore the trust and relations between Georgian and Ossetian people through joint efforts. The newspaper is published with the support of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation and focuses on coverage of Georgian-Ossetian relations. Until now, mass media has played a negative role and even, to a certain extent, promoted unleashing conflicts. "Obshaya Gazeta" aims to correct these mistakes, involving journalists from societies divided as a result of the South Ossetian conflict. Other examples of NGO supported media include the "Abkhazski Meridian" newspaper, also published with the support of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation. In addition, the Foundation of Civil Programs, an organization of IDPs from Abkhazia, publishes "Chveni Gazeti" ("Our Newspaper"). The NGO "Help Yourself" publishes the informational bulletin "Mostiki" ("Little Bridges") and there is radio broadcasting for IDPs from Abkhazia. Despite this, there is an evident lack of print media available for all sides of divided societies.

Civil society or civil war ?

Submission of information to the Internet unfortunately has a one-sided character. The interests of victims of war and violence are not realistically presented on the Internet, all the more so as there are no collaborative internet resources. Therefore, it is necessary to promote more effective use of internet resources and the development of collaborative electronic media.

Networking organizations

A new stage in the development of civil society in the Caucasus is the transformation of individual activities by separate organizations to the creation of networking organizations. Principles for their establishment, structure and methodology, as well as management issues will be the subject of other investigations; therefore, this article will focus on another aspect: the importance of uniting the efforts of peacemaking organizations in order to build networking organizations. These organizations can be divided into several types: those established for regional purposes, for common goals, and those that incorporate both of these elements.

One of the oldest networking organizations in the South Caucasus is the "Helsinki Citizens' Assembly (HCA) - Georgian National Committee". It has been one of the leaders in the field of peacemaking policy in the South Caucasus since 1992. Amidst the difficult conditions of war and post-conflict-peace, the National Committees of HCA in Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia out a planned policy of bringing people together and reducing enemy stereotyping. In the Caucasus, the strategic task of HCA has been to develop a culture of peace in the region. Promoting the development of civil society institutions has also been a top priority. To further this latter goal, HCA initiated the establishment of offices and independent NGOs in various regions of the South Caucasus, including conflict zones. Special projects and programs of regional cooperation were also developed with this in mind.

The activity of the Caucasus NGO forum, "Caucasian Refugee and IDP NGO Network (CRINGO Network)", is another example of a networking organization. So there exist precedents for "networks of networks", like the above mentioned "South Caucasus Institute of Regional Security (SCIRS)" and the South Caucasus regional coalition, "Women for Peace".

A culture of peace activities in the Caucasus

Caucasus has long served as the intersection of the strategic interests of different states. The entire region is a battleground. Internal contradictions and conflicts are also endemic to the region. A Caucasian peace-building tradition based on a Caucasian value system and codes of behavior during conflict conditions has formed simultaneously as a response to these challenges. Unfortunately, this culture has not

been sufficiently explored and is not used actively in peace activities. Foreign methods of conflict resolution used in the Caucasus are often not adapted to local culture. As a result, their impact is negligible. A more effective formula would combine traditional and contemporary experience and knowledge in the field of peace activities.

Peace building and conformism

One of the most serious ills in post-soviet countries is the problem of general conformism. Adaptation to existing unspoken rules of the game allows some citizens to resolve their urgent problems, but leads society as a whole into the depths of criminal morality. The degradation and collapse of traditional Caucasian value systems leads to society's decay and its lack of self-organization and self-regulation. This society then becomes extremely dependent on the outer world, bursting the ideal of an independent state like a soap-bubble.

Regression to earlier stages of development using barbarous methods of administration leads to the corruption and degradation of traditional Caucasian communities, and to the mechanization of human beings.

Conformism means lack of protest.

