PD-ABW-743
115815

Final Activities Report

For Contract AEP-I-00-00-00003-00, Delivery Order 804

"Legislative Strengthening for the Bulgarian National Assembly"

September 17, 2001 – July 17, 2002

Submitted to USAID/Bulgaria, Democracy and Governance Office

July 2002

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I. Introduction

Project Background

USAID's assistance to the Bulgarian National Assembly (BNA) began in 1991 with a legislative strengthening program funded under the Frost Task Force initiative. The principal elements of the Frost Task Force program focused on provision of much needed equipment (computers, software, etc) and training for members and staff. Between 1998 and 2000 USAID funded several smaller programs aimed at building capacity for members to engage effectively in public outreach and constituency relations. In 2000, the BNA established an Information Center at Parliament to assist members in this effort. Also during this period USAID helped to establish an internship program at the BNA and provided a grant to the National Assembly to support its operations.

USAID/Bulgaria awarded the State University of New York (SUNY) a short-term task order on September 17, 2001 to April 17, 2002 to work with the Bulgarian National Assembly on a discrete set of programming activities aimed at strengthening the institution's effectiveness, transparency and accountability. The ceiling price was set at $506,455.88. A no cost extension was later signed extending the completion date to July 17, 2002.

The scope of work for the task order was derived from a legislative assessment of the BNA that took place in April 2001. It was originally hoped that the task order would be issued in the early summer of 2001 to enable the contractor to act quickly upon many of the assessment's recommendations. For instance, in order to improve the quality and efficiency of the current legislative process and procedures, the assessment called attention to the need for revising the Standing Rules. By the time the task order was signed this initiative was made redundant because the newly elected parliament had already debated and passed the standing orders. However, with input from the new Secretary General and approval from USAID, SUNY reprogrammed these funds towards other more pertinent activities--- the details of which are explained later in this report.

On September 29th 2001, SUNY Project Director Marc Cassidy and Chief of Party Jim Carlson attended a Joint [donor] Committee coordination retreat in Sofia sponsored by the Dutch Embassy and the organized by the Parliamentary Center for European Law (PACEL), a Bulgarian NGO. During the retreat, representatives from USAID, UNDP, Dutch and German Embassies, and the British High Commission emphasized to the various representatives of the different parliamentary floor groups the need for the donor assistance to be demand driven and that MPs needed to decide for themselves on the topical areas of the workshops. As indicated in the Joint Committee document (see appendix A), there would be a series of continual seminars over a year-long period designed to build the capacity of the new MPs. In an effort to coordinate its planned activities with other donors SUNY agreed to carry out its workshop modules as per the guidelines of the Joint Committee document. A list detailing the number of MPs from each floor group that attended SUNY organized workshops is trained by floor group is located in Appendix B.

Political Context

After the June 2001 Parliamentary Elections, a new parliamentary majority emerged. The current coalition government is composed of the National Movement Simeon II (NMSII) and the Movement for Rights and Freedom (MRF). The NMSII was a political organization established prior to the elections by the former monarch of Bulgaria, Simeon Saks-Kobourg-Gotha; eight months later it registered formally as a political party. The NMSII managed to win 120 seats, 50% of total, in the BNA. The Movement for Rights and Freedoms represents the Bulgarian citizens of Turkish descent and is the junior member of the coalition with 21 seats in parliament. Both political parties are fledglings to holding formal political power as all of the NMSII's members and many from the MRF are serving their first term in Parliament.

The NMSII-MRF government has been shaken by periodic scandals most of which can be attributed to its relative lack of experience and unity rather than dishonesty and corruption However, within the NMSII's parliamentary group, five MPs were asked to leave the parliamentary group because of their association with the former Chief of Office of the Prime Minister, who was also asked to resign from the Cabinet after his affiliations with semi-legal economic interests was revealed.

Meanwhile, the former ruling party, the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) has undergone a major rehabilitation after it lost both the parliamentary and the presidential elections in 2001 and it is already making progress towards regaining some of the popular support it had previously enjoyed.

In last year's presidential elections The Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) candidate Mr. Georgy Parvanov defeated the incumbent UDF President Stoyanov by a 54 to 46 per cent margin. The BSP together with nine other leftist parties formed the parliamentary group "Coalition for Bulgaria" (CB) which is increasingly seen by analysts and the public alike as the next major party to form a government, most likely in coalition with the MRF.

Bulgarians who voted for the NMSII had expected quicker progress towards economic growth and rooting out corrupt officials. Added to this impatience are Bulgarians' concerns that its government needs to project the image of a stable, unified country on the eve of November 2002, when it is supposed to receive a formal invitation to join NATO.

Task Order objectives and approved changes to scope of work

The objectives of this legislative assistance program were to strengthen the effectiveness, transparency, accountability and responsiveness of the Bulgarian National Assembly. These objectives were to be achieved through: improvement to the rules, practices and procedures; greater awareness and understanding by MPs not only of their representative, legislative and oversight responsibilities, but also with respect to the legal, economic social and policy issues being considered by the National Assembly; creation and publishing of a Parliamentary Handbook; and, increased public outreach.

To the extent that SUNY attempted to accommodate all relevant concerns and suggestions on the part of the BNA in the process of the project implementation, two of the deliverables specified above were replaced upon request from the Bulgarian National Assembly and with the approval of USAID/Bulgaria. First, in light of conversations with the Secretary General of the BNA, the **Report on Recommendations for Standing Rules Revision** was substituted with a comprehensive **Management Review of the BNA administration.** The rules review activity became redundant as a result of the timing of the start of the first session of parliament (when parliament was reviewing and debating adoption of their rules) and the later than anticipated start of the task order. Second, given the resolutions of the Joint Committee and the change in approach to the orientation training agreed to by USAID, it was recommended that in place of the **Technical Guide** for conducting an orientation program, a **Compendium of Conference Proceedings** emanating from the new members orientation conference be printed and distributed to all Bulgarian MPs.

Apart from the two activities/deliverables listed above, SUNY was able to meet, and in some instances exceed the expectations of the Task Order objectives---both within the approved time line and budget limits. Probably the most significant factor that led to these achievements is attributable to the excellent relationship that was quickly developed by the SUNY field office staff with key members of the BNA administration and political leadership.

Under the terms of the Task Order, and vis-à-vis the objectives of the Project outlined above, SUNY was required to submit five main deliverables: 1) a work plan; 2) Report on Recommendations for Standing Rules Revision; 3) Parliamentary Handbook; 4) A Technical Guide to organizing/conducting an orientation program for MPs; and 5) Final activities report. These can be found in this report's annexure.

II. Description of Project Activities

Activity 1: Handbook of the 39th National Assembly of the Republic of Bulgaria

SUNY managed the process of publishing *The Handbook of the 39th BNA*. SUNY ensured the neutral framework for addressing various concerns and differing opinions that made possible the progress towards publication. The introductory part of the Handbook features brief information about the history and functioning of the National Assembly, followed by members' biographical data. The Handbook also includes lists of the MPs by constituencies, membership of Parliamentary Groups in standing Committees and in Standing Delegations to international organizations.

The Directorates of Information and Publishing Activity, Library, and Public and Media Relations decided on the content and compiled the information for the Handbook. The editorial staff included the Secretary General, Ognyan Avramov and department heads Margarita Angelova, Mariana Vitanova, Emil Krepiev. The Handbook reflects the situation as of March 31, 2002. The biographical data was prepared using individual data forms completed by the members. Information from the BNA databases was used. The best

offer for print and graphic layout, evaluated and selected jointly with the BNA Secretary General, was the one provided by Imigix Ltd.

Activity 2: Pre-conference Module # 1: Communication and Interaction Between the National Assembly and Civil Society Organizations

The first workshop was held on December 18, 2002, at the Military Club in Sofia. It discussed potential avenues for enhancing the interaction between civil society organizations and Parliament and was organized by SUNY in cooperation with the Bulgarian Center for Not-for-profit Law (BCNL). Mr. Georgy Genchev, Executive Director of the Parliamentary Center for European Law, chaired the panel discussion. The opening remarks were delivered by Ms. Kamelia Kassabova, Deputy Speaker of the 39th BNA, followed by a presentation of Ms. Mariana Vitanova, Head of the Parliamentary Information Center (PIC), on the activities and services through which PIC aims at facilitating the Parliament-civil society communication. Mr. Emil Koshlukov, Chairman of the Standing Committee on Civil Society Issues at the 39th BNA, explained the role of the Civil Society Committee, as well as its value for MPs and NGOs alike, as an intermediary capable of institutionalizing the relationship between them. Mr. Ivo Hristov, Adviser to the Standing Committee on Legal Affairs and NGO activist, discussed useful techniques for direct communication between MPs and third sector representatives. Ms. Ginka Kapitanova from the Local Government Reform Foundation, together with Mr. Nikolay Kolev, Roma Foundation-Lom, shared their experience and best practices for cooperation of state institutions and the not-for-profit organizations. Finally, Mr. David Cohen, Co-Director of Advocacy Institute, Washington, D.C., intervened spontaneously to share the US experience in this field. The workshop was followed by a reception, where MPs (primarily from the Civil Society Committee) were able to further discuss issues with NGO representatives and parliamentary administrators.

Activity 3: Management Review of the Administration of the Bulgarian National Assembly

In order to provide the Secretary General of the BNA with a comprehensive evaluation of the strengths and weaknesses of the various departments in the parliamentary administrative structure, SUNY hired US consultant David B. Ogle to meet with all the Heads of directorates and departments and other relevant staff in the Parliament, to analyze the information obtained and to provide recommendations for improving the administrative capacity for providing services to the MPs. The management review, entitled "The Administration of the Bulgarian National Assembly" that Mr. Ogle prepared was well – received by the Secretary General. To date, the majority of recommendations that Mr. Ogle makes for improving the efficacy and effectiveness of the administrative structure have already been implemented by the Secretary General in what turned to a be a major restructuring of the National Assembly administration.

During Mr. Ogle's management review of the BNA he also took time to meet with Ms. Mariana Vitanova head of the Parliamentary Information Center to identify practices in the PIC where they could improve their out reach with Bulgarian public. Due to limited time Mr. Ogle and Ms. Vitanova were only able to identify the needs and discuss where future training might benefit the PIC's capacity to better reach various groups of the public. The

end result of this collaboration was SUNY's development of a proposal for the training of PIC team. This proposal was later implemented by SUNY through the support of USAID and World Learning.

Activity 4: Pre-conference Module # 2: Strengthening Committee Operations

The second SUNY workshop took place on January 18, 2002, in the Red Hall of the BNA building in Sofia. The workshop targeted primarily Chairs and Deputy-Chairs of parliamentary committees at the BNA. The topic of discussion focused on strategies for optimizing the efficiency and quality of committee work. Mr. David B. Ogle facilitated the workshop. It should be noted that several Chairs of Standing Committees attended, including the Chair of the Committee on Foreign Policy, Security and Defense, as well as a number of Deputy-Chairs in addition to members of various committees. The consultant discussed both the importance of committees in the overall legislative process and the often-underestimated details of effective committee organization, with particular emphasis on the responsibilities of chairpersons. Mr. Ogle also paid particular attention to the innovative practice of public hearings as a tool of making committee operation both transparent and representative. As part of the activity, all participants (and subsequently all Chairs and Deputy-Chairs of standing committees) received a copy of the "Handbook for Committees of the National Assembly of Bulgaria", prepared by the State Legislative Leaders Foundation (SLLF) for SUNY. Copies of the Handbook were also filed at the Library of the National Assembly.

Activity 5: Members of Parliament Orientation Conference: "Effective Representation, Lawmaking and Oversight"

After a few postponements resulting from time conflicts with political activities of the MPs, as well as the ceremony for the inauguration of the new President, and intensive coordination with the floor groups and the leadership of the BNA, the Orientation Conference entitled "Effective Representation, Lawmaking and Oversight" took place on February 15-17, 2002, in the Sandanski Hotel in the town of Sandanski, Bulgaria.

The Conference was jointly opened by Mr. Ognyan Gerdjikov, Speaker 39th Bulgarian National Assembly and Ms. Debra McFarland, Mission Director, United States Agency for International Development – Bulgaria. Robert Kaplan gave the keynote address. Mr. Kaplan is senior correspondent for the *Atlantic Monthly* and has reported on assignments from 80 countries around the world. His books include *Eastward to Tartary: Travels in the Balkans, the Middle East, and the Caucasus* (2000), *The Ends of the Earth* (1995), and *Balkan Ghosts: A Journey Through History* (1993), all of which grew out of *Atlantic* articles.

Despite the postponements as a result of other commitments on the part of parliamentary groups and the short time for preparation, SUNY was able to provide a team of distinguished US experts with many years of relevant legislative experience. Each workshop matched a US expert with a Bulgarian expert who was able to provide local context to the topics discussed, and MPs and parliamentary administrators were encouraged to interact with each of the experts.

The topical areas were identified as priorities by the MPs themselves in a survey conducted by SUNY in January 2002. The following six workshop topics were presented at the conference:

- *Module # 3:* **Dealing Successfully with the Media:** Dr. Louis Fortis, publisher and former US state legislator, and Ms Lili Marinkova, Host of *Nedelia 150*, Bulgarian National Radio
- *Module # 4:* **Ethics Laws Governing MPs Conduct in Parliament & Society:** Dr. Alan Rosenthal, Professor at Rutgers University and preeminent scholar on legislatures, and Mr. Antony Todorov, Professor and Deputy Head of the Department of Political Science, New Bulgarian University
- *Module # 5:* **Mastering Constituency Relations:** Dr. Sue Senecah, Professor at the State University of New York and a leading expert on participation in the public policy decision-making process, and Mr. Borislov Vilarov, Professor of Political Communication, Sofia University
- *Module # 6:* **Lobbying, Goals and Principals:** Mr. Steven Lakis, President of the State Legislative Leaders Foundation, and Ms Raina Timcheva, Program Director, Foundation Resource Center
- *Module # 7:* **Public Hearings:** Dr. Helen Desfosses, President, Albany City Council and Dean of the Rockefeller College of Public Policy, State University of New York, and Prof. Emilia Drumeva, Head of the Legal Department, Bulgarian National Assembly
- *Module # 8:* **Bridging the Perception-Reality Gap in a Representative Democracy:** Dr. Alan Rosenthal and Ms Tatiana Dronzina, Professor of Public Relations and Conflict Resolution, Sofia University

The attendance at the Conference was impressive: with the firm commitment and support on the part of the Speaker Mr. Ognyan Gerdjikov and Secretary General Mr. Ognyan Avramov, over 85 Members of Parliament from all 4 floor-groups, 25 parliamentary administrators and 15 guests were brought together to discuss issues of common concern.

A post conference survey revealed that most of the attendees expressed their appreciation of the format of presentations, i.e. each workshop co-delivered by a Bulgarian and an US expert. Some of them expressed their desire to attend all of the workshops rather than one of the concurrently running two sessions, but most stated that they were pleased with the information and advice provided and felt that the event was timely, particularly for new MPs.

The Bulgarian media extensively covered the Conference: over 50 articles were devoted to it in the period February 17-22 in the biggest Bulgarian daily newspapers alone. There were two parallel lines of coverage going through the press: on the one hand, the cross-caucus partying and dancing of the MPs, and, on the other, the attendance of the MPs and actual content of the lectures and discussions. The intentional focus on what might be scandalous and provocative in the papers reflects the reality of predominantly 'yellow' press and cynicism, characteristic of the overall structure of contemporary Bulgarian media.

Activity 6: Compendium of Conference Presentations

The presentations delivered at the weekend Conference "Effective Representation, Lawmaking and Oversight" were compiled and published as a Compendium of conference proceedings. Ten presentations which span the entire range of topics discussed were included in the Compendium, preceded by the opening remarks of BNA Speaker Prof. Gerdjikov, USAID Mission Director Ms Debra McFarland, as well as keynote speaker Mr. Robert Kaplan. The texts of the individual presentations are either synoptic or full-length, often enriched with additional and more detailed information about practical aspects of the respective topic. Seven hundred copies were published: each MP received a copy of the Compendium, as well as key administrators in the various departments. The remaining copies were allocated to the BNA Library and the Research and Analysis Department at the National Assembly.

Activity 7: Post-conference Module # 9: Media Relations

As requested by the representatives of the various parliamentary groups, the workshop on Media Relations took place by caucus, i.e. for each parliamentary group individually. Taking into consideration that the National Movement Simeon II (NMSII) floor group is by far the largest in Parliament, there were two sessions allocated for them (April 22-23, 2002) while each of the other three groups had one session (April 23-24, 2002). SUNY was able to attract a highly qualified British expert to discuss media issues and conduct mock interviews with analysis of the MPs performance – Mr. Harvey Thomas, international Public Relations (PR) consultant and former Head of PR for former British Prime Minister Lady Margaret Thatcher. While the two sessions of the NMSII, as well as the session for the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (MRF) were attended by few MPs, the one-on-one interaction with Mr. Thomas proved to be a highly involving and effective form of training and the MPs who did attend the presentation expressed their sincere appreciation.

The session for the floor group of the United Democratic Forces (UDF) was very well attended: 8 MPs turned out, including figures from the leaderships such as former Speaker of the 38th BNA. Even higher turnout was demonstrated by the Coalition for Bulgaria (CB) at their session later that day: Twelve MPs, including the Deputy Leader of the Bulgarian Socialist Party and two of the Deputy-Chairs of the CB Parliamentary Group and their media advisors. Mr. Thomas' concise, practical guide of the "do's" and "don'ts" of public relations was well received by all participants. The guide on media relations was included in the book of materials for the workshop.

Activity 8: Post-conference Module # 10: Government Transparency

On May 29, 2002, UK consultant Sir Colin Shepherd delivered the Government Transparency workshop. Sir Colin, currently is Director of Parliamentary Affairs at the Center for Political and Diplomatic Studies at Oxford and the Chairman of the Friends of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (CPA), has served as Member of the British Parliament for Hereford between 1974 and 1997. Both the distinguished consultant and the topical title attracted motivated MPs who participated actively with questions and comments in what turned into a lively discussion. Among the topics discussed were instruments for

effective government transparency and accountability, Code of Conduct and Practice, the role of NGOs, etc. The workshop lasted over an hour longer than planned, and continued informally after the workshop was closed.

Activity 9: Post-conference Module # 11: Strategies for Winning Legislative Battles

The last post-conference workshop organized within the project took place on June 14, 2002, and was entitled "Strategies for Winning Legislative Battles". The workshop brought together in presentations and discussion the US experience and the realities of Bulgarian parliamentary life. This was made possible due to the panel of distinguished presenters: Mr. John B. Sheffer, II, former New York State Senator, currently serving as Director of the Institute for Local Governance and Regional Growth, SUNY-Buffalo; Dr. James Ketterer, Director, Center for International Development, SUNY; and Prof. Emilia Drumeva, Head of the Legal Department at the BNA. The panel focused their efforts on 'bringing home' the US experience in legislative process, particularly by means of embedding it in the legal framework provided to Bulgarian MPs by the Standing Rules of the BNA and other relevant legislation. With very low turnout, primarily coming from parliamentary administrators, the discussion gradually took a more technical and procedural direction.

After the workshop, Mr. Sheffer met with the National Association of Municipalities of Bulgaria to discuss how the two local government organizations could work together on future endeavors. Mr. Sheffer commented that he was impressed with the type and level of activity, use of technology and quality of publications emanating from the Bulgarian Association.

III. Additional Activities Completed

The SUNY Field Office was pleased to be in a position to take on additional activities that could be funded from within the budget's parameters. Below is a list of some of the activities that SUNY coordinated/implemented:

World Learning Contract

SUNY assisted the BNA in preparing training proposals for the Parliamentary Information Center and the Research, Analysis and Forecast Department and applied on behalf of the BNA for support within the USAID/World Learning partner organizations training scheme. Both proposals were approved and awarded funding by USAID. World Learning met the costs of the consultants' fees, and the logistics and travel costs were met with existing Task Order funds.

From July 1-5, 2002, US consultants Dr. Alan Rosenthal and Mr. Allan Green facilitated the trainings for the PIC and the Research Department, respectively. While the PIC training focused on developing a viable public outreach program involving civic education projects and more intensive communication with the public, the training for the Research Department emphasized strategies for establishing an efficient structure of the Department, as well as working out its relationship with other relevant BNA Departments. After a

meeting with Secretary General Avramov, both Dr. Rosenthal and Mr. Green prepared reports with their suggestions for the two departments and sent them to the Secretary General's office for consideration. SUNY consolidated these two reports and produced a final report for World Learning (see Appendix C)

Design and printing of two information brochures

The Secretary General of the BNA requested USAID assistance to help meet the cost of producing two information brochures – one for children (prepared by the Parliamentary Information Center), and one other (prepared by Research, Analysis and Forecast Department at the BNA) for the general audience. With USAID approval SUNY was able to reprogram funds to meet the design and printing costs.

IV. Conclusion

Results Analysis

While Bulgarian citizens have every right to expect their government to help provide the enabling environment that will result in timely and tangible benefits to their daily lives, the likelihood that any political party in power could, in the short-term, sufficiently deliver on such promises are low--- given recent Bulgarian political history and the country's situation within the global economy. Nonetheless, legislators can and must learn how to better manage the people's perceptions and expectations of the legislature's role and responsibilities in the governing process.

The overall objective of the legislative assistance program was to strengthen the effectiveness, transparency, accountability and responsiveness of the Bulgarian National Assembly. These objectives were to be achieved through a series of programmatic activities listed in the main body of this report.

SUNY is confident that it provided high caliber consultants to successfully carry out all of its programmatic activities. Yet, given the limited time frame of the project (total of 10 months), the project did achieve its objectives in working with the Bulgarian Parliament, albeit with varying levels of success.

The perception that the number of MPs who attended the workshops can measure success is based on the premise that consecutive, continuous education programs for MPs are a viable method to achieve the above stated objectives. While SUNY did agree with the need to provide orientation training to new MPs as was done during the relatively well-attended conference in Sandanski, it was less supportive of Joint Committee's strategy of continuous education programs for MPs. SUNY learned that MPs felt burdened and overwhelmed by the workshops, resulting in the steady decline in their participation. For legislators the world over, this sentiment is not uncommon. And given the political context in Bulgaria over the past ten months and the intensification of both MPs legislative activities and their political involvement (by caucus), SUNY was not surprised by the steadily diminishing turn out. In retrospect it is evident that holding two pre-conference events, a weekend conference with

six modules, and three post-conference seminars in six months (the first workshop took place on December 18, 2001; the last one on June 14, 2002), was a rather ambitious schedule of activities for legislators--notoriously busy people, especially given the political milieu which Bulgarian MPs have found themselves in since September.

The cooperation with party caucus representatives was very strong; indeed, it was often due to their energetic involvement that the other MPs attended certain workshops. The relationship that SUNY has established with all four Parliamentary Groups – through the Joint Committee representatives – at the level of Deputy Chairs proved fruitful and mutually beneficial: whenever possible, the implementation of the project tried to accommodate all concerns and suggestions coming from the MPs and the BNA leadership. However, the partnership SUNY established with the Parliamentary Administration was more successful. Secretary General, Ognyan Avramov, was consulted regularly on issues ranging from dates, times and venues scheduling, to content and design of the Parliamentary Handbook. The reciprocal nature of the established relationship is demonstrated by the fact that the Secretary General reformed the National Assembly administrative structure along the lines of the Management Review prepared by the SUNY expert Mr. David B. Ogle: as of now, the majority of the suggestions and recommendations in the Review have been implemented.

Particularly fruitful also proved the cooperation with Ms. Iliana Vesselinova, Director, Parliamentary Research and Public Relations Directorate: she was appointed by the Secretary General as the contact person for the project on parliamentary administration issues. It is advisable that both the momentum of USAID support and the relationships established with the 39th BNA – at the level of leadership of the BNA, caucus leadership, Private Members, and parliamentary administration – be utilized and sustained if further cooperation with the Bulgarian Parliament is expected or foreseen.

If the success of the Project is measured in terms of cooperation with the BNA, then SUNY accomplished its goals. In a short period of time (September 2001-July 2002), overlapping with the Parliament's own efforts to establish itself both internally and vis-à-vis the public, the Project unfolded as a partner providing timely support to the institution. In this context, it is not surprising that some activities and goals were re-designed or added to better accommodate the dynamic needs and concerns of Parliament and Private Members alike. SUNY has fostered an open dialogue and demeanor in which the BNA, in this way allowing the Parliament to work closely with USAID and to synchronize the focus of assistance with their own legislative and restructuring priorities.

In coordination with the BNA and USAID, SUNY redesigned some of the original proposal and built on areas of immediate concern. Examples of this are the BNA Administration Management Review, the support for the Parliament's efforts to develop a viable and efficient Research and Analysis Department, as well as supporting the Parliamentary Information Center in its desire to build an outreach program and infrastructure that will allow for greater responsiveness and accountability to the people of Bulgaria.

In addition, SUNY attended, coordinated and chaired meetings of the Joint Committee of international donors working together in the Program for Support and Orientation to the Bulgarian National Assembly. SUNY's coordination and cooperation with the local representatives of the international community actively helping Bulgaria to build its

legislative capacity established it as a trusted partner in Bulgaria and contributed towards USAID's reputation as the most active donor supporting the BNA.

Suggestions for future programming with the BNA

SUNY bases its suggestions for future programming on its informal conversations with various concerned members of parliament and parliamentary staff and from its experience as an implementer of legislative strengthening project throughout the world.

First and foremost, SUNY strongly recommends that USAID consider at a minimum a two-three year assistance program. While USAID has garnered considerable respect within the BNA as a serious development partner, it needs to show its long-term commitment to the institution to see through many of the good initiatives it has started over the recent past. Secondly, SUNY suggests USAID focus its future programming on institutional capacity building with the parliamentary administration and by supporting the Parliament in its efforts to render the legislative process more open and responsive to public concerns. While SUNY believes these two areas to be the most receptive to development assistance it also believes a few discrete targeted activities to enhance MPs ability to oversee the executive and to write better laws are worthy of consideration.

Any plans for continued support for staff development should come the Secretary General (SG) and his department heads to ensure USAID goals and objectives are in accordance with the SG's plans. Similarly, to the extent that is possible given their busy schedules it is imperative that the Speaker and leaders of all floor groups be included in the development of programmatic activities. This will reduce the likelihood of limited participation in USAID funded activities.

In terms of providing assistance for strengthening the institution's representative functions, specifically enhancing public participation in the law-making process and straight out constituent relations, USAID needs to carefully consider the influence of Bulgaria's proportional representation, closed party list electoral system and the polarizing impact of its political parties. Both factors tend to weaken the links between members and their constituents, resulting in increased cynicism towards the significance of legislative process.

However, as a starting point for its discussions with the BNA, SUNY believes that many of the recommendations made in the April 2001 BNA Assessment report undertaken by AID/Global/DG are still worthy of consideration. In order to improve the margin on USAID's return on investment, SUNY recommends that AID request the Secretary General to hire the necessary staff and ensure that there will be appropriate office space for the staff to make use of the material assistance. In particular, SUNY recommends USAID/Bulgaria explore the following activities:

- Provide help to the National Assembly engage in a strategic planning process designed to create a long-term institutional development plan.
- Support the continued development and expansion of the Parliamentary Information Center.

- Increase public participation in the legislative process by strengthening the ability of commissions to receive and process public input and comments through organized formal public hearings.
- Strengthen the Commissions' capacity to draft specific laws or policy issues that coincide with other USAID/Sofia strategic objectives in order to provide linkages and synergy with other USAID-funded projects in Bulgaria.
- Support the further development of information technologies and web design to facilitate communication within and outside the National Assembly and to increase the National Assembly's ability to disseminate and receive information via the Internet or through the Parliamentary Information Center.
- Strengthen the capacity of commission advisors and other appropriate legislative staff to provide in-depth bill analysis and evaluation of draft laws.
- Continue to support the Legislative Internship Program while jointly devising with the National Assembly, a long-term sustainability plan for the program.
- Provide policy experts and seminars on specific policy issues for MPs on draft laws and issues being considered by the National Assembly and assist the National Assembly in developing a database containing names of these types of experts.
- Develop the skills and capacity of academic institutions, economic think tanks, and/or issue-oriented NGOs, civil society organizations, and interest groups to engage in budgetary and fiscal analysis, budget policy development, performance based budgeting, issue oriented budget analysis, draft law fiscal impact evaluation, budget projecting and revenue forecasting, budget information services, review of the government accounts, and monitoring and publicizing of budget implementation including revenues, expenditures, and debt.
- Provide budget-related assistance in the form of training, educational seminars, or study missions on budget-related issues, practices, and oversight mechanisms targeting MPs and staff of the relevant legislative commissions that have primary responsibilities for budget and finance issues.
- Provide technical assistance and equipment, as determined through an in-depth assessment of the National Assembly's information technology capacity, to help improve the flow of electronic information within and outside the National Assembly.

In addition to these activities SUNY recommends:

- Targeted assistance to the newly created Research Department in the form of intensive training for research staff on how to provide appropriate information to legislators; visits to an appropriate US state legislative research office.

- Study tours for selected floor groups' leaders to a parliament with a similar electoral and parliamentary system to focus on how constituent relations are handled. The study tour could form the basis for the discussion between USAID and the BNA on the types of activities that would be most relevant and supportive of the 39th Parliament's efforts to render the legislative process more open and responsive.

Appendix A

PROGRAMME OF SUPPORT AND ORIENTATION TO THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

Draft Summary

I. GOALS

1. To share the achievements of the world parliamentary practices.
2. To improve the relations between the MPs, civil society, NGOs, media and international organisations.
3. To improve the role of the National Assembly in the process of the EU accession and NATO membership
4. To reach the European standards of the legislative process and bill drafting.
5. To reach a better level of co-ordination of the joint efforts of the National Assembly, Presidency and Executive powers to speed up the economic, social and political development of Bulgaria.
6. To make MPs more productive, flexible and successful in their main activities as a legislative power.

II. TARGET GROUPS

1. Members of the Parliament from all Floor Groups.
2. Administration of the National Assembly

III. VENUE

1. National Assembly
2. Appropriate places out of Sofia (two-day seminars)

IV. TIMING/SCHEDULE

1. Short sessions (1-2 hours)
2. Long sessions (two-day seminars)

V. PROGRAMME MODULES

The Programme is divided into 3 areas of support. Each module within the areas addresses a specific topic.

1. Orientation of Members of Parliament

Module 1: The Role of the Public Hearings in the Interaction between the MPs and Civil Society.

The module will focus on the organisation and management of the public hearings as an appropriate way of interaction between the MPs and citizens through which the lawmakers

receive the necessary feedback to correct their political behaviour in terms of enhancing more responsive policies. The main purpose of the seminar will be to elaborate the available techniques and strategies for communication with the civil society. The module will also outline the role of the information technologies for optimising the contact between the MPs and citizens.

Module 2: Mastering Constituency Relations

Developing and maintaining good relations with the constituencies is important because it demonstrates concern and compassion by the individual MP, the party, and the institution of Parliament for the citizens of the country. Therefore the module will focus on the available strategies and resources for legislators to resolve constituents' problems – sociological analysis, psychological profiles and expected reactions from the public.

Module 3: Dealing Successfully with the Media

In today's world of mass communication it is essential that MPs understand how to utilise the media in order to represent their constituents' concerns and interests. The module will concentrate on the creation of the proper MP image. Workshops for MPs in press relations, drafting press releases, interviewing techniques will be included likewise similar training for media personnel.

Module 4: Linking Civil Society Organisation/Non-governmental Organisations to Parliament

As is the case for many media personnel, knowledge of how Parliament functions is also rare among leaders of CSOs/NGOs. Workshops that facilitate the flow of knowledge in both directions are an excellent way to enhance the representation function. The interaction between the CSO/NGO and the Parliament will facilitate the legislative initiative of the MPs and thus will enhance the legislation process as a whole.

Module 5: Strengthening Parliamentary Committees

Efficient committee operation is key to making a Parliament an effective lawmaker. The module will provide workshops strengthening the ability of the MPs to manage with the various committee operations. An introduction will be given on the constitutional framework of the Parliamentary committees and some specific features as to the rules that govern them will be studied in depth. The workshops will demonstrate MPs how to hold committee hearings in order to obtain expert testimony. In that way the Parliament's capacity will be increased in view of its oversight function.

Module 6: Understanding the Legislative Process

The module will focus on the main principles and features of the lawmaking process as well as the actors involved in it. The MPs will acquire knowledge about how a bill becomes a law, how to draft legislation, write amendments and how to use the Standing Orders (rules of procedure) to win legislative battles.

Module 7: Bill Drafting and Tracking

Professional bill drafting within the Parliament allows legislators preferences in bills to be put into proper legislative language. Normally this is a function of professional administrative units in the Parliament. Similarly, the development of a database—electronic or otherwise—provides all MPs with an organised track of the various stages in a bill's life as well as a repository of bills

enacted into laws. The workshops in the module will provide this basic knowledge to MPs and will demonstrate them how to utilise these services effectively.

Module 8: Enhancing Access to Research Expertise within the Parliament

The module will consider the role of the expertise for the efficient functioning of the lawmaking capacity of the Parliament. The MPs need to know how to request information from the available research offices and to whom to request it from. The workshops set out in the module will provide for such skills and thus will ensure the quality of the legislative process.

Module 9: Interaction with the Executive Power in Terms of the Oversight Authority of the Parliament

The formal authority of the MPs to oversee the executive branch will be the central topic of the seminars included in the module. An introduction will be given on the essence and goals of Parliamentary control. A comparative oversight study will point out the various constitutional models of Parliamentary oversight, which can be found in the different Parliamentary systems.

Module 10: Strategies for Committees in their Interaction with the Executive Branch

The module will discuss the role of the Committees in ensuring the oversight function of the Parliament. Workshops will cover such topics as the importance of developing sufficient expertise among the MPs and staff, the use of the Media and NGOs in getting the attention of the executive, requesting on-line access to government accounts.

Module 11: Strengthening MPs Understanding of the Budget Making Process

The role of the Parliament in budget preparation is another important aspect of its oversight function. Therefore it is imperative that MPs understand their rights and responsibilities in the formulating and monitoring the national budget. Workshop topics covered in the module include: the basics of public budgeting, strategies for monitoring ministerial expenditures, how to hold hearings on budget matters.

Module 12: Ethics Laws Governing the MPs Conduct in the Parliament

In order for MPs to have the moral authority to provide oversight of the executive, they must become fully conversant in the leadership code that governs their positions. The workshops set in the module will focus on the implications of certain actions and strategies to avoid MP being accused of wrongdoing while in office.

Module 13: Lobbying: Goals and Principles

The module will provide information on the basic aspects of lobbying as an available mode for interaction with the interest groups in terms of the legislative process. The MPs will be acquainted with the existing institutional and non-institutional models in the world, which accept the lobbying as legitimate activity.

Module 14: Improving Public Relations System and Information

In order for the staff to present properly the role of the Parliament in the society, it needs to acquire knowledge of the modern public relations methods. Workshops in this module will focus on such methodologies as extremely useful for enhancing the staff capacity.

Module 15: Reforming the Rules of Procedure

Legislative rules govern all aspects of Parliamentary management. The workshops in this module will point out the drawbacks of the comprehensive rules system and will show the possible ways for simplifying and streamlining it.

Module 16: Introducing New Management Practices

Modern management practices often serve to improve the function of Parliamentary departments. Therefore the seminars in the module are designed to provide staff with examples of new management initiatives implemented in other Parliamentary systems.

Module 17: Improved Systems of Record-keeping

The module will provide the staff of the Parliament with information on the available systems of record-keeping which range from accurate and timely paper records and publication of votes in plenary and committee to IT based systems.

Module 18: Improving Legislature Communications

Given the giant growth in IT over the last decade, the legislature communicates internally and externally has changed dramatically. The seminars in the module will focus on using the Internet to do research, communicating via email and word processing, spreadsheet as well as other useful software applications. The workshops predominantly orientated to particular part of the staff - IT, PR, Library and Research, cover more in -depth IT topics such as state-of-the-art web design, database development and use of innovative research, library, public relations software.

2. Building administrative and institutional capacity

Module 19: Enhancing the Parliament's Capacity to Support MPs

The module will examine the supporting activities contributing to the capacity of the Parliament. An in-depth report on the Parliamentary staff capacity will be delivered, including the following topics: legislative drafting skills, policy analysis, impact assessment of new legislation, current practices and procedures.

Module 20: Increased Responsiveness of the Research and Information Services to the Parliamentary Committees and MPs

The Module will concentrate on the strategic planning as a necessary means for ensuring increased co-operation between the MPs and the research units of the Parliament. Designing proper advertising strategy in front of the Parliamentarians and 'rapid response system' adequate to their inquiries are indispensable elements of this strategy, which facilitate the everyday work of the MPs.

Module 21: Working with legal experts

The module will cover the main issues connected with using legal experts to review the legal framework governing the Parliament and determine the consistency and coherence of the various acts defining its procedures. Focus will be put on legal experts recruitment, preparing terms of reference, formulating recommendations for amendments.

Module 22: Administrative and Finance Procedures of the Parliament

The module will touch upon the issues of suspending Standing Orders, Efficient time distribution among plenary and committee meetings, cost effective methods of reimbursement of MPs, day-to-day management of MPs' operating issues and its shift to clerical and other staff.

Module 23: Structure, Composition and Functions of the Parliament's Staff

The module will provide an overview of the existing staff and their effective management that would lead to effective support of the work of the Presidency, Floor Groups, Standing Committees and other Parliamentary Structures

3. Political agenda of the framework of the legislative reform

Module 24: Main Issues Concerning the European Integration as a Priority Objective of the Bulgarian Policy

The purpose of the module is to improve the MPs understanding on the basic issues concerning the institutional, constitutional and substantive law of the European Union. The MPs will be also acquainted with the current state of the negotiations between Bulgaria and European Union and the main actors involved. With respect to this a stress will be put on the short – term and long-term objectives of the Bulgarian policy set out in the National Programme for Adoption of the Acquis Communitaire.

Module 25: The Status of the National Assembly of Bulgaria in the International Organisations and Bilateral Relations

The module will cover the participation of Bulgaria in such international organisations as Council of Europe, UN and NATO. Special consideration will be given as to the delimitation of competencies between the institutions involved in the external affairs: the President, the National Assembly and the Council of Ministers, incl. the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. A key issue to be discussed concerns the role of the Parliamentary standing committees in the process of strengthening the position of Bulgaria in the international organisations. It is essential to be improved the ability of the MPs to put forward the strategic national interests in a single framework in front of the international community.

Module 26: The Development of the European Union

The module will focus on the historical development of the European Union through legal review of the treaties establishing the Community institutions:

- The EEC and Euratom Treaties
- The Single European Act
- The Treaty on the European Union – Maastricht
- The Treaty of Amsterdam
- The Nice Treaty

Module 27: Institutional Framework of the European Union

The module is intended to give the MPs a thorough grounding in the institutional law of the Community. In the specific context of EC law the following institutions of the Union will be covered as well as the functional interaction between them:

- The European Commission
- The Council
- The European Council
- The European Court of Justice and the Court of First Instance
- The Court of Auditors

The module will also familiarise the MPs with other Community institutions:

- The Economic and Social Committee
- The Committee of Regions

Module 28: Community Legislation and Policy-making

The module focuses on the different types of Community legislation: Regulations, Directives, Decisions, Recommendations and Opinions. The decision-making process in the context of its temporal and inter-institutional dimensions will be studied in-depth. The module examines the direct and indirect effect of the Community measures in question as well as their relationship with the national law.

Module 29: External Relations of the European Community

The module is designed to introduce MPs to the complex issues surrounding the Community's and the Union's external relations. The seminars will be based on the case law of the Court and other relevant documents, including international agreements and trade related EC legislation. A major part of the module is devoted to the different types of treaty relations with the third countries, including the European Economic Area and the Union's relationship with the Central and Eastern European countries. A short overview to the preferential trade relations and free trade agreements in terms of WTO/GATT law will be made. Special emphasis will be given to the Community's anti-dumping law and procedure.

Module 30: The Accession of Bulgaria to the European Union

The module covers the history and the current development of negotiation process between Bulgaria and the European Union. The MPs will be acquainted with the European Association

Agreement and the institutions in charge of the accession, such as the Association Council, the Association Committee and the various subcommittees. Special attention will be paid to the functions of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with respect to the completion of the National Programme for the Adoption of the *Aquis Communautaire*. A brief overview will be released on the current chapters open for negotiation and the objectives set by the Government in terms of Bulgarian accession.

Module 31: Legislative Agenda and Legislative Initiative of Individual MPs

The Module will concentrate on the constitutional framework of the legislative initiative and the co-ordination between the Government and the National Assembly in terms of draft discussion and preparation. Attention will be given to the setting up of the legislative agenda of the Government and the individual MPs' involvement in this process. The MPs will be familiarised with the means of formulation of the legislative initiative and the co-operation between the MPs with regard to this initiative.

Module 32: Control and Transparency of the Budget Formation.

The seminars in the module focus on the two main budget related areas - the prerogatives of the executive in terms of the budget initiative and the control powers of the legislature over the formation and execution of the budget. Consideration will be rendered as to the public procurement procedures and the legislative acts related to it. Selected topics from taxation law will be also discussed.

Module 33: Judicial Reform.

The module will consider the concept of the judicial reform in Bulgaria and its constitutional and institutional dimensions. The purpose of the seminars is the MPs to be thoroughly acquainted with the main priorities set out in the development of the judicial reform such as magistrates' education and training and the envisaged administration changes. The constitutional principle of independence of Judiciary will be examined as a necessary prerequisite for ensuring efficiently working judicial system.

Module 34: The Role of the Executive Power in Formulating the State Legislative Policy.

The module will discuss the interaction between the executive and legislature in terms of the legislative initiative of the Government (mechanisms and procedures) and ways for MPs to participate in the decision-making process. The role of the Government in this process will be studied in depth. The seminars will deal with the available means for participation of the MPs in the decision – making process of the Parliament.

Module 35: Education and Educational Reform

The goal of the module is to familiarise the MPs with constitutional framework of Education and its European dimensions. The seminars will deal with the strategic initiatives in the field of education set by the European Union such as Socrates, Leonardo da Vinchi, Tempus and other youth programmes. Selected issues on the educational reform as well as its anticipated results will be thoroughly scrutinised.

Module 36: Social-economic Development and Cohesion.

The module will closely examine the employment and social policy issues set as priority objective by the European Union. On the employment front, a package of measures comprising the guidelines for employment and recommendations of the Commission will be outlined during the seminars. In the social sphere, the stress will be put on the initiatives, taken with a view to boosting the fight against social exclusion with particular emphasis on the Community action programme to combat discrimination.

Module 37: Regional Development and Fiscal Decentralisation

The module will analyse the disparities between different regions of Bulgaria in their levels of development and standards of living. The main issue for consideration in this context is how to stimulate the economic activity in the less-favoured regions. Private sector investment needs to be supplemented by the public support. The Community involvement through the ISPA plan will be introduced as an efficient instrument for ensuring the regional development.

Module 38: National security and defence policy. Activities of the Standing Committee on External Policy, National Security and Defence in the Parliament

The module focuses on the functions of the following institutions in charge of the national security and defence policy:

- The President
- The National Assembly
- The Council of Ministers
- The Ministry of Defence
- The Security Council

Attention will be paid as to the delimitation of competencies of the above – mentioned institutions and the necessary cohesion between them. The Euro-Atlantic dimensions of the national defence policy will be studied as well. Special consideration will be rendered to the current issues of the future participation of Bulgaria in NATO.

Module 39: Media Legislation and Access to Information

The module will discuss the substantial level of alignment of the national media legislation with the European standards. The seminars will examine the currently existing institutions involved in protecting the freedom of speech and the interests of the viewers and listeners. Attention will be given to the radio and television licence procedure and the administrative measures due to be realised in case of infringement.

Module 40: Civil Society

The seminars of the module aim to acquaint the MPs with the concept of civil society and its development throughout the centuries. The European Treaties' provisions related to the topic will be pointed out as well. During the seminars the stress will be given on the constitutional basis and the new legislative acts, establishing the legal framework of CSO and NGO.

Module 41: Ethnic and Gender Issues

Appendix B: MPs Trained by Floor Group

List of Attendees by Floor Groups

NN	Name	Floor Group	Gender	12/18/	1/18/	2/15/	4/22/	5/29/	6/14/	worshops attended
[redacted]										1
[redacted]						1				1
[redacted]				1						1
[redacted]						1				1
[redacted]							1			1
[redacted]							1			1
[redacted]						1				1
11	Roumen Ovcharov	CB	1				1			1
12	Todor Boyadjiev	CB	1			1				1
13	Yanaki Stoilov	CB	1		1					1
[redacted]							1			1
[redacted]							1	1		2
8	Mihail Mikov	CB	1			1	1			2
[redacted]				1		1	1			3
2	Djevdet Chakurov	MRF	1			1				1
3	Husein Chaush	MRF	1			1				1
4	Ismet Saralijski	MRF	1			1				1
5	Mustafa Hassan	MRF	1			1				1
1	Chetin Kazak	MRF	1		1	1				2
6	Naim Naim	MRF	1			1	1			2
1	Alexi Alexiev	NMSS	1			1				1
2	Assen Durmishev	NMSS	1			1				1
4	Borislav Velikov	NMSS	1			1				1
5	Daniel Valchev	NMSS	1			1				1
6	Dimcho Dimchev	NMSS	1			1				1
7	Dimitar Dimitrov	NMSS	1	1						1
8	Dimitar Stefanov	NMSS	1			1				1
9	Dimitar Yordanov	NMSS	1			1				1
10	Emil Koshlukov	NMSS	1	1						1
11	Gospodin Chonkov	NMSS	1			1				1
12	Ivan Iskrov	NMSS	1			1				1
13	Ivan Pavlov	NMSS	1			1				1
14	Jordan Mitrev	NMSS	1			1				1
15	Jordan Pamukov	NMSS	1			1				1
16	Kamen Vlahov	NMSS	1			1				1

List of Attendees by Floor Groups

NN	Name	Floor Group	Gender	12/18/	1/18/	2/15/	4/22/	5/29/	6/14/	worshops attended
18	Kosta Kostov	NMSS	1			1				1
20	Miroslav Sevlievski	NMSS	1			1				1
21	Nikolaj Buchkov	NMSS	1			1				1
22	Nikolaj Chukanov	NMSS	1			1				1
23	Ognian Gerdjikov	NMSS	1			1				1
24	Plamen Mollov	NMSS	1			1				1
26	Stamen Stamenov	NMSS	1			1				1
28	Stefan Minkov	NMSS	1			1				1
29	Stilian Grozdev	NMSS	1			1				1
31	Svetoslav Spassov	NMSS	1	1						1
33	Velichko Klingov	NMSS	1			1				1
35	Vladimir Donchev	NMSS	1			1				1
36	Adrina Bruncheva	NMSS	2			1				1
37	Aneli Chobanova	NMSS	2			1				1
38	Anelya Atanassova	NMSS	2			1				1
39	Anelya Mingova	NMSS	2			1				1
40	Antonya Parvanova	NMSS	2			1				1
41	Christina Petrova	NMSS	2			1				1
43	Diliana Grozdanova	NMSS	2			1				1
47	Kamelia Kassabova	NMSS	2			1				1
48	Krastanka Shaklian	NMSS	2			1				1
49	Liliana Krasteva	NMSS	2			1				1
50	Margarita Kuneva	NMSS	2					1		1
51	Maria Angelova-Koleva	NMSS	2			1				1
52	Mariana Kostadinova	NMSS	2					1		1
53	Marianna Assenova	NMSS	2			1				1
55	Milena Milotinova	NMSS	2			1				1
56	Milena Paunova	NMSS	2			1				1
60	Nonka Matova	NMSS	2			1				1
61	Penka Peneva	NMSS	2			1				1
62	Petya Bozhikova	NMSS	2			1				1
63	Petya Gegova	NMSS	2		1					1
64	Ralitsa Againe	NMSS	2			1				1
66	Sijka Dimovska	NMSS	2			1				1
69	Stella Bankova	NMSS	2		1					1

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List of Attendees by Floor Groups

NN	Name	Floor Group	Gender	12/18/	1/18/	2/15/	4/22/	5/29/	6/14/	worshops attended
71	Teodora Drenska	NMSS	2			1				1
72	Teodora Litrova	NMSS	2	1						1
73	Vanya Tsvetkova	NMSS	2		1					1
75	Yuliana Doncheva	NMSS	2	1						1
3	Atanas Shterev	NMSS	1			1	1			2
17	Kiril Milchev	NMSS	1		1	1				2
19	Lyutskan Dalakchiev	NMSS	1		1	1				2
25	Roupen Krikorian	NMSS	1		1	1				2
27	Stanimir Ilchev	NMSS	1		1	1				2
30	Svetlin Belchilov	NMSS	1			1		1		2
32	Valery Dimitrov	NMSS	1		1	1				2
34	Vesselin Bliznakov	NMSS	1		1	1				2
44	Elka Anastassova	NMSS	2		1	1				2
45	Gergana Grancharova	NMSS	2			1		1		2
46	Irena Varadinova	NMSS	2	1		1				2
54	Marina Vassileva	NMSS	2			1		1		2
57	Nadka Pangarova	NMSS	2		1	1				2
58	Nina Chilova	NMSS	2			1			1	2
59	Nina Radena	NMSS	2		1	1				2
65	Roumiana Stanoeva	NMSS	2			1		1		2
67	Snezhana Grozdilova	NMSS	2			1		1		2
68	Snezhnia Chipeva	NMSS	2			1		1		2
70	Tatyana Kalkanova	NMSS	2		1	1				2
42	Darinka Stancheva	NMSS	2		1	1	1			3
[redacted]										1
										1
										1
										1
										1
										1
										1
										1
										1
										1
										2

List of Attendees by Floor Groups

NN	Name	Floor Group	Gender	12/18/	1/18/	2/15/	4/22/	5/29/	6/14/	worshops attended
[redacted]										2
[redacted]										3
	[redacted]	Coalition for Bulgaria (BSP)								
		Movement for Rights and Freedoms								
		National Movement Simeon the Second								
	[redacted]	United Democratic Forces								

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List of Attendees by Workshops

Name	Floor Group	Gender	12/18/	1/18/	2/15/	4/22/	5/29/	6/14/
Alexander Arabadjiev	CB	1			1			
Atanas Paparizov	CB	1			1			
Bojko Radoev	CB	1	1					
Borislav Borisov	CB	1			1			
Dimitar Dubov	CB	1				1		
Ivo Atanassov	CB	1				1	1	
Lyuben Petrov	CB	1				1		
Mihail Mikov	CB	1			1	1		
Mladen Cherveniakov	CB	1			1			
Peter Agov	CB	1	1		1	1		
Roumen Ovcharov	CB	1				1		
Todor Boyadjiev	CB	1			1			
Yanaki Stoilov	CB	1		1				
Vessela Lecheva	CB	2				1		
Chetin Kazak	MRF	1		1	1			
Djevdet Chakurov	MRF	1			1			
Husein Chaush	MRF	1			1			
Ismet Saralijski	MRF	1			1			
Mustafa Hassan	MRF	1			1			
Naim Naim	MRF	1			1	1		
Adrina Bruncheva	NMSS	2			1			
Alexi Alexiev	NMSS	1			1			
Aneli Chobanova	NMSS	2			1			
Anelya Atanassova	NMSS	2			1			
Anelya Mingova	NMSS	2			1			
Antonya Parvanova	NMSS	2			1			
Assen Durmishev	NMSS	1			1			
Atanas Shterev	NMSS	1			1	1		
Borislav Velikov	NMSS	1			1			
Christina Petrova	NMSS	2			1			
Daniel Valchev	NMSS	1			1			
Darinka Stancheva	NMSS	2		1	1	1		
Diliana Grozdanova	NMSS	2			1			
Dimcho Dimchev	NMSS	1			1			
Dimitar Dimitrov	NMSS	1	1					

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List of Attendees by Workshops

Name	Floor Group	Gender	12/18/	1/18/	2/15/	4/22/	5/29/	6/14/
Dimitar Stefanov	NMSS	1			1			
Dimitar Yordanov	NMSS	1			1			
Elka Anastassova	NMSS	2		1	1			
Emil Koshlukov	NMSS	1	1					
Gergana Grancharova	NMSS	2			1		1	
Gospodin Chonkov	NMSS	1			1			
Irena Varadinova	NMSS	2	1		1			
Ivan Iskrov	NMSS	1			1			
Ivan Pavlov	NMSS	1			1			
Jordan Mitrev	NMSS	1			1			
Jordan Pamukov	NMSS	1			1			
Kamelia Kassabova	NMSS	2			1			
Kamen Vlahov	NMSS	1			1			
Kiril Milchev	NMSS	1		1	1			
Kosta Kostov	NMSS	1			1			
Krastanka Shaklian	NMSS	2			1			
Liliana Krasteva	NMSS	2			1			
Lyutskan Dalakchiev	NMSS	1		1	1			
Margarita Kuneva	NMSS	2					1	
Maria Angelova-Koleva	NMSS	2			1			
Mariana Kostadinova	NMSS	2					1	
Marianna Assenova	NMSS	2			1			
Marina Vassileva	NMSS	2			1		1	
Milena Milotinova	NMSS	2			1			
Milena Paunova	NMSS	2			1			
Miroslav Sevlievski	NMSS	1			1			
Nadka Pangarova	NMSS	2		1	1			
Nikolaj Buchkov	NMSS	1			1			
Nikolaj Chukanov	NMSS	1			1			
Nina Chilova	NMSS	2			1			
Nina Radena	NMSS	2		1	1			
Nonka Matova	NMSS	2			1			
Ognian Gerdjikov	NMSS	1			1			
Penka Peneva	NMSS	2			1			
Petya Bozhikova	NMSS	2			1			

List of Attendees by Workshops

Name	Floor Group	Gender	12/18/	1/18/	2/15/	4/22/	5/29/	6/14/
Petya Gegova	NMSS	2		1				
Plamen Mollov	NMSS	1			1			
Ralitsa Againe	NMSS	2			1			
Roumiana Stanoeva	NMSS	2			1		1	
Roupen Krikorian	NMSS	1		1	1			
Sijka Dimovska	NMSS	2			1			
Snezhana Grozdilova	NMSS	2			1		1	
Snezhnia Chipeva	NMSS	2			1		1	
Stamen Stamenov	NMSS	1			1			
Stanimir Ilchev	NMSS	1		1	1			
Stefan Minkov	NMSS	1			1			
Stella Bankova	NMSS	2		1				
Stilian Grozdev	NMSS	1			1			
Svetlin Belchilov	NMSS	1			1		1	
Svetoslav Spassov	NMSS	1	1					
Tatyana Kalkanova	NMSS	2		1	1			
Teodora Drenska	NMSS	2			1			
Teodora Litrova	NMSS	2	1					
Valery Dimitrov	NMSS	1		1	1			
Vanya Tsvetkova	NMSS	2		1				
Velichko Klingov	NMSS	1			1			
Vesselin Bliznakov	NMSS	1		1	1			
Vladimir Donchev	NMSS	1			1			
Yuliana Doncheva	NMSS	2	1					
Alexander Marinov	UDF	1				1		
Eliana Masseva	UDF	2				1		
Jordan Nihrizov	UDF	1			1	1		
Jordan Sokolov	UDF	1				1		
Maria Spassova-Stoyanova	UDF	2			1	1	1	
Mario Tagarinski	UDF	1				1		
Mihail Mihajlov	UDF	1			1	1		
Monio Hristov	UDF	1				1		
Nikola Nikolov	UDF	1			1			
Panayot Lyakov	UDF	1			1			
Rositsa Totkova	UDF	2			1			

List of Attendees by Workshops

Name	Floor Group	Gender	12/18/	1/18/	2/15/	4/22/	5/29/	6/14/
Ventsislav Varbanov	UDF	1			1			
Vesselin Cherkezov	UDF	1			1			
total			**8**	**16**	**84**	**18**	**10**	**1**
total attendees 108								
	Workshop on December 18, 2001							
	Workshop on January 18, 2002							
	Conference February 15-17, 2002							
	Workshop April 22-24, 2002							
	Workshop May 29, 2002							
	Workshop June 14, 2002							

List of Attendees by Gender

NN	Name	Floor Group	Gender	12/18/	1/18/	2/15/	4/22/	5/29/	6/14/
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	CB	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	CB	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	1	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	CB	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	1	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	1	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	CB	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	1	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	CB	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	1	1	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	1	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	CB	[illegible]	1	[illegible]	1	1	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	CB	1	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	1	[illegible]	[illegible]
12	[illegible]	CB	1	[illegible]	[illegible]	1	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	CB	[illegible]	[illegible]	1	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
1	Chetin Kazak	MRF	1		1	1			
2	Djevdet Chakurov	MRF	1			1			
3	Husein Chaush	MRF	1			1			
4	Ismet Saralijski	MRF	1			1			
5	Mustafa Hassan	MRF	1			1			
6	Naim Naim	MRF	1			1	1		
1	Alexi Alexiev	NMSS	1			1			
2	Assen Durmishev	NMSS	1			1			
3	Atanas Shterev	NMSS	1			1	1		
4	Borislav Velikov	NMSS	1			1			
5	Chetin Kazak	NMSS	1		1	1			
6	Daniel Valchev	NMSS	1			1			
7	Dimcho Dimchev	NMSS	1			1			
8	Dimitar Dimitrov	NMSS	1	1					
9	Dimitar Stefanov	NMSS	1			1			
10	Dimitar Yordanov	NMSS	1			1			
11	Emil Koshlukov	NMSS	1	1					
12	Gospodin Chonkov	NMSS	1			1			
13	Ivan Iskrov	NMSS	1			1			
14	Ivan Pavlov	NMSS	1			1			
15	Jordan Mitrev	NMSS	1			1			
16	Jordan Pamukov	NMSS	1			1			

List of Attendees by Gender

NN	Name	Floor Group	Gender	12/18/	1/18/	2/15/	4/22/	5/29/	6/14/
39	Yuliana Doncheva	NMSS	2	1					
	total women attended		43						

Gender:

1 male
2 female

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Appendix C:

Final Report on Capacity Building Workshops for the Bulgarian National Assembly's Parliamentary Information Center and Research, Analysis and Forecast Department, Sofia, July 1-5, 2002

Submitted to World Learning/Bulgaria

By the Center for International Development, State University of New York, SUNY Plaza, Albany, NY

Introduction

Allan Green and Dr, Alan Rosenthal conducted training seminars for the staff of Research, Analysis and Forecast Department (RAFD) and staff of the Parliamentary Information Center (PIC), both of which are in the Parliamentary Research and Public Relations Directorate. Some of the training sessions were held jointly with both staffs participating, but most sessions were separate.

This report discusses the goals and objectives of the training workshops, what actually transpired, lessons learned and recommendations for future assistance.

Parliamentary Information Center

The objectives of the training were in line with the major objectives of PIC:

(1) To help PIC staff develop ways to inform citizens about National Assembly issues and processes;
(2) To help PIC staff develop ways to encourage citizen and NGO involvement in the lawmaking process of the National Assembly; and
(3) to help PIC staff develop ways to educate citizens about parliamentary democracy in the Republic of Bulgaria.

The Parliamentary Information Center has been functioning for about two years and the staff is skilled in its conduct of programs that have been developed. It is a small but competent staff, the members of which are enthusiastic, energetic, and dedicated to the work they are doing. Moreover, they have persevered in the face of obstacles and a scarcity of resources. The function of connecting Bulgarian citizens to their government, and vice versa, is a most important one in either a developing or a developed democracy. The PIC staff knows this and is pursuing their objectives effectively.

Providing information to citizens and connecting citizens to lawmaking in the National Assembly have progressed significantly since the programs were undertaken. People are calling, e-mailing, and visiting the PIC office. In addition people are receiving information on the website and in regional libraries, municipal offices, etc. A strong beginning has been made, and PIC personnel know how to continue doing the job.

Facilitating access for citizens and NGOs to the lawmaking process--mainly as it is conducted in the committees--is more difficult. It depends largely on PIC building up relationships and support among the Members of Parliament and NGOs and others. Here, too, progress has been substantial, and about half a dozen issue seminars have been organized by PIC. As Bulgarian citizens become more organized, groups can be expected to appeal to the National Assembly directly, as well as through the political parties. Thus, the PIC role in this area is likely to expand in the future.

Civic education, the third objective, is the newest. PIC began to plan and conduct tours of the Parliament building only three or four months ago. (It should be mentioned that some American state legislatures are also beginning to take their civic education functions seriously, but are not at all ahead of PIC in this endeavor.) PIC has been devoting some of its attention to civic education for children, which is most appropriate. On the basis of a survey conducted in May, PIC discovered the need for an Internet page for children (one example is the page of the Nebraska legislature), the desire by children to visit the Parliament Building, and to have more classes on the work of the National Assembly. The parents of children, according to another survey, agreed on the need for civic education on parliamentary democracy. PIC has also conducted tours of the Parliament Building for adult groups and will be seeking to develop a large adult clientele for such programs.

A variety of American materials and ideas were discussed with regard to PIC's civic education objective. Some of these materials (such as the "Your Ideas Count" pamphlet and the video produced by the National Conference of State Legislatures) should prove very helpful. Some of the lessons from recent American practice, with modification, may also be applicable.

According to Dr. Rosenthal, civic education for youngsters and adults is the most significant job that PIC will be performing. The future of Bulgarian democracy may depend on public tolerance, appreciation, and support for democratic practices and institutions. Presently, the schools are not providing civic education on parliamentary democracy. The media are more concerned with entertainment than with providing basic civic education. If the National Assembly does not take the lead, the job will not get done. By establishing and supporting PIC, the National Assembly has committed itself to the endeavor.

What does PIC and its current and future work require? PIC needs the continued support of the Administration of the National Assembly. That support can best be manifested in a number of ways.

First, PIC requires additional space--space for a visitors center in the Administration Building. A room that 50-75 people could use before/after a Parliament Building tour is needed for purposes of orientation, computer exercises, quizzes, etc.

Second, PIC needs additional personnel if the Center is to formally announce its Parliament Building tours to the public. There will soon be a demand for children and adult tours that PIC cannot meet with present personnel. Interns would be very suitable for the job. According to Dr. Rosenthal, the benefits of the current intern program are limited. To be most effective, parliamentary staff should supervise university student interns so that the work of interns fits in with the needs of the National Assembly. The interns ought to be assigned to the Parliamentary Research and Public Relations Directorate. A few interns could then supplement the work of PIC staff, while most would work with the Research staff. The present intern program should begin to make a transition to its new assignment with the Directorate as soon as possible. Otherwise, another internship program should be established by the Administration and additional interns should be recruited for work the National Assembly.

Third, it would be useful for PIC and to the Research unit if key members of the parliament became more familiar with their work. One way to accomplish this is through a study tour by several MPs to selected state legislatures in the U.S. Four or five MPs from the major political parties and the Secretary General would benefit from such a study tour.

Fourth, staff of PIC currently are equipped to do the jobs they have undertaken. As the demands on their office increase and their programs expand, they will need to have further opportunities for training.

Research, Analysis and Forecast Department

Mr. Allan Green facilitated the training program for the Research, Analysis and Forecast department of the Bulgarian Parliament. The program was intended to be highly interactive for the department's director and staff. Before the first day's program began, the director learned of the death of her father. This unfortunate circumstance required some adjustments in the program.

In the director's absence, her staff opened up more quickly than would otherwise have been the case. Early on, the director's assistant read a statement of the director's vision for the department. This vision provided a focus for much of the training. The major limitation of not having the director present for most of the program is that she was not able to hear the discussions of her staff. And the staff was extraordinary.

The department exhibited promise of a bright future in several ways. First, the staff showed that they are highly motivated and enthusiastic. This was made evident when they stayed late on two evenings to prepare for the next day's program. More important, every person participated in our discussions and the contributions were always positive and concrete.

Mr. Green found that the Research department is well educated and open to learning. Most important, the staff made clear that they understand the challenge before them and

their eagerness to learn of approaches that will help them. They know that they must quickly establish themselves with the members of the National Assembly. To do so, they are already working on projects such as training members in computer use and preparing a brochure. Mr. Green described for them the traditional responsibilities of a research office. The staff used this information to prepare a work plan for the next two years.

For the training, Mr. Green identified three major goals, consistent with the Training Proposal. First, he sought to improve communications within the department and with other parliamentary offices. Second, he set out the traditional activities of research agencies and analyzed how the Bulgarian director's vision meshed. Third, he presented the principles of conducting research.

The issue of communications was a bit more complex than anticipated. A recent staff reorganization had brought several existing offices into the new Research and Public Relations Directorate. Some of these changes we recommended by a consultant, but others were not. Long established staff offices found their autonomy altered.

The Library staff were clearly hesitant about the change. For their sake, Mr. Green described organizational structures in the US and other countries, some with the research office under the library and others with the library in charge. He emphasized the importance of the two working together, sharing work and crediting the other. By the end of the week, the librarians were referring to the research office as "we" and showing a clear understanding of their interdependence.

For the Parliamentary Information Center the task was different. They were moved into the Directorate contrary to the consultant's recommendation. They were clearly unhappy with the move. To foster communication, Dr. Rosenthal and Mr. Green conducted several joint sessions in which the PIC and research offices would communicate in different ways, including critiquing each other's work plans. Finally, Mr. Green spent some time with the Research department stressing the importance of cooperation with other parliamentary agencies. This is a matter that may need further work as will be noted below.

The second goal was to set out the traditional activities of research offices and see where the director's vision fits. Briefly, she has identified three priorities: (1) to assist the leadership of the Parliament, primarily through public opinion polling , (2) to provide research for committees and individual members, and (3) to assist the Secretary General in specific tasks such as investigating other staff offices.

Mr. Green's approach to setting out the traditional activities of research offices was to show that items (1) and (3) of the director's vision are simply not what research offices are about. But to approach it constructively, he offered alternatives of how they could address these items. The group's work plan resulted in a modified approach. However, whether the director will accept the staff's modifications or not is yet to be known.

The polling proposal was complicated in that an agency is already conducting polls for the Parliament. Both SUNY consultants objected to the Research department becoming involved, but this matter may need more attention. More alarming is the vision to investigate other staff offices. The staff understands that this could lead to great animosity and in their work plan proposed that the Secretary General hire an outside consultant if he needs such information.

The third goal, the conduct of research, involved the staff identifying the objectives of research, collecting data, and preparing the response. Mr. Green remarked that he had never worked with a group that so quickly and correctly identified the goals of research (get the report read, be accurate, lead to further requests, etc.). In almost all instances they made evident that they are aware of the principles of research. With the conduct of research set out, the group identified the two greatest problems facing the staff: how to become visible and how to become indispensable.

Soon after the Members of Parliament become aware of the existence of the Research department, they must perceive it as indispensable. This can occur only with the staff producing succinct, high quality reports in response to the committees' and members' requests. For a staff of seven to provide this service for more than 200 members is a significant challenge.

How can the staff develop specializations when they are so few in numbers? How can they respond to the many questions we hope the members will ask of them? In my opinion, the department will need more staff in the near future. But the Parliamentary Internship Program can also play a significant role here. Mr. Green discussed strategies for integration of the interns into the Parliament.

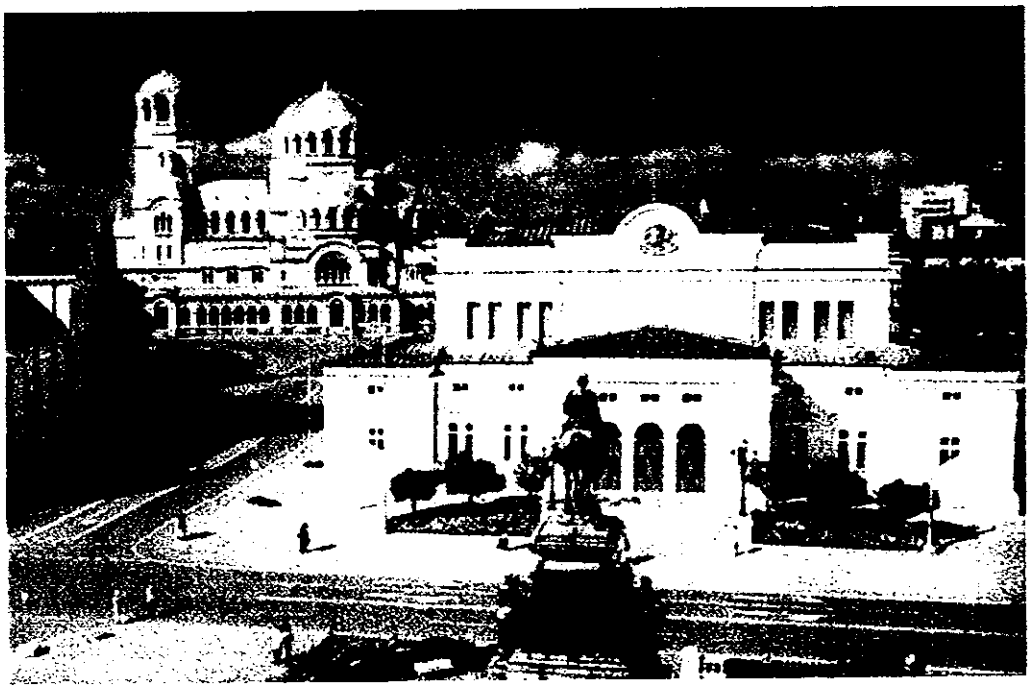
In summary, all materials set out in the Training Objectives and Methodology were covered. The Research staff was extraordinary in their perception of concepts. On the first day only some of the staff spoke up, though we had anticipated even less interaction. By the end of the week, every person in the group was actively participating.

The major challenges ahead are (1) to help the director hone the vision of the office, (2) assist the staff in specializations, and (3) work with them in the development of succinct research report

Annex A: MP Handbook/Directory

Annex B: Management Review Report

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE BULGARIAN NATIONAL ASSEMBLY



Prepared by

David B. Ogle

The State Legislative Leaders Foundation

For

The State University of New York/International Development Group

Sponsored by

USAID

February 2002

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Foreword

The Constitution of Bulgaria provides that the country is a parliamentary republic. The Constitution vests the 240-member National Assembly "with legislative authority...to exercise parliamentary control" as the nation's representative assembly. Like each of the world's democratic parliaments or legislatures, the Bulgarian National Assembly has its own special and unique procedures, practices and traditions. But as unique and diverse as each of the world's representative assemblies may be, a system of sound internal organization and administration is a uniformly essential ingredient that must be present in each of these bodies for them to effectively represent and serve the people their respective countries or constituencies.

It is taken as a given that for any corporation or business to perform well and profitably, it must have a system of sound internal organization and administrative management. Certain individuals in the corporation must have authority over management. And those vested with managerial authority must have a well-organized internal structure to manage. Sound management and an effective organizational structure go hand in hand. Similarly, within the public domain, no one ever seriously questions the necessity for a government ministry to be well organized and well managed for it to be able to carry out its responsibilities in an effective manner. Perhaps it is because the central individuals in a parliamentary or legislative body are elected members whose primary responsibility is perceived as being the enactment of law that many people lose sight of or downplay the importance of sound internal organization and management within these bodies. But the internal organization and managerial structure of a parliament or legislature is, in fact, the foundation upon which it must build its capacity to legislate effectively. A sound organizational and managerial structure will no more guarantee an effective parliament than it will guarantee profitable performance by a private corporation or successful performance by a government ministry. But without sound organization and management, effective performance will be virtually impossible.

There are four fundamental requirements of a well-organized and well-managed parliament or legislature. First, the body must have control over its internal administrative operations, including control over its own operating budget. Second, it must have a professional staff to provide it with its own independent sources of information and with adequate administrative and clerical support. Third, it must provide for a division of labor through a committee system that allows for meaningful participation and input by all members in the deliberation process. And, fourth, it must have sound procedures for the transaction of official business. Each of these conditions appears to be at least minimally in place in the Bulgarian National Assembly although, within the second requirement, both research and information assistance for committees and individual members and parliamentary outreach and communication with the public are less than adequate.

While the minimal basic requirements of a well-organized and well-managed parliament may be in place, there is a perception and a concern in many quarters of the National Assembly--and this review found these perceptions and concerns to be generally accurate--that the current administrative structure of the Parliament is in need of redesign because it does not lend itself to effective management and does not produce an effective and acceptable delivery of services.

This review is undertaken in two parts. The first addresses the overall organizational structure of the National Assembly's Administration and its administrative practices and procedures. The second part focuses on specific activities of the Administration's Directorates.

Recommendations in Section I that concern the elimination of currently independent Directorates or Divisions and their reassignment as Divisions within other larger Directorates are based solely and completely upon what would appear to be a more logical organizational structure that will consolidate related functions, create a more coordinated and cooperative work environment, and, in so doing, produce a better and more effective delivery of services to the National Assembly. These recommendations should in no way be construed as judgments on the performance of these currently independent Directorates or Divisions or of the individuals who head them.

Although meetings were held with the Director or with the Director's deputy in all but one of the existing Directorates, the limited time frame of this consultancy did not permit a thorough examination of each Directorate. Given this limitation, the heaviest focus in the review of Directorate activities and responsibilities in Section II is on those that develop and provide

information directly to the National Assembly or that develop and provide information about the parliament and its activities to the media and the public. How these services are undertaken and provided in any parliament or legislature profoundly affects both its institutional performance and the public's perception of the body's responsiveness to its wishes and needs.

I. The Organizational Structure Of The National Assembly's Administration

The administrative structure of the National Assembly follows the provisions of the country's Administration Act, which was enacted by the National Assembly in 1998. This act specifies a basic administrative structure and principles of organization for ministries "and other bodies of state power as provided by the Constitution". According to the Director of the National Assembly's independent Division of Human Resources (independent meaning that its Director reports directly to the Secretary General and not to the Director of a full Directorate), this basic administrative structure conforms to non-binding guidelines of the European Union (EU.) that the Parliament and Council of Ministers deem important to follow as part of Bulgaria's quest to become a member of the EU within the next few years.

The Administration Act provides that each ministry or state body is administratively headed by a Secretary, "appointed by the competent body of state power", who oversees two basic sections of General Administration and Specialized Administration. Each of these sections is divided into Directorates, the Directors of which report directly to the Secretary. Directorates may be divided into Divisions, which may, in turn, be subdivided into sectors.