Conformism is when:
- society doesn't protest when salaries and social payments are withheld for months and even years;
- society agrees with the situation when a group of political "adventurers", or so-called "patriots", is able to rob the state budget for years;
- existing bank deposits vanish, human being could possibly be imprisoned for political views and then released in the framework of the program for national consent;
- puppet governments gain power, voicing the interests of one or another external power center, rather than the interests of the nation;
- young people die in so-called "anti-corruption" operations and then it becomes clear that these actions are merely semi-criminal redistributions of property and spheres of influence;
- for months, the entranceways to homes go uncleaned and people simply get used to the insanitation;

All of us are able to create our own such list.

Society is at the edge of social and psychological disaster. It's necessary to shout from the rooftops, "Who is in charge?"

Protest and its forms

Caucasians use different types of protest:

- some of them write poems, criticizing decision makers;
- some try to shoot the president or to commit other kinds of terrorist acts;
- some lay mines and perpetrate subversive activities because the government doesn't return their homes to them;
- some go on hunger strikes;
- some of them arrange protest meetings;
- some don't take part in elections, demonstrating a kind of civil disobedience;
- some of them create NGO's in order to unite the efforts of like-minded people trying to address challenges facing society;
- some of them burn effigies of politicians and whistle loudly to draw the attention of the public to urgent social needs;
- some film documentaries or create TV broadcasts;
- some write articles and some – topical satires or lampoons;
- some of them leave the secular community for monasteries (the incidence of this is extremely high in Georgia), etc.

These diverse forms of protest can be divided into two groups: violent and nonviolent. Amid violent forms, it is important to note the politically motivated suicides which have recently increased in frequency. A special form of these is the suicidal protest, an act of violence directed against oneself or potential enemy. This kind of action stems from the "no object – no problem" principle and envisages breaking down the subject/object relationship through annihilation of the object. For example:
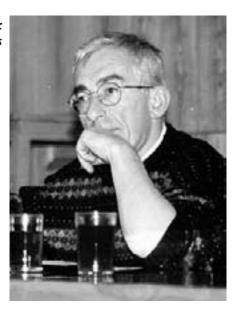
- self-immolation in order to end fratricidal conflict (ex. the case of Dr. Giorgi Abesadze's self-immolation on Rustaveli Avenue in 1991 during the "Tbilisi War");
- self-immolation of a woman (in 2000) in front of the Georgian Parliament building as a protest against the government's continued refusal to release political prisoners;
- some shot themselves, blaming the ruling elite and, in particular, former Georgian President Shevarnadze for the current social situation (ex. the case of the young film director Iliya Chachanidze);
- mass suicides of terrorists in Chechnya.

It is important to note politically motivated suicides because they are the ultimate expression of human despair. It is the way of those who have lost all faith, even in God.

Regarding belief in God: a tragedy took place on April 9, 1989 on Rustaveli Avenue. Armed with shovels, representatives of Soviet military forces attacked Georgian National Liberation activists who had gathered for a demonstration. This is a well known fact, and even if they didn't see the horror with their own eyes, most people will remember it from the television and print media coverage at the time. However, reporting of this encounter overlooked one important detail which few remember. Namely, the Catholicos of the Georgian Patriarchy, Iliya the Second, urged all the demonstrators to move to the courtyard of Kashveti Church, situated 20 meters from

Marek Nowicki, well-known polish public figure, expert on human rights

where the protest was taking place. The Patriarch warned people of the impending danger but the crowd ignored the words of the spiritual leader. The crowd, which was in the vanguard of the national movement, chose its fate at 4.05 a.m. on April 9, 1989. Participants of the demonstration perished in a kind of deliberate sacrifice. The crowd and its leaders wanted to make this sacrifice. The Lamb was slain; blood was shed. The image of the enemy was created. This demonstration would not have ended thus, as was supposed by the Patriarch, without the ambitions of some of the movement leaders. It is interesting to look at how the history of the national movement and country as a whole developed as a result of this event.

Protest can take both individual and group forms. It is not its quantitative characteristic that determines the end pursued by protest. Protest is efficient only if it succeeds in changing the situation without violence and victims; the Rose Revolution is a good example. However, in this case, while there were no victims during the actual protests, they appeared soon afterwards: mine victims in Adjara this summer, political prisoners and other more indirect victims. Barring these facts, this form of protest appeared more civilized than other coup d'etat attempts in Georgia and Azerbaijan or the slaughter of Armenian National Assembly deputies.