General Administration Directorates are those that provide "logistical support" to the body. The Administration Act specifies that the following functions must be placed within the General Administration section (although not necessarily as separate Directorates): secretarial services; finance and business operations; legal and statutory instrument services; property management; human resources; defense and mobilization preparedness; and information services and technology. The Act also says that protocol and public relations may, by decision of the body, be included under General Administration. The Act provides that Specialized Administration Directorates are to include those functions unique or special to the body

"which assist and facilitate the exercise of [its] powers".

According to the National Assembly's Director of Human Resources, a Directorate must have a minimum of ten employees to qualify as a full Directorate. A unit with fewer than ten employees may operate as an independent entity reporting directly to the body's Secretary, but it must be classified as an independent Division rather than a Directorate.

The Secretary General is appointed by the Speaker of each National Assembly to head its administration. The staff of the current 39th National Assembly consists of 544 employees, approximately one-third of which are protected by the country's Civil Servants Act, which was enacted by the preceding 38th National Assembly. The other two-thirds work under personal contracts with the National Assembly. Fewer than half of the employees work in the National Assembly building where plenary sessions are held. Most of the remainder work out of the parliamentary office building in Batenberg Square, about a kilometer away. The building formerly served as the headquarters of the Communist Central Committee.

Prior to the enactment of the Civil Servants Act, Bulgaria had no civil service law. Because of this law, the 39th National Assembly is the first parliament that has not been able to follow the previous longstanding practice of appointing the Directors of each Directorate (although decisions were sometimes made to retain Directors who had served under the previous parliament). Having to adjust to this new more restrictive appointment process has served to exacerbate some problems--some very real, others created by possibly exaggerated suspicions concerning the loyalty of inherited Directors--for the leadership of the 39th National Assembly since it took office in July 2001.

Specifically, the Secretary General has expressed concern that the current administrative structure is difficult to manage because it does not allow for adequate communication and cooperation between Directorates and leads to an apparent lack of clarity among some of the parliament's staff concerning lines of supervisory and reporting authority. One look at the National Assembly Administration organization chart that the Secretary General inherited from the 38th National Assembly offers both an explanation for why this concern exists and verification that much of it is well founded. As one observer noted: "That organization chart looks like a computer circuit board".

Clearly, the administration organization chart needs to be simplified. Such simplification would almost certainly help to produce a better delivery of services to members of the National Assembly by consolidating or coordinating similar or even identical services now provided by separate Directorates or Divisions, by creating more cooperative working relationships between and among Directorates, by clarifying currently blurred lines of responsibility and reporting authority, and by providing an organizational structure that could be more easily and more effectively managed by the Secretary General. It would also serve to clarify to any who may still have doubts that the Secretary General is the head of the National Assembly's Administration.

The current organizational structure includes six Directorates and one independent division in the General Administration section. These include: the Office Directorate that provides verbatim stenographic transcripts of plenary sessions; the Information Technology Directorate; the Economic Directorate that provides maintenance and catering services and manages apartments that are provided to MPs whose homes are distant from Sofia; the Automotive Directorate that manages the parliament's fleet of automobiles; the Public Relations and Media Directorate that provides liaison between the parliament and the media and parliamentary information services to the public; the Finance and Accounting Directorate that administers the parliamentary budget and provides in-house audit services; and the independent Human Resources Division that the Secretary General recently separated from the Office Directorate so that its Director could report directly to him.

The Specialized Administration section includes: the Directorate of Law and Legislation which provides legal services to the Speaker, committees, and parliamentary groups; the Directorate on European Integration that helps to assure that legislation under consideration by the parliament conforms to and is in compliance with EU guidelines and requirements; the Directorate of International Relations and Protocol; the Publishing Directorate that prints parliamentary documents; a Division of Research and Analysis that was created by the Secretary General after his appointment in the summer of 2001; the National Assembly Library which is an independent Division because it lacks the required ten employees to qualify as a Directorate; and the Parliamentary Internship Program which is funded through a grant from USAID and operates pretty much autonomously.

No clear explanations were offered concerning, first, the reasons behind several seemingly illogical placements of Directorates or Divisions and, second and most importantly, why some services are provided by an independent Directorate or Division when their functions

clearly overlap or even duplicate those of another independent Directorate or Division. With regard to the former, the Directorate of Public Relations and Media seems out of place in General Administration. Without question, the services provided by the Directorate involve something unique to the parliamentary and process and the Directorate should, accordingly, be placed within the Specialized Administration section.

The Directorate of Publishing as an independent entity within the Specialized Administration also makes little sense. The functions of this Directorate dovetail with and in some cases virtually duplicate those of the larger Office and Information Technology Directorates in the General Administration section. Placement of this Directorate as a Division within either of these two Directorates makes far more sense than having it as an independent Directorate within Specialized Administration where it appears very much out of place. A case can be made for its placement within either of these Directorates, but it is recommended that it be made a Division within the Office Directorate for two reasons. First, the Information Technology Directorate appears to be the more overburdened of the two Directorates and in need of further outside consultation. Second, and more importantly, a significant portion of the printing work done by the Publishing Directorate involves the final versions of the stenographic diaries, which are the verbatim transcripts of plenary sessions (38,000 pages per year according to the Director) that are compiled by the Office Directorate. In fact, an initial version of these transcripts is printed by the Office Directorate, with the second, and final, version done in the Publishing Directorate. Preparation of all versions of the stenographic diaries within the same Directorate should lead to a more efficient and more coordinated production effort and, very probably, to earlier availability of these important documents.

Within the Specialized Administration section, the Directorate on European Integration is responsible for providing support to Bulgaria's negotiations with the EU by assuring that all legislation considered by the National Assembly is in conformance with EU norms and guidelines. Its Director has assembled a talented multi-lingual ten-person staff that, along with the Director, appear to have a strong commitment to the Directorate's mission. But the focus of the Directorate mirrors, in only a narrower sense, that of the larger Directorate of Law and Legislation. To have two separate and independent Directorates involved in the examine of legislation makes far less sense in terms of coordination and effective utilization of legal resources than to combine all legal and legislation services within one Directorate. Because the Directorate of Law and Legislation is the larger and longer established of the two Directorates and has broad responsibilities that extend into all areas of legislation, logic suggests placement of

the Directorate on European Integration as a Division within the Directorate of Law and Legislation.

Also within the Specialized Administration section, it is recommended that a new Directorate of Research and Library be created. This Directorate should combine the current Research Division created by the Secretary General in the fall of 2001 with the National Assembly Library which, like the Research Division, is an independent Division that lacks the required minimum ten employees to qualify as a full Directorate.

It makes altogether good sense to combine research and library services within the same Directorate. The services performed by staffs of the Research and Library Divisions involve a similar basic function--the provision of nonpartisan information, albeit each of a distinct nature and type, to the members, committees, and staff of the National Assembly. Combining these services within the same Directorate will allow for a maximum of interdivisional cooperation between these related information service functions. While there are different qualifications, professional training, and experience requirements for the staff members of each Division, they have the same basic mission of providing the National Assembly with objective and accurate nonpartisan information and have considerable similarity and overlap in their respective responsibilities and activities.

One obvious example that can be offered of the benefits that can accrue from placement of the Departments of Research and Library within one Directorate of Research and Library concerns the acquisition of documents and materials by the Library. While the National Assembly Librarian is, without question, knowledgeable and skilled in this area, there will undoubtedly be times when the Director and staff of the Research Division may, through in-depth research and analyses in which they are engaged, be better positioned than the Librarian to determine specific documents and materials that should be acquired by the Library. Placement of the Directors of the Research and Library Divisions in the same Directorate where they will be responsible to the same Director should serve to minimize or quickly resolve misunderstandings, confusion, or disagreements and promote cooperation and coordination in this and similar areas.

The Parliamentary Internship Program, which is funded through a grant from USAID is an excellent program. While the program Director is listed as a member of the staff of the independent Division of Research, the program appears to operate in a pretty much freestanding manner, in isolation from other Administration services. Greater integration of the program into

the mainstream of the Administration's information services will serve to enhance the experience of the interns, and will lead to more effective and more coordinated utilization of the parliamentary interns' work in conjunction with that of the Directorate of Research and Library, the Directorate of Law and Legislation, and, to a lesser extent, the Parliamentary Information Center. It can be anticipated that, at some point in the future, the National Assembly will assume responsibility for funding the internship program. At that time, oversight of the program and its coordination with other staff research and information services will become even more important. It is therefore suggested that the Parliamentary Internship Program be placed within the new Directorate of Research and Library where the program, while funded by USAID, would operate with somewhat more autonomy than that of a normal Division (see comments on the Internship Program in Section II), but with the program Director administratively responsible to the Director of the Directorate. At such time as the National Assembly might assume responsibility for funding of the program, it should become a regular Division within the Directorate of Research and Library.

Finally, a reasonable case could be made for also relocating the Parliamentary Information Center (PIC) from the Directorate of Public Relations and Media to this new Directorate. But this is not recommended, as it would border on making the Directorate too cumbersome for the Director to effectively manage. And, at any rate, there are equally compelling arguments for keeping the PIC and the press office together within the same Directorate.

It is recommended that,

(1) The organizational structure of the Administration of the National Assembly should be reconfigured and simplified, as shown in the organization chart in *Appendix A*.

(2) The following adjustments are recommended in the National Assembly's Administration structure:

a) Transfer the Directorate of Public Relations and Media from General Administration to Specialized Administration;

b) Eliminate the Directorate of Publishing as an independent Directorate within Specialized Administration and reestablish it as a Division within the Office Directorate in General Administration;

c) Eliminate the Directorate on European Integration as an independent Directorate within Specialized Administration and reestablish it as a Division within the Directorate of Law and Legislation;

d) Establish a new Directorate of Research and Library in Specialized Administration, with the Directorate to include the currently independent Divisions of Research and Library as Divisions within the Directorate.

e) Place the Parliamentary Internship Program within the Directorate of Research and Library to achieve better integration of the program into the mainstream of parliamentary administration and better coordination of its services with other Administration research and information services; at such time as the National Assembly assumes responsibility for the funding of the Parliamentary Internship Program, the program should become a regular Division within the Directorate of Research and Library.

Adoption of Recommendations 1 and 2 would, without question, greatly improve communication and cooperation between Directorates, eliminate much duplicate or parallel delivery of services, clarify any ambiguities that may exist concerning supervisory authority and reporting lines, and generally make it easier for the Secretary General to control and manage the National Assembly Administration. But there are some specific initiatives that the Secretary General can also undertake--some by himself and some in concert with the Speaker--to effectively address and correct problems that inevitably exist in any large organization and that may not be addressed or resolved by a redesign of the of the organizational structure of the Administration.

First, the Secretary General should hold regular Director meetings of the heads of all Directorates and independent Divisions. To assure liaison with the Speaker, the Speaker's Chief of Cabinet (chief of staff) should also be invited to attend these meetings. Regular Directors meetings will be helpful to the Secretary General by affording him a forum to establish his authority as head of administration for the National Assembly--something that can be especially important with veteran Directors whose tenure in their positions well pre-dates that of the Secretary General in his. The meetings would also afford an opportunity for the Secretary General to address inter-Directorate conflicts by forcing Directors who may be in disagreement to resolve these disagreements face-to-face in his presence and under his direction.

Initially, Directors meetings should be held bi-weekly, probably on Mondays when most MPs are in their districts. The Secretary General should decide their length and must take care to keep them moving and focused on addressing those matters that require immediate attention. Because the Secretary spends almost all of his time in the National Assembly building while a majority of the staff and almost half of the Directorates are located in the Batenberg Square office building, it would be beneficial to the creation of a sense of organizational unity if some of the meetings were to be held in the Batenberg Square building where the Secretary General also has an office.

For each Directors meeting, the Secretary General should prepare an agenda that he should circulate to each Director at least seventy-two hours in advance of the meeting. The agenda should include an "other business" item for late additions that the Secretary General may decide he wants to add (either on his own initiative or on request of one of the Directors) after the agenda has been circulated.

It is recommended that, **(3) The Secretary General should schedule regular bi-weekly meetings of the Directors of all Directorates and independent Divisions, with each meeting to have an agenda prepared by the Secretary General and circulated to all Directors at least seventy-two hours in advance of the meeting. At least some of the meetings should be held in the parliamentary office building on Batenberg Square.**

Approximately fifteen percent of the National Assembly staff is comprised of committee (commission) staff and staff for the four parliamentary groups. By virtue of their positions and the methods of their appointment--many committee staff are selected by the chairperson, with parliamentary group staff selected by the groups--these individuals often feel divided or conflicting loyalties. But they are part of the National Assembly and, for the Secretary General to be fully effective in his position and in control of all aspects of parliamentary administration, he needs to be assured of an open communication line and an on-going dialogue with these staff members. The Secretary General should therefore also hold separate quarterly meetings with the committee staff and with the parliamentary group staff. These meetings need not have a formal agenda but can be open-ended in scope, with their primary purpose being to establish and maintain an ongoing line of communication between the Secretary General and the committees and parliamentary groups. It is recommended that, **(4) The Secretary General should hold separate quarterly meetings with the committee staff and with the parliamentary group**

staff.

The Secretary General is responsible for the administration of the National Assembly and is responsible and accountable to its Speaker (or Chairman). The Speaker's primary focus and responsibility should, and must, be on the parliamentary process. It is precisely because so much of a Speaker's time must be spent on process matters that every democratic parliament or legislature has a Secretary General, chief administrator, or some other individual who is responsible for institutional administration. There are instances in every large organization or bureaucracy--and the National Assembly is no exception--when employees either forget or prefer to disregard the necessity for addressing their concerns through standard reporting channels. This problem can be exacerbated in a parliamentary or legislative body where a number of employees have previous experience and involvement with individual political parties or parliamentary groups and may sometimes find it convenient to bypass standard administrative channels and take their concerns directly to an elected member of the institution. In the Bulgarian National Assembly, institutional administration is the responsibility of the Secretary General who, through his or her accountability to the Speaker, is also responsible for keeping the Speaker informed concerning matters of administration and for deciding when it is necessary to involve the Speaker in administrative matters.

So that there can be no lack of certainty among the employees of the National Assembly concerning the line of responsibility for its administration, and to assure that the administration of the institution will be performed in the most effective and professional manner,

(5) It should be clearly and strongly conveyed to all employees of the National Assembly that:

a) The Secretary General is responsible for the supervision and coordination of all matters relating to parliamentary administration;

b) All matters of concern to Administration staff are to be handled through established administrative channels, beginning with the staff member's immediate superior in the organizational structure; and,

c) The Secretary General is the individual responsible for keeping the Speaker informed concerning the administration of the National Assembly

and for decisions concerning matters of administration that require discussion or consultation with the Speaker.

II. Individual Directorates

At least one extended meeting was held with the Director or the Deputy Director of every Directorate except International Relations and Protocol (a meeting was requested with the Director, but he was unable to find time in his schedule). These meetings served to provide a solid understanding of the responsibilities and activities of each of the Directorates and of their relationships with each other. The recommendations in Section I are based on personal observations, information gathered in these meetings, and experience and knowledge concerning how organizational problems that were apparent are addressed or handled in other parliamentary or legislative bodies.

Section II focuses on individual Directorates. While there are recommendations concerning Directorates in General Administration, the greatest focus is on the four Specialized Administration Directorates that are recommended in Section I. Because the period allotted for the consultancy did not permit an in-depth examination of each Directorate, it was necessary to be selective in focus. In prioritizing, the obvious needs of the National Assembly for information and professional services in the committee and plenary decision-making process, and the beneficial effect that improved services in this area can have in enhancing the National Assembly's performance, independence, visibility, and public support, dictated the greater focus on Specialized Administration. The section concludes with a short review of parliamentary group staff and MPs' personal staff.

General Administration

Office Directorate

The Office Directorate, which is located in the National Assembly building, is comprised of 65 employees who compile the stenographic diaries of plenary sessions, handle mail services for the two parliamentary buildings, provide floor security during plenary sessions, and register official documents. It was recommended in Section I that the 14-person Publishing Directorate, which is now a separate Directorate in Specialized Administration, be reassigned as a Division

within the Office Directorate. There are no other recommendations concerning the Directorate.

Information Technology Directorate

The Information Technology Directorate is unique among all of the National Assembly's Directorates, both in terms of its mission and goals and because of the unique and very specialized experience and training required of the individuals that it employs. Its services are provided to, and impact on, every Directorate and every aspect of parliamentary operations. Its 14-person staff is comprised of the Director, six specialists who provide maintenance services to 500 workstations, two who focus on documentation matters, and three who maintain the electronic voting system in the plenary chamber. The Directorate also provides maintenance support for the National Assembly website (although there is no clearly delineated policy concerning who has authority to make changes in its content). While some of the National Assembly's hardware dates back more than a decade when the United States Congress donated it, it is gradually being updated. Software was developed by outside consultants but is maintained by the Directorate's staff.

Discussion with the Director concerning the details of his staff's activities served to confirm a suspicion that the Directorate is significantly understaffed and in need of five or six additional specialists to adequately service workstations and maintain existing software. While readily acknowledging the inadequate size of his staff, the Director expressed strong interest in streamlining the National Assembly's IT system and structure. But other than a sort of upgrade wish list, there was no evidence that the Director or the Directorate has developed any comprehensive development strategy for doing so. Without such a strategy, large investments in hardware and software upgrades can be easily misspent and even wasted. Many parliamentary and legislative bodies throughout the world have, to their regret, begun investing substantial sums of money in computer hardware and software without having any comprehensive information technology development strategy and before (or without) seeking outside consultation and assistance in the design of such a strategy. The National Assembly has an opportunity to avoid this mistake that has been made by so many of its sister parliaments and legislatures by retaining outside expert consultation to assist its Information Technology Directorate in the development of such a strategy. Until this is done, major expansion or upgrade of the current system or any increase in the number of Directorate staff would seem ill advised. It is recommended that,

(6) Before the National Assembly invests in new hardware, software or additional staff for the Information Technology Directorate, an independent expert consultant should be employed to work with the Director of the Directorate in the design of a comprehensive information technology development strategy (including internal staffing requirements) to address the immediate and long-term needs of the National Assembly. It would be hoped that an outside donor might be found to assist in the cost of this undertaking.

Economic Directorate

The Economic Directorate is the largest Directorate in terms of staff number, employing a little more than one-third of all National Assembly employees. Its major functions include supplies and building maintenance for the National Assembly and Batenberg Square buildings, maintenance of 190 apartments (140 of which are furnished) in 22 buildings in Sofia that are used by MPs whose primary residences are distant from the capital city, catering, and operation of a dining facility in each of the parliamentary buildings.

The dining facilities in the National Assembly and Batenberg Square buildings are open to anyone who works in or has been granted entrance to the buildings. The operations are subsidized by the National Assembly and, according to the Secretary General; both facilities operate at a significant loss. The Director of the Economic Directorate said that privatizing the operation of these facilities has been considered in the past but that this was rejected because of staff opposition concerning possible loss of jobs. But this is not a good reason to not fully explore such a possible change in an operation that causes a considerable drain on an already strapped National Assembly budget. Concerns about job loss can always be addressed by requiring in a bid specification that at least some, and perhaps all, of the current Directorate employees whose jobs would be scheduled for elimination be hired by the private contractor who would, after all, almost certainly have to hire additional staff to run a new operation. It is recommended that,

(7) The Secretary General should undertake an examination of whether it would be in the best interest of the National Assembly to employ a private contractor to operate the dining facilities in the National Assembly and Batenberg Square office buildings.

Automotive Directorate

The Automotive Directorate, which operates and maintains the National Assembly's fleet of vehicles, employs just over 100 people. There are no recommendations concerning the Directorate.

Finance and Accounting Directorate

The Finance and Accounting Directorate employs 16 people and is responsible for the administration of the National Assembly budget and the budgets of some quasi-parliamentary agencies including the National Center for Public Opinion Research. There are no recommendations concerning the Directorate.

Human Resources Division

In what appears to have been a very astute move, the Secretary General recently removed the Human Resources Division from the Office Directorate and established it as an independent Division whose Director reports directly to the Secretary General. With only four employees, the Division lacks the minimum ten staff to be classified as a Directorate. The Director of the Division is an experienced lawyer who was appointed by the Secretary General at the time he established it as an independent Division. She possesses a comprehensive in-depth knowledge and understanding of Bulgarian civil service and administrative law that will make her a very valuable asset to the Secretary General. There are no recommendations concerning the Division.

Specialized Administration

Law and Legislation Directorate

The Law and Legislation Directorate serve as the legal office for the National Assembly. It has Divisions of Legislation, Plenary Sessions, and Parliamentary Control. In Section I, it was recommended that the Directorate on European Integration be placed within the Directorate as a fourth Division. The Directorate's responsibilities are so extensive and far-reaching that it is difficult to comprehend how the Director, an experienced and highly respected lawyer and professor who has headed the Directorate for ten years, is able to manage it with only ten other

lawyers and three support staff.

While most bills, including all that might be classified as of a major nature, come from the Council of Ministers and are drafted there, every bill undergoes a review by the Law and Legislation Directorate for form and compliance with all requirements as soon as it is received by the National Assembly. The Directorate then gives the Speaker a recommendation on the committee to which the bill should be referred. After the bill has undergone its first review in committee, it is returned to the Directorate for a further form and compliance check.

Despite the fact that Article 87 of the Bulgarian Constitution specifies that any member of the National Assembly may introduce a bill, members who choose to do so are left to their own devices in getting such bills drafted. The Law and Legislation Directorate does not provide this service to MPs in large part because it has so many other responsibilities. In fact, the number of bills introduced by individual MPs is not large. But this should not serve as justification for the Parliament to not provide bill-drafting assistance to its members. If such assistance were provided, MPs would find it easier to introduce bills and the number of introductions would almost surely increase. Nothing can empower a developing parliament or legislature more than for it to initiate public policy through the introduction of legislation by its members. In the case of the Bulgarian National Assembly, if the Constitution gives its individual members the right to introduce bills, the National Assembly should provide its members with assistance in exercising this constitutionally authorized power.

The Law and Legislation Directorate would not be able to offer bill-drafting services to individual MPs unless it is provided with additional lawyers. The Secretary General and the Speaker should, therefore, accord top priority to providing the Directorate with at least three additional lawyers with demonstrable bill drafting skills to provide this service to MPs. Bill drafting is a unique art within the legal profession and, while every bill drafter should be a lawyer, not every lawyer can draft bills. In selecting lawyers to fill these positions, the Director and the Secretary General should take care to assure that they demonstrate possession of the requisite special skills. A sample job description for a parliamentary Bill Drafting Expert is included in ***Appendix B***. It is recommended that,

(8) The Secretary General and Speaker should accord top priority to providing the Law and Legislation Directorate with at least three additional lawyers to provide individual members of the National Assembly with bill drafting services to assist them in

exercising their constitutional authority under Article 87 of the Bulgarian Constitution.

International Relations and Protocol Directorate

The Director of the International Relations and Protocol Directorate employs 18 individuals in two Divisions of International Parliamentary Organizations and Protocol. The Director was unable to meet with the consultant. There are no recommendations concerning the Directorate.

Public Relations and Media Directorate

It was recommended in Section I that the Public Relations and Media Directorate be moved from the General Administration to the Specialized Administration section. The Directorate has two Divisions--one, consisting of eight employees, with responsibility for media relations and the other, the five-person Parliamentary Information Center (or PIC), which is charged with disseminating information to the public about the Parliament and its activities. The Director of the Directorate is fortunate to have two young and exceptionally dedicated and enthusiastic heads of his Divisions. Both have a strong interest in, and would greatly benefit from, outside training and consultation from experts in the areas of their respective responsibilities.

The physical and logistical arrangement of the Public Relations and Media Directorate is less than ideal. The Director and the Director of the Division of Media Relations share an office in the National Assembly Building where all of that Division's staff is located while the PIC office is located at the most visible entrance to the Batenberg Square office building. Given this arrangement, it is not surprising that the Director of the Directorate devotes the vast majority of his time and attention to the media relation's staff while the PIC Director operates with a great deal more latitude in running her Division.

The Division of Media Relations (often referred to as the press center) is responsible for serving as a sort of liaison between the National Assembly and the 850 journalists and media representatives accredited by the Division to cover the parliament (it is said that even on the most important plenary session days no more than 50 to 100 media people are actually in the National

Assembly building). In addition to its ongoing contact with the media, the Division prepares a daily photocopy compilation of articles about the National Assembly from major Bulgarian newspapers. These compilations are distributed to parliamentary leaders, the parliamentary groups, and selected staff. The staff also assists MPs in arranging press conferences in the two parliamentary buildings.

The Director of the Division, a former journalist only recently appointed to her position, has inherited all but one of her seven staff assistants and has yet to become familiar with their individual strengths. She said that she is very interested in increasing the professionalism of the office and in finding ways to more actively and aggressively reach out to the media to assist it in its coverage of the parliament and in its understanding of the nuances and complexities of the democratic parliamentary process. In undertaking these initiatives, the Director could benefit greatly from a study tour to some legislative or parliamentary bodies that have more developed media relation's offices. If such visits were to the United States, they should be to state legislatures, many of which have excellent press offices that are generally run through party caucuses. Because the Director does not speak English but is fluent in French, visits to French-speaking parliaments might also be considered. On-site training in Sofia should follow the Director's study tour for the Director and the Division staff.

(9)The Director of the Division of Media Relations (in the Directorate of Public Relations and Media) should undertake a study tour to more developed media or press relations offices in other legislatures or parliaments, with the study tour to be followed by on-site professional training in Sofia for the Director and staff of the Division.

The Parliamentary Information Center was created in mid 2000. According to its informational brochure, prepared and printed with assistance from USAID, the purpose of the Center is:

> . . .to meet the public's need for greater access to information about legislative activities and to create a main resource center for both the public and Members of Parliament in order to increase the efficiency and transparency of the National Assembly.

The PIC's specific goals are listed in the brochure as: 1) To improve the transparency of the proceedings of the National Assembly; 2) To inform the public about parliamentary activities; 3) To create opportunities for the public to participate in the legislative process; and 4) To stimulate dialogue between parliamentarians and the public.

Given its mission, the PIC office is ideally located at the most visible, and what would appear to be the main, entrance to the parliamentary office building on Batenberg Square, one of the busiest spots in Sofia. Befitting its mission, the PIC is the only National Assembly office that is directly accessible to the public. But only those few people outside of the National Assembly who know of its existence and location will be aware of this. There is no sign at the entrance to the building indicating the PIC's location and inviting the public to enter. The whole purpose of a highly visible and accessible location is therefore defeated. The PIC Director said that the delay in placement of a sign outside of the building is because any sign must conform with the architectural style of the building. But architectural conformity should not pose a major impediment.

(10) As soon as possible, a visible sign should be placed at the outside entrance to the Parliamentary Information Center on Batenberg Square, with the sign to include an invitation to the public to come in and visit the Center.

The PIC's mission is crucial to the success of a much-needed effort by the National Assembly to, 1) establish linkage with the people of Bulgaria, 2) communicate to them about the parliamentary process and the activities of the National Assembly, and 3) enhance the image of the Parliament and the esteem in which it is held by the people. Such an effort is crucial to the construction of a solid and lasting foundation for the development of Bulgarian democracy. It will be extremely difficult for democracy to develop and flourish in Bulgaria without a better-informed public and without a public that is more engaged and involved in the parliamentary process. The Director of the PIC is enthusiastic about the potential of the Center, and eager to spearhead this effort on behalf of the National Assembly. But, to successfully do so, she must be provided with assistance--both additional staff, and on-site professional training for current and new staff.

Neither the PIC Director nor any of her four staff have had any formal training in how to undertake and perform their responsibilities. To effectively and successfully move forward in pursuit of the PIC's stated goals, the Director and her staff should be provided with expert training assistance from individuals in other parliaments or legislatures who are actively and successfully engaged in the legislative/parliamentary outreach process in the following areas: 1) The development of a civic education program geared to the nation's youth on the parliament, the parliamentary process, and representative democracy; the PIC should work with the Education Ministry to incorporate this program into the core curriculum in all Bulgarian schools; 2) The

development of a similar civic education program for adult Bulgarians who have only twelve years of experience with representative democracy and a democratic parliament; 3) The development of a National Assembly building public tour program that would include video and/or still presentations on how the parliamentary process and representative democracy work, meetings with MPs, and attendance at plenary or commission sessions; 4) The development of a children's website on the parliament; 5) The preparation and distribution of attractive brochures, similar to one that the PIC has prepared with USAID assistance on "Welcome To The National Assembly", on various aspects of the parliamentary process, past and present; 6) The development and sponsorship of regular information seminars or public meetings throughout the country on important issues under review by the National Assembly; and, 7) The establishment of satellite parliamentary information centers in various locations throughout the country. An active and aggressive PIC-spearheaded program in each of these seven areas should be accorded top priority by the National Assembly.

Admittedly, this is a highly ambitious agenda, but one that, as stated earlier, can serve as a cornerstone of a strong foundation for the future of democracy in Bulgaria. Clearly, if the PIC is to succeed in this effort; its staff must be significantly enlarged. A doubling in staff size, from the current five to ten, is recommended. It would make best sense to begin this expansion immediately so that at least some of the new employees would be able to benefit from the professional training that has been recommended. Those not able to receive the training could be trained by their fellow staff members who had been through the program. It is recommended that,

(11) The size of the staff of the Parliamentary Information Center should be doubled from its current five to ten, and the PIC staff should be provided with on-site professional training to assist it in its mission which is a crucial to an enhanced public image of the National Assembly and establishment of a solid foundation for the future of Bulgarian democracy.

Research and Library Directorate

As recommended in Section I, a new Directorate of Research and Library should be comprised of a Division of Research, the National Assembly Library (which has facilities in both legislative buildings), and the Parliamentary Internship Program which would continue to operate with more autonomy than a normal Directorate division while funded by USAID but would

become a regular Division within the Directorate at such time as the National Assembly assumes responsibility for its funding.

The benefits to the National Assembly of combining the research and library functions within the same Directorate were addressed in Section I. But some additional comment is necessary. By their training, librarians and professional researchers are equipped to develop and provide different types of information. A professional researcher examines a matter in depth, checking many different sources (including those of the library), and then dissecting and often analyzing the information that has been compiled. Even with the rapid turnaround requirements of MPs, a research assignment may take days to complete. Librarians, on the other hand, provide quick, almost immediate, responses, often photocopies of newspaper or magazine articles, reports and analyses previously prepared by researchers and, increasingly in parliaments as well as elsewhere, printouts from the Internet. There is virtually no independent analysis in librarian-provided research. More and more throughout the world, library research is being provided through searches of the Internet which requires not just access to a computer terminal with Internet capability (something which the Director of the Library Division said all eight off the library staff have) but also a specialized knowledge of how to skillfully "surf the Net". Contemporary librarian training usually involves the development of this skill, which should be a prerequisite for all current librarians and any new ones hired by the Library Division. While the skill requirements may be different, parliamentary researchers and librarians have the same basic goal and responsibility--to provide the members of the parliament with independent, accurate, nonpartisan information that will assist them in making sound decisions. Maximum coordination of these complementary information services would be best achieved by placing them together within the same Directorate.

While the National Assembly Library appears to be adequately staffed, the same cannot be said for the independent Research Division which is said to have operated during the 37th National Assembly, been abolished by the 38th, and reestablished by the current Secretary General after he assumed his position in the 39th National Assembly. The Research Division is comprised of a Director who is very committed to the development of a parliamentary capacity for independent research and analysis, one researcher whose professional training is in tourism, and the coordinator of the Parliamentary Internship Program who devotes all of her time to that program. Having its own source of independent nonpartisan professional research information and analysis is an absolutely essential element for any parliament or legislature that hopes to develop the capacity to make public policy, construct alternative policies to those proposed by

the executive, and effectively oversee the performance of the executive. The National Assembly lacks this vital element.

Regardless of whether the recommendation to create a new Directorate of Research and Library is approved, the National Assembly should accord high priority to the development of an independent nonpartisan parliamentary research capacity through expansion of the Research Division. The goal should be to develop a group of skilled nonpartisan professionals to undertake research and analysis for the Speaker, committees, and individual MPs. Research assistance to committees, in particular, should be a major responsibility of an enlarged Research Division. Indications are that staff assigned directly to the committees (usually two or three per committee) are generally not skilled professional researchers or, in cases where they may be, are unable to find any time to devote to independent research and analysis. When such analysis is required, the approach usually taken is to contract with sources from outside the parliament for short-term assistance. Discussions with a number of committee chairpersons indicated that these short-term contract researchers are usually friends or acquaintances of the chairperson who may not be the most knowledgeable individuals on the matter or matters in question. Just as importantly, these contractual arrangements are of very short duration and leave the National Assembly with no "institutional memory" for future parliaments that a skilled and expert parliamentary researcher would provide. For the National Assembly's committees to truly have the capability to exercise the authority that the its Rules of Organization and Procedure gives them to make substantive revisions to bills, they must be able to call upon the type of assistance that a professional parliamentary research staff can provide. Many parliaments and legislatures have nonpartisan professional research offices that provide excellent assistance to highly active committees and could serve as excellent models as the National Assembly expands its capacity in this same area. Among them are many of the state legislatures in the United States where committees are particularly influential in the legislative process, several parliaments in the British Commonwealth, and a number of other European parliaments.

The National Assembly's near-term goal should be to increase the size of the Research Division to ten professional researchers. These researchers should be true professionals, preferably with graduate degrees and demonstrable skills in research, analysis, and the ability to write in a clear, concise and succinct manner. Three of these individuals should have a specific skill specialty in the budget and financial area to assure the early establishment of an in-house capacity for independent review and analysis of the executive budget, something of paramount importance to any parliament or legislature that aspires to establish itself as a true independent

policy-making institution.

To assure that quality standards will not be compromised in the recruitment process, new professional research positions should be advertised nationwide, with university faculty asked to assist in the screening, and the use of standardized interview and evaluation procedures to assure a completely fair and objective selection process.

(12) Regardless of whether the recommended Directorate of Research and Library is created, the short-term goal of the Research Division should be the employment of ten research staff, selected on the basis of their professional qualifications, to provide independent research and analysis for the Speaker, committees, and individual MPs. Three of the researchers should have specific skill specialty in the budget and financial area.

Appropriate training--both for research staff and for those who use their services--will be vital to the success of the Research Division. Both the information needs and the methods by which information is packaged for parliamentarians and legislators are unique, and new staff, no matter how highly knowledgeable and skilled they may be in research and policy analysis, will still require assistance and training in this area. Similarly, parliamentarians (particularly chairpersons and deputy chairpersons of committees) may believe that they simply need information and research assistance to enable them to do their jobs well. But the truth is that they too could benefit greatly from training in how to most effectively utilize newly provided professional researchers and the services that these individuals can provide to them.

(13) Training should be provided for parliamentary research staff in the techniques of legislative research and for members of the National Assembly in the effective utilization of professional research staff.

Sample job descriptions for new positions that would be created through establishment of a Directorate of Research and Library are included in ***Appendix C.***

In Section I, it was recommended that the Parliamentary Internship Program be administratively assigned as a Division of the new Directorate of Research and Library. This excellent program (which operates out of an office in the Batenberg Square building that until 1989 served as the office of the General Secretary of the Communist Party) provides an

unmatchable experience for approximately thirty university students each year. Bulgaria can expect to reap big rewards from the program in future years as former parliamentary interns become active in the country's politics. The only reservation about the program is that the work of the interns is not really integrated or coordinated with the legal, research, and information services provided by the National Assembly's permanent staff. The interns' work assignments primarily involve translation into Bulgarian of other nations' laws of that are deemed of interest and relevance to the National Assembly. The program Director and three law professors who serve as counselors to the program make assignments. The National Assembly should have substantial input into coordination of this program and, in particular, to the selection of the work assignments of its interns. In the past, there has been discussion of establishing a Parliamentary Internship Council to play this role, but the Council has never been activated. This should be done immediately, with a ten-member Council to be comprised of an equal number of MPs and key Administration staff involved in legal and research services.

(14) The Parliamentary Internship Council should be activated immediately to provide direct National Assembly input into coordination of the Parliamentary Internship Program, with the Council membership to consist of the Speaker, the four Deputy Speakers or their designees, the Secretary General, the Director of the Directorate of Law and Legislation, the Director of the Directorate of Research and Library, and two administration staff appointed by the Secretary General.

Parliamentary Group And MP Personal Staff

The National Assembly is ahead of many developing parliaments and legislatures in the degree of political and, particularly of personal staff assistance that it provides to its members. Each of the four parliamentary groups is provided with funds from the National Assembly budget to employ a small number of staff assistants. And each MP is provided with a sum equal to two-thirds of his or her parliamentary salary for personal staff and other job-related needs (although most members appear to turn a portion of their allowance over to their parliamentary group to employ additional staff to supplement those employed with National Assembly budget funds).

Constituent casework--parliamentarians and legislators representing and helping constituents as a sort of ombudsman in helping them to resolve government-related problems that they cannot get resolved themselves--is an important responsibility of a democratic parliament or legislature. Party and personal staff generally, and appropriately, provides staff assistance to members in this area. Even though Bulgaria's National Assembly members are elected from lists and not from single-member districts, they are assigned to represent districts. And, a democratic parliament is, after all, a representative assembly. Discussions with MPs indicated that there has been a steady increase in requests from constituents for assistance in resolving various problems. In some instances, they reported, these requests concern matters that should not be handled by an elected representative, but in many more cases they do.

There appears to be a real need for constituent service training for both parliamentary group staff and individual MP staff. It can be expected that, as the visibility and public awareness of the parliament grows, constituent casework will become an increasingly important and time-consuming activity for both group and personal staff. How a constituent perceives the service received from his or her MP, or from the MP's staff assistant, will be a major determinant in whether that individual has a favorable or unfavorable impression of the National Assembly. So, training in how to provide quality service to constituents from experienced individuals in other legislatures or parliaments in which this is an established institutional activity can be very important and valuable to the National Assembly in its effort to enhance its public image. It is recommended that,

(15) Training in MP constituent service should be provided to parliamentary group staff and to the personal staff assistants of MPs

Afterword

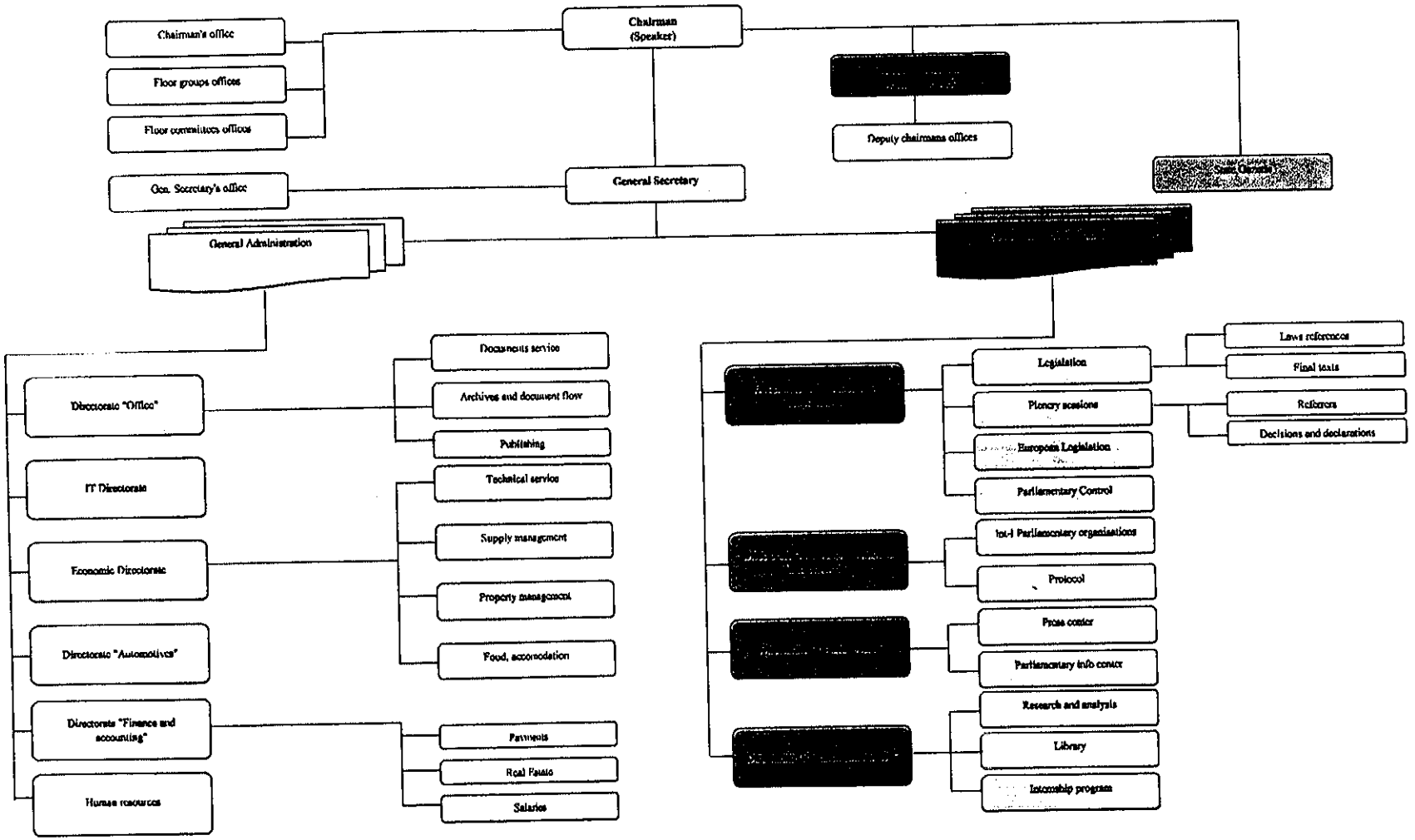
During its little more than one decade of existence, the Bulgarian National Assembly has taken significant strides toward developing into an effective representative assembly and establishing itself as the bulwark of Bulgarian democracy. Like any developing democratic parliament or legislature, it is faced with problems and obstacles that block or retard its continued progress toward realization of this goal. This examination has focused on what a number of those in prominent positions within the National Assembly see as among the biggest of those problems--an Administration organizational structure that fails to provide effective coordination and delivery of services to MPs, that does not allow for adequate communication and cooperation between Administration Directorates, that does not provide some services necessary in a fully developed parliament, and that is generally very difficult for the Secretary General to effectively lead. These problems serve to impede the parliament's need to undertake a major effort to heighten its visibility and improve its image with the people. The fifteen recommendations in this report are intended to help the National Assembly and its Secretary General to directly address and significantly alleviate or fully eliminate these problems.

The facade above the formal entrance to the National Assembly building bears the motto "Unity is Strength" (*sâedinenieto pravi silata*). It is said that the motto dates back to the founding of the Bulgarian nation in 681 AD. If the organizational structure and procedures of the National Assembly's Administration are redesigned to make the structure more manageable by the Secretary General and produce a more unified, comprehensive, and effective delivery of services, and if the employees of the National Assembly unite within this redesigned structure in service and responsibility to the parliamentary institution, the National Assembly will become a stronger and more effective body and its 240 members will be able to more effectively represent and address the needs of the people who elected them. A stronger and more effective National Assembly will greatly strengthen democracy in Bulgaria.

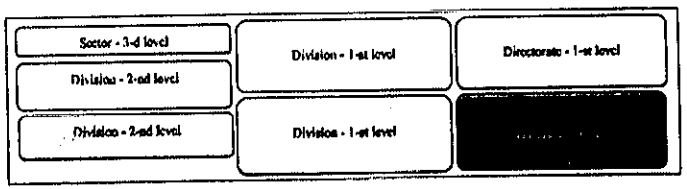
Appendix A

Organization Chart Of Suggested Administration Structure
Bulgarian National Assembly

Bulgarian National Assembly
Suggested Administration Structure



Legend:



Appendix B

Sample Job Description

Directorate of Law and Legislation
-Bill Drafting Expert-

Bill Drafting Expert
(Directorate of Law and Legislation)

Summary of Position: A Bill Drafting Expert assists the Directorate of Law and Legislation in providing bill drafting and amendment-drafting services to individual members and to committees of the National Assembly.

Position Requirements: A Bill Drafting Expert should possess the following qualifications: 1) a demonstrable basic knowledge and understanding of Bulgarian law and the Bulgarian legal system; 2) a demonstrable understanding of and skill in the techniques and art of parliamentary/legislative bill drafting; 3) a general understanding of the parliamentary process, and a commitment to the belief and principle that the Parliament is the people's "watchdog of democracy"; 4) no previous close involvement or association with a particular political party or political group, the history of which would prevent the individual from performing and/or appearing to perform his/her duties in a completely nonpartisan manner; and, 5) a university degree in law.

Supervision Received: Bill Drafting Experts are appointed and supervised by the Director of the Directorate of Law and Legislation.

Supervision Exercised: Bill Drafting Experts exercise such supervisory responsibilities as may be assigned to them by the Director of the Directorate of Law and Legislation.

Appendix C

Sample Job Descriptions

Directorate of Research and Library

-Director-
-Research Expert-
-Budget Research Expert-

Director
(Directorate of Research and Library)

Summary of Position: The Director of the Directorate of Research and Library serves as the head of the National Assembly's Directorate of Research and Library, which is comprised of the Divisions of Research, Library, and Parliamentary Internship Program. The Directorate is responsible for: a) providing nonpartisan professional research assistance and service to committees and to individual members of the National Assembly; b) the operation of the National Assembly's Library, including the collection and care of its documents and materials; and, c) supervision and oversight of the Parliamentary Internship Program.

Position Requirements: The Director should possess the following qualifications: 1) a demonstrated record of experience in nonpartisan professional research and analysis and/or legal services; 2) at least eight years of demonstrated success in a relevant managerial or supervisory capacity; 3) a demonstrable knowledge and understanding of the concepts and techniques of professional research, with particular emphasis on public policy analysis, and an ability to write and edit in a clear, concise, and understandable manner; 4) a sound understanding of the parliamentary process, and a commitment to the belief and principle that the Parliament is the people's "watchdog of democracy"; 5) a basic understanding of the concept and purpose of a parliamentary library; 7) no previous close involvement or association with a particular political party or parliamentary group, the history of which would prevent the Director from performing and/or appearing to perform his/her duties in a completely nonpartisan manner; 9) a proven ability to effectively supervise and motivate staff members under the Director's direct and indirect supervision; and, 10) a university degree (with a graduate preferred) in the social sciences or law.

Supervision Received: The Director is appointed by the Secretary General of the National Assembly and receives general supervision from the Secretary General.

Supervision Exercised: The Director is responsible for day-to-day management and administration of the Directorate exercises direct supervision of the Directors of the Divisions of Research, Library, and the Parliamentary Internship Program.

Research Expert
(Division of Research)
(Directorate of Research and Library)

Summary of Position: A Research Expert assists the Directorate of Research and Library's Division of Research in providing nonpartisan professional research and analysis assistance and service to the committees and individual members of the National Assembly.

Position Requirements: A Research Expert should possess the following qualifications: 1) a demonstrable basic knowledge and understanding of the concepts and techniques of professional research, with particular emphasis on public policy analysis, and an ability to write and edit in a clear, concise, and understandable manner; 3) a general understanding of the parliamentary process, and a commitment to the belief and principle that the Parliament is the people's "watchdog of democracy"; 4) a general understanding of, and a sensitivity to, the research and policy analysis needs of the National Assembly; 5) the ability to analyze and summarize legislation in a clear and concise manner; 6) no previous close involvement or association with a particular political party or parliamentary group, the history of which would prevent the individual from performing and/or appearing to perform his/her duties in a completely nonpartisan manner; and, 7) a university degree (with a graduate degree preferred), in the social sciences.

Supervision Received: Research Experts are appointed by the Director of the Directorate of Research and Library and the Director of the Directorate's Division of Research, and are supervised by the Director of the Division of Research.

Supervision Exercised: Research Experts exercise such supervisory responsibilities as may be assigned to them by the Director of the Division of Research.

Budget Research Expert
(Division of Research)
(Directorate of Research and Library)

Summary of Position: A Budget Research Expert assists the Directorate of Research and Library's Division of Research in providing nonpartisan professional research and analysis assistance and service on budgetary and financial matters to committees and individual members of the National Assembly.

Position Requirements: A Budget Research Expert should possess the following qualifications: 1) a demonstrable basic knowledge and understanding of the concepts and techniques of professional research, with particular emphasis on public policy analysis in budgetary and financial matters, and an ability to write and edit in a clear, concise, and understandable manner; 3) a general understanding of the parliamentary process, and a commitment to the belief and principle that the Parliament is the people's "watchdog of democracy"; 4) a general understanding of the government's budgetary processes and procedures, and a sensitivity to the information, research, and policy analysis needs of the National Assembly on budgetary and financial matters; 5) no previous close involvement or association with a particular political party or parliamentary group, the history of which would prevent the individual from performing and/or appearing to perform his/her duties in a completely nonpartisan manner; and, 6) a university degree (with a graduate degree preferred), in economics or the social sciences.

Supervision Received: Research Experts are appointed by the Director of the Directorate of Research and Library and the Director of the Directorate's Division of Research, and are supervised by the Director of the Division of Research.

Supervision Exercised: Research Experts exercise such supervisory responsibilities as may be assigned to them by the Director of the Division of Research.

Appendix D

Individuals Interviewed

Hon. Ognyan Gerdjikov, Chairman (Speaker) of the Bulgarian National Assembly
Mr. Ognyan Avramov, Secretary General
Prof. Emilia Drumeva, Director, Directorate of Law and Legislation
Mr. Georgy Spassov, Director, Directorate of Public Relations and Media
Hon. Ivan Iskrov, Member of the National Assembly
Mrs. Margarita Angelova, Director, Division of Library
Mr. Emil Krepiev, Director, Directorate of Publishing
Hon. Snezhana Grosdilova, Member of the National Asembly
Mrs. Magdalena Popova, Deputy Director, Office Directorate
Mr. Atanas Atanassov, Director, Directorate of Information Technology
Hon. Milena Milotinova, Member of the National Assembly
Ms. Krassimir Ivanov, Director, Division of Human Resources
Hon. Kystio Petkov, Member of the National Assembly
Mr. Simeon Ivanov, Director and General Accountant, Directorate of Finance and Accounting
Hon. Irina Bokova, Member of the National Assembly
Mr. Peter Enev, Director, Automotive Directorate
Mrs. Guerguana Gamalova, Director, Economic Directorate
Hon. Kiril Miltchev, Member of the National Assembly
Mr. Stefan Kospartov, Director, Directorate on European Integration
Mrs. Iliana Vessilinova, Director, Division of Research
Mr. Stoyan Hadjiev, Chief of Speaker's Cabinet
Mrs. Silvia Simova, Director, Division of Press, Directorate of Public Relations and Media
Mrs. Mariana Vitanova, Director, Parliamentary Information Center, Directorate of Public Relations and Media
Mrs. Evgenia Popova, Director, Parliamentary Internship Program
Mrs. Viara Matzeva, Senior Expert, Division of Research
Mrs. Nadedja Spirova, Former Director of NGO

Appendix E

Summary Of Recommendations

Recommendations - Administration Structure and Procedures

1. The organizational structure of the Administration of the National Assembly should be reconfigured and simplified, as shown in the organization chart in *Appendix A*.

2. The following adjustments are recommended in the National Assembly's Administration structure:

a) Transfer the Directorate of Public Relations and Media from General Administration to Specialized Administration;

b) Eliminate the Directorate of Publishing as an independent Directorate within Specialized Administration and reestablish it as a Division within the Office Directorate in General Administration;

c) Eliminate the Directorate of European Integration as an independent Directorate within Specialized Administration and reestablish it as a Division within the Directorate of Law and Legislation;

d) Establish a new Directorate of Research and Library in Specialized Administration, with the Directorate to include the currently independent Divisions of Research and Library as Divisions within the Directorate;

e) Place the Parliamentary Internship Program within the Directorate of Research and Library to achieve better integration of the program into the mainstream of parliamentary administration and better coordination of its services with other Administration research and information services; at such time as the National Assembly assumes responsibility for the funding of the Parliamentary Internship Program, the program should become a regular Division within the Directorate of Research and Library.

3. The Secretary General should schedule regular bi-weekly meetings of the Directors of all Directorates and independent Divisions, with each meeting to have an agenda prepared by the Secretary General and circulated to all Directors at least seventy-two hours in advance of the meeting. At least some of the meetings should be held in the parliamentary office building on Batenberg Square.

4. The Secretary General should hold separate quarterly meetings with the committee staff and with the parliamentary group staff.

5. It should be clearly and strongly conveyed to all employees of the National Assembly that:

a) The Secretary General is responsible for the supervision and coordination of all matters relating to parliamentary administration;

b) All matters of concern to Administration staff are to be handled through established administrative channels; beginning with the staff member's immediate superior in the organizational structure; and,

c) The Secretary General is the individual responsible for keeping the Speaker informed concerning the administration of the National Assembly and for decisions concerning matters of administration that require discussion or consultation with the Speaker.

Recommendations - General Administration

6. Before the National Assembly invests in new hardware, software, or additional staff for the Information Technology Directorate staff, an independent expert consultant should be employed to work with the Director of the Directorate in the design of a comprehensive information technology development strategy (including internal staffing requirements) to address the immediate and long-term needs of the National Assembly.

7. The Secretary General should undertake an examination of whether it would be in the best interest of the National Assembly to employ a private contractor to operate the dining facilities in the National Assembly and Batenberg Square office buildings.

Recommendations - Specialized Administration

8. The Secretary General and Speaker should accord top priority to providing the Law and Legislation Directorate with at least three additional lawyers to provide individual members of the National Assembly with bill drafting services to assist them in exercising their constitutional authority under Article 87 of the Bulgarian Constitution.

9. The Director of the Division of Media Relations (in the Directorate of Public Relations and Media) should undertake a study tour to more developed media or press relations offices in other legislatures or parliaments, with the study tour to be followed by on-site professional training in Sofia for the Director and staff of the Division.

10. As soon as possible, a visible sign should be placed at the outside entrance to the Parliamentary Information Center on Batenberg Square, with the sign to include an invitation to the public to come in and visit the Center.

11. The size of the staff of the Parliamentary Information Center should be doubled from

its current five to ten, and the PIC staff should be provided with on-site professional training to assist it in its mission which is a crucial to an enhanced public image of the National Assembly and establishment of a solid foundation for the future of Bulgarian democracy.

12. Regardless of whether the recommended Directorate of Research and Library is created, the short-term goal of the Research Division should be the employment of ten research staff, selected on the basis of their professional qualifications, to provide independent research and analysis for the Speaker, committees, and individual MPs. Three of the researchers should have specific skill specialty in the budget and financial area.

13. Training should be provided for parliamentary research staff in the techniques of legislative research and for members of the National Assembly in the effective utilization of professional research staff.

14. The Parliamentary Internship Council should be activated immediately to provide direct National Assembly input into coordination of the Parliamentary Internship Program, with the Council membership to consist of the Speaker, the four Deputy Speakers or their designees, the Secretary General, the Director of the Directorate of Law and Legislation, the Director of the Directorate of Research and Library, and two administration staff appointed by the Secretary General.

Recommendations - Parliamentary Group Staff and MP Personal Staff

15. Training in MP constituent service should be provided to parliamentary group staff and to the personal staff assistants of MPs.

Acknowledgements

A project of this scope and magnitude could never have been completed in the brief allotted time without a great deal of assistance and support from many individuals. A deep debt of gratitude is due each of them. First and foremost are SUNY/IDG Chief of Party Jim Carlson and his superb staff in Sofia--Iavor Rangelov, Lubomir Dimov, Petya Jekova, and Violina Ananieva. At the SUNY/IDG office in Albany, Project Coordinator Marc Cassidy, Ana Soares, and Sue Henry were equally helpful and supportive. Special appreciation is expressed to State Legislative Leaders Foundation (SLLF) President Steve Lakis for rearranging the foundation's activity schedule to enable me to undertake this project on behalf of the foundation. Steve has a deep and abiding commitment to using SLLF's services on global level to further the cause of parliamentary and legislative democracy. In Sofia, the USAID mission--Mission Director Debra McFarland, Democracy and Governance Director Nad ereh Lee, and Radina Stoyanova--were informative and supportive. Sincere thanks are extended to Secretary General Ognyan Avramov for his strong support. He and Speaker Gerdjikov have a clear and unalterable commitment to making the National Assembly a more effective and more transparent institution. I am especially grateful to the Secretary General for freeing Iliana Vesselinova from her commitments as Director of Research to spend two weeks arranging and accompanying me to meetings and answering or getting answers to a myriad of questions that I posed to her and her colleagues. Without Iliana's invaluable help, information, and advice, it would have been impossible to complete this project. I am deeply indebted to her. No one could ever be blessed with two better interpreters that I was with Chris Ninova and Annie Popova. Throughout my stay in Sofia, they made me feel as if there were no language barriers whatsoever. I know of no higher compliment that one can pay an interpreter. And, finally, a special thank you is extended to Daniella Radeva for her thoughtfulness and kindness.

Annex C: Compendium of Conference Proceedings

EFFECTIVE REPRESENTATION, LAWMAKING AND OVERSIGHT

A Compendium of Conference Presentations

ЕФЕКТИВНО ПРЕДСТАВИТЕЛСТВО, ЗАКОНОТВОРЧЕСТВО И НАДЗОР

Сборник презентации

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EFFECTIVE REPRESENTATION, LAWMAKING AND OVERSIGHT

A Compendium of Conference Presentations

ЕФЕКТИВНО ПРЕДСТАВИТЕЛСТВО, ЗАКОНОТВОРЧЕСТВО И НАДЗОР

Сборник презентаций

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USAID

This Compendium is published with the financial support of the **US Agency for International Development (USAID)** and the assistance of the **State University of New York's International Development Group (SUNY/IDG).**

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USAID

Справочникът се издава с финансовата подкрепа на **Американската агенция за международно развитие (USAID)** и съдействието на **Университета на щата Ню Йорк - Международна група за развитие (SUNY/IDG).**

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Introduction

James P. Carlson, Chief of Party, SUNY/IDG, Bulgaria

The following is a compendium of the materials collected from each of the various workshops covered during the conference Effective Representation, Lawmaking and Oversight, which took place in the Southwestern Bulgarian town of Sandansky, February 15-17, 2002. The Conference for the Members of the 39th Bulgarian National Assembly was organized by the State University of New York/ International Development Group (SUNY/IDG) and sponsored by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID).

The Effective Representation, Lawmaking and Oversight Conference was part of the Program for Support and Orientation to the Bulgarian National Assembly, supported by the Memorandum of Understanding honored the Bulgarian National Assembly and the International Donor Group, the letter of which includes the Embassies of the United States, the Netherlands, Germany and Great Britain, and the UNDP. (USAID) has been the primary US government participant.

SUNY/IDG has conducted similar training programs for Members of Parliament in 17 countries throughout the world and has extensive experience in technical assistance to legislatures.

The opening of the Conference was jointly delivered by Mr. Ognyan Gerdjikov, Speaker of the 39th Bulgarian National Assembly and Mrs. Debra McFarland, USAID/ Bulgaria Director,and was followed by the keynote address speaker - renowned international correspondent, Mr. Robert Kaplan.

With the crucial support of the SUNY/IDG home office in Albany, New York, we were very fortunate to be able to assemble an impressive team of highly qualified experts with many years of experience, working both with and within legislatures. The Bulgarian experts were able to contextualize the issuesin their highly informative presentations. Dr. Louis Fortis, publisher and former legislator and Ms Lili Marinkova, Host of Nedelia 150, Bulgarian National Radio, presented ***Dealing Successfully with the Media,*** while the workshop on ***Ethics Laws Governing MPs Conduct in Parliament & Society*** was delivered by Dr. Alan Rosenthal, Professor at Rutgers University and preeminent scholar on legislatures, and Mr. Antony Todorov, Professor and Deputy Head of the Department of Political Science, New Bulgarian University. Dr. Sue Senecah, Professor at the State University of New York and a leading expert on participation in public policy decision-making process, along with her counterpart

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Въведение

Джеймс Ф. Карлсън, Директор за България, SUNY/IDG

Това е Сборник с материали от всяка от сесиите на Конференцията Ефективно представителство, законотворчество и надзор, която се проведе в град Сандански в югозападна България между 15 и 17 февруари 2002 г. Конференцията за народните представители от 39-то Народно събрание на Република България беше организирана от Университета на щата Ню Йорк-Международна група за развитие (SUNY/IDG) и спонсорирана от Американската агенция за международно развитие (USAID).

Конференцията Ефективно представителство, законотворчество и надзор се проведе в рамките на Програмата за подпомагане и ориентация към Народното Събрание, подкрепена чрез Меморандума за разбирателство от българското Народно събрание и Международната донорска група, която включва Посолствата на Съединените щати, Холандия, Германия и Великобритания, и Програмата за развитие на ООН. Основен участник от страна на Посолството на САЩ беше Американската агенция за международно развитие (USAID). Университетът на щата Ню Йорк-Международна група за развитие е провел подобни програми за обучение на народни представители в 17 държави по целия свят и има значителен опит в техническото подпомагане на законодателни структури.

Конференцията беше съвместно открита с кратки речи от г-н Огнян Герджиков, Председател на 39-то Народно събрание и г-жа Дебра МакФарланд, Директор на Мисията на Американската агенция за международно развитие в България, последвани от обръщение към участниците на известния международен кореспондент, г-н Робърт Д. Каплан.

С решаващата помощ от страна на централата на SUNY/IDG в Олбани, щата Ню Йорк, имахме щастието да подсигурим впечатляваща група от високо квалифицирани американски експерти с дългогодишен опит като законодатели и консултанти на законодателни структури. Народните представители и администраторите от Парламента имаха възможност да общуват свободно с всеки от присъстващите експерти. Д-р Луис Фортис, издател и бивш законодател, заедно с г-жа Лили Маринкова, водеща на предаването Неделя 150, Българско национално радио, представиха темата ***Как да работим успешно с медиите***, а на сесията ***Етични закони, ръководещи поведението на народния представител в Парламента и обществото*** говориха д-р Алан Розентал, Професор от Университета Ратгърс и водещ учен в областта на законодателните структури, и г-н Антони

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Introduction

James P. Carlson, Chief of Party, SUNY/IDG, Bulgaria

Mr. Borislov Vilarov, Professor of Political Communication at Sofia University, suggested practical techniques in their session called ***Mastering Constituency Relations***. Mr. Steven Lakis, President of the State Legislative Leaders Foundation, and Ms Raina Timcheva, Program Director, Foundation Resource Center, delivered the workshop on ***Lobbying, Goals and Principles***. Dr. Helen Desfosses, President of the Albany City Council and Dean of the Rockefeller College of Public Policy, SUNY, in cooperation with Prof. Emilia Drumeva, Head of the Legal Department at the Bulgarian National Assembly, presented the topic ***Public Hearings***. Finally, Dr. Alan Rosenthal and Ms. Tatiana Dronzina, Professor of Public Relations and Conflict Resolution at Sofia University, delivered an impressive presentation called ***Bridging the Perception-Reality Gap in a Representative Democracy***.

We were delighted that Mr. Robert Kaplan - currently among the most influential US journalists and author of best-selling books on international affairs, was able to come to Bulgaria to deliver the conference keynote address. As correspondent for the Atlantic Monthly he has reported on some 80 countries in Europe, Africa, the Middle East, Asia, Latin America, as well as the United States. Mr. Kaplan addressed the participants Bulgaria's need to develope a viable middle class and to build strong democratic institutions, these being the imperatives for any transitional society. While in Bulgaria, Mr. Kaplan gave several interviews in Sofia, among them an excellent interview published in the Capital weekly newspaper. He also had a stimulating discussion with students from different Balkan countries during his brief visit to the American University in Bulgaria.

Conference attendance in Sandansky was gratifying. Following two postponements, with the firm commitment and support on the part of the Speaker Mr. Gerdjikov and Secretary General Mr. Avramov, more than 85 Members of Parliament from all 4 floor-groups, 25 parliamentary administrators and 15 guests were brought together to discuss issues of common concern. Many of the MPs complimented the format of the presentations, each workshop featuring both a Bulgarian and an international expert. Some of them wanted to attend all of the workshops rather than one of the concurrently running two sessions, but they were pleased with the information and advice provided and felt that the event was timely for all new

Въведение

Джеймс Ф. Карлсън, Директор за България, SUNY/IDG

Тодоров, Доцент и Зам.-декан на Факултета по политология, Нов български университет. Д-р Сю Сенека, Доцент по политология в Университета на щата Ню Йорк и водещ експерт по въпросите на участие на обществото при вземане на решения в политическия процес, заедно с г-н Борислав Виларов, Доцент по политическа комуникация в Софийския университет, дискутираха различни подходи за ***Усъвършенстване на връзките с избирателите.*** Г-н Стивън Лакис, Президент на Фондация Щатски законодателни лидери, и г-жа Райна Тимчева, Програмен директор на Фондация Ресурсен център, направиха презентацията на ***Лобиране - цели и принципи.*** Д-р Хелън Десфосис, Председател на Общинския съвет на гр. Олбани, щата Ню Йорк, и Декан на Колежа по политология "Рокфелер", Университет на щата Ню Йорк, съвместно с проф. Емилия Друмева, Директор на Правния отдел в Народното събрание, представиха темата ***Обществени обсъждания.*** И накрая д-р Алан Розентал и г-жа Татяна Дронзина, Доцент по Връзки с обществеността и разрешаване на конфликти в Софийския университет, изнесоха впечатляваща презентация на тема ***Преодоляване на несъответствието възприето-реално постигнато в представителната демокрация.***За наше най-голямо удоволствие, че г-н Робърт Д. Каплан - един от най-влиятелните американски журналисти в момента и автор на бестселъри в областта на международните отношения, успя да отправи обръщението към участниците в конференцията. Като кореспондент на *сп. Atlantic Monthly* той пише репортажи от над 80 държави в Европа, Азия, Латинска Америка, както и от САЩ. Г-н Каплан се обърна към участниците с забележителна реч за необходимостта България да изгради жизнена средна класа и устойчиви демократични институции, които са двата приоритета за всяко общество в преход. По време на престоя си в България г-н Каплан даде няколко интервюта за медиите в София, сред които и едно особено силно интервю за *в. Капитал.* Той проведе и изключително динамична дискусия със студенти от различни балкански държави по време на краткото си посещение в Американския университет в България.

Посещаемостта на Конференцията в Сандански беше впечатляваща. След две непредвидени отлагания и с категоричния ангажимент и помощ от страна на Председателя на НС, г-н Огнян Герджиков, и Главния секретар, г-н Огнян Аврамов, над 85 народни представители от всички парламентарни групи, 25 служители в администрацията и

Introduction

James P. Carlson, Chief of Party, SUNY/IDG, Bulgaria

Members of Parliament.

The idea of combining the various workshop topics under the umbrella of "*Effective Representation, Lawmaking and Oversight*" came from the home office Project Director, Mr. Marc Cassidy. With the active support of several staff members in the home office and of the SUNY/IDG Sofia team - Iavor Rangelov, Petya Jekova, Vili Ananieva, and Lubo Dimov, the conference turned into a highly successful and well-organized event. Dr. James Ketterer, Director of SUNY/IDG, and Mr. Cassidy worked on short notice to provide a the keynote speaker, as well as six of the most competent US experts available. We provided our international consultants with a talented and knowledgeable team of facilitators and translators (Chris, Ani, Daniela, Kate, Iliana, and Danie) who worked independently with each of the international consultants, bridging the language gap and facilitating both their excellent presentations and the rewarding time they spent in Bulgaria.

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Въведение

Джеймс Ф. Карлсън, Директор за България, SUNY/IDG

15 гости се събраха, за да дискутират въпроси от общ интерес. Много от депутатите изказаха задоволството си от формата на презентациите, всяка от които включваше по един български и по един чуждестранен експерт. Някои народни представители изразиха интерес към всички теми, тъй като сесиите се провеждаха по две паралелно в различни зали, но останаха доволни от споделените съвети и информация и споделиха, че събитието е много навременно за всички нови членове на Парламента.

Идеята да се комбинират различните теми на конференцията под шапката на *Ефективно представителство, законотворчество и надзор* дойде от Директора на проекта Марк Касиди. С активната помощ на Марк, Сю Хенри и Ана Соарес от централния офис и екипа на SUNY/IDG, София - Явор Рангелов, Петя Жекова, Вили Ананиева и Любо Димов, конференцията се превърна в едно много успешно и добре организирано мероприятие. Д-р Джим Кетерър, Директор на SUNY/IDG, и Марк Касиди работиха интензивно, за да подсигурят забележителен говорител за обръщението към гостите, както и шест от най-компетентните американски експерти. Подсигурихме на международните си консултанти екип от талантливи и знаещи асистенти и преводачи (Крис, Ани, Даниела, Кейт, Илияна и Дани), които работиха самостоятелно с всеки от консултантите, премахвайки езиковата бариера и подпомагайки блестящите им презентации и приятния им престой в България.

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Welcoming Remarks

Prof. Ognyan Gerdjikov, Speaker of the 39th National Assembly

Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is a great pleasure for me to welcome participants to the conference "Effective Representation, Lawmaking and Oversight", organized within the Program for Support and Orientation to the National Assembly.

The experience of Western democracies in the area of parliamentary practice, communication between civil society and the government, as well as participation of the public in governmental policy formulation, is extremely valuable for Bulgaria without doubt. Furthermore, the consolidation of functioning political publicity in post-totalitarian Bulgaria, has become our bet for democratic governance and successful transition, a most important precondition for effective integration of our country in the European and Atlantic structures. If you would therefore allow me to extend my gratitude to the International Donor Group - the embassies of the Netherlands, Germany, United Kingdom, USA, UNDP and the State University of New York, which decided to provide their concerted support to the Bulgarian Parliament on these interesting and timely topics.

Transparency of the institutions, access to information and citizens' control over the government constitute an indivisible part of the discussions, journalistic analysis and philosophical meditations on Bulgaria's democratic development. They are a major priority of the Bulgarian government as well.

In the last few years the Parliament of Bulgaria advanced significantly on the road of implementing a policy of transparency and dialogue with the public.

In the National Assembly were established the Parliamentary Information Center, Center for European Documentation, the Parliamentary Internship Program. Bulgarian citizens are welcome to attend parliamentary sessions, they enjoy free access to the Library of the National Assembly, the website of the Parliament is constantly being updated and extended.

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Приветствие към участниците

Проф. Отнян Герджиков, Председател, 39то Народно събрание

Уважаеми дами и господа,

За мен е голямо удоволствие да приветствам участниците в Конференцията "Ефективно представителство, законотворчество и надзор", която се организира в рамките на Програмата за подпомагане и ориентация към Народното събрание.

Опитът на западните демокрации в областта на парламентаризма, комуникацията на гражданското общество с властта и участието на обществеността във формирането на държавната политика без съмнение е изключително ценен за България. Нещо повече, утвърждаването на функциониращa политическа публичност в посттоталитарна България се превърна в залог за демократично управление и успешен преход, в най-важна предпоставка за пълноценна интеграция на страната ни в европейските и атлантическите структури. Затова позволете ми преди всичко да отправя благодарност към Международната донорска група - посолствата на Холандия, Германия, Великобритания, САЩ, Програмата на ООН за развитие, Американската агенция за международно развитие, както и на Университета на щата Ню Йорк, които решиха да окажат синхронизирана подкрепа на българския парламент по тази интересна и актуална проблематика.

Прозрачността на институциите, достъпът до информация и гражданският контрол върху властта са неотделима част от дискусиите, журналистическите анализи и философските тълкувания, посветени на демократичното развитие на България. Те са и неотменен приоритет на българското правителство.

През последните години българският парламент извървя значителен път в провеждането на политика на прозрачност и диалог с обществото.

В Народното събрание бяха създадени Парламентарен информационен център, Център за европейска документация, Програма "Студенти на стаж към парламента". Гражданите присъстват на пленарните заседания, свободен е достъпът им до Библиотеката на Народно събрание, непрекъснато се развива и обогатява с ново съдържание Интернет-страницата на парламента. Разработват се механизми за по-ефективно сътрудничество на постоянните парламентарни комисии с неправителствения сектор. Все повече се утвърждава практиката на публични обсъждания на законопроекти, на които неправителствените организации излагат аргументирано своите становища по приеманото за-

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Welcoming Remarks

Prof. Ognyan Gerdjikov, Speaker of the 39th National Assembly

Mechanisms are currently being developed for more intensive cooperation between the parliamentary committees and the nongovernmental sector. The practice of public hearings on bills of legislation is becoming better established, providing a forum for the nongovernmental organizations to present and argue their opinions on deliberated legislation.

We realize that the Parliament's dialogue with the public is a long and complex process, and should be constantly extended by means of new and more effective forms of communication. We should emphasize here the importance of cutting-edge information technologies, which are opening a new horizon for social development. Internet, information and knowledge are becoming the most crucial characteristics of the new century. Something more: they enrich with new meaning our notion of the democratic process.

I believe that the discussions of the conference will pose new solutions to the challenges faced by the public communication of the Parliament and the civil society development in Bulgaria.

I wish productive work to all participants in the Conference "Effective Representation, Lawmaking and Oversight".

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Приветствие към участниците

Проф. Огнян Герджиков, Председател, 39^то Народно събрание

конодателство.

Даваме си сметка, че диалогът на парламента с обществеността е дълъг и сложен процес, който трябва непрекъснато да бъде обогатяван с нови и по-ефективни форми на комуникация. Тук е мястото да подчертаем значението на новите информационни технологии, които откриват нов хоризонт пред развитието на обществото. Интернет, информацията и знанието се превръщат в най-важните характеристики на новото столетие. Нещо повече, те обогатяват с нов смисъл понятието за демократичен процес.

Вярвам, че дискусиите на започващата Конференция ще очертаят нови решения на предизвикателствата, пред които е изправена публичната комуникация на парламента и развитието на гражданското общество в България.

Пожелавам ползотворна работа на участниците в Конференцията "Ефективно представителство, законотворчество и надзор"

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Welcoming Remarks

Debra McFarland, USAID Mission Director

Speaker Gerdzhikov, Distinguished Members of Parliament

It gives me great pleasure to open this conference and welcome all of you here today. It is an honor to address such a large group of Bulgarian Parliamentarians. I am happy to see that each parliamentary group is represented at this conference.

It has been the intention of the USAID and the rest of the members of the international development group to organize a conference that would bring MP's together across party lines. And it is rewarding to see that this is happening - because all parliamentarians, regardless of party affiliation, share equal responsibility to the people of Bulgaria for responsible lawmaking, representation and oversight.