With regards to forms of non-violent protest, prayer is one of the forms often forgotten about. In the Christian tradition, even at breaking point, a pious person should never curse at a politician, praying instead for the decision-maker's mental health. This derives from the belief of the faithful that the worse a leader feels, the worse the decisions that will be made. This should not be seen as conformism, as zealous atheists might claim, but a form of protest functioning within the framework of a certain value system, and in which people exist and turn to their own internal security systems.

Civil society or civil war ?

The well known Polish human rights activist, Marek Nowicki, considered to be one of the top specialists in the field of non-violent protest, provides some fine examples of alternative forms of protest. One lovely evening, residents of Warsaw turned their television sets to face the street in protest at official broadcasts. On another occasion, the people of Warsaw started to switch their lights on and off, which caused certain psychological pressure on authorities and appeared to demonstrate the high level of civil disobedience.

It is unlikely that one would hear about this kind of social conduct happening in the cities and towns of the South Caucasus.

Recently, a mine exploded near one of the military facilities of the region and killed a dog. When campaigners from ICBL proposed organizing a specific activity in support of all four-legged friends, other activists considered this event to be not serious enough for their consideration and refused to take part. People must use different methods in order to achieve their goals, but human rights activists and other kinds of humanitarian workers need great amounts of selflessness and creativity. Unfortunately, the Caucasus is often lacking in this respect.

Regarding the issue of the arts: the voices of poets, musicians, artists and writers aren't heard in post-totalitarian society. Culture ceases to play a vanguard role in the process of change. Young people don't visit theatres like they did in the late 1980's when an actor was able to inflame whole audiences with the slightest ambiguous phrase, providing spectators with the pleasure of exchanging secretive gazes, winking at something forbidden and then applauding. Tengiz Abuladze's movie "Repentance" finally brought about a reckoning of soviet counter-culture, one of the best protest cultures in the history of civilization.

Nonviolent forms of protest dominate in healthy societies.

Peace-building organizations also belong to this culture of protest. Peace activism is a protest against violence which prevails in society. It is a kind of alternative protection for individuals and communities. This is especially true when speaking of post-totalitarian societies where governmental institutions do not perform their main function of protecting the rights and legal interests of citizens, but rather present significant danger to society.

Conflict and post-conflict regions/ sub-regions of the Caucasus

The problem of divided societies

There is a clear awareness of the particular harms caused to Caucasian countries by various types of conflict; metastases of these conflicts are everywhere. Most of the Caucasian territory has a heightened level of potential conflict. The depths of the democratic reforms in such regions are extremely shallow. Civil conflicts and wars have caused the appearance of various dividing lines within societies.

Almost all conflict areas represent "divided societies" – some of their citizens support the

independence of autonomous regions of the former Soviet Union or dense settlements of ethnic minorities, while others are against.

The division of society as a result of war has, for some, brought about autonomous existence. However, violent division has caused thousands of human tragedies.

Problem of the development of civil society institutions in conflict zones

The NGO sector develops poorly in conflict zones due to the difficulties of the social and political environment. In these zones, independent public activity not considered sufficiently loyal to the government can cost one's life. This is the main reason why NGO's existing in these regions are dependent on governmental bodies. It is also why it can be very difficult to distinguish the "independent" position from that of official structures. This mostly depends on the political situation.

It is to be hoped that the support of truly independent civil structures and initiatives will seriously contribute to peaceful, non-violent, political resolution of the conflicts in South Caucasus.

International donors play a special role in this process. Unfortunately, international organizations providing financial aid and support are influenced by central governmental authorities in capital cities. These authorities, who propose official economic blockades (for example, in the situation of Abkhazia), are not prepared to let even small amounts of money fall into "enemy hands". The amount of humanitarian investments to these regions has recently increased; however, unlike the current situation, investments should be distributed equally within the divided society.