As we all know, this is one of the busiest Parliaments in the contemporary history of Bulgaria. You are charged with the challenging task of creating legislation that responds to the needs of this country during dynamic times. Accession to the European Union requires intensive lawmaking that will harmonize Bulgarian and EU laws. As you fulfill this task, USAID is happy to assist you by supporting your work and increasing the Parliament's institutional capacity.

I am pleased that the leadership of the Bulgarian Parliament has plans to improve existing parliamentary procedures and has taken some concrete steps in that direction. I believe that if the course toward reform is maintained, the Parliament will create a strong image of effectiveness, professionalism and commitment to democratic principles.

USAID has played a leading role in strengthening democratic institutions in Bulgaria since the beginning of the transition. And, of course, Parliament is at the very heart of the democratic process. Since 1990, U.S. assistance to parliamentary reform programs in Bulgaria has totaled $2.5 million.

The most recent successful examples of building Bulgarian - American cooperation in this area are the Parliamentary Internship Program and the Parliamentary

Приветствие към участниците

Дебра МакФарланд, Директор USAID, България

Уважаеми господин Председател на Народното събрание Герджиков, Уважаеми Дами и Господа Народни представители,

За мен е огромно удоволствие да открия тази конференция и да ви приветствам с добре дошли. Чест е да се обърна към такъв голям форум на български народни представители. Радвам се, че всички парламентарни групи са представени на конференцията.

Намерението на Американската агенция за международно развитие (USAID) и на останалите членове на международната донорска група беше да организират конференция, която да събере заедно депутати от различни партии. И е голямо удовлетворение да видя, че това се случва, защото всички парламентаристи, независимо от партийната им принадлежност, споделят еднакво поетия пред българския народ ангажимент за отговорно законотворчество, представителство и парламентарен контрол.

Всички сме наясно, че това е един от най-натоварените парламенти в съвременната история на България. На вас се пада предизвикателната задача да създавате законодателство, което да отговаря на нуждите на България в едно динамично време. Присъединяването към Европейския Съюз (ЕС) изисква интензивно законотворчество, за да може българското законодателство да се хармонизира с това на ЕС. Докато изпълнявате тази задача, USAID с радост ще ви подкрепя - като подпомага вашата работа и увеличава институционалния капацитет на Парламента.

Със задоволство констатирам, че ръководството на българското Народно събрание планира подобряване на съществуващите парламентарни процедури и, че вече е предприело конкретни стъпки в тази посока. Вярвам, че ако курсът на реформи бъде запазен Парламентът ще изгради стабилен имидж на ефективност, професионализъм и ангажимент към принципите на демокрацията.USAID има водеща роля в укрепването на демократичните институции в България от самото начало на прехода. А Парламентът е, разбира се, в самото сърце на демократичния процес. От 1990 г. насам американската помощ за програми, свързани с парламентарната реформа в България, възлиза на 2.5 милиона щатски долара.

Най-пресните примери за успешно българо-американско сътрудничество в тази област са програмата "Студенти на стаж към Парламента" и Парламентарния информационен център. Те бяха създадени като механиз-

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Welcoming Remarks

Debra McFarland, USAID Mission Director

Information Center. They have been introduced as mechanisms to allow independent opinion on pending legislation and as an opportunity to reach out to the public.

Since last fall, USAID has offered its strong encouragement to the new Program for Support and Orientation to the 39th National Assembly that was developed jointly by international donors and Parliament. In that regard, this conference is part of a series of workshops and seminars that feature leading international and Bulgarian legislative experts.

USAID is committed to organizing follow-up seminars through the end of June 2002. In addition to these activities, USAID has provided international experts to assist in a management review of Parliament's administration that will help improve the efficiency of the lawmaking process and enhance the overall administrative support to MP's.

I believe that our expanded legislative assistance program is a timely contribution to the efforts of the Bulgarian Parliament in advancing the cause of reform. Your broad attendance here today is a promising sign that you are committed to work seriously towards this goal. This makes me even more confident in assuring you of our future support.

I hope that this conference provides useful opportunities for you to discuss different approaches to common problems, and that you are able to reach a consensus on how to solve these problems.

I hope your workshops are productive in the following two days, and I wish you success in your important work as parliamentarians who are committed to building a better society for all Bulgarians.

Thank you.

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Приветствие към участниците

Дебра МакФарланд, Директор USAID, България

ми за достъп до независимо мнение в подготовката на законите и като възможност за протягане на ръка към обществото.

От миналата есен насам USAID предостави своята енергична подкрепа на новата Програма за подпомагане и ориентация към 39-то Народно събрание, разработена от международни донори съвместно с Парламента. В този смисъл днешната конференция е част от серия работни срещи и семинари с водещи международни и български законодателни експерти.

USAID има ангажимент да организира последващи семинари до края на месец юни, 2002 г. В допълнение към тези дейности, USAID предостави международни експерти, които да помогнат в прегледа на управлението на парламентарната администрация, което ще помогне да се подобри ефективността в законодателния процес и цялостното административно подпомагане на народните представители.

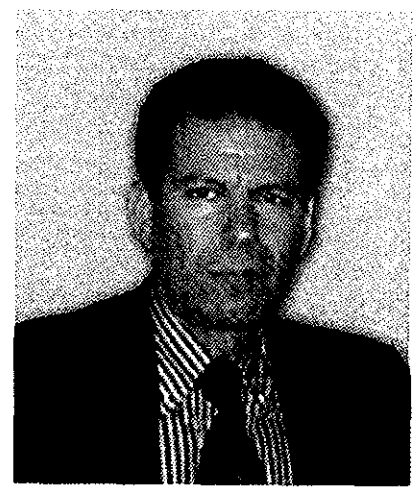
Вярвам, че разширената ни програма за законодателно подпомагане е навременна лепта към усилията на българското Народно събрание да утвърди каузата за реформи. Многолюдното ви присъствие тук е обещаващ знак за вашия ангажимент да работите сериозно за тази цел. Това ме прави още по-уверена в бъдещата ни подкрепа.

Надявам се конференцията да ви даде възможности за дискутиране на различни подходи към общи проблеми и да стигнете до консенсус за решаването на тези проблеми. Надявам се сесиите през следващите два дни да бъдат продуктивни и ви пожелавам успех във важната ви работа като парламентаристи, решени да изградят по-добро общество за всички българи.

Благодаря ви.

Keynote Address

Robert Kaplan



It is a supreme honor to be here. My first trip to Bulgaria was in 1973, I came often in the 1980s, and as soon as the Berlin Wall fell, in 1990 I visited Bulgaria twice. The point is, I have some idea of the obstacles you had to overcome, and the vast changes that have already occurred, visible on the streets of Sofia. I have not come here to lecture you, but to provide you with my opinion of what historically democracy and building institutions mean, and what are some of the obstacles associated with it.

We are all prisoners of language when we use the word democracy. We thought in the beginning that democracy meant elections, but all the great philosophers will tell you - "no". They will tell you that elections are only part of the process, and in cases like Taiwan or South Korea, they are the last step in creating a fairly prosperous middle-class society. Democracy is not so much about holding elections as it is about building effective institutions, about reconciliation of parties and groups, coming up with middle of the road compromises.

Countries are run by elites, and that is a good thing, depending on what you man by an "elite". Show me a country where the elite is meritocratic (entry based on merit and talents) and not hereditary; where the elite unites over the important issues, putting individual ambition aside for the sake of the common good; where the elite is virtuous - and I will show you a very successful country. Show me a country where the elite is not meritocratic, that is corrupt, sending money to bank accounts abroad, and no matter how many elections that country has held, it won't be a real modern country. An example of that is Venezuela - a country which has held democratic elections for many decades and yet because its elite is dishonest, with no sense of altruism, it is still in a sense a backward country, governed by a populist authoritarian rule in all but name.Therefore, it is crucial for Bulgaria to understand that holding elections is only part of the issue. Several elections were held in Bulgaria, there was a peaceful transfer of power, new parties were formed without real instability and chaos - and yet there is still a tremendous amount of poverty and unemployment. And this is normal: any look at history shows a very unromantic view of what election can and can't do. Elections are not the issue - the issue is building a liberal society. By "liberal" I mean its historical connotation - the power of the individual being the most important thing. All good government ultimately leads to raising the status of the individual over

Обръщение към участниците

Робърт Каплан

За мен е огромна чест да бъда тук. За първи път посетих България през 1973 г., често идвах през 80-те години, а веднага след падането на Берлинската стена в 1990 г. посетих страната два пъти. С други думи, имам известна представа за трудностите, които е трябвало да преодолеете, и за огромните промени, които вече са извършени и се забелязват по улиците на София. Не съм тук за да ви чета лекция, а да ви дам мнението си за това какво исторически представляват демокрацията и изграждането на институции, а така също и какви пречки съпътстват този процес.

Всички сме затворници на езика, когато използваме думата демокрация. В началото си мислехме, че демокрацията означава избори, но всички велики философи ще ви кажат, че не е така. Те ще ви кажат, че изборите са само част от процеса, а в държави като Тайван и Южна Корея те са последната стъпка в изграждането на сравнително задоволено общество с широка средна класа. Демокрацията не опира толкова до провеждане на избори, колкото до изграждане на ефективни институции, до обединение на партиите и групите с цел намиране на компромисния път напред.

Държавите се управляват от елити и това е добре, стига да бъдем внимателни при дефинирането на думата "елит". Покажете ми държава, където елита се базира на способностите на индивида (т.е. достъпът до елита зависи от качествата и кадърността), вместо на наследственото имат; където елита се обединява около важните въпроси и всеки загърбва личната си амбиция в името на общото благо; където елита отстоява ценности - и аз ще ви покажа една преуспяла страна. Покажете ми държава, където мястото в елита не се определя от способностите и качествата, където елита е корумпиран и източва средства, за да ги депозира в чужди банки - няма значение колко избори са проведени в съответната страна, тя няма да бъде истински модерна държава. Пример за това е Венецуела - държава, провеждала демократични избори десетилетия наред, но поради това, че има нечестен елит, без чувство за алтруизъм, все още е в известен смисъл изостанала държава, с популистко авторитарно управление.

Затова е изключително важно България да разбере, че провеждането на избори е само една част от проблема. Няколко пъти в България се провеждат избори, налице е спокойно предаване на властта, без истинска нестабилност и хаос се създават нови партии - и въпреки това съществува огромна бедност и безработица. И това е нормално: всеки поглед назад в историята е достатъчен, за да се разбере неромантичната реалност за това какво могат и какво не могат да постигнат изборите. Същинския въпрос не са изборите, а това как да се изгради либерално общество. Под "либерално" имам предвид историческото значение на термина - където силата на индивида е най-важна. Всяко добро управление в крайна сметка води до изди-

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the status of the group. I once asked a Pakistani immigrant to the US, what was so great about America and so bad about Pakistan. His reply was that in the US, it is you that is happening, not the group. Suddenly you stop being member of this ethnic group or this region, and you become you, your personality. This is the ultimate goal of all liberal systems.

Despite all its problems and frustrations, Bulgaria has a good base to build on. Even with all its minorities, they still form a relatively small portion of the population. The country is relatively small, relatively homogeneous, the literacy rate is very high, it doesn't have a soaring birthrate - in fact, the problem is the opposite. There are a lot of advantages here. But you will need to unleash the power of the individual - then you have economic growth, etc. A real democratic liberal society is about human rights and, most important, erecting a taxation system that is predictable, relatively simple, i.e. not onerous or overbearing, in is enforceable. You show me country with a reasonable middle class that pays its taxes, and I don't care if it holds elections or is ruled by e benevolent dictator - that is a country that works. That's a country that will have foreign investment, people building factories, creating jobs, etc. One of the priorities for the Parliament must be creating a tax system that is practical, where taxes are not so high so that everyone is going to cheat, that is easy to follow and enforce. If you establish such a system - then, suddenly, the government has money with which to work. As Thomas Hobbes claims, order precedes freedom: only when you have orderly effective institutions, you can go about making those institutions untyrannical. Freedom is meaningless without institutions that work, without a policing mechanism and measures that prevent groups competing with the government from bribing and intimidating the individual.

One of your disadvantages goes back to what your former President Zhelio Zhelev told me 10 years ago: that Bulgaria and the other Warsaw Pact countries did not have an easy or gradual transition. The normal pattern of political development, like in Franco's Spain, is moving from a terrible totalitarian system, to a mild military authoritarian regime for 8 to10 years, and then to democracy. It is that in-between period of milder autocracy that allows institutions to build and form. In this sense, democracy is the last stage in human political development. And Bulgaria didn't have that - it went overnight from a totalitarian regime to holding elections and democracy. You had elections before you had institutions. And there is nothing that can be done about it, except that now when you've proved you can hold democratic elections, you should really focus on building effective institutions.

This goal, however, must be endorsed by a united elite. In the United States partisanship is extreme - to a large extent it defines individual identity. But on September 11th, at least in foreign policy, republicans and democrats were one. They continue to

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гане статуса на индивида над статуса на групата. Веднъж попитах един пакистански емигрант в Щатите, какво толкова харесва в Америка и не харесва в Пакистан. Той ми отговори, че в Щатите ти се осъществяваш, не групата. Изведнъж преставаш да бъдеш член на тази етническа група или онази област и ставаш ти, собствената си същност. Това е крайната цел на всички либерални системи.

Въпреки всичките си проблеми и притеснения, България има добра база, на която да стъпи. Малцинствените групи, формират сравнително малка част от населението. Страната е малка, относително хомогенна, нивото на грамотност е много високо, няма огромна раждаемост - на практика проблемът е противоположен. Налице са много предимства. Но ще трябва да освободите силата на индивида - тогава идва икономическия растеж. Истинско демократичното, либерално общество зачита правата на човека и преди всичко се основава на данъчна система, която е предвидима, сравнително опростена, т.е. не е прекалено затормозяваща и тромава, и е изпълнима. Покажете ми държава със значителна средна класа, която плаща данъците си - не ме интересува дали провежда избори или се управлява от благосклонен диктатор - това е държава, която работи, която ще привлече чуждестранни инвестиции, ще строи заводи, ще създава работни места, и т.н.

Един от приоритетите на парламента трябва да бъде създаването на практична данъчна система, където данъците да не са толкова високи, че всички да ги укриват, и която да бъде лесна и удобна за прилагане на практика. Ако наложите такава система, изведнъж правителството ще има средства, с които да работи. Както пише Томас Хобс, редът предшества свободата: само когато са налице ефективни институции, можете да се заемете с това да ги направите нетиранични. Свободата е безсмислена без работещи институции, без механизъм за опазване на реда, който да пречи на различни групи в конкуренция с управлението да изнудват и заплашват отделния човек.

Един от недостатъците на България е свързан с нещо, което президента Желев ми каза преди 10 години: че България и другите страни от Варшавския договор не преживяват лесен или постепенен преход. Нормалният ред на политическо развитие, като например в Испания на Франко, е от тежка тоталитарна система, към по-мек авторитарен режим за 8-10 години и след това демокрация. Именно в този междинен период на по-мека автокрация се дава възможност на институциите да се формират и укрепнат. В този смисъл демокрацията е последния етап в политическото развитие на човечеството. А в България този процес липсва - за една нощ страната премина от тоталитарен режим към провеждане на избори и демокрация. Проведохте избори преди да имате изградени институции. Нищо не може да се направи, освен сега, след

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fight over issues such as taxation for example, but recognizing that there are basic issues where the elite has to unite, or else the country cannot function properly and move ahead. This is what I mean by a 'united' elite, a united Parliament. Naturally there will be argument on almost every issue, but there must be key, pivotal moments, where there is reconciliation and compromise. And that is the only way forward.

Another attribute of successful modern countries is that in them not only the cities work, but also small towns and villages are so livable that nobody wants to move to the cities - indeed, migration is reversed. Unfortunately, this modern patter of development does not define your region of the world - cities I quite impressive, but traveling the Bulgarian countryside I have come to realize why everybody wants to live in Sofia and Plovdiv. The emphasis must be on building services and roads that will keep people where they are: I believe 10 years ago the population of Bulgaria was a little higher, while the population of Sofia - significantly lower. In order for society to move forward, this pattern needs to be stabilized if not reversed completely.

Another thing from the US that might be relevant to the challenges you are facing is optimism. If anything, optimism is the American religion. The reason for this is that we were lucky our institutions of government to be founded by pessimists. If you read through the US constitution and the Federalist Papers, you will find an unrelenting discussion of everything that could go wrong in this new republic. Their obsession with what could go wrong resulted in dealing with every possible calamity in advance, when they established the laws of the country. When you sit down and write laws, you need to be constructive, moderate pessimists. The more you think of what could go wrong, the more likely that eventually nothing will go wrong.

I would like to turn now to US foreign policy. The word 'imperialism' has been de-legitimized in public discourse, and particularly since America has never had colonies, it is an irony that an imperial reality defines the American condition. America didn't seek these responsibilities, but the fact is that every country in the world expects something from the United States. Washington has all these demands upon it, which are impossible to solve and reach at all times. Washington's decisions, in this sense, are largely informed by the reality on ground in that particular country at the time. America's policymakers, and good policymakers in general, don't make blind bets based on hope. But good statesmen work near the edges of what is practically possible. So the answers to questions like, "Will Bulgaria be admitted to NATO?" are to be found or depend on what is happening rights here. Because NATO was the most successful military alliance in world history, now its mission has changed. In my opinion, one of its chief functions now is to help stabilize the liberal societies that are being born in the former Warsaw Pact countries. NATO membership confers a stamp of

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като сте доказали, че можете да провеждате избори, да се фокусирате върху изграждането на ефективни институции.

Тази цел обаче, трябва да бъде прегърната от целия елит. В САЩ партийното противопоставяне е крайно - до голяма степен то определя личностното самосъзнание. Но на 11 септември, поне във външната политика, демократи и републиканци се обединиха. Те продължават да дебатират за данъците например, но осъзнават, че има основи въпроси, по които елита трябва да се обедини или страната няма да функционира и да се придвижва напред. Това има предвид под 'обединен' елит, обединен парламент. Естествено е да има спорове по почти всички въпроси, но трябва да има основни, решаващи моменти, когато е налице обединение и компромис. Това е единствения път напред.

Друга особеност на успешните модерни държави е, че в тях не само големите градовете работят, но и малките градчета и села също са толкова витални, че никой не иска да се мести в градовете - всъщност миграцията е в обратната посока. За съжаление този път на развитие не се наблюдава във вашия район на света - тук големите градове са доста впечатляващи, но пътувайки из провинцията в България ми става ясно защо всички искат да живеят в София и Пловдив. Ударението трябва да падне върху изграждане система на услуги и пътища, която да задържи хората там, където са: преди 10 години - ако не ме лъже паметта, населението на България беше малко по-голямо, а населението на София - значително по-малко. За да се придвижи обществото напред е необходимо тази тенденция да се преобърне изцяло.

Оптимизмът е друго от опита на Щатите, което може да ви погне за справяне с предизвикателствата. Оптимизмът е религията на Америка. Причината за това, е че сме имали късмета държавните ни институции да бъдат създадени от песимисти. Ако прочетете американската конституция и Записките на федералистите, ще откриете безпощадна дискусия на всичко, което би могло да се обърка в новата република. Тяхната фикс-идея да засегнат всичко, което би могло да се обърка, довежда до това всяка криза да бъде предвидена предварително, при писането на законите на страната. Когато сядате да пишете закони е важно да бъдете конструктивни, умерени песимисти. Колкото повече мислите за това какво може да се обърка, толкова се увеличава шанса нищо да не се обърка.

Сега бих искал да обърна внимание на външната политика на САЩ. Думата 'империализъм' беше де-легитимирана в публичния дискурс и особено като се има предвид, че Щатите никога не са имали колонии, истинска ирония е, че империалистична реалност дефинира състоянието на САЩ днес. Америка не търсеше сама тези отговорности, но е факт, че всяка държава на планетата очаква нещо от САЩ. Вашингтон се сблъсква с всички тези очаквания,

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"good product" approval on countries like Poland and Hungary, and hopefully - Bulgaria. It is a sign for the corporate community that the country is safer to invest while encouraging the best in local politics. That's why I have always been an expansionist when it comes to NATO.

There is no easy path for Bulgaria in all of this. It took Portugal 13 years to acquire any real political stability. And Portugal had a lot of advantages that Bulgaria didn't: it didn't have 40 years of communism, it had an Atlantic ocean instead of neighbors, and it hadn't fought wars with its only land neighbor, Spain, in the last several hundred years. I know it is terrible when someone tells you to be patient. But if you look at the records of history, history shows that patience does pay off. It also shows that comparison is the beginning of all serious scholarship, and a comparison with Portugal or Spain demonstrates that all this disenchantment is not unusual but rather part of the normal process.

For so long Bulgaria has been a prisoner of history: of ethnic strife with neighboring countries; of underdevelopment under 500 years of Ottoman rule; of borders not conforming to ethnic realities on the ground. The only permanent escape from history is building a viable middle-class, liberal society, where elections constitute only one building block. Now comes the next building block - building institutions. And based on what other countries have experienced, you are not really behind schedule, and you should not really despair. You should have hope.

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които не могат да бъдат оправдани едновременно. Затова решенията на Вашингтон до голяма степен зависят от реалното състояние вътре в съответната държава в даден момент. Държавниците на Америка, а и добрите държавници като цяло, не залагат сляпо на основата на надежди. Но добрите управници работят винаги на ръба на това, което е възможно на практика. Затова отговорът на въпроси като "Ще бъде ли приета България в НАТО?", се намират или зависят от това, което се случва тук на място. Именно защото НАТО беше най-успешният военен съюз в човешката история, сега неговата мисия се променя. Според мен една от основните му функции вече е да помогне за стабилизирането на либералните общества, които се раждат в страните от бившия Варшавски договор. Членството в НАТО слага печат на одобрение - "високо качество", на държави като Полша и Унгария, а да се надяваме и на България. Това е знак за корпоративната общност, че в държавата е гарантирана сигурността на инвестициите, а в същото време се насърчава най-доброто в местната политика. Ето защо винаги съм бил за разширяването на НАТО.

За Българя няма лесен път през всичко това. На Португалия й отне 13 години за да постигне реална политическа стабилност. А Португалия имаше много предимства, които липсват в България: нямаше 40 години комунизъм, имаше Атлантически океан вместо съседи, а с единствения си съсед по суша - Испания, не беше водила война през последните няколкостотин години. Знам че е ужасно, когато някой ви казва да бъдете търпеливи. Но ако погледнете в аналите на историята ще се убедите, че търпението се възнаграждава в крайна сметка. А също и че сравнението е в основата на всяко сериозно изучаване, а сравнението с Португалия или Испания показва, че цялото това разочарование не е необичайно, а е по-скоро етап от нормалния процес.

Толкова дълго България е била затворник на историята: на етническо противопоставяне със съседните страни; на забавено развитие за 500 години под османско управление; на граници, които не съвпадат с етническите реалности. Единственото трайно бягство от историята е изграждането на либерално общество с жизнена средна класа, където изборите представляват само една от тухлите в строежа. Сега наред е следващата тухла - изграждането на институции. И в сравнение с преживяното от други държави, в никакъв случай не изоставайте и не се отчайвате. Трябва да имате надежда.

Dealing Successfully with the Media

Dr. Louis Fortis

In a free society an unbridled media is absolutely essential to the survival of the free society. At the same time, as members of parliament no one says you have to like the media, but it is certainly wise to get along with the media and to learn to manage the media. The key word is "manage" not "control" the media. If the parliament chooses to control the media, as inviting a proposition as that may seem at times, it will absolutely guarantee the eventual demise of the democratically elected parliament. n the other hand the parliamentarians who learn to manage the media will be able to use the media to promote their ideas, policies, agenda and their own careers. Also for the parties in opposition, the media is the only means to keep the government honest. In essence the media is necessary, can be useful, but must always be dealt with very cautiously.

To complicate matters, beside the objective tensions and conflicts between the parliament and the media, there is a subjective element. There is often a love-hate relationship by members of the media toward members of the parliament and also, by the members of the parliament toward the media. Both think they can do the others job better. The members of the parliament often feel the media does not understand the complexity of the issues, doesn't understand the realities of the political pressures under which parliament members must function or are just arrogant. Media people watch the parliament function and wonder how the public could be so foolish as to vote some of these people into office. They feel they could do a much better job. As a result, it is not particularly unusual especially in the US for former members of the legislature to become media commentators and for members of the media to occasionally stand for election.

Understanding the objective and subjective tensions, it is wise for members of the parliament to learn how to manage the media. This paper will discuss the media and shaping your public image, appreciating what the media considers newsworthy, utilizing tools available to you for communicating with the media and the general public, understanding the Do's and Don'ts for relating to the media, and finally instituting damage control when things begin to go wrong.

The Media and the Public Image

When one talks of the public image of the parliament, there are several public images. There is the individual image of a particular parliamentary member to both the general public, his or her constituency and among the other members of the parliament. In the US, for example, since political parties are relatively weak, candidates often run for office more as individuals then as a member of their particular party so the person's image conveyed to the general public is very important. In the US candidates try to get media coverage that is very personal. The poor kid who worked hard against adversities to become a success in

Как да работим успешно с медиите

Д-р Луис Фортис

В едно свободно общество независимите медии са абсолютно задължителни, за да остане то свободно. В същото време, никой не твърди, че вие като депутати трябва да харесвате медиите, но определено е добре да се разбирате и да се научите да се справяте с тях. Тук акцента е върху това да се "справяте с" медиите, а не да ги "контролирате". Ако парламента реши да контролира медиите, колкото и едно такова решение да изглежда атрактивно на моменти, това би гарантирало упадъка на демократично избрания парламент. От друга страна, парламентаристите, които знаят как да се справят с медиите, ще могат да ги използват за да подпомогнат своите идеи, политика, програма и собствената си кариера. А за партиите в опозиция медиите са единственото средство за да бъдат коректив на управлението. Всъщност медиите са необходими, могат да бъдат полезни, но с тях трябва да се работи внимателно.

За да усложни нещата, освен обективните конфликти между парламент и медии, съществува и субективен елемент. Обикновено отношението на журналистите към депутатите и на депутатите към журналистите е от типа 'любов-омраза'. Всяка страна си мисли, че може да върши работата на другата страна по-добре. Депутатите често са на мнения, че медиите не осъзнават колко сложни са проблемите и какъв е реалния политически натиск, под който депутатите трябва да работят или, че са просто арогантни. Журналистите гледат как работи парламента и се чудят как избирателите са толкова наивни да вкарат в парламента някои от депутатите. Те са на мнение, че биха се справили по-добре от депутатите. Затова, особено в САЩ, не е необичайно много парламентаристи да стават медийни коментатори, а много журналисти да се кандидатират в избори.

Осъзнавайки обективните и субективни източници на напрежение, би било мъдро от страна на депутатите да се научат да се справят с медиите. Тази презентация ще разгледа медиите и оформянето на вашия публичен имидж, като си давате сметка кое е новина за тях, като използвате наличните средства за комуникация с медиите и с широката общественост, като ви посочи какво се прави и какво не в отношенията с медиите, и накрая - като ви помогне да контролирате ситуацията, когато нещата тръгнат зле.

Медиите и публичния имидж

Когато говорим за публичния имидж на парламента, всъщност имаме пред вид няколко публични имиджа. Има конкретен имидж на отделния депутат сред обществото като цяло, сред неговите избиратели и сред колегите му в парламента. В САЩ, например, където политическите парии са относително слаби, кандидатите често водят кампания като личности вместо в качеството си на партийни членове и затова имиджа на човека е много важен. В Щатите кандидатите се опитват да

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some aspect of life is often a winning image. After elected, the official wants to get media coverage showing him or her as smart, effective, hardworking and responsive to their constituents.

In systems where the parties are strong, most European parliaments for example, and where candidates are selected by their party to stand for election, the image of the party becomes paramount along with the person's image within the party. The party's image is basically developed around policies and the perception of the leadership and spokespeople of the parties.

Finally and most important is the image of the parliament itself. The integrity of the institution is paramount since the public must believe in the institutions that govern them. In this respect, both the members of the parliament and the media must be responsible to respect the importance of the institution. Members of the parliament must guard against attacking the body to enhance their own or their party's image. The media must understand and respect the process called democracy. The democratic process is often clumsy and inefficient, but enacting the "will" of the people in a democratic way requires the clash of competing ideas fought out in an open forum. As they say, "making laws is like making sausage; it is not a pretty process to watch. "

The media is essential in creating the public image.This image creation can be done in a controlled manner with paid advertisements and in the US this has become a billion dollar industry. The obvious advantage is that you can completely control the message, but it is expensive and is most effective with the less informed and marginal voters. The downside is that the public understands that these ads are authorized and paid for by a candidate, a political party or a special interest group. The more important and credible media image shaping comes directly from the "more objective" reporters and commentators. Although everyone understands that objectivity does not exist, various media develop reputations for the quality and "objectivity" of their reporting and commentary. If a credible local newspaper or the nightly news provides positive media coverage, it is worth a great deal more than paid advertisements.

Negative media coverage on the other hand can be very harmful. One bad story can undo all of the good that was generated with 20 good stories. That is why it is essential to learn to manage the media, which means maximizing the number and quality of the good coverage and minimizing the number and the damage from negative stories. If the party or the MP does something bad or embarrassing, an authoritarian state simply prevents the media from reporting on the act, whereas in a democracy, the party or the MP uses sophistication and finesse to minimize the damage but allows the media to function freely. The party or the MP may get sullied and perhaps rightfully so, but the image of the institution of a democracy gets even stronger.

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получат отразяване в медиите, което да е от лично естество. Печеливш е имиджа на бедното дете, което е работило много, за да успее в някой аспект на живота. След като е избран, държавникът иска да бъде отразен от медиите като начетен, ефективен, усилно работещ и отзивчив към избирателите си.

В системи, където са силни партиите, както е в повечето европейски парламенти, и там, където листите се редят от партийните централи, имиджът на партията става водещ, заедно с имиджа на кандидата вътре в партията. Имиджът на партията се формира основно на базата на политиката й и на начина, по който се възприемат партийните лидери и говорители.

Последен и най-важен е имиджът на парламента. Моралът на институцията е от изключително значение, доколкото обществото трябва да вярва на институциите, които го управляват. В този смисъл и депутати и медии носят отговорност за уважението към институцията. Народните представители трябва да пазят институцията от атаки с цел да подобрят собствения или партийния си имидж. Медиите трябва да разбират и уважават процеса, наречен демокрация. Демократичният процес често е тромав и неефективен, но да прилагаш "волята" на народа по демократичен начин предполага сблъсък на конкурентни идеи в открит форум. Както казват, "правенето на закони е като правенето на наденица; не е красив за гледане процес".

Медиите са изключително важни в създаването на публичния имидж. То може да се контролира чрез платени реклами и в САЩ това се е превърнало в индустрия за милиарди долари. Очевидното предимство е, че посланието може да се контролира напълно, но е много скъпо и ефективно предимно сред по-неинформираните и маргинални избиратели. Проблемът е, че обществеността е наясно, че рекламите са поръчани и платени от кандидат, политическа партия или група за лобиране на специални интереси.

По-важното и достоверно изграждане на медиен имидж идва директно от "по-обективните" репортери и коментатори. Макар че всички са наясно, че обективност не съществува, различни медии са си изградили репутация на качествени и "обективно" отразяване и коментар. Ако сериозен местен вестник или вечерните новини направят позитивно отразяване, това е много по-ценно от която и да е платена реклама.

От друга страна, негативното медийно отразяване може да бъде много зловредно. Една лоша статия е способна да изтрие цялото добро, генерирано от 20 позитивни материала. Ето защо е важно да се научи как да се справяме с медиите, което означава максимализиране на броя и качеството на положителното отразяване и минимализиране броя и вредата от негативните материали. Ако партията или депутатът направят нещо смущаващо, тоталитарната държава просто не позволява на медиите да го отразят, докато в условията на демокрация партията

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The image of the parliament as an institution is more important than the image of any individual member or any party although it is difficult to convince people of that in the heat of a debate or a campaign. If the governed don't trust or believe in the institutions that govern them, the government will eventually collapse. To the individual member of parliament this means that you can and should fight and debate the opposition, but you must be careful not to debase the institution in the process. You can speak politely of the lady or gentleman from XYZ community while you are totally attacking their ideas or policies as being a disaster for the country. Again, you must always protect the integrity of the parliament and government because it is all you have.

The successful members of the parliament learn how to use the media to their advantage. The media can help a member of parliament by educating the constituency on difficult issues. In Bulgaria, for example, the international agencies have imposed a currency board on the government, which constrains the ability of the parliament from pursuing certain policies. The media if they are doing their job well, will slowly and dutifully explain the reasons for the currency board and the constraints it imposes on the country. A member of parliament may have campaigned on the issue of increasing spending on education or health care but cannot fulfill the campaign pledge due to the external constraint. If the media does its job well, the constituency will understand why their MP hasn't done what he or she had promised to do.

The media can help the parliament by exerting public pressure on the government. When the government and the parliament or the opposition in the parliament are in conflict over an issue or policy, the government will always have more power. The media can empower the parliament or the opposition when it is clear that they are doing the right thing. Through explaining the issue at hand in a fair and comprehensive manner, the media can increase the power of the parliament by mobilizing public opinion.

The media through its coverage of you and your actions in the parliament can help make you a leader within your party, in the parliament as a whole and in the general society. Finally, the media is essential in helping root out corruption. Especially if you are in the opposition, the media is the primary vehicle for keeping the government honest.

The media has a responsibility to learn how the parliament works. In a developing democracy, the media will almost always lack an in-depth understanding of how the parliamentary process works. Democracy is not a linear process, it is not efficient and it often appears chaotic. It is built on a clash of ideas. Unless the media understands that this is the way legislative bodies work throughout the world, they will attack and ridicule the national parliament. The media also needs to understand its role in a free society. It is important for the media to

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или депутатът с изтънченост и финес ограничават последствията, но позволяват на медиите да работят свободно. Партията или депутатът могат да бъдат очернени, но пък имиджът на демократичната институция се утвърждава.

Имиджът на парламента като институция е по-важен от имиджа на който и да е отделен народен представител или партия, макар че е трудно хората да бъдат убедени в това по време на разгорещен дебат или кампания. Ако управляваните не се доверяват или не вярват в институциите, които ги управляват, рано или късно самото държавно управление ще се разпадне. За отделния депутат това означава, че трябва да се бори и да спори с опонентите си, но като внимава да не засегне достойнството на институцията в спора. Може да говорите вежливо за госпожата или господина от дадена група и в същото време да разкритикувате техните идеи и политика като катастрофални за страната. Отново, винаги пазете достойнството на парламента и държавното управление, защото то е всичко, което имате.

Успешните народни представители се научават как да извличат полза от медиите. Медиите могат да помогнат на депутата като образоват избирателите по трудни въпроси. В България, например, международните организации са наложили валутен борд на държавата, което пречи на парламента да следва определена политика. Ако медиите си вършат работата, бавно и съвестно ще обяснят причините довели валутния борд и ограниченията, които той поставя на държавата. Даден народен представител може да е водил предизборна кампания за увеличаване на разходите за образование или здравеопазване, но да е неспособен да изпълни предизборното си обещание поради външни ограничения. Ако медиите си вършат добре работата, избирателите ще са наясно защо техния представител не е изпълнил обещаното.

Медиите могат да помагат на парламента като оказват обществен натиск върху правителството. Когато правителство и парламент, или опозицията в парламента, са в конфликт по конкретен въпрос или решение, правителството винаги ще има повече власт. Медиите могат да "овластят" парламента или опозицията, когато е ясно, че те имат право. Обяснявайки съответния въпрос съвестно и ясно, медиите са способни да засилят властта на парламента чрез мобилизиране на общественото мнение.

Медиите, чрез отразяването на личността и действията ви в парламента, са в състояние да ви помогнат да станете лидер в партията си, в парламента и в обществото. И накрая, медиите са основен инструмент за изкореняване на корупцията. Особено ако сте в опозиция, медиите са главният лост за да остане управлението честно.

Медиите са длъжни да се научат как работи парламента. В една развиваща се демокрация, на медиите почти винаги ще им липсва задълбочено разбиране за това как протича

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be critical of particular activities when it is warranted but not try to destroy the public's confidence in the system.

The media must strive to be as fair, accurate and objective as possible fully understanding that there is no such thing as being "objective". Personal judgments of the reporters will always affect the way they cover the story. Finally, the members of the media should work to understand the issues they are covering. In all fairness to the media, they are responsible for covering all of the debates and policy discussions in the parliament and understanding all of what is being discussed in the parliament is difficult even for a member of parliament.

What the Media Deems Important

Essentially bad news and sensational news sells better than good news. So what does the media view as newsworthy? Going from the most newsworthy to the least:

A Major Event - A war, an assassination or a coup or an attempt at one, a close election, an international event such as a major treaty or a revolution are all events that will dominate the news coverage for days or even weeks. These are definitely front-page stories.

A Scandal - The higher up in the government the better for news coverage. Whitewater and Bill Clinton, Watergate and Nixon and now possibly Enron and some high level officials in the Bush administration are scandals that the public loves to read about. Whitewater should have never become a scandal had the Clinton's handled the media properly. There was never a story in Whitewater other than a governor invested in a real estate project that failed. The Clintons were reluctant to discuss the issue with the media, which only made it more of a story. The reason the Clintons wanted to duck the issue was not because they did anything wrong but because of what an open investigation would reveal about Hillary Clinton's commodity speculation with the help of a wealthy Arkansas businessman. Bill Clinton talked about the fact that he was for the people who worked hard and played by the rules not the people who were the speculators and deal makers. He didn't want it to get out that his wife turned $1,000 into $100,000 in a short time through commodity speculation. There was nothing illegal about the transaction; it was just embarrassing.