The activities of the UNOHCHR in Sokhumi provide an example. Reports from the organization clearly show that their activities do not apply to those parts of Abkhazian society which were violently displaced or forced to leave the territory of Abkhazia. Due to pressure from the secessionist government, even after a long period of activity, the UNOHCHR is still unable to open a joint office with the OSCE in order to deal with human rights protection in the Gali district (a territory of dense Mingreli settlement controlled by the government of Abkhazia).

In the territory of former SOAR, the fact that ethnic Georgian communities were not able to partake in the building of civil society only recently garnered the attention of international aid agencies. This also has a certain background.

In Georgia, civil institutions develop irregularly and mainly in big cities. In the Ossetian conflict area, such institutions were first established in Tskhinvali. As a result of the military conflict in the former South Ossetian Autonomous Region, the population was divided along ethnic lines. This meant that only the townspeople of Tskhinvali (ethnic Ossetians) had the opportunity to participate in the process of building a civil society, something, with rare exceptions, lacking in the countryside. On the level of peace-building initiatives and public diplomacy, all projects and agreements have been maintained by "Tskhinvalian" and "Tbilisian" NGO's, causing a negative attitude in ethnic Georgians from the conflict area and appearing to contribute to the strengthening of the antagonistic state of public opinion. Mostly, this group of ethnic Georgians wasn't provided with information about the possibilities of participating in NGO activities pertaining to conflict resolution and harm reduction. Hence, the wrong

Civil society or civil war ?

approach to the distribution of investments and erroneous policy of donors caused the irregular development of civil society in the conflict area. It is extremely important that investments in civil institutions prioritize the resolution of social and economic ills in order to create fertile conditions for the intensification of the peace process.

Acceleration of the process of third sector development in ethnic Georgian and Ossetian communities of the former SOAR is necessary for effective development of cooperation and relations between these two communities. Unfortunately, due to recent complications in the conflict zone, work with Ossetian settlements, as well as any possibility for defending the rights and interests of "Tskhinvalian" NGO's facing direct pressure from the secret service is currently not possible.

In any case, based on the principal that the development of democratic institutions is one of the principal conditions of conflict resolution, it is necessary to proceed with activities directed at developing civil society in Georgian and mixed Georgio-Ossetian villages. However, this policy in no way implies that less attention should be paid to ethnic Ossetians.

For many years, the Helsinki Citizen's Assembly has spoken out in support of programs leading to the development of democratic institutions in conflict areas of the South Caucasus. It should be noted that lately international organizations and foreign governments have been paying more attention to this problem. Due to this trend, the activity of civil society institutions has noticeably increased in Abkhazia, Nagorno-Karabakh and Former SOAR . International grants have provided an opportunity to create, small organizations relatively independent of local authorities. At the same time, these efforts have had an unsustainable character and have had no noticeable effect on the process of changing the post-totalitarian climate and creating an atmosphere of democracy.

Problems with development outside of conflict zones (within the community of refugees and IDPs

It is well known, the situation of IDPs is extremely difficult. It is especially difficult for IDPs to manifest any civil activity; however, there are several IDP- created organizations working on protection of their rights. Hardly any of these organizations have offices, let alone technical equipment or permanent standing. Other kinds of organizations deal with the rights of refugees, applying for grants and participating in international forums. Of course, everyone can and should get involved in these issues, but the major role must belong to those most directly affected by them. It must be particularly noted that, for a long time, not one of the Abkhazian refugee organizations were accredited at the Geneva Conference on Migration Issues. The rights and interests of refugees are infringed upon when international programs dealing with refugee issues are created without the participation of the people they claim to protect.