A Major Policy - Passage or near certain passage of a major piece of legislation such as campaign finance reform or prescription drug policy for the elderly is important to the media especially if they have been following the legislation for years.

A Conflict especially among Powerful People - If the president and the prime minister are at odds publicly, this makes for a great story. People enjoy a good fight.

Something Out of Character - A member of parliament who is very righteous and continues to discuss the virtues of family values, is exposed for having an affair. Hypocrisy is viewed as very newsworthy.

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парламентарния процес. Демокрацията не е линеен процес, не е експедитивна и често изглежда дори хаотична. Стъпила е върху сблъсъка на идеи. Ако медиите не осъзнаят, че законодателните тела по целия свят работят така, те ще продължат да атакуват и да се подиграват на парламента. Освен това медиите трябва да разбират добре ролята си в свободното общество. Важно е да бъдат критични по отношение конкретни действия, когато имат основание за това, но без да рушат доверието на обществото в самата система.

Медиите трябва да се стремят към максимално възможната справедливост, акуратност и обективност, като си дават сметка, че такова нещо като да бъдеш "обективен", реално не съществува. Личните преценки на репортерите винаги ще се отразяват на начина, по който пишат материалите си. И накрая, журналистите трябва да работят в посока по-добро вникване в тематиката, която покриват. За да сме справедливи към медиите трябва да кажем, че те са отговорни за отразяването на всички дебати и дискусии в парламента, а вникването във всичко, което се дискутира в парламента, е трудно дори за народния представител.

Какво е важно според медиите

По принцип лошите и сензационните новини се продават по-добре от добрите новини. Кое е новина тогава за медиите? Ето градацията от най-важна до най-маловажна новина:

Голямо събитие - Война, политическо убийство, преврат или опит за преврат, избори с минимална разлика в резултатите, международно събитие като мащабен договор или революция, са все новини, които ще доминират медиите за дни или дори седмици. Те определено са новини за първа страница.

Скандал - Колкото по-високо в държавния апарат, толкова по-благодатен за отразяване. Уайтуотър и Бил Клинтън, Уотъргейт и Никсън, а сега вероятно Енрон и високопоставени служители в администрацията на Буш са все скандали, за които публиката обожава да чете. Ако Клинтън се беше справил адекватно с медиите, Уайтуотър никога нямаше да стане скандал. В Уайтуотър нямаше друго освен историята на един губернатор, инвестирал в пропаднал проект с недвижими имоти. Семейство Клинтън отказваха да дискутират въпроса с медиите, което само раздуха скандала. Семейство Клинтън отбягваха въпроса не защото са направили нещо лошо, а заради притесненията при един открит процес да се разбере за спекулациите със стока на Хилари Клинтън, осъществени с помощта на богат бизнесмен от Арканзас. Бил Клинтън говореше, че подкрепя хората, които работят усилно и съблюдават правилата, а не хората на спекулациите и сделките. Той не искаше да се разбере, че жена му превърна $1,000 в $100,000 за нула време чрез спекулации със стоки. В сдел-

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Smaller Events - The parliament passes a bill that requires everyone to wear a seatbelt when they are in a moving vehicle.

Embarrassment - The MP who was the main proponent for the bill to require everyone to wear a seatbelt is fined for not wearing a seatbelt.

Human Interest - An MP gets married. If an MP wants a human-interest story like getting married and every smart MP does, the MP must make the story interesting. For example, if the MP was viewed as a bachelor for life, then at age 52 gets married, it is a more interesting story than the 28-year-old MP who is getting married for the first time.

To make something into a newsworthy story one needs to fit the story into one of the categories, the higher up the list the better. On the other hand if one wants to downplay a story and hope to make it not newsworthy, one needs to move it down the list. Going back to Clintons and Whitewater, they made what would have been a trivial human-interest story into a scandal by the way they handled themselves. They inadvertently moved the story up the list of newsworthiness when they wanted it moved down or off the list entirely.

Another way to make something newsworthy is to build on issues that the media is covering. If the media were doing a series of stories on the poor care at the nursing homes for the elderly, the introduction of a bill to further regulate nursing homes would probably get extensive news coverage.

Tools to Communicate with the Media and the General Public

As a member of parliament, one wants to communicate with the public, especially in the constituency. This communication can be done by either going directly to the public, which is expensive, or by going through the media to the public. There are costs and benefits to each of the methods of communicating. The following list of methods of communication are organized roughly from the least effective to the most effective. It must be noted that depending on the MP's status in the parliament, the effectiveness will vary. For example, a first term MP will have difficulty getting access to the media for positive press while someone in leadership has almost instant access.

Press Release - A press release can be used to describe something that the media will hopefully view as newsworthy. The MP can put his or her "spin" on the story and provide a few quotes and also get quotes from people who have more credibility or wouldn't normally support the particular issue to praise and provide support. Hopefully the press release will generate a call from the media or result in an article in the newspaper. If the press release is designed to announce a press conference or meeting, try to tease the media a little to peak their interest. Short and clever quotes are always helpful in the release.

Press Briefing - This method is used to explain some event to the

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ката нямаше нищо нелегално, тя просто поставяше семейството в неудобно положение. Важно решение - Приемане или почти сигурно приемане на основен закон - реформиране на законодателството за финансиране на предизборни кампании или безплатни рецепти за възрастните, например, са важни за медиите, особено ако са следили въпроса в продължение на години. Конфликт, особено между влиятелни хора - Ако президента и премиера се конфронтират публично, това е страхотен материал за медиите. Хората се забавляват при ожесточени битки.

Нещо недостойно - Депутат, който дава вид на морален и неспирно говори за добродетелите и семейните ценности, е хванат в извънбрачна връзка. Двуличието се счита за особено интересно като новина.

По-незначителни събития - Парламентът гласува закон, според който всички са задължени да носят предпазни колани в движещо се МПС.

Срам - Депутатът, който е бил най-големия защитник на закона да задължителните предпазни колани, е глобен, че шофира без колан.

Човешки интерес - Народен представител се жени. Ако един депутат иска за него да се направи материал от чисто човешко естество, като женитба, а всеки умен депутат иска, той трябва да направи историята интересна. Например, ако даден депутат е смятан за вечния ерген и изведнъж на 52 години се ожени, става много по-интересна история отколкото ако 28-годишен депутат се ожени за първи път.

За да стане дадена история интересна за медиите е необходима да се вкара в една от тези категории, колкото по-нагоре в класацията, толкова по-добре. От друга страна, ако се опитвате да завоалирате история и да я направите безинтересна за медиите, трябва да я свалите надолу в класацията. Да се върнем към семейство Клинтън и Уайтуотър - те превърнаха една тривиална история от човешки интерес в скандал чрез начина си на поведение. Без да искат качиха историята нагоре в класацията за медиен интерес, а искаха да я свалят надолу или изобщо да я извадят от там.

Друг начин да заинтригувате медиите е да надграждате върху нещо, по което медиите работят така или иначе. Ако в медиите излиза поредица от статии за лошите условия в старческите домове, предлагането на законопроект за засилен контрол на старческите домове най-вероятно ще привлече значително медийно отразяване.

Инструменти за комуникация с медиите и с обществото

Като народен представител, вие се стремите да общувате с хората, особено от вашия избирателен район. Тази комуникация може да се осъществи или като отидете директно при хората, или като стигнете до тях чрез медиите. Всеки от начините си има своите плюсове и минуси. Списъкът от методи по-долу започва с най-неефективния и се свършва с

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press especially when the event is something major and the MP or the government wants to manage the press and to give the press something for a story. The press briefing is often done by a staff person. If, for example, the executive has a heart attack, the media wants information and to avoid media speculation, a staff person would periodically meet with the press and provide some update.

Newsletter - The MP can send a newsletter directly to his or her constituents and bypass the press. The newsletter will, of course, be very positive and non controversial since the MP totally controls the content. The downside is that it is expensive to send out a newsletter both in production and mailing costs. Also the smart readers will understand that it is written by the MP to make him or her look good. To blunt this possible accusation of self aggrandizement , the newsletter writer should try to use several third parties to comment on the work of the MP. If an MP is viewed as anti-labor or anti-business, the MP would want a positive quote from labor or business to undermine that criticism.

Weekly or Monthly Column - A weekly or monthly column in the newspaper or a weekly interview on the local radio station is an excellent means to communicate with the public and it is free. This is usually only possible in smaller communities where the weekly or monthly publication is looking for editorial copy and the radio station is looking for local commentary. Also the media outside the capital city are much easier to work with than the more cynical media that covers the parliament. The weakness like the newsletter is that it is not a third party commenting.

Letter to the Editor - If one can't get a weekly or monthly column, a letter to the editor or a guest commentary can serve the same purpose except less frequently.

Press Conference - A press conference is a great tool to communicate with the media if you can get the media to come to the press conference. It is a formal method and connotes a certain level of importance. The higher the status of the person calling the press conference or the more critical importance of the issue being discussed will determine if the media shows up. Several MPs jointly calling the press conference will increase the importance of the event especially if the MPs at the press conference are generally at odds on most issues. A press conference is also a very good means to communicate with the media to try to do some "damage control" when the MP got some adverse press. If the MP is accused of having an affair with a staff person, the MP may want to use the press conference to explain their side of the circumstances and possibly apologize.

If the press conference is called to generate some positive interest in an issue or policy then one has to make the press conference as interesting as possible to the media. They have a number of competing options for their time so the press conference has to get their attention. If the MP is going to introduce a new crime bill, the press

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най-ефективния. Трябва да се отбележи, че ефективността ще бъде различна, в зависимост от статуса на депутата в парламента. Например, депутат в първи мандат ще има трудности да получи достъп до медиите за позитивно отразяване, докато някой в ръководството получава достъп почти моментално.

Съобщение за медиите - Може да се използва за да се съобщи за нещо, което евентуално би заинтригувало медиите. Депутатът има възможност да направи своята "трактовка" по темата, да включи няколко цитата и да прибави изказвания на хора с репутация и на такива, които иначе не биха дали подкрепата или одобрението си. Надеждата е, че съобщението ще предизвика обаждане от медиите или ще стане материал за статия в пресата. Ако съобщението има за цел да обяви предстояща пресконференция или среща, опитайте се да подразните любопитството им за да предизвикате интерес. Винаги късите и обмислени цитати са подходящи за съобщенията до медиите.

Брифинг - Този метод се използва за да се обясни някакво събитие на пресата, особено при значимо събитие, когато депутатът или управлението искат да повлияят на пресата и да дадат материал за отразяване. Брифингът обикновено се дава от някой от служителите. Ако шеф на компания е получил сърдечен удар, например, някой от служителите периодично се среща с пресата и информира за промени в състоянието му.

Бюлетин - Депутатът може да изпрати бюлетин на избирателите си директно, заобикаляйки медиите. Бюлетинът разбира се ще бъде много позитивен и няма да е противоречив, доколкото депутатът напълно контролира съдържанието. Минусите са, че изпращането на бюлетин е скъпо, както като подготовка, така и като разпространяване. А и умните читатели ще се досетят, че е написан от депутата с цел да изглежда добре в очите на избирателите. За да се предотврати възможно обвинение в саморазкрасяване, авторът на бюлетина е добре да използва няколко независими източника, които да коментират работата на народния представител. Ако депутатът е популярен с идеите си за ограничаване броят на ротните места или налагане ограничения в бизнеса, стремежът е да получи позитивна оценка от работници или бизнесмени, за да обезоръжи критиката.

Седмична или месечна рубрика - Седмична или месечна рубрика във вестник или интервю по местната радиостанция веднъж в седмицата е идеален и безплатен начин за общуване с хората. Обикновено това е възможно в малките населени места, където седмичникът или месечникът или радиостанцията проявяват интерес към местен, регионален коментар. А и с медиите извън столицата се работи много по-лесно, отколкото с циничните медии, отразяващи работата на парламента. Проблемът както и при бюлетина е, че коментара не идва от независим източник.

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conference might be held in a high crime area or the site of recent serious crime. This provides a good backdrop especially for television.

It also helps to contact the press several times about the press conference in hopes of convincing them to go to the press conference rather than spend their morning covering one of the other four or five competing events. Diligent organizers of a press conference will contact the media and tell them that they are having a press conference and will be sending out a press release today. Then they contact the media in a day or two and ask them if they received the press release and whether they can make it to the event. Then on the morning of the press conference they will call again just to remind the media. This is very time consuming but if it is successful, it is a very good press hit. Also nothing is more demoralizing than calling a press conference and no media show up.

A Speech - Important people like the president or prime minister can schedule a speech, possibly at the major university or before the most prominent civic club to outline some major policy change or to somehow set the agenda for future change. The head of the central bank may use a speech to outline a change in monetary policy, for example.

Meeting with the Media - An MP or a group of MPs might meet with the editorial board of a newspaper or the managing news director of a radio or television station to explain a complicated policy issue or some major upcoming event. The goal is to get a positive editorial that has the media showing their support of the policy. For example, the authors of a campaign reform measure that is going to be difficult to pass might try to get the support of the media to help in the uphill struggle for passage.

Radio or Television Interview - A radio or television interview, especially with a call in segment, is another good means for a higher level elected official to set the agenda, respond to some kind of allegation, push a particular piece of legislation or announce a decision to run for higher office. This provides a means to talk directly to a broad audience and possibly interact with questions and answers.

Do's and Don'ts for Relating to the Media

There are some basic rules and things to avoid when dealing with the media. The following list of Do's and Don'ts is not in any particular order of importance since their importance will vary with the particular circumstances. The following is a list of Do's.

1) Have a message and stay on the message. The media and the public are very unfocused since they have many competing things in front of them each day. The public is trying to earn a living, raise a family and engage in some civic or recreational activities. The issues important to members of the parliament are not necessarily perceived as important to the average citizen. The media is also distracted. They are dealing with hun-

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Писмо до редакцията - Ако не можете да си осигурите седмична или месечна рубрика, писмо до редакцията или коментар върши същата работа, с изключение на това, че излиза по-рядко.

Пресконференция - Пресконференцията е страхотен инструмент за комуникация с медиите, ако можете да ги накарате да дойдат на нея. Тя е формален метод и придава известна важност. Дали медиите ще дойдат зависи от ранга на даващия пресконференцията и значението на дискутирания въпрос. Ако няколко депутати заедно организират пресконференция, това ще даде повече тежест на събитието, особено ако депутатите са опоненти в парламента. Пресконференцията е удачна и за общуване с медиите с цел "контрол върху щетите" след като даден депутат е получил негативна оценка за дейността си. Ако депутат е обвинен за връзка с някой от служителите си, може да използва пресконференцията за да обясни своята гледна точка върху нещата и евентуално да се извини.

Ако пресконференцията се свиква за да генерира позитивен интерес към даден въпрос, е необходимо тя да се направи максимално интересна за медиите. Те имат поне няколко конкуриращи се за времето им варианта и затова пресконференцията трябва да привлича вниманието. Ако депутатът ще представи проектозакон за борба с престъпността, пресконференцията може да се проведе в район с висока престъпност или на мястото на скорошно престъпление. Така се създава добър фон, особено за телевизията.

Би било от полза, ако се свържете няколко пъти с медиите, като ги убедите да дойдат на Вашата пресконференция, вместо да прекарат предобеда си в отразяване на някое от другите четири или пет конкурентни събития. Добрите организатори на пресконференции биха се обадили на медиите като ги информират за организирането на пресконференция и за разпространението на съобщение за медиите. След единдва дни ще свържат с тях отново за да ги попитат дали са получили съобщението и дали ще могат да присъстват на пресконференцията. А сутринта в деня на пресконференцията ще се обадят на медиите, за да им напомнят за събитието. Всичко това отнема много време, но ако успее става "прес- хит". А и нищо не демобилизира повече от това да свикаш пресконференция и медиите да не дойдат.

Реч - Важни хора като президента или премиера могат да насрочат реч в най-престижния университет или пред най-влиятелния граждански клуб, за да скицират предстояща промяна в политиката или да представят програмата си за бъдещи промени. Управителят на централната банка може да използва реч за да оповести промени в монетарната политика например.

Среща с Медиите - Депутат или група депутати могат да се срещнат с редколегията на вестник или с редактора на новините в радио или телевизия, за да се обясни сложен

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dreds of events each day and are also driven by what is going to sell newspapers or generate a large viewing or listening audience.

To penetrate the consciousness of the public or the media, the message must be stated and restated over and over. Some experts argue that a person has to hear something at least 10 times for it to penetrate their conscientiousness. Also if people are presented with several issues, the importance of the individual issues diminishes and they are all given the same diminished importance. For example, when Bill Clinton was running for president in 1992, his campaign advisors had a sign on the wall that read, "It's the economy, stupid." This message was not for the public but for the rest of the staff to remember that the message was "the economy under President Bush was stagnating." When someone would bring up other issues, the campaign staff was to try to bring things back to the central message, the economy.

2) Look, act and hopefully be sincere. Be open to questions and welcome them. Occasionally, when appropriate, say, "good question" or "you're certainly doing your homework". The media has its insecurities so they like to be praised.

3) Be respectful and pleasant as difficult as it may be at times. Even after someone in the media took a "cheap shot" at you and you encounter that person at a press conference or similar venue, be pleasant. If you want to respond to the "cheap shot", do it with humor and a big smile. Try to be clever rather than hostile. The media feels that their job is to be adversarial and to challenge the people with power. If you are respectful in response to their aggressive questions, it drives them crazy.

4) If you want to be quoted, have some short, clever, pithy statements ready. The author would often stall for time if it were possible when unexpectedly contacted by the media so he could think though how he planned to respond to questions on a particular topic. If the media called, he would say that he was currently busy but would be very happy to call back in about 15 minutes. He would also ask what the media was interested in discussing. After 15 minutes to think about the topic, he would have well crafted answers including some good quotes. The media throughout the world loves a simple, clever, funny quote.

5) If you are misquoted or there is a bad article written about you that is not accurate, call the reporter and politely go through the article and show him or her where they were wrong. Don't go to the editor or the publisher the first time, as that will probably anger the writer since you went over his or her head. Even if they don't do any correction or retraction, the reporter will probably be more careful the next time. Also they will hopefully feel that they owe you one since they inadvertently hurt you the last time. Bill Clinton's aid George Stephanopolis would call reporters each day and go through articles line by line with reporters to show the errors.

6) Make their job easy. Most seri-

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въпрос или важно предстоящо събитие. Целта е да се осигури позитивен редакционен коментар, който да демонстрира тяхната подкрепа. Например, авторите на непопулярна реформа, която трудно ще се приеме в парламента, биха могли да се опитат да си осигурят подкрепата на медиите в борбата за приемане на проектозакона.

Радио или ТВ Интервю - Интервю за радиото или телевизията, особено с директно включване на слушателски или зрителски въпроси, е друг добър инструмент за високопоставения държавник да налага програмата си, да отговаря на обвинения, да прокара даден законопроект или да обяви решението си да се кандидатира за по-висок пост. Така се дава възможност за директна връзка с широка аудитория и за размяна на въпроси и отговори.

Какво да правим и какво - не, в контактите си с медиите

Има няколко основни правила за това какво да се избягва в отношенията с медиите. Списъкът със съвети как да се държим и как - не, не е подреден по важност, тъй като важността зависи от конкретните обстоятелства. Какво е добре да се прави:

1) Дефинирайте послание и се придържайте към него. Медиите и гражданите са много не-фокусирани, тъй като пред себе си имат още куп неща, конкуриращи се за вниманието им ежедневно. Хората се опитват да свържат двата края, да подържат семейството си и да се занимават със социални или развлекателни дейности. Въпросите, които са важни за депутатите, не са задължително важни и за обикновения гражданин. Медиите също са разсеяни. Те ежедневно се занимават със стотици събития и трябва да съобразяват какво ще продаде повече вестници или ще привлече по-голяма слушателска или зрителска аудитория.

За да проникнете в съзнанието на хората или на медиите, е необходимо посланието да се повтаря отново и отново. Според някои експерти хората трябва да чуят едно и също нещо поне 10 пъти, за да проникне то в съзнанието им. Ако им се представят няколко въпроса едновременно, важността на всеки от тях намалява и на всеки се обръща еднакво малко внимание. Например през 1992 г. по време на предизборната кампания на Бил Клинтън съветниците му бяха закачили на стената лозунга "Икономиката, глупчо". Това послание не бе преназначено за избирателите, а за останалите хора от екипа, за да помнят, че основното послание е "икономиката при президента Буш беше в стагнация". Ако някой повдигне други въпроси, сътрудниците в кампанията е трябвало да се опитат да върнат нещата обратно към основното послание - икономиката.

2) Оглеждайте се, действайте и се опитайте да бъдете откровени. Бъдете отворени за въпроси и ги приветствайте. От време на време, когато момента позволява, казвайте "добър въпрос" или "определено си правите домашното". Медиите стра-

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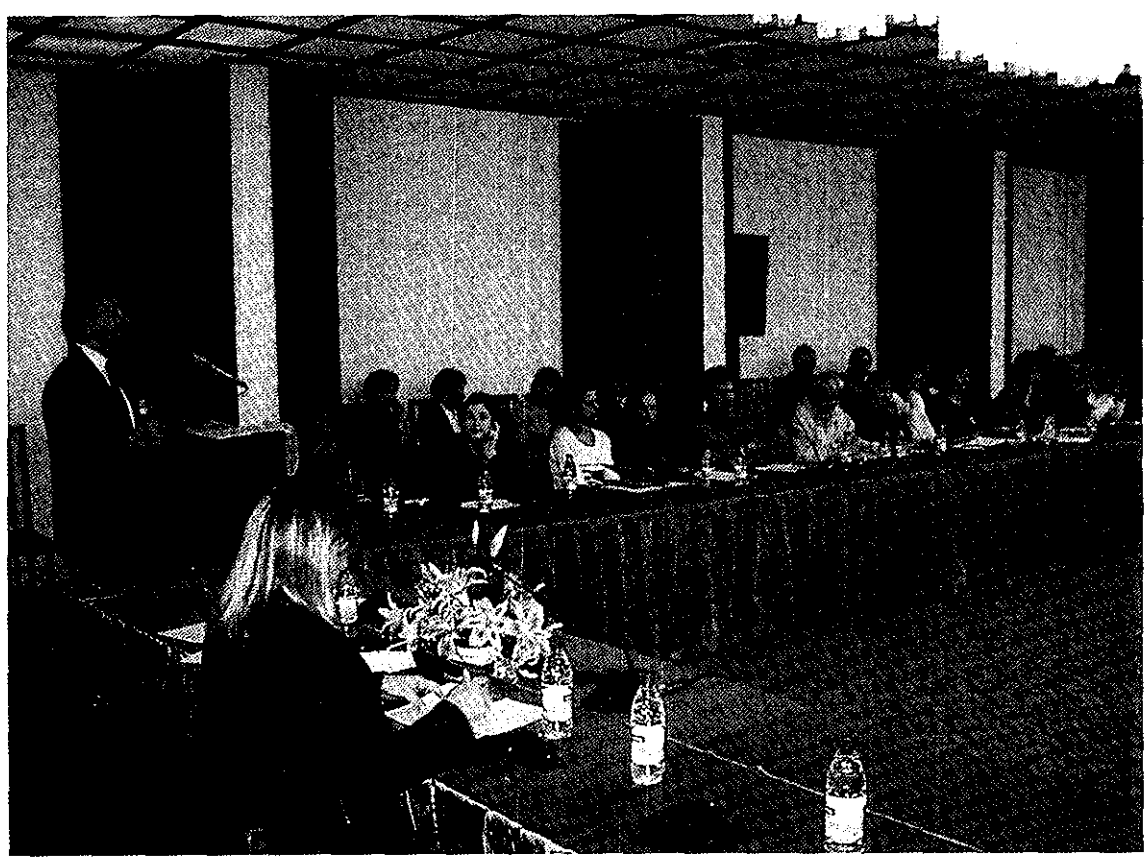
ous reporters are working quite hard and if you want them to cover an issue on which you are working, help them shape the story. You are actually trying to sell them on your story. Lay out the context for the issue, why this issue is important and newsworthy and why your legislation or response is the most appropriate. Provide documented facts and statistics and also suggest appropriate people that the reporter could contact, including some who will be critical of your ideas but who will be critical for the appropriate reasons. By also providing names of opponents to be contacted, you appear to be fair and balanced.

7) Be available to the media even at odd hours. The media's schedule and deadlines are often very different from those of the parliament. If you get a reputation as someone who immediately calls back when contacted or who will get dressed and come down to the studio for an 11:00pm live television interview, the media will grow to appreciate you. Again the reporters are just trying to do their job.

The Don'ts

1) Don't be hostile or defensive. Even when confronted with a hostile or a mean-spirited question, don't take the bait. Smile, try to use humor and don't lose your temper. The public recoils when they see their elected officials getting angry and attacking



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дат от своите си комплекси и обичат комплиментите.

3) Показвайте уважение и любезност, колкото и да е трудно. Дори ако някой в медиите ви нанесе "удар под кръста" и срещнете същия човек на пресконференция или друго подобно място, бъдете любезни. Ако искате да отговорите на "удара под кръста", направете го с чувство за хумор и широка усмивка. Опитайте се да бъдете остроумен, а не враждебен. Медиите смятат, че работата им е да бъдат враждебно настроени и да предизвикват хората, облечени във власт. Ако отвръщате с уважение на агресивните им въпроси, това ги подлудява.

4) Ако искате да бъдете цитиран, подгответе си няколко къси, остроумни, ефектни фрази. Ако получи неочаквано обаждане от медиите авторът би се опитал да спечели време, за да може да обмисли как е планувал да отговаря на въпроси по конкретната тема. Би могъл да каже, че в момента е зает, но с удоволствие ще се свърже с тях след 15 минути. Също така би попитал медиите кои са въпросите, които ги интересуват. След като е обмислил нещата за 15 минути, той ще разполага с добре формулирани отговори и няколко сполучливи цитата. Медиите по целия свят обичат простите, остроумни, забавни цитати.

5) Ако са ви цитирали погрешно или е излязла лоша статия с невярно съдържание, обадете се на журналиста и любезно обяснете къде са допуснатите неточности. Не се обръщайте към редактора или издателя от първия път - това най-вероятно ще разгневи автора, защото действате зад гърба му. Дори да не се стигне до корекция или опровержение, репортерът следващия път ще бъде по-внимателен. А се предполага, ще ви се бъде задължен, защото последния път неволно ви е обидил. Сътрудникът на Бил Клинтън - Джордж Стефанополис, всеки ден се обажда на репортерите и обсъжда ред по ред статиите, за да им покаже къде са грешките.

6) Направете работата им лесна. Повечето сериозни репортери работят много и ако искате да отразят въпрос, по който вие работите, помогнете им да оформят материала. На практика се опитвате да им продадете история, която те да могат да продадат. Поставете проблема в контекст, обяснете защо е значим и представлява интерес и защо именно вашето законодателно предложение или решение е най-подходящото в случая. Предоставете документи и статистика и предложете подходящи хора, с които репортера да се свърже, включително някои с възражения по предложението ви, но с адекватни възражения. Като предоставяте и имена на ваши опоненти на медиите, отстрани изглеждате честен и балансиран.

7) Бъдете на разположение на медиите и в малките часове. Програмата и сроковете на медиите често са много различни от тези на парламента. Ако си изградите репутация на човек, който светкавично връща обаждане или е готов да се облече и да в студиото в 23:00 часа за телеви-

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the media. The official appears to be trying to hide something. It doesn't make the official look statesmanlike.

2) Don't mislead the press or send them in the wrong direction. Whether you like it or not, your relationship with the media is a long-term relationship and reporters are like elected officials, they have long memories. If you are in a compromised situation and the media is pressing you with hard questions, be honest, answer carefully, don't say too much and don't lie or mislead. You may have to say something like, "I am just not prepared to answer that question at this point" or "I want to go back and check some records so I don't say something that isn't accurate."

3) Don't say anything you do not want to see on the front page of tomorrow's newspaper or as the lead story on the 11:00pm news. You don't want to say that Senator Jones is dumb or dishonest even if you feel it is absolutely true. A statement like that fits under the newsworthiness category of "a conflict" and will end up on the evening news.

4) Don't assume that the reporter knows anything about the topic or issue you are discussing. This is your issue; you are the expert. Reporters usually cover a number of areas and they just don't have the time to study and understand all of the issues. Also the reporter may be young and inexperienced. Start your discussion putting the topic or issue in context without insulting the reporter. You may want to say something like, "let me summarize", "let me review the events leading up to this point" or "as you know ...". This way you can develop the background and stress the importance without insulting the intelligence or knowledge of the reporter.

5) Don't threaten or try to intimidate the press. You may succeed in the short run but the media will probably win in the long run and again you are in this for the long term. There is an old saying about fighting with and trying to intimidate the press, "don't pick fights with people who buy ink by the barrel".

What do you do when Things Go Wrong?

Every elected official ends up in situations where things go the wrong way. You may be misquoted, you or your staff may have unintentionally released inaccurate or misleading information, you may have done something the media feels was wrong and they are hammering you with difficult questions or you have just gotten some bad press.

1) If you are misquoted, the first question should be, how serious was the misquote and how many people actually read it. If it was not too serious or you believe that not many people read or heard it, it may be wise to just ignore it. If, on the other hand, it was a serious misquote, you need to respond. Politely point out that the quote was in error and ask for a retraction. Even if the retraction is on page 12 while the misquote was on page 1, you have the retraction on record. If the misquote is brought up in a future

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зионно интервю, медиите неизбежно ще започнат да ви оценяват. Пак повтарям, репортерите просто се опитват да си свършат работата.

Какво да не се прави

1) Не се дръжте враждебно или дефазивно. Дори когато се сблъсквате с враждебен или злонамерен въпрос, не се хващайте на въдицата. Усмихнете се, използвайте чувството си за хумор и не губете самообладание. Гледката на разярен или атакуващ медиите народен избраник отблъсква хората. Сякаш се опитва да скрие нещо от обществото. Не изглежда държавническо.

2) Не заблуждавайте пресата и не я пращайте за зелен хайвер. Независимо дали ви харесва или не, връзката ви с медиите е дългосрочна, а репортерите са като депутатите - имат добра памет. Ако сте в неловка ситуация и медиите ви атакуват с неудобни въпроси, бъдете искрени, отговаряйте внимателно, не бъдете многословни, не лъжете и не подвеждайте. Кажете нещо като: "Точно в момента не съм достатъчно подготвен да отговоря на този въпрос" или "Искам първо да проверя някои документи за да не кажа нещо неточно".

3) Не казвате нищо, което не искате да видите на първа страница на утрешните вестници или като водеща новина в късните новини. Не казвайте, че сенатор Джоунс е тъп или нечестен, дори ако сте сигурни, че е точно така. Такова изявление влиза в графата "конфликт" от класацията на медиите и ще се озове във вечерните новини.

4) Не приемайте автоматично, че репортерът знае нещо по темата или въпроса, който дискутирате. Това е вашата тема; вие сте експерта. Репортерите обикновено покриват няколко области и чисто и просто нямат време да изучат и вникнат във всичките им аспекти. Репортерът може също да е млад и неопитен. Започнете дискусията като поставите съответния въпрос в контекст, без да обиждате репортера. Може да кажете например, "нека да обобщя", "позволете ми да разгледам събитията довели до това състояние" или "както знаете...". По този начин можете да дадете предисторията и да подчертаете значението на въпроса без да подценявате интелигентността или познанията на репортера.

5) Не заплашвайте и не се опитвайте да притеснявате пресата. Може да успеете за кратко, но в крайна сметка медиите най-вероятни ще надделеят, а не бива да забравяте, че сте в играта за дълго. Има един стар израз за опитите да плашиш или да се бориш с медиите, "не влизай в схватка с хора, които купуват мастило с барели".

Какво се прави, когато нещата тръгнат на зле?

Всеки народен избраник попада в ситуации, в които нещата тръгват в грешната посока. Може да са ви цитирали погрешно или сътрудниците ви неволно да са допуснали грешна или подвеждаща информация, може

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election, you can show that there was a retraction. If you can't get a retraction, then at least the reporter should feel that he or she owes you one.

2) If you unintentionally released inaccurate or misleading information, apologize and take full responsibility. Don't try to blame it on your staff or anyone else. You are ultimately responsible. If it was totally a staff error, you can say, "I and my office accept full responsibility for the misleading information." If there is a good explanation you can then give the explanation after you accepted the responsibility. People, including the media, are often forgiving if you are sincerely sorry and if you accept responsibility.

3) If you find yourself under fire and the media is battering you with tough questions, take control of the situation, don't try to hide and don't get defensive. Carefully and thoroughly explain the circumstances of the controversy. Apologize if it is appropriate. Accept responsibility if it is appropriate. Try to avoid "no comment" and rather find some other way to avoid commenting if that is what you feel is the best approach at this juncture. If appropriate, say something like, "I just learned about the situation so at this point I don't want to comment until I get more information".

Going back to the Clinton Whitewater Scandal as an example, the whole "scandal" could probably have been avoided if they would have managed the media more effectively. The only story that existed regarding Clinton and Whitewater was that a governor from a small, poor state made an investment with a friend in a real estate development deal that failed. He lost money, a trivial story. So why did it become a big scandal?

Clinton campaigned on the fact that he was for the regular people who "worked hard and played by the rules" not the big money deal makers and speculators. A few years earlier Hillary Clinton had parlayed $1,000 into $100,000 in a short period of time speculating on the commodity markets with the advise of an Arkansas businessman. This speculation was all totally legal but it went against everything Clinton was promoting. Clinton knew that any investigation into the Whitewater deal would eventually disclose Hillary's investment, which would have been embarrassing. Foolishly, the Clinton folks mishandled the situation by trying to prevent the media from looking into the Whitewater deal and they acted as if they were guilty of something. The media tasted blood and went after him causing enough of an uproar to force the Democratic controlled congress to appoint a special prosecutor to investigate the matter. When the Republicans gained control of congress in 1994, they removed the current special prosecutor and appointed a very partisan special prosecutor and the rest is history. After several years and over $73,000,000, the special prosecutor found no wrong doing with respect to Clinton and the real estate deal.

Had the Clintons not gotten defensive and evasive, it never would have

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би сте направили нещо, което е лошо според медиите, и те ви заковават с неудобни въпроси или просто сте получили негативно отразяване в пресата.

1) Ако са ви цитирали погрешно, първо трябва да си зададете въпроса колко сериозна е грешката и колко хора са прочели материала. Ако грешката не е сериозна или смятате, че не е достигнала до много хора, може би е по-добре просто да я игнорирате. От друга страна, ако неправилното цитиране е сериозно, трябва да отговорите подобаващо. Любезно обяснете къде е грешката и помолете за опровержение. Дори ако опровержението излезе на стр.12, а грешката е била на първа страница, ще имате регистрирано опровержение. Така че ако погрешният цитат се използва в бъдещи избори, ще можете да покажете опровержението. Ако не получите опровержение, то поне репортерът ще ви бъде длъжник.

2) Ако неволно сте подали грешна или подвеждаща информация, извинете се и поемете пълната отговорност. Не се опитвайте да обвините сътрудниците си или някой друг. В крайна сметка вие носите отговорността. Ако е било изцяло грешка на сътрудниците ви, може да кажете, "Аз и колегите ми поемаме изцяло отговорността за подвеждащата информация". Ако има подходящо обяснение, можете да го дадете след като сте поели отговорността. Хората, включително и медиите, са склонни да прощават, ако искрено съжалявате и поемете отговорност.

3) Ако попаднете 'под обстрел' и медиите ви бомбардират с неудобни въпроси, поемете контрол над ситуацията, не се опитвайте да се скриете и не се дръжте дефазивно. Внимателно и изчерпателно обяснете как стоят нещата около противоречието. Извинете се, ако ситуацията го изисква. Поемете отговорност, ако ситуацията го изисква. Избягвайте израза "без коментар". По-добре намерете друг начин да откажете коментар, ако това е най-удачното поведение. Ако е подходящо, кажете нещо от типа: "Току-що разбрах за случилото се и не искам да коментирам преди да получа цялата информация".

Да се върнем към скандала Клинтън - Уайтуотър, целият "скандал" би могъл да се избегне ако с медиите се е работило по-ефективно. Единственият реален сюжет с Клинтън в Уайтуотър е, че губернатор от малък, беден щат е инвестирал заедно с негов приятел в сделка за развитие на недвижими имоти, която е пропаднала. Той загубва пари, тривиална история. Защо тогава това се превърна в голям скандал?

Клинтън води предизборната си кампания под мотото, че е за обикновените хора, които "работят много и играят по правилата", а не за богатите хора на големите сделки и спекулации. Няколко години по-рано Хилари Клинтън завърта $1,000 и за кратко време ги превръща в $100,000, спекулирайки на пазара на стоки по съвет на бизнесмен от Арканзас. Спекулацията е абсолютно законна, но противоречи на всичко,

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become a scandal. Hillary's speculation would have only been a small story because it was only "an embarrassment" which is way down the list of newsworthiness.