In Georgia, few refugee organizations act separately, while in Armenia, the efforts of the Armenian Sociological Association in coordinating Geneva initiatives lead to the creation of a Coordination Council of organizations that represent the interests of refugees. The Caucasus currently has an effective action channel in the CRINGO network, formed by organizations participating in the Geneva process. This network

was created with the support of the Danish Refugee Council. In spite of serious obstacles, the network has become sustainable and today the "Caucasian Refugee and IDP NGO Network" includes more than 60 independent, nonprofit, noncommercial, nonpartisan, volunteer organizations working in the Caucasus on refugee, IDP and similar issues. CRINGO has already been active for three years and has recently recruited new members – organizations of refugees/IDPs.

There are no organizations working in the midst of IDPs for the protection of their political rights. During the Georgian parliamentary elections in 1999, European Council experts established the fact that IDPs were entirely unable to take part in the electoral process due to deficiencies in the legislative acts. For the most part, IDPs have been excluded from the process determining the political nature of their fate. Thus, IDPs are unable to participate in the negotiation process to resolve the conflict in Abkhazia. The same situation exists in other conflict areas. The international community, however, has ignored these fundamental problems. Erroneous central government and international organization policies have lead to a situation where conflict resolution and human rights protection in conflict zones are controlled not by the appropriate governmental or nongovernmental agencies, but by criminals, religious extremists or simply people forced to take up arms in order to protect their basic rights. Such errors lead to the development of partisan militias, terrorism and different types of extremism, as well as causing gross human rights violations all over the Caucasus.

It is also necessary to point out the poor development of human rights organizations among IDPs living in the Caucasus. Their low level of their civic activity is tied to their painful psychological and socio-economic situation. Many IDPs have rallied behind the politics of revanchist associations, while others have been were able to create humanitarian or charitable organizations. However, despite the large number of existing problems, refugees do not have enough energy to create their own human rights protection agencies which would enable them to regulate their problems among themselves.

At the same time, there has been increased activity by organizations based in the capital. Some of these organizations have focused on refugee/IDP protection because of either professional duty or moral imperative, while others have used the current "organizational deficit" for their own ends. After all, there are many grants available for this category of organization. It is here that the donors' serious miscalculation becomes most apparent. It would have been much more worthwhile to encourage mechanisms of self-organization and self-administration among refugees themselves, rather than outside their community. Compound types of organizations, of course, would also be acceptable. The domination of capital-based organizations in the NGO sphere has complicated the situation by pushing aside refugee/IDP-based organizations. This situation has also been aggravated by both the inability of refugee/IDP-based organizations to establish a concrete place for themselves in obtaining grants, and the lack of international programs supporting the development of such organizations.

Civil society or civil war ?

This is why there has been no development of a civil infrastructure within refugee/IDP communities, for example, that of Chechen refugees in the Pankisi Gorge. Such situations are often exploited by different extremist groups. In particular, in the villages of Pankisi Gorge mistakes made by local authorities during distribution of humanitarian aid, and absence of real control by central authorities, permitted wahhabits, members of a radical religious group, to take over control of distribution. They thus appeared to protect the rights of miserable people who had been cheated by local authorities.

The absence of democratic institutions protecting human rights, both on governmental and nongovernmental levels, in combination with the weakening influence of traditional means of problem solving, has meant that human rights have been relegated to the background, making way for problems of security and prevention of mass violence. Most unfortunately, neither governmental organizations nor international observers have paid enough attention to these kinds of problematic issues. There are no practical means of preventing the escalation of these conflicts.

Some recommendations for decision makers

• Societies of Abkhazia, Nagorno-Karabakh and Former SOAR should be perceived as divided societies and this characteristic should determine policy-making in all spheres while taking into account the interests of all parts of society

• It's essential for the international community to have clear policies supporting the development of democracy in South Caucasus conflict zones, especially within divided societies, while using the same care to assist all sectors of society with this process.

• The development of institutions for the protection of human rights today, prior to political conflict regulation, will bring about the resolution of these conflicts and create and atmosphere of trust and mutual understanding

• Human rights protection in conflict zones is often complicated by the mass - and disorderly nature of violations. It is therefore imperative to develop preventive measures which will begin by preventing violations but will also contribute to the development of civil security mechanisms, in other words peace-building.

THE OTHER SPACE FOUNDATION / FUNDACJA INNA PRZESTRZEŃ

www.przestrzen.art.pl

We are Polish non-profit NGO. Our mission is to support and promote democracy, human rights, multiculture and tolerance. We aim at opening unconventional spheres of social life to cultural and artistic initiatives and social projects generating real changes in Poland and in different regions of the world.

There are four main areas of our actions:

1. human rights – we run two programs: Save Tibet! (www.ratujTybet.org) promoting observance of human rights in Tibet and Russia-Info informing about Russian NGOs and their activities supporting human rights;

2. development cooperation – especially with the Caucasian partners: encompasses projects promoting foster parenting in Azerbaijan, projects realized in Georgia with Helsinki Citizens' Assembly – Georgian National Committee (building transboarder partnerships, negotiations in the zones of conflicts, workshops for NGOs and journalists and others);

3. multiculture in Warsaw – our main project in this field is the Continent of Warsaw – Warsaw of Many Cultures (www.kontynent-warszawa.pl) which promotes artists coming from different cultures and living in Poland; other two are: 'Warsaw Multicultural Center' – Pilotage aiming at establishment of a real center promoting multiculture and 'Sintar' – Center for Chechnyan refugees;

4. international artistic festivals and events – in cooperation with the Caucasus: Transkaukazja (www.transkaukazja.eu), the only festival of contemporary Caucasian art, taking place in Poland and from 2011 also in Austria, Germany and Czech Republic; ArtZone Warsaw/Tbilisi (www.artzona.pl) which promotes cooperation between artists from Poland and Georgia; Ruins of Our Times (www.ruinsofourtimes.wordpress.com), an interactive exhibition in the former Ministry of Transportation in Tbilisi.

171

Civil society or civil war ?

HCA GEORGIA

The initiative group of the **HCA Georgia** has been established on the basis of the Association of National Accord, in 1989. In 1992, **HCA Georgia** was recognized as an international structure. Formally, the organization was registered on 14th December 1995 and re-registered took place on 24th December 1998.

HCA Georgia is a national committee, part of the pan-European peace movement, supporting the process of European integration at the level of civil society.

hCa GNC Mission
The **HCA Georgia** supports the development of peace and of a stable democratic and pluralist society in Georgia. This includes the diversification and development of the civil society institutes in Georgia, as well as of the subjects of social politics and economics. **HCA Georgia's** activities support the regional integration of the countries of Southern Caucasus, ensuring stable civil security in the Southern Caucasian Region, the resolution and prevention of the conflicts.

HCA Georgia acts as organization – facilitator and its activities support peaceful civil initiatives, assist to self-organization and self-management of civil groups.

Structure and Direction of the Activities

HCA Georgia is one of the most experienced and efficient organizations in the region. The effectiveness of its activities results from its unique structure and system of network collaboration of organizations of the partnership network of **HCA Georgia**.

Currently **HCA Georgia** represents a peace movement – a wide network of NGOs and regional associations. It is working at different levels on such significant issues like

I. Effective management of conflicts and peace processes.

II. Development of a functioning system of bilateral and multilateral international cooperation.

III. Stable civil democracy and civil security.

The key principle of the partnership organizations is the mutual supplementing and orientation towards a high significance social impact on the society.

The partnership network of HCA Georgia includes universities, think tanks, civil society organizations, public schools, business structures, networks and coalitions at local, national and international levels.

HCA Georgia implements the following activities: trainings and seminars, arrangement and participation in international and local congresses, symposia, discussions, conferences and forums; collaboration with local, regional and international organizations, publication and dissemination of information bulletins and other special literature; creation of NGOs in Georgia and their support in all regions of the South Caucasus; development of a libraries´ network.

The core of the network is the South Caucasus Institute for Regional Security, a think-tank which reunites experts, scientists, researchers of the whole Caucasian region providing their professional expertise on the organization's programs and projects.

For notes

For notes

For notes

The project "Active society in practice"

The Other Space Foundation
HCA Georgia / South Caucasus Institute for Regional Security