4) If you get bad press for whatever reason, you need to objectively evaluate the seriousness of the situation. No one likes to get bad press but most of the public simply ignores and forgets what they hear or read since they have many other things going on in their lives. Should you just let it pass? Unless it was totally unjustified or factually inaccurate, you are often better off letting it pass. Sometimes you create more damage to yourself if you respond. Years ago a senator from the East coast was labeled as the "dumbest senator". He tried to refute the claim, which resulted in confirming it. You simply let a statement like that pass since you don't want to create a debate over whether you are the "dumbest senator". In the future and without making any reference to that statement, he would have been wise to try to get some positive press showing that he was smart, competent, or effective.

As an elected official, you are a public figure and therefore, fair game for the media to question and criticize. It is all part of the job. Your goal is to manage the media to the degree possible in a free society and try to maximize your positive press and minimize your negative coverage. It's an ongoing struggle. Try to be honest, try to do the right thing and accept responsibility and apologize when you are wrong.

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пропагандирано от Клинтън. Той е неясно, че разследване по сделката Уайтуотър ще извади на показ инвестицията на Хилари, а това би го злепоставило.

Доста наивно сътрудниците на Клинтън изпуснаха ситуацията от контрол в опит да предотвратят медийно разследване на сделката Уайтуотър и се държаха сякаш са виновни за нещо. Медиите помирисаха кръв и започнаха да преследват Клинтън, предизвиквайки толкова шум, че контролирания от демократите Конгрес беше принуден да назначи прокурор за проучване на случая. През 1994 г. републиканците получиха мнозинство в Конгреса, отстраниха тогавашния прокурор и назначиха нов крайно предубеден прокурор. Останалото е история. След няколко години разследване, за което се похарчиха $73 000 000 прокурорът обяви, че няма нищо незаконно в действията на Клинтън и сделката с недвижимите имоти.

Ако Клинтън не се беше държал дефазивно и наплашено, можеше да не се стигне до скандал. Спекулациите на Хилари щяха да стигнат само за незначителна история, защото "срамът" е ниско в скалата на медийния интерес.

4) Ако получите негативно отразяване по какъвто и да е повод, направете обективна преценка на ситуацията. Никой не обича да бъде критикуван в медиите, но повечето хора просто игнорират или забравят какво четат и слушат по медиите, тъй като са заети с хиляди други техни си неща. Възможно ли е да оставите бурята да отмине? Често е по-добре за вас да постъпите по този начин, освен ако нападката е абсолютно неоправдана или с неверни факти. Понякога, ако отговорите ще си навредите повече. Преди години един сенатор от източното крайбрежие беше наречен "най-тъпият сенатор". Опитвайки се да отхвърли обвинение, той в крайна сметка успя да го потвърди. Оставете обвинението да отзвучи от само себе си. Що се отнася до въпросният сенатор би било най-добре, ако в бъдеще без да прави препратка към злополучното обвинение, се опита да получи позитивно медийно внимание, представящо го за умен, компетентен или ефективен.

Като народен избраник вие сте публична фигура и затова - лесна плячка за критикуване и заяждане от страна на медиите. Това е в реда на нещата. Вашата цел е да управлявате, доколкото това е възможно, в едно свободно общество медиите като се опитате да получите максимално позитивно медийно внимание и минимално негативно отразяване. А това е непрекъсната борба. Опитайте се да бъдете четни, да правите това, което трябва, да поемате отговорност и да се извинявате тогава, когато допускате грешки.

Ethics Laws Governing MPs Conduct in Parliament and Society

Antony Todorov

When we are discussing the relationship of ethics and politics, we inevitably refer to Machiavelli. His advice to the Prince that he shouldn't involve ethical considerations when making political decisions is the basis of what we call Machiavellianism. Do we understand Machiavelli correctly, however? It is a legitimate question, as his task is far from being to place politics completely outside of moral scruples. Machiavelli's task is different - to persuade the Prince that his responsibilities transcend his individual being, that his decisions concern all of his subjects and, consequently, he shouldn't obey his personal ethical judgments. Machiavelli's problem is the responsibility of the ruler, of the sovereign. In a broader sense, verbalized in contemporary terminology, this is the issue of public authority's responsibility towards the citizen.

The Boundaries Separating Public and Private

Contemporary society is defined by a clear distinction between public and private spheres. This is in contrast with previous ages, such as the medieval feudalism, where the ruler is also the owner of the estate, managed by him as his private property. The emergence of public authority, which is completely outside the sphere of private authority over property, is a characteristic of modern societies.

The public-private distinction is also a condition of modern democracy's existence. The clear and transparent borders, separating public and private spheres, the mutual control of state (the public) and civil society (the private), the shared responsibility of these central subjects of modern democracy - this is the sine qua non of the successful functioning of contemporary democracy. This is the case, since it simultaneously prevents the state from unacceptable interference in private life, but guarantees that the state will act on behalf of the common interest, respecting the equality of all of its citizens, guaranteeing their existence, protecting their property. This important boundary separating public and private is being guaranteed in different ways, both through legislation and through ethical principles shared in society at large. It is clear that the public-private demarcation, and the responsibilities involved, could not be guaranteed exclusively by law. In the democracies, perceived by us as developed, the ethical boundaries are by no means less vigorous and expansive than the legislation.

In the 1990s in the British Parliament a special Committee on Public Life Standards was established. This Committee drafted a list of principles that should govern public life. It is more like a list of ethical norms, supposed to govern the activities of public figures. According to the Committee, these principles should be:

- Disinterestedness
- Integrity
- Objectivity
- Responsibility
- Openness
- Honesty
- Leadership

Етични закони, ръководещи поведението на народния представител в Парламента и обществото

Антони Тодоров

Когато обсъждаме отношението между етика и политика, неизбежно се позоваваме на Макиавели. Неговите съвети към княза да не се обвързва с етически ограничения, когато взема политически решения, са в основата на онова, което наричаме макиавелизъм. Дали обаче разбираме правилно Макиавели? Въпросът е основателен, защото всъщност неговата задача съвсем не е да оправдае една политика, изцяло предпазена от морални скрупули. Целта на Макиавели е друга - да внуши на княза, че неговите отговорности надхвърлят неговата собствена личност, че вземаните от него решения засягат всичките му поданици и затова не трябва да се подчинява на личните си етически разбирания. Всъщност проблемът на Макиавели е отговорността на владетеля, на суверена. В по-широк план и със съвременни термини това е въпросът за отговорността на публичната власт към гражданите.

Границите между публично и частно

Модерното общество се характеризира с ясното разграничаване между публичната и частната сфери. За разлика от предходните епохи. В епохата на средновековния феодализъм, например, владетелят е едновременно и собственик на своето владение, което управлява като собствено стопанство. Възникването на публична власт, която е изцяло извън частната власт върху собствеността, е характеристика на модерните общества.

Това разграничение между публично и частно е също така и условие за съществуването на модерната демокрация. Ясните и прозрачни граници между публичната и частната сфери, взаимният контрол между държавата (публичното) и гражданското общество (частното), взаимната отговорност на тези два основни субекта на модерната демокрация - всичко това е условие sine qua non за успешното функциониране на съвременната демокрация. Това е така, защото едновременно предпазва неприемливата намеса на държавата в частния живот, но гарантира, че държавата ще действа в името на общия интерес, ще спазва равенството на своите граждани, ще гарантира тяхното съществуване, ще закриля собствеността им. Тази важна граница между публичното и частното се гарантира по различни начини, както чрез законодателната уредба, така и чрез споделяните в обществото етически принципи. Във всеки случай е ясно, че това разграничение между публично и частно, взаимните им отговорности, не могат да се гарантират единствено от закона. Напротив, в онези демокрации, които смятаме за развити, етическите гаранции са не по-малко действени и разгърнати, отколкото законодателството.

През 1990-те години в Британският парламент беше създаден специален Комитет по стандартите на публичния живот. Този комитет изработи един списък на принципите, от които трябва да се ръководи публичния живот. Всъщност става дума за списък от етически норми, които следва да регулират действията на публичните ли-

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Disinterestedness means that people in public office should make decisions exclusively on behalf of public interest. They shouldn't be involved in this in order to secure certain financial or other material benefits for themselves, their families or friends.

Integrity means that people in public office shouldn't make themselves dependent financially or in any other way, on other individuals or organizations, which would be potentially capable of influencing the way in which they conduct their public activities.

Objectivity means that in executing public assignments, including public appointments, contracting or recommending certain people for prizes and awards, public figures need to make their choice on the basis of the candidate's merits alone.

Responsibility means that public officials are responsible for their own decisions and actions to the public and should be subject to all kinds of appropriate meticulous checks and control.

Openness means that people holding public office should be transparent, to the extent possible, in the decisions and activities they undertake. They are required to provide the motivations for their decisions and to withhold information only if it benefits the larger general public.

Honesty means that people in public office should clearly declare all of their private interests, related in some way to their public activities, and should undertake measures for resolving potential conflicts of interest in a way, which favors public interest.

Leadership requires from the public figures to support and promote the above principles by means of their own, personal example.

Many would claim that such principles are almost self-evident and it is not necessary to emphasize the need for people to observe them. Many would be repulsed, particularly if they are themselves public figures, by the suspicion that these principles might not be the ones guiding them in their work. In the field of ethics, however, constantly invoking the principles is what keeps them active, since there is no other regulator here than the moral condemnation of the one, who doesn't abide by them. This last point refers to notions such as the so-called 'good name'. Reputation, trust in the institutions, in the public figures, produces the same effect as the good image of a company - it would go bankrupt without its client's trust. Even the market, where the overwhelming regulator is common interest, the relation of demand and supply, and where everything can be sold as long as there is a customer for it, is subject to considerations such as trust and reputation. A politician with a bad reputation is usually forced to resign from a political career.

On the other hand, it should be perfectly clear that politicians, public officials, are all at the same time private individuals, who, like everybody else, have their private interests and predilections. It is absurd to require the public figures to resign from also being private individuals. The issue is not demanding that they change their

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ца. Тези принципи според Комитета трябва да бъдат следните:

- Безкористност
- Почтеност
- Обективност
- Отговорност
- Откритост
- Честност
- Лидерство

Безкористност означава, че хората, заемащи публична длъжност, трябва да вземат решения изключително в интерес на обществеността. Те не бива да правят това с цел получаване на финансови или други материални придобивки за самите себе си, за своите семейства или приятели.

Почтеността означава, че хората, заемащи публична длъжност, не трябва да се поставят под каквато и да е финансова или друга зависимост спрямо външни индивиди или организации, които биха могли да повлияят върху изпълнението на техните официални задължения.

Обективността означава, че в изпълнение на публичните задачи, в това число публични назначения, отдаване на договори или препоръчване на отделни индивиди за награди и възнаграждения, хората, заемащи публична длъжност, трябва да правят избора си според достойнствата на кандидатите.

Отговорността означава, че хората, заема-щи публична длъжност, са отговорни за своите решения и действия пред публиката и трябва да се подлагат на всякакви уместни за длъжността им внимателни проверки.

Откритостта означава, че хората, заемащи публична длъжност, трябва да бъдат открити, доколкото това е възможно, в решенията и действията, които предприемат. Те са длъжни да представят причини за своите решения и да ограничават информацията само ако това е от полза за нуждите на по-широката публика.

Честността означава, че хората, заемащи публична длъжност, трябва да обявят всички свои частни интереси, които са свързани с публичните им задължения, и да предприемат стъпки за разрешаването на евентуални конфликти по начин, който защитава публичните интереси.

Лидерството изисква от хората, заемащи публична длъжност, да подкрепят и разпространяват тези принципи чрез своя личен пример.

Мнозина биха възразили, че такива принципи са едва ли не самоочевидни, че не е нужно дори специално да се подчертава нуждата от тяхното спазване. Мнозина биха се възмутили, ако са публични лица и някой се усъмни, че именно такива принципи ги ръководят. В областта на етиката, обаче, непрекъснатото позоваване на принципите ги поддържа действащи, защото тук няма друг регулатор освен моралното осъждане на онзи, който не ги спазва. Последното опира до понятие като "доброто име", например. Репутацията, доверието към институциите, към публичните лица има същия ефект, както доброто име на една фирма - последната би загинала без доверието на нейните клиенти. Дори пазарът, където толкова много се набляга на това, че основен регу-

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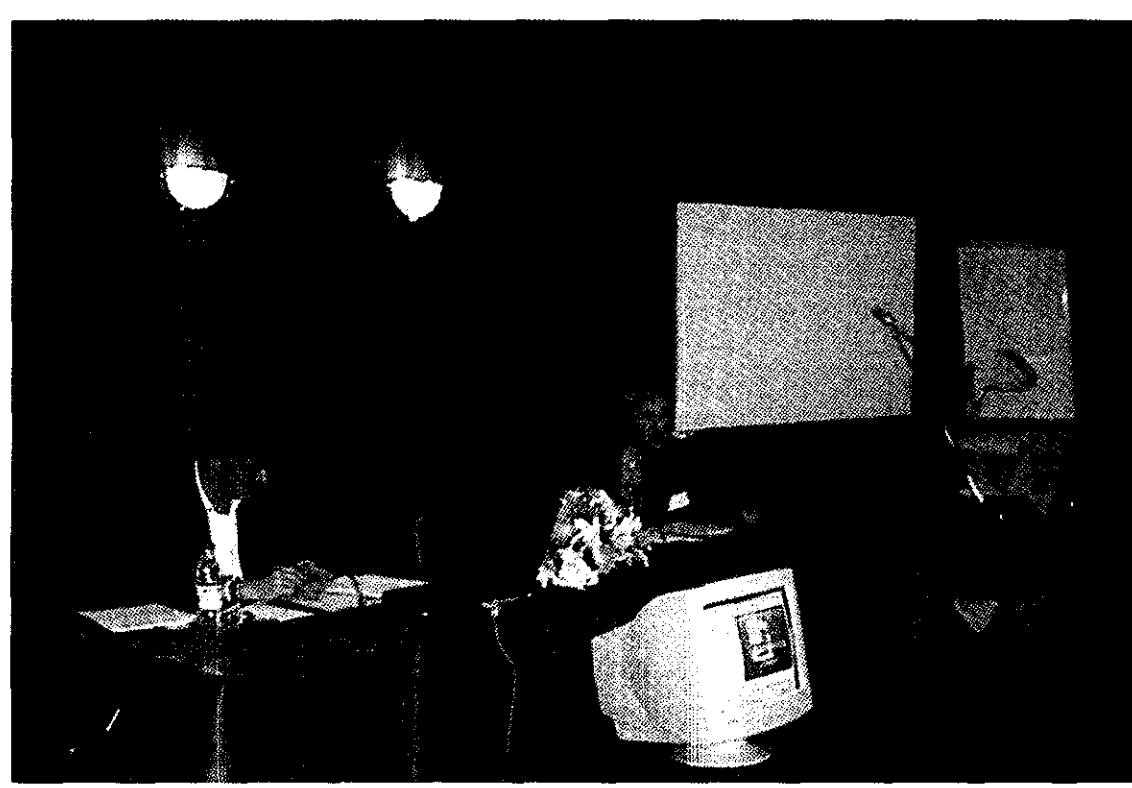
human nature for their time in public office. The issue is how ethically and legislatively their public activities to be prevented from private interest contamination, and thus to separate the two spheres in which they are active. This is precisely what Machiavelli calls for.

Parliamentary Ethics

More narrowly conceived, parliamentary ethics is a collection of rules, which are regulating the private financial interests of the members of legislatures. In this case there is of course also certain legal regulation, which includes sanctions. But it is clear that when it comes to legislative restrictions for the legislators themselves, ethic norms are particularly important. This is related, among other things, with the example that society expects from its representatives to set with their behavior.

Usually when we are discussing the rules of parliamentary ethics, the questions posed involve:

- Are MPs allowed to accept gifts while doing their job?
- Do MPs have the right to another, private professional engagement, while being members of the national legislature?
- Is it appropriate for MPs to receive honorarium for side jobs, outside of their official salary, which is usually much bigger than the average?
- Are the MPs allowed to receive payments for various services that are external to their parliamentarian activi-



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латор са взаимните интереси отношението между търсене и предлагане, че може да се продаде всичко, стига да има купувач, също се подчинява, при това силно, на съображения от типа на доверие и репутация. Политик с лоша репутация обикновено е принуден да се оттегли от политическа кариера.

От друга страна трябва да е съвършено ясно, че политиците, публичните служители, са същевременно и частни лица, които както всички други имат своите лични и частни интереси и пристрастия. Да се изисква от публичните лица да престанат да бъдат същевременно и частни индивиди е абсурдно. Въпросът не е да се изисква от тях да променят човешката си природа за времето, през което изпълняват публични длъжности. Въпросът е законодателно и етически тези дейности да се предпазят от частните интереси, да се разграничат двете сфери от дейността на публичните личности. Именно за това апелира Макиавели.

Парламентарната етика

В по-тесен смисъл парламентарната етика е съвкупност от правила, които регулират частните финансови интереси на членовете на законодателните органи. Разбира се, в случая има и нормативна уредба, която включва санкции. Но е ясно, че когато става дума за законодателни ограничения пред членовете на самият законодателен орган, етическите норми имат особено важно значение. То е свързано, наред с другото, и с примера, който обществото очаква, че неговите представители ще дават в своето поведение.

Обикновено, когато говорим за правилата на парламентарната етика, се поставят следните въпроси:

• Могат ли депутатите да получават подаръци докато изпълняват длъжността си?

• Имат ли право депутатите и на друга, частна, професионална ангажираност, докато са членове на законодателното събрание?

• Редно ли е депутатите да получават хонорари за странични дейности, извън официалната им заплата, която обикновено е значително по-висока от средната?

• Могат ли депутатите да получават допълнителни възнаграждение за различни дейности, извън пряката им ангажираност като депутати?

Във всички демокрации има правила по отношение на подаръците, които депутатите е редно да получават. В САЩ и Индия тези ограничения са най-строги. В Индия е забранено получаването на всякакви подаръци с изключение на сувенири. В САЩ стойността на получаваните от депутатите подаръци не може да надхвърля $250. В Испания практиката е по-разгърната. Депутатът трябва предварително да получи разрешението на Парламентар-ната комисия по етика, преди да получи какъвто и да е подарък. В повечето страни, извън цитираните, получаването на подаръци не е ограничено. Трябва обаче да се спазва едно изрично условие - подаръкът не трябва да е компенсация за конкретна законодателна дейност на

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ties?

All democracies have established rules concerning the appropriate acceptance of gifts from the MPs. The United States and India have the harshest restrictions in this respect. In India accepting any types of gifts, except for souvenirs, is prohibited. In USA, the maximum value of the gift must not exceed $250. Spain provides for a more involving process. Before accepting any gift, the MP must first secure the authorization of the Parliamentary Committee on Ethics. Most of the other countries do not restrict the acceptance of gifts. One condition must be satisfied, however: the gift should not amount to a compensation for an actual legislative activity of the MP. In this sense, as a counter-measure in many countries the MPs are required to declare meticulously each gift accepted.

In all democracies there are rules regulating the right of the MPs to receive remuneration for activities done aside. It seems that the strictest requirement for not mixing the legislative mandate with another permanent job, is in the United States. Similar restrictions, albeit less limiting, are in place in other countries as well. These measures aim at limiting an existing conflict of interest, or preventing a future one. Even the countries, which don't specify this requirement in the body of law, enforce it informally. In countries such as Spain and Mexico the MP is allowed to have side activities, but only with the formal approval of the parliamentary ethics committee. Specific provisions are in place in France and India, going beyond the customary conflict-of-interest measures. French law provides that MPs are not allowed to work for corporations, which are directly or indirectly related to government commercial deals. In India it is prohibited for MPs to serve on the boards of directors of companies or corporations. Different mechanisms are enforced for control of the MPs' honoraria. Only in few countries it is completely outlawed (USA, India) or allowed after the approval of a parliamentary ethics committee (Spain, Mexico). In the rest of the countries this is substituted with the compulsory requirement that such income is declared. Israel has a maximum amount for the honoraria allowed. In many European countries (the Netherlands, Sweden) this maximum amount is replaced by another principle - of compulsory withholding of part of the MP's salary, in case there is external income on top of it. In Sweden it is even possible that an MP wouldn't receive his or her salary from the Parliament, if he/she was involved in external activities for more than one month.

Declaring the parliamentarians' income and assets is an important element of parliamentary ethics. Although this is a widely spread practice in democracies - declaring one's assets and finances in the beginning and at the end of the mandate - it is well known, that sanctions can hardly be imposed. In other words, it is relied exclusively on ethic norms on this matter - and on the fact that MPs cherish their good image and are ready to

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депутата. Като контрамярка срещу злоупотреби в тази насока в повечето държави е въведено изискването да се декларира детайлно всеки получен подарък от страна на депутатите.

Във всички демокрации са въведени ограничения върху правата на депутатите да получават доходи от странични дейности. Изглежда най-стриктна е забраната да се съвместява парламентарния мандат с упражняване на основната професия в САЩ. Макар и не толкова строги, но подобни ограничения има и в други страни. Тези мерки целят да ограничат съществуващ или да предотвратят бъдещ конфликт на интереси. Дори в държави, където законодателно не съществуват такива забрани или ограничения, този принцип се спазва. В страни като Испания и Мексико депутатът може да има странична дейност и да получава приходи от нея, но само след изричното разрешение на комисията по парламентарна етика. Специфични ограничения има във Франция и Индия, което е извън обичайните мерки срещу конфликти на интереси. Френското законодателство забранява на депутатите да работят за корпорации, свързани пряко или косвено с държавни търговски сделки. В Индия е забранено на парламентаристите да бъдат членове на управителни съвети на компании и корпорации. Различни механизми се прилагат за контрол върху получаваните от депутатите хонорари. Малко са страните, където това е абсолютно забранено (САЩ, Индия) или е възможно след разрешението на комисията по парламентарна етика (Испания, Мексико). В останалите страни такава забрана или ограничение се замества от задължителното декларираме на такива доходи. В Израел има горна граница за получаването на такива хонорари. В много европейски страни (Холандия, Швеция) тази горна граница е заменена с друг принцип - на задължителното отчисляване на част от депутатското възнаграждение, когато има и странични доходи от хонорари. В Швеция дори е възможно депутатът да не получи заплатата си като парламентарист, ако е бил ангажиран по-дълго от месец със странична дейност.

Декларирането на доходите и имуществото на парламентаристите е важен елемент в парламентарната етика. Макар такава практика да е широко разпространена в демокрациите - декларираме на имуществото в началото и в края на мандата - знайно е, че почти не могат да се приложат санкции. С други думи тук се разчита единствено на етическите норми - на това, че депутатите държат на доброто си име и ще направят необходимите декларации.Обичайно тук има няколко важни въпроса:

• Какво се декларира: само получените подаръци, само получените допълнителни доходи или и двете?

• Включва ли декларацията също така и членовете на семейството на депутата?

• Пред кого се подава декларацията: пред обществеността или пред специален орган, който съхранява тази информация като поверителна?

Правната уредба в различните страни на тези въпроси е разнообраз-

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complete the necessary declarations.

Usually, several questions emerge at this point:

• *What is being declared: only the gifts accepted, only the extra income, or both?*

• *Are the MP's family members also liable for declaring assets and income?*

• *Who is declaration provided to: to the public in general or to specially designated body, where the information is subject to confidentiality?*

Legislative regulation on these maters varies significantly across countries. It seems that the more corrupt a country is perceived to be, the more strict the regulations are; and vice-versa - fewer restrictions are usually present in countries where corruption is most limited (such as Canada, Sweden). However, there are exceptions to this as well. The MPs in certain countries are required to declare their finances every year - this is the case in Greece, Israel, USA, Poland, and the Czech Republic. In most countries, MPs declare their financial interests at the beginning of their mandate, or cases when the income received exceeds a certain fixed limit. Very few countries, make public disclosure of financial standing though Greece, Spain and Great Britain do. In Spain only assets and income that might provoke a conflict of interest are disclosed.

In all countries rules, regulating the scope of declarable income are extremely exhaustive. Often times this includes material assets, convertible securities, cars, airplanes or helicopters, yachts, interests on accounts, deposits and debts, as well as acquired company shares. In Great Britain all types of fiscal and material acquisitions and benefits are subject to disclosure, whenever there is reason for believing they might influence the MP's activities. In some countries, such as Greece, the MPs' spouses and children file property declarations as well.

In many countries, on top of property, the positions taken during or after the end of the mandate are also disclosed (such as in Germany). The law in Spain requires that MPs declare:

• *All activities, irreconcilable with the parliamentary mandate*

• *All activities, reconcilable with the parliamentary mandate according to the legislation in force*

• *All activities, that are potentially capable of providing income*

Not all countries enforce the same standard concerning the publicity of the MPs' property declarations. In France and Spain they are confidential, accessible only to the parliamentary ethics committees or the judiciary, but not to the general public. These declarations are public in Italy, the Netherlands, and Great Britain. The last two countries are known for their low level of corruption among public officials. In Italy, on the other hand, the entire party system fell apart, after a series of corruption scandals in the 1980s. In Germany the practice is average in magnitude.

Also is the way sanctions are enforced differently in cases were declarations are not filed. Greek law pro-

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на. Но прави общо впечатление, че колкото повече се смята, че е разпространена корупцията в дадена държава, толкова по-стриктни са ограниченията, и обратно - най-малки нормативни ограничения виждаме в страни, където корупцията изглежда най-малко разпространена (например като Канада, Швеция). Но и тук има изключения. Депутатите в някои страни са задължени да декларират имущественото си състояние всяка година - така е в Гърция, Израел, САЩ, Полша, Чехия. В повечето страни депутатите декларират финансовите си интереси в началото на мандата или го правят, само ако получените суми от странични дейности надхвърлят определен лимит. Малко са страните, където декларирането на финансовото състояние е публично - така е в Гърция, Испания и Великобритания. Но в Испания се декларират само такива доходи или имущества, които биха предизвикали сблъсък на интереси.

Във всички страни правилата, определящи обхвата на подлежащото на декларираме материално състояние, са изключително детайлизирани. В повечето случаи това включва недвижимата собственост, прехвърляемите ценни книжа, движима собственост като автомобили, лодки и летателни апарати, приходи от сметки, депозити и дългове, придобити акции в компании. Във Великобритания подлежат на декларираме всякакви парични вземания и други материални изгоди, когато има основание да се смята, че те влияят върху действията на депутата. В някои страни, както е в Гърция, декларации за имуществото подават също така брачните партньори и децата на депутатите.

В много страни освен имуществата, се декларират и служебни длъжности, получени по време или дори след изтичането на мандата (Германия). Испанският закон изисква от депутатите да декларират:

- Всички дейности, чието изпълнение е несъвместимо с депутатския мандат;
- Всички дейности, които са съвместими с мандата според действащия закон;
- Всички дейности, които могат или съществува възможност да донесат доходи.

Не във всички страни се прилага еднакъв стандарт за публичността на имуществените декларации на депутатите. Във Франция и Испания те са конфиденциални, достъпни за парламентарните комисии по етика или за съдебните органи, но не и за широката общественост. Публични са тези декларации в Италия, Холандия и Великобритания. Последните две страни се славят с ниска степен на разпространение на корупцията сред държавните длъжностни лица. Докато Италия, от своя страна, преживя срив на цялата партийна система след поредица от корупционни скандали през 1980-те години. Междинна е практиката в Германия.

Различна е и практиката за прилагане на санкции при неподаване на декларациите. Гръцкият закон предвижда затвор, глоба или отнемане на политическите права, докато в Испа-

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vides for prison sentence, a fine or deprivation of political rights, while in Spain the penalty amounts to depriving the MP of the rights and privileges, associated with the mandate. In Denmark, on the other hand, there are no sanctions whatsoever.

Sanctions, however, are by no means the only guarantee. Probably, they are not even the most important one. Much more important in this case is public opinion - public condemnation, losing one's positive image and reputation, thes constitute serious ethical penalties, which exert significant influence.

Parliament Against Political Corruption

Along these lines, the matter at hand is political corruption. Political corruption is subject to general definitions. Most often it is described as:

a) Misuse of one's public power for personal gain (which usually includes the following prohibitions):

- *Prohibited use of public resources for private needs*
- *Prohibited privatization of public spheres*
- *Illegal use of public power for personal benefit and private interests*

b) Abuse of public trust for gaining personal benefits which usually includes the followings:

- *Misleading people, hiding important public information*
- *Actual substitution of the alleged goals of the political system with private goals*

This understanding of political corruption, however, is applicable only to democracies based on openness and transparency of public authorities' activities, on responsibility and accountability of public officials in front of the public. But even in non-democracies, the substitution of the officially declared goals with private (personal, group) interests is considered to be a corruption practice since, after all, every political power is based on the presumption of "acceptability" (or legitimacy). The manifestations of political corruptions might be different. Among them are:

- Favors to private companies in exchange for campaign funding
- Selling one's influence for money or other benefits (vacations, apartments, cars)
- Appointing friends or relatives to public service, disrespecting the procedure
- Utilizing confidential information for personal gain
- Acquisition of public funds
- Channeling public funds to finance private deals

The causes of political corruption are usually explained along the lines of accepted definitions. Standing out among its causes is the overall underdevelopment of economic, social and political structures of society. Particularly important are considered to be:

- Poverty
- State omnipotence and the lack of civil control over public authority
- Traditional social structures, which

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ния наказанието се свежда до отнемане на правата и привилегиите, свързани с мандата. Френското законодателство допуска при груби нарушения Конституционният съвет да отнема депутатския мандат. От друга страна в Дания липсват всякакви санкции.

Санкциите обаче не са единствената гаранция. Може би дори не са и най-важната. Много по-важно в случая е общественото мнение - общественото порицание, загубата на доброто име и на репутацията са сериозни етически наказания, които имат силно влияние.

Парламентът срещу политическата корупция

В тази връзка нещата опират до борба с политическата корупция. Политическата корупция е обект на общи дефиниции. Най-често тя се определя като:

а) Злоупотреба с публична власт за лична облага (което обикновено включва следните практики):

• непозволено използване на публични ресурси за частни нужди;

• непозволено приватизиране на публични сфери;

• незаконно използване на публична власт за лична облага и частни интереси.

б) Злоупотреба с обществено доверие с цел лична изгода (което обикновено включва следните практики):

• заблуждаване на гражданите, скриване на важна публична информация, позволяваща на гражданите да преценяват действията на публичната власт;

• фактическа подмяна на афишира-ните цели на политическата система със скрити частни цели.

Такова разбиране на политическата корупция, обаче, е приложимо най-вече към демокрациите, които се основават на откритост и прозрачност на дейността на публичната власт, на отговорност и отчетност на публичните служители пред гражданството. Но дори и в не-демокрациите подмяната на официално обявените цели на политическата система със скрити частни (лични, групови) интереси се смята за корупционна практика. Защото в крайна сметка всяка политическа власт се основава на презумпцията за "приемливост" (или легитимация). Проявите на политическа корупция могат да бъдат различни. Сред тях:

• услуги срещу финансиране на партии от частни компании;

• продажба на влияние срещу пари и други екстри (почивки, апартаменти, леки автомобили);

• назначения на държавна служба на близки и роднини извън реда;

• използване на поверителна служебна информация за лично облагодетел-стване;

• присвояване на публични фондове;

• пренасочване на публични средства за финансиране на частни сделки.

Причините за политическата корупция обикновено се дефинират в тясна връзка с приетото определение на самото явление. Сред причините

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hinder a modern differentiation of public and private

Most often examples of political corruption are borrowed from the Third World, recently also from Eastern Europe, and they are treated along the lines of underdevelopment and immaturity. This explanatory paradigm was used throughout the 1980s. But the abundance of political corruption cases in a number of West European countries in the 1990s (developed democracies) has undermined the paradigm. More and more researchers realize, that political corruption is not characteristic only of underdeveloped countries or less developed industrial countries.

There are, however, much more important institutional causes: inefficient administrative structure, which has not adopted the principle of anonymous bureaucracy. Here, two types of causes are typically designated: the ones related to weak control over public power, and the ones related to the inefficient organization of public institutions.

a) Poor responsibility of public power and undistinguishable boundaries of public and private

• Unclear distinction between public and private spheres in legislation, which allows inappropriate transfer of public resources towards private activities, sometimes bringing about the merging of organized crime and the state

• Undefined rights for the lobbies, which facilitates lobbying activities on the law's edge or activities of illegal lobbies

• Lack of sufficient autonomy of the political parties and their leaders, insufficiently stable and transparent sources for financing their activities, which renders them heavily dependent on private interests

• Insufficient publicity of government's activities, governmental institutions and public administration, which places them outside of public opinion control and provides favorable environment for corruption practices

b) Inefficient organization of the competences of public institutions

• Inadequate distinction between political and administrative levels, which renders public servants heavily dependent on their loyalty to political leadership, and provides for utilization of the public state apparatus for individual party goals

• Poor division of competences in state administration and poorly distributed responsibilities among the various levels of the institutions, which promotes the atmosphere of wide-spread incompetence and lack of responsibility; this is also related to the missing practice of subsidiary

• The wide scope of discretionary power, which allows public servants (including ministers and their deputies) to make decisions based on their own judgment, creates a precondition for corrupting; here particularly important is the existence of a number of licensing regimes, which effectively renders public officials all-powerful and uncontrollable.

In every case it concerns insufficient demarcation between public and pri-

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за явлението се изтъква най- вече общата неразвитост на икономическите, социалните и политическите структури на обществото. В частност се изтъква значението на:

• бедността;

• всесилието на държавата и слабият граждански контрол върху публичната сфера;

• традиционните социални структури, които пречат за модерното разграничаване на публично и частно.

Така най-често примерите с политическа корупция се дават от третия свят, напоследък и от Източна Европа, които в това разбиране се третират в термините на неразвитост, незрялост. Тази обяснителна схема на политическата корупция господства до края на 1980-те години. Но множеството случаи на политическа корупция през 1990-те години в редица западноевропейски страни (развити демокрации) поставиха тази схема под въпрос. Все повече изследователите си дават сметка, че политическата корупция не е характерна единствено за неразвитите страни от третия свят или за по-малко развитите страни от индустриалния свят.

Има обаче много по-съществени институционални причини: недостатъчно ефикасната административна структура, която не е възприела принципите на анонимната бюрокрация. Тук се посочват най-често причини от два типа: свързани със слабия контрол върху публичната власт и с нерационалната организация на публичните институции.

а) Слаба отговорност на публичната власт и неразличими граници между публично и частно:

• недостатъчно разграничение в законодателството на публичната и частната сфери, което позволява неправомерно прехвърляне на публични ресурси към частни дейности, както и понякога води до сливане на организираната престъпност с държавата;

• недефинираните права на лобитата, което позволява лобистка дейност на ръба на закона или действия на незаконни лобита;

• липсата на достатъчна автономия на политическите партии и техните лидери, недостатъчно стабилни и прозрачни източници за финансирането на дейността им, което ги прави силно зависими от частни интереси;

• недостатъчна публичност в действията на правителството, държавните институции и държавната администрация, което ги поставя извън контрола на общественото мнение и създава среда за корупционни практики.

б) Нерационална организация на компетенциите на публичните институции:

• недостатъчно разграничение на политическото от административното равнища, което прави държавните служители силно зависими от лоялността си към политическото ръководство, и подпомага използването на публичния държавен апарат за частно-партийни цели;

• недобре разграничените компетенции в държавната администрация и лошо разделените отговорности между различните нива на ведомствата, което разпространява атмосфе-

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vate interests, between public and private spheres. In the area of parliamentary life, this distinction is realized also in two other directions - through regulation of political parties funding and through regulation of lobbying activities in Parliament.

In the special recommendations of the Conference of the Interparliamentary Union, which took place in Bucharest in 1995, the following directives for regulation of political parties funding are provided:

• Public funding for the parties should be conditioned on their elections results. It is considered as a powerful means for preventing political parties becoming dependent on private economic interests.

• Donations for parties and candidates should be limited. This requirement protects the equal standing of parties and their candidates, and also limits the influence of private interests over party activities.

• Anonymous donations are not acceptable. Transparency in funding political parties is considered to be an important instrument for fighting political corruption.

• An independent body should execute control of the expenditures for political campaigns. The goal is for parties not only to preserve their autonomy vis-a-vis the state, but also to preclude the ruling party from abusing this control.

In most of the EU member states MPs are prohibited from lobbying activities. In many parliaments active lobbies are subject to special registration. The lack of such registration in Great Britain resulted in a series of scandals, concerning favors MPs performed in exchange for money, for example addressing the members of the Cabinet with questions, ordered by private lobbies or companies. Globally considered, it becomes obvious that corruption is spread widely. But it is also obvious that many countries fight it successfully. Just like any other activity, politics is impossible without integrity. The Parliament can be a powerful source of this integrity.

Етични закони, ръководещи поведението на народния представител в Парламента и обществото

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ра на всеобща некомпетентност и безотговорност; това е във връзка и с липсата на практика на субсидиарност;

• широкото поле на дискреционната власт, даваща на държавните служители, включително на министрите и техните заместници, да вземат решение по усмотрение или по преценка, което създава условия за корумпиране; тук от значение е и наличието на множество лицензионни или разрешителни режими, поставящи държавните служители в условия на фактическо пълновластие и безконтролност.

Във всеки случай става въпрос за *недостатъчна разчлененост между* публичните и частните интереси, между публичната и частната сфера. В областта на парламентарния живот това разграничение се постига и в две други насоки - чрез регламентирането на финансирането на политическите партии и чрез регламенти-рането на лобистката дейност в парламентите.

В специални препоръки на Конференцията на Интерпарламентарния съюз, проведена през 1995 г. в Букурещ, се дават следните насоки за регламентирането на финансира-нето на политическите партии:

• Публичното финансиране на партиите да е съобразно с изборните резултати. То се разглежда като мощен лост, който предотвратява попадането на партиите под зависимостта на частни икономически интереси.

• Даренията за партиите и кандидатите им трябва да бъдат ограничени. Това изискване защитава равнопоставеността на партиите и кандидатите им, а също ограничава влиянието на частните интереси върху партийната дейност.

• Анонимните дарения са недопустими. Прозрачността при финансирането на политическите партии се смята за важен инструмент в борбата с политическата корупция.

• Контролът върху разходите по политическите кампании трябва да се прави от независим орган. Целта е партиите да запазват автономията си от държавата, но също така и да се предотврати злоупотребата с този контрол от страна на правителствената партия.

В повечето страни от Европейския съюз е приета забрана депутатите да упражняват лобистка дейност. В много парламенти действащите лобита подлежат на специално регистриране. Липсата на такава регламентация във Великобритания доведе до поредица от скандали, свързани с правените от депутати услуги срещу заплащане, например задаване на депутатски въпроси към членове на кабинета, поръчвани от частни лобита или компании. Световната практика показва, че корупцията е достатъчно широко разпространена. Но също така, че в много страни успешно се справят с нея. Политиката не е възможна без морал, както и всяка човешка дейност. Парламентът може да бъде могъщ източник на такъв морал.

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Mastering Constituency Relations

Dr. Sue Senecah

One of the defining features of democracy is decision-making by deliberation and dialogue among diverse stakeholders and competing viewpoints. Certainly, this takes place routinely among elected representatives, but it also necessarily includes dialogue between elected representatives and their constituents.

A tension is evident in established as well as emerging democracies, and the task of elected representatives is to build a productive balance between themselves and their constituents. This tension commonly exists around this representatives/constituent relationship because of unrealistic expectations by both. Constituents may expect their elected representatives to be at their call to produce favors, legislation, personal requests, exemptions, and funding, for example, believing that the official has limitless power, limitless time, or endless funding to do their bidding. Elected representatives, while they certainly want to assist constituents and need to learn about their concerns, may resent what they perceive as unnecessary oversight and intrusion into their job performance as elected representatives.

This paper first reminds us of the benefits of including constituencies in the legislative process. Second, it asks key questions to assist in clarifying what relationship you desire with your constituents. Finally, it offers some tools and models to consider in order building healthy and realistic constituent relations.

Benefits

Democracy is messy, evolving, and creative. Perception is reality. You build constituency. Even in the US, the expectations of citizens to play larger roles in legislative decision-making have dramatically risen in the last 35 years. Along with the content of the issues that elected officials must address, they have learned that they must also pay careful and strategic attention to their relationships with constituents and the process by which these relationships are built and involved in the issue content. Why? Because the benefits outweigh the costs.

Strength comes when government, business, and non-government organizations (NGO) have had leaders willing to reach beyond the expectations of their specific sectors and invest in building for the common good. Whether establishing justice, providing economic opportunity, or promoting general welfare, collaboration has a high chance of making more progress. What are the strengths of collaboration?

To reflect ethical considerations

To identify the wishes and needs of the citizenry

To help set realistic expectations for these wishes and needs to be instantly gratified

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Усъвършенстване връзките с избирателите

Д-р Сю Сенека

Процесът на взимане на решения на базата на обсъждания и диалог между защитниците на различни мнения и конкуриращи се гледни точки е една от основните характеристики на демокрацията.

Напрежение между различните позиции съществува винаги както при утвърдените, така и при укрепващите демокрации. Задачата на народните избраници е да постигнат продуктивен баланс между себе си и своите избиратели. Напрежението в отношенията избраници/избиратели най-често се поражда от нереалистичните очаквания на двете страни. Избирателите очакват, че техните представители трябва винаги да са на разположение за да им служат, да изслушват правните им или лични молби, да ги освобождават от различни задължения, да им помагат финансово като вярват, че депутатите имат неограничена власт, безкрайно време и неизчерпаеми възможности. Народните представители искрено се опитват да помагат на своите избиратели като се запознават с проблемите им, но изразяват недоволство срещу считания от тях ненужен надзор и вмешателство в работата им.

Това изложение има за цел, първо, да изясни ползата от участието на избирателите в законодателния процес. Второ, в него се задават ключови въпроси, които изясняват как народните представители да се отнасят с избирателите. Накрая, то предлага методология (методологична матрица) за изграждане на здрави и реалистични връзки с избирателите.

Ползи

Демокрацията е хаотична, променяща се и изобретателна. Действителното е това, което е възприето. Вие формирате своите избиратели. В САЩ през последните 35 години значително нараснаха очакванията на гражданите да участват активно в процеса на вземане на решения в областта на законодателството. Народните представители се научиха, че освен да разглеждат проблемите по същество, те трябва внимателно и със стратегия да градят връзките със своите избиратели, да не подценяват процеса на развитие на тези връзки при разглеждане проблемите по същество. Защо? Защото ползата е по-голяма от заплатената цена.

Силата идва тогава, когато ръководителите на правителствени, бизнес и неправителствени организации желаят да постигнат повече от възможното в техния сектор и инвестират в създаването на общото благо. Независимо дали се работи за справедлива съдебна система или се предоставят допълнителни икономически възможности, или се допринася за повишаване на общото благосъстояние, съвместната работа гарантира много по-големи възможности за постигане на значим напредък. Кои са силните страни на съвместната работа?

Включва етичните съображе-

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To obtain information

To obtain wider basis of support for implementation

To clarify and push for justification of positions

To balance other interpretations, e.g., the media

To help heal past wounds

Einstein reminds us that the thinking that created our current problems is not the thinking that will solve them. Using your constituents as resources maximizes creativity, support, and impact.

The list of any nation's needs is long and daunting. Whether the need is for improving education, sustainable development, health care, environmental preservation, or urban and rural poverty, call for action now and build persistent, long term commitment among your constituents.

Working alone, no single sector can address these challenges effectively.

Our worst problems are increasingly intertwined among government, business, and NGSs/citizens. Mobilizing collective resources in a participatory way results in stronger support for implementing policy.

There is no right way. The only wrong action is to not take risks.

The models for measuring failure and success are changing. There is a growing recognition that human/social capital, environmental capital, and economic capital need to be part of a new framework for building healthy societies. This recognition leads to new approaches for achieving socially and environmentally sustainable development.

Laws mean little without the ability to implement or enforce.

An effective democracy, vital democracy depends on the continual weaving of a fabric of trust among elected officials, government agencies, and citizens. It is a fragile covenant, but a necessary and productive one that needs deliberate creation and maintenance.

Future generations are depending on today's decision makers to innovatively reshape contemporary institutions to meet today's challenges.

Community conflicts and constituent disappointments most often occur when there are perceived obstacles to understanding, participating, implementing, and/or assessing or monitoring.

Questions

The participatory decision making process involves four simultaneous phases: Involvement in planning, involvement in implementation,

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ния

Идентифицира желанията и нуждите на гражданите

Помага за формирането на реалистични очаквания за удовлетворяване желанията и нуждите, които не търпят отлагане

Получава информация

Подсигурява по-широка подкрепа при прилагането

Спомага за изясняване и аргументиране на съответните позиции

Балансира други интерпретации, като например медийни

Помага да зараснат стари рани.

Айнщайн казва, че начина на мислене, който създава проблемите, не е начина на мислене, който ще помогне да ги разрешим. Използвайки избирателите като ресурс, стимулираме максимално изобретателността, подкрепата и въздействието.

Списъкът на нуждите във всяка държава е дълъг и обезсърчителен. Независимо дали са необходими подобрения в областта на образованието, устойчивото развитие, здравеопазването, защитата на околната среда или премахване на градската и селската бедност, призовете към незабавни действия и започнете изграждането на постоянно и дългосрочно ангажиране на избирателите в процеса на разрешаване на тези проблеми.

Работейки самостоятелно, нито един сектор не може ефективно да разреши тези проблеми.

Нашите най-значими проблеми все по-плътно преплитат отношенията между правителството, бизнеса, неправителствения сектор и гражданите. Активното мобилизиране на общите ресурси ще доведе до по-силна подкрепа за осъществяване на идеите. Няма единствено правилен начин. Единствено неправилно е поведението на непоемане на рискове.

Мярката за измерване на провал и успех се променя. Все повече се утвърждава разбирането, че човешкия/социалния, природния и икономическия капацитети трябва да станат част от една нова рамка за изграждане на здраво общество. Това разбиране води до нови подходи за постигане на социално и екологично устойчиво развитие. Законите не значат почти нищо, ако нямаме нагласата да ги спазваме или прилагаме.

Ефективната, жизнена демокрация зависи от непрестанното доразвиване, от страна на политици, държавни органи и граждани, на доверието помежду им. Това сътрудничество е крехко, но изключително нужно и продуктивно и се нужда се от специално внимание и грижа.

Съдбата на бъдещите поколения зависи от съвременните политици, които трябва да бъдат новатори в преструктурирането на институциите така, че да могат да отговарят

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involvement in sharing benefits, and involvement in evaluation.

Decision makers, as they move through the various phases, should answer six questions in what is called the Constituent Involvement Strategy (CIS) and determine the objectives for involving the public in each phase. Policy makers build their own strategy by selecting the approaches that best suit their needs.

Depending on your objectives, each strategy for involving the public during each phase will be unique. In all applications, however, the strategy reflects the ongoing nature of constituent involvement, and the importance of dialogue and feedback throughout the entire process. The strategy also becomes an integral part of the overall planning process rather than a procedure parallel to or outside that process.

1. What should your relationship be with the public; that is, your constituents (internal and external)?

- Who are they?
- What are your objectives for involving them?
- What do they want from you?
- Do you want an ongoing relationship?

2. Is the public in agreement with your present constituent Involvement Strategy (CIS)?

- Are people prepared to participate at the level you desire? If not, what are things you can do to ensure or encourage participation?

3. Which methods best meet the CIS strategy identified above in #2?

- What involvement techniques best accomplish the objectives?

4. How can you best accept and use what you learn from your constituents?

- Which tools best record and document?
- How can the information be used to aid the decision maker?

5. What is the best way to respond to your constituents?

- What is the best way to let people know their input was heard and considered?

6. How can you measure the effectiveness of your CIS strategy?

- What tools will help determine if your public involvement efforts were successful?
- Did you meet our objectives?

Tools

The following offers a "cookbook" of various tools and methods to consider in designing a CIS. You must consider the unique political, historical, and cultural context of your district in constructing a CIS that will be effective. If you are instituting a new

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адекватно на предизвикателствата на времето.

Общностните конфликти и разочарованията на избирателите най-често възникват тогава, когато разбирането, участието, прилагането и/или преценката или контрола се възпрепятстват.

Въпроси

Отвореният процес на вземане на решения включва четири едновременно протичащи етапа: участие в планирането, участие в прилагането, участие в споделяне на ползите и участие в преценката.

Политиците, преминавайки през различните етапи, трябва да отговорят на шест въпроса, включени в т.нар. "Стратегия за ангажиране на избирателите" (Стратегията), за да определят целите на включването на избирателите във всеки един етап. Всеки политик изгражда своя стратегия като сам избира подходите, които най-добре отговарят на съответните нужди.

В зависимост от целите, които си поставя, всяка стратегия за ангажиране на обществеността в различните си етапи е уникална. Във всички случаи, обаче, стратегията отразява постоянната ангажираност на избирателите, както и значението на диалога и обратната връзка. Стратегията се превръща в неразделна част от процеса на цялостно планиране, а не паралелна или външна за него процедура.

1. Какви трябва да са отношенията Ви с обществеността: т. е. с Вашите избиратели (вътрешни и външни)?

• Кои са те?

• Какви цели ще изпълните с ангажирането им?

• Какво очакват те от вас?

• Търсите ли дългосрочна връзка с тях?

2. Съгласувана ли е Вашата "Стратегия за ангажиране на избирателите" с тях?

• Готови ли са хората да участват в нея на нивото, което бихте желали? Ако не, какво бихте могли да направите, за да ги мотивирате и насърчите?

3. Кои методи най-добре спомагат за изпълнение на Стратегията, упомената в т. 2?

• Кои техники за ангажиране са най-подходящи за изпълнение на целите?

4. Как най-добре да възприемете и използвате наученото от избирателите?

• Кои са най-подходящите инструменти за водене на записки и архив?

• Как събраната информация помага на политика, вземащ решения?

5. Кой е най-добрият начин да откликнете на Вашите избиратели?

• Кой е най-добрия начин да уведомите хората, че тяхното мнение е

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approach that constituents may distrust, be consistent and persistent.

1.WHAT SHOULD YOUR RELATIONSHIP BE WITH THE PUBLIC? (INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL)

An Ongoing Relationship?

- Invitation to share information with their group or network
- Alerting one another to new issues/ areas of concern
- Sharing of concerns or opportunities on ongoing basis
- Understanding of the legislative mission
- Understanding of what certain programs can and cannot do
- Assistance in understanding their "mission" e.g., as individual, group, agency, government
- Shared understanding of the socio-economic situation
- Shared understanding of the problem at hand, or need to change
- Understanding of complexity of a problem
- Assistance in "getting the word out" to other people
- Assistance in planning efforts
- Assistance in ongoing monitoring and evaluation
- Enhanced Parliament credibility
- Ongoing, two-way communication
- Ongoing relationship
- Trust

To Be Informed?

- Awareness of process, how they can be involved and kept informed

Awareness from a larger public (beyond targeted groups) of process, how they can be involved, and kept informed

- Understanding of the difference between this process and the traditional processes
- Understanding of the decision process, decision space
- Understanding of the monitoring and evaluation results and process
- Understanding of their roles in the planning process
- Understanding of public involvement process and strategy, "Here's what we are hoping to do now, and here is what we need from you."
- Understanding of what types of comments and information are useful to us
- Understanding of all issues, concerns and opportunities, not just their own
- Understanding of what needs to be changed and why
- Understanding of the Parliament's mission
- Assistance in understanding their "mission" as constituents
- Review of reports, plans
- Enhanced Parliament credibility
- Informed consent

To Be Involved?

- Agreement on course of action in each phase (internal "check the course") from responsible officials/ managers

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чуто и взето предвид?

6. Как да прецените ефективността на Стратегията си?

• Кои са методите за преценка дали усилията ви за ангажиране на избирателите са дали резултат?

• Изпълнихте ли целите си?

Инструменти

По-надолу следва "рецептурник" от разнообразни инструменти и методи, които можете да използвате при изготвяне на Стратегията си. За да подготвите ефективна стратегия е необходимо да прецените уникалния политически, исторически и културен контекст на района, в който работите. Ако въвеждате нов подход, към който избирателите ви могат да се отнесат с недоверие, бъдете настойчиви и упорити.

1. КАКВИ ДА БЪДАТ ОТНОШЕНИЯТА ВИ С ОБЩЕСТВЕНОСТТА? (ВЪТРЕШ-НИ И ВЪНШНИ)

Дългосрочна връзка

• покана за обмен на информация с тяхната група или мрежа;

• взаимно предупреждаване за нови теми/сфери, които пораждат проблеми;

• постоянно споделяне на съществуващи проблеми или възможности за разрешаването им;

• разясняване на нуждата от определено законодателство;

• разясняване какво могат и какво не могат да постигнат определени програми;

• помощ при изясняване на тяхната "мисия" като отделни индивиди, група, агенция, правителство;

• споделено разбиране за социално-икономическата ситуация;

• споделено разбиране за прекия проблем или нуждата от промяна;

• вникване в сложността на проблема;

• подкрепа в разпространение информацията сред хората;

• подкрепа в планирането;

• подкрепа в постоянния мониторинг и оценка;

• засилване доверието в Парламента;

• непрекъсната, двустранна комуникация;

• дългосрочни отношения;

• доверие.

Информираност

• познаване процеса на ангажиране и информиране на избирателите

• познаване процеса на ангажиране и информиране на широката общественост (извън конкретните целеви групи)

• вникване в разликата между тези процеси и традиционните

• вникване в процеса на вземане на решение

• вникване в процеса и резултата от мониторинг и оценка разбиране каква е ролята на избирателите в процеса на планиране

• вникване в процеса на обществено ангажиране и Стратегията за

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• Agreement with public CIS and objectives (external "check the course") from interested and affected public

• Involvement of non-traditional public (those not typically involved)

• Validation of issues (make clear this is collection, not resolution, of issues)

• Validation of the proposed action/s, concurrence that change should occur

• Identification and sharing of data

• Identification and sharing of emerging issues (make clear this is collection, not resolution of issues)

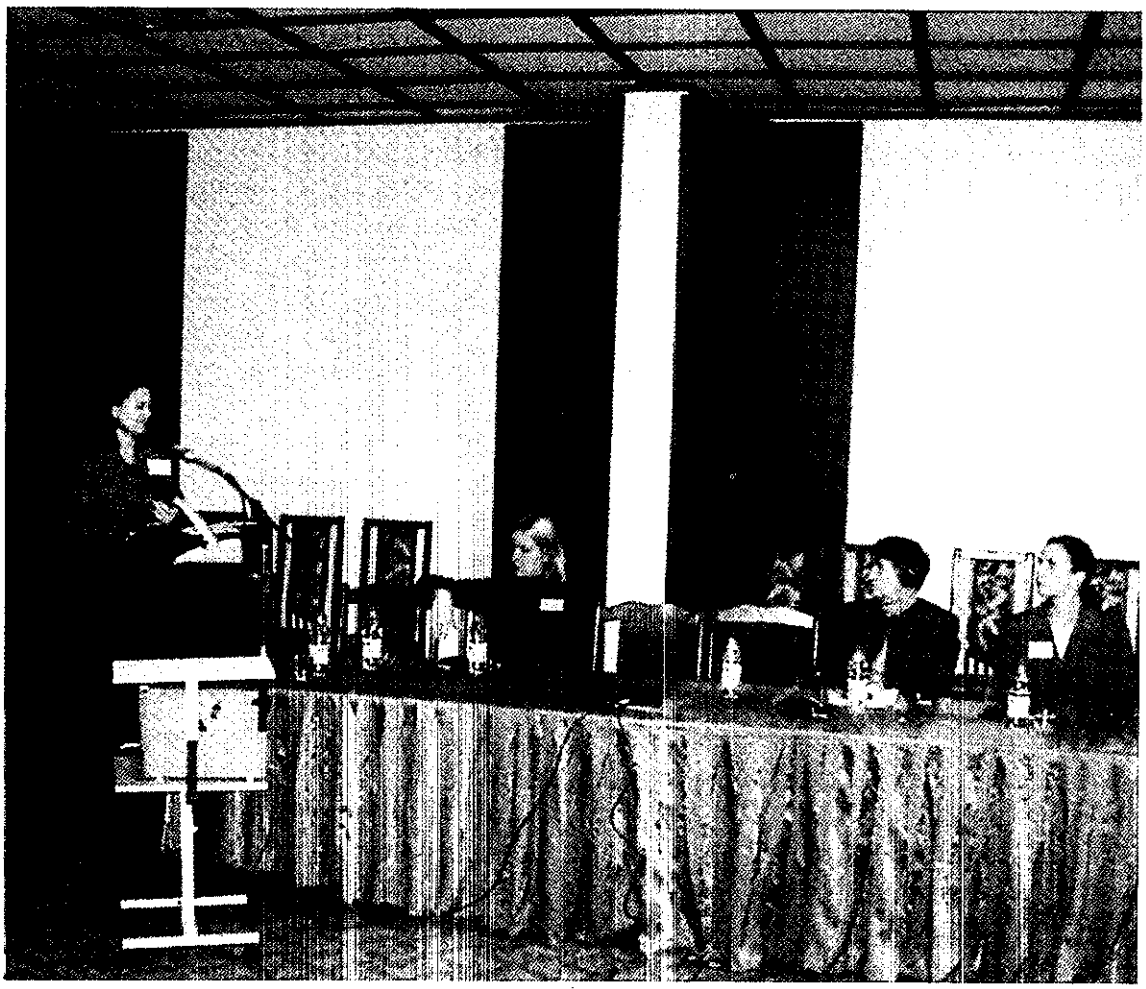
• Identification of opportunities/ choices (make clear these may or may not become proposed actions

• Assistance in developing "choices" to build new or revised/amended plan

• Assistance in defining desire conditions

• Assistance in evaluating effects of choices, e.g., economic impacts assessment, cultural resource evaluation

• Assistance in developing alter-



Усъвършенстване връзките с избирателите

Д-р Сю Сенека

постигането му: "Това е, което се надяваме да постигнем, а това е, което ни е нужно от ваша страна."

• осъзнаване какъв тип коментари и информация са ни полезни

• разбиране нуждите, проблемите и възможностите на всички, не само на собствените

• съзнаване на нуждата от промяна и защо тя е нужна

• вникване в мисията на Парламента помощ при осъзнаване на тяхната "мисия" като избиратели

• преглед на отчети, планове

• засилено доверие в Парламента

• съгласие, базирано на добра информираност

Да бъдеш ангажиран?

• съгласие от страна на отговорните официални лица/мениджъри за начина на действие във всяка фаза (вътрешна "проверка на подхода")

• съгласие от страна на заинтересованата и засегната общественост за Стратегията и поставените цели (външна "проверка на подхода")

• ангажиране на нетрадиционната общественост (тези, които обикновено не са ангажирани)

• набелязване на проблемите (изяснете, че това е набелязване на проблеми, а не разрешаването им)

• набелязване на предложените действия, съгласие, че трябва да има промяна

• идентифициране и обмен на данни идентифициране и обмен на назряващи проблеми (изяснете, че това е набелязване на проблемите, а не разрешаване)

• идентификация на възможностите (изяснете, че превръщането им в предложение за действие не е гарантирано)

• помощ в "избора" между създаването на нов или преоценка/промяна на вече съществуващ план

• помощ в дефинирането на желаните условия

• подпомагане преценката на ефекта от осъществяване на съответната възможност, като например оценка на икономическото въздействие; оценка на културните ресурси

• помощ в разработването на алтернативни варианти за действие;

• помощ в изпълнението

• понататъшна ангажираност с други начинания, например проекти, мониторинг

• съгласие, базирано на добра информираност

• уважаване на взетото решение

• респект към хората, взели решението

Подкрепа при решаването на проблеми

• познаване на законодателството, правилата и процедурите

споделено разбиране на проблема или нуждата от промяна

• оценка на процесите и стратегиите за ангажиране на обществеността (фокусът е върху процеса)

• идентифициране и обмен на данни за условията

• идентифициране и споделяне

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natives to the proposed action
- Assistance in implementation
- Further involvement in other efforts, e.g., projects, monitoring
- Informed consent
- Respect for the decision
- Respect for the decision makers

To Assist In Problem-Solving?

- Understanding of laws, regulations, policies
- Shared understanding of the problem, or need to change
- Evaluations public involvement process and strategy as part of citizens' group (focus is on process)
- Identification and sharing of data on conditions
- Identification and sharing of emerging issues
- Identification of opportunities/ choices
- Assistance in developing "choices" to build new or revise/amend plan
- Assistance in defining desired conditions
- Assistance in evaluation effects of choices
- Assistance in developing alternatives to the proposed action
- Assistance in implementation
- Further involvement in other efforts
- Informed consent
- Collaboration
- Diminishing of polarization between interests
- Building or improving relations
- Consensus
- Ownership in formatting choices to address issues, e.g., social values, resource issues
- Ownership in the program based on their contributions
- Pride in contributions made to a process or an outcome
- Respect for the decision
- Champions for the proposal or project

2. IS THE PUBLIC IN AGREEMENT WITH YOUR CONSTITUENT INVOLVEMENT STRATEGY (CIS)?

Are there shared expectations regarding the strategy and process?

- Do they understand the strategy and the objectives?
- Are they prepared to participate at the level we desire?
- If not, what can be done to enable and encourage participation?

3. WHICH METHODS BEST MEET THE CIS STRATEGY IDENTIFIED ABOVE IN #2?

- Given the objectives of the strategy, which methods should be used? Please See the Methods Matrix at the end.

4. HOW CAN YOU BEST ACCEPT AND USE WHAT YOU LEARNED FROM YOUR CONSTITUENTS?

- Given the objectives and methods chosen to involve the public,

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на назряващи проблеми

• идентифициране на възможности/опции

• помощ в "избора" между създаване на нов или преоценка/промяна на съществуващ план

• помощ в дефинирането на желани условия

• помощ в оценката на ефекта от осъществяване на съответния избор

• помощ в разработването на алтернативни варианти за действие;

• подпомагане на изпълнението

• понататъшна ангажираност с други начинания

• съгласие, базирано върху добра информираност

• съвместна работа

• отслабване на поляризацията между различните интереси

• изграждане или подобряване на отношения

• консенсус

• принос към структурирането на възможностите за разрешаване на проблема, например социални ценности, ресурси

• съавторство в програмата в зависимост от приноса

• задоволство от направения принос към процеса или крайния резултат

• уважаване на взетото решение

• защитници на предложението или проекта

2. ОДОБРЯВА ЛИ ОБЩЕСТВОТО ВАШАТА СТРАТЕГИЯ ЗА АНГАЖИ-РАНЕ НА ИЗБИРАТЕЛИТЕ?

Съществуват ли припокриващи се очаквания относно стратегията или процеса?

• Разбират ли стратегията и целите?

• Готови ли са да участват в степента, която вие искате?

• Ако не, какво да се направи за да се улесни и насърчи за участието им?

3. КОИ МЕТОДИ СА НАЙ-ПОДХОДЯЩИ ЗА ОСЪЩЕСТВЯВАНЕ НА СТРАТЕ-ГИЯТА?

• Кои методи да се използват с оглед целите на Стратегията? Виж типовете методи в Методологична матрица в края на изложението.

4. КАК НАЙ-ДОБРЕ ДА ВЪЗПРИЕМЕТЕ И ИЗПОЛЗВАТЕ НАУЧЕНОТО ОТ ВАШИТЕ ИЗБИРАТЕЛИ?

• Как най-добре да се използва приноса на избирателите в процеса на анализ и вземане на решения с оглед целите и методите, избрани за ангажиране на обществената активност? Кои са най-подходящите методи?

Някои методи за събиране на мнения

• предложения, записани на флипчартове, на обществени места

• писмени предложения

• писма

• картички със съобщения, пощенски картички

• форми за телефонни коментари

how can you best capture and use their input in the analysis and decision making process? What methods are most appropriate?

Some Methods for Accepting Comments

- Flip chart notes collected in public places
- Written testimony
- Letters
- Note cards, postcards
- Telephone comment forms
- Meeting notes
- Newspaper articles
- Appeal issue summaries
- Issue summaries produced by agencies
- Personal contact forms

Some Methods for Using Comments

- Analyze and code information received
- Conduct content analysis on comments
- Distribute summary of comments by category to specialists
- Distribute summary of comments by category to decision makers
- Distribute comment summaries project teams
- Summarize newspaper articles
- Share personal and telephone contact form information
- Which tools best record and document?

5. WHAT IS THE BEST WAY TO RESPOND TO YOUR CONSTITUENTS?

What is the best way mechanism to letting the public know you received and considered their input and how you handled/used it?

Some Methods for Responding

- Personal letter or phone call
- Share status report on the process
- Response to comments
- Response to questions
- Newsletter
- Newspaper article
- Newspaper insert
- Open house
- Working group session
- Share meeting notes
- Organize field trips
- Attend meetings
- Use existing networks
- Family meetings
- "Brown bag" meeting
- Display
- Video/slide/tape program
- Public meeting
- Touch base with key contacts

6. HOW CAN YOU MEASURE THE EFFECTIVENESS OF YOUR CIS STRATEGY?

What tools will help determine if your public involvement efforts were successful? Did you meet our objectives? Do people feel they were understood/involved and their participation was validated?

Усъвършенстване връзките с избирателите

Д-р Сю Сенека

• статии от вестници
• обобщения на жалби
• обобщения по конкретни теми, подготвени от агенции
• бележки от лични срещи

Някои методи за използване на мненията

• анализирайте и кодирайте получената информация
• анализирайте мненията по същество
• изпратете обобщение на коментарите по категории до съответните специалисти
• изпратете обобщение от коментарите по категории до съответните политици
• изпратете обобщения на коментарите до екипите на проектите
• обобщете статиите от вестниците
• споделете информацията от формите за тел. коментари и тези за лични срещи
• кои за най-ефективните средства за водене на записки и документация?

5. КОЙ Е НАЙ-ДОБРИЯТ НАЧИН ЗА ИНФОРМИРАНЕ НА ИЗБИРАТЕЛИТЕ?

Кой е най-добрият механизъм, чрез който да уведомите хората, че сте получили и обмислили тяхното мнение и сте го използвали при вземането на решение?

Някои методи за информиране

• лично писмо или телефонно обаждане
• споделяне на данните за статуса на проекта
• отговор на коментари
• отговор на въпроси
• бюлетин
• статия във вестник
• листовка, разпространявана чрез вестник
• приемна
• сесия на работна група
• споделяне на записките от срещи
• организиране на пътувания по места
• присъствие на срещи
• използване на съществуващата мрежа
• семейни срещи
• неформални срещи със закуска
• изложения
• демонстрация с видео материали/диапозитиви/записи
• обществени обсъждания
• постоянни връзки с ключови фигури

6. КАК МОЖЕТЕ ДА ИЗМЕРИТЕ ЕФЕКТИВНОСТТА НА СТРАТЕГИЯТА СИ?

Как да разберете дали са успешни усилията Ви да ангажирате обществеността? Изпълнихте ли целите си? Хората имат ли усещането, че са разбрани/ангажирани и участието им е оценено?

Въпроси, на които да отговорите

Mastering Constituency Relations

Dr. Sue Senecah

Questions to Answer

- Are you making satisfactory progress toward your objectives?
- Is your plan still valid?
- Did you accomplish the objectives of the strategy?
- Do people feel the public involvement process was fair and unbiased?
- Do people feel their issues and concerns were identified, considered, and addressed in the process? (addressed does not mean resolved in their favor necessarily, but that they understood how issues were handled)
- Was the content analysis and summary information presented to other decision makers?
- Was the data presented to appropriate agencies?
- Did you respond to constituents on how their comments were used?

Conclusion

Rather than viewing relationships with constituents only in problem solving terms, consider viewing them as ways of creating "social capital" and a more transparent democracy. This will produce healthy local communities through ongoing dialogues and local problem solving. There is value is joint efforts across sectors to achieve healthy communities by practicing and modeling democratic process rather than just living in one.

Citizens call upon leaders in government, business, and NGOs to rise above their institutional self-interests. They call on them to work actively together to meet the nation's needs and transform citizens and communities. Strategically building effective relationships with constituents clarifies realistic expectations, unleashes local expertise and passion, empowers self-sufficiency and resourcefulness, and builds the trust in the democratic process necessary to debate the hard issues, come to agreement, and move forward. This is how to build democratic communities. You sit in the place of honor as the result of your constituents' vote of confidence in you to help them build better communities and lives. Take the risks, build your constituency, and then use them to build better communities and a vibrant nation.

Усъвършенстване връзките с избирателите

Д-р Сю Сенека

• Имате ли задоволителен напредък в изпълнение на целите си?

• Все още ли е валиден планът ви?

• Изпълнихте ли целите на Стратегията?

• Имат ли хората усещането, че процесът по ангажиране на обществеността е балансиран и справедлив?

• Имат ли хората усещането, че в процеса техните проблеми и грижи са идентифицирани, взети под внимание и се търси начин за разрешаването им? (разрешаване не значи задължително решение в тяхна полза, но те са наясно как се работи по въпроса)

• Предоставени ли са на други политици анализ по същество и обобщение на информацията?

• Данните предоставени ли са на съответните държавни органи?

• Отговорихте ли на избирателите за това как са използвани коментарите им по въпроса?

Заключение

Вместо да приемате връзките с избирателите в контекста на решаване на проблеми, опитайте се да погледнете на тях като на средство за изграждане на "социален капитал" и по-прозрачна на демокрация. Това ще доведе до създаване на здрави местни общности, които работят на базата на непрекъснат диалог и решаване проблеми на местно ниво. Много е ценно обединяването на усилията на всички сектори посредством участие и влияние в демократичния процес, вместо пасивното му съпреживяване.

Гражданите очакват от управляващите държавата, бизнеса и третия сектор да надраснат тясно институционалните си интереси. Те очакват активна съвместна работа в името на държавните интереси и интересите на обществото. Стратегически погледнато ефективните връзки с избирателите изясняват кои са реалистичните очаквания, отприщват експертния капацитет и ентусиазъм на местно ниво, засилват самочувствието и находчивостта и в крайна сметка градят доверието в демократичния процес, така необходимо при разрешаване на трудните въпроси, постигане на съгласие и предвижване напред. Така се градят демократичните общества. Вие сте избрани на тази уважавана позиция, в резултат на гласовете на вашите избиратели, които вярват, че ще им помогнете да изградят по-добро общество и по-сигурен живот. Приемете риска, инвестирайте в избирателите си и после с тяхна помощ постройте по-добро общество и по-жизнена нация.

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Methods Matrix

	Relationship building	Inform	Involve	Problem Solve	Consensus	See project as they do	Identify Solutions	Identify Problems	Depolarize	Evaluate
1. Meeting										
- Working meeting - small groups to focus on agenda of work without resolving problems.	•	•	•	•			•	•	•	
- "Open" meeting - like a working meeting but with an audience observing.		•				•		•		
- Forum - informal sessions to air certain issues, hear different points of view, and shed light on subject.	•	•				•		•		
- Public meeting - open meeting to inform the public about a subject or to solicit comments.		•						•		
- Open House - informal meeting utilizing information stations for explaining a topic and for informed discussion with the public.	•	•	•	•		•	•	•		
- Brainstorming Session - session for gathering many comments and ideas without any value judgments.						•	•	•		
- Sunshine meeting - administrators do everything in their power to have the public understand their work as they do it e.g., updates, progress reports.	•	•						•		
- Internal family meeting - meeting with employees for information sharing.	•	•								
- External family meeting - for building ownership and support.	•	•	•	•			•	•	•	
2. Group Interactions										
- Sounding boards - groups of people (citizens, employees, etc.) for testing ideas.	•		•			•	•	•		
- Interest group coalitions - work out action plans to accomplish specific activities.	•	•	•	•				•		
- Consensus building - facilitate diverse groups getting together to develop mutual solutions.	•			•	•		•		•	
3. Information Dissemination										
- Producing materials (written, video, etc.) for internal communication.		•								
- Producing material for release to media.		•								
- Producing briefing papers for interest groups and public officials.		•								
- Producing materials (written, video, newsletters) to keep organizations, interest groups informed.		•								
- Paid ads, legal notices.			•							
4. Developing Full Range of Choices for Working with Diverse Interest Groups	•				•	•	•		•	
5. Tapping into Existing Networks, Organizations and Institutions										
- Employees	•	•	•			•				
- Clubs, service groups, other organizations	•	•	•			•				
- Tribal governments	•	•	•			•				
- School systems	•	•	•			•				
- County Commissioners	•	•	•			•				

Методологична матрица

	Изграждане връзки	Информира	Ангажира	Разрешава проблеми	Постига консенсус	Вижда с очите на хората	Открива решения	Открива проблеми	Сближава	Оценява
1. Срещи										
- Работни срещи - малки групи, които се фокусират върху процеса на работа без да си поставят за цел разрешаването на проблеми.	•	•	•	•			•	•	•	
- Срещи на "отворени врати" - като работните, но с присъствие на публика		•				•		•		
- Форум - неформални сесии за поставяне пред обществото на определени проблеми, изслушване на различни гледни точки и осветляване на дадена тема.	•	•				•		•		
- Срещи с обществеността - открити срещи за информиране на обществото по определен въпрос или за получаване на коментар.		•						•		
- "Отворена къща" - неформална среща, на която се използват информационни материали за обяснение на определена тема, или се провежда дискусия с обществеността.	•	•	•	•		•	•	•		
- Сесия Брейнсторминг - среща за събиране на много и различни коментари и идеи без да им се прави някаква оценка.						•	•	•		
- Разясняващи срещи - администраторите провят всичко възможно за да разяснят на обществото своята дейност, напр. опреснителна информация, отчети за постигнатото и пр.	•	•						•		
- Вътрешна "семейна" среща - среща със служителите за обмен на информация.	•	•								
- Вътрешна "семейна" среща - за получаване на подкрепа и разбиране	•	•	•	•			•	•	•	
2. Групови взаимоотношения										
- Довереници - група хора (граждани, служители, т.н.), с които се споделят идеите, за да се видят техните реакции.	•		•			•	•	•		
- Коалиции със заинтересовани групи - изработват планове за действие за извършване на определени дейности.	•	•	•	•				•		
- Изграждане на консенсус - подпомагане на групите с различни мнения при вземането на общо решение.	•			•	•		•		•	
3. Разпространяване на информацията										
- Подготовка на материали (писмени, видео и др.) за вътрешна комуникация).		•								
- Подготовка на материали за разпространение в пресата.		•								
- Подготовка на информационни материали за заинтересованите групи и официалните лица.		•								
- Подготовка на материали (писмени, видео, бюлетини) за информиране на организациите, заинтересованите групи.		•								
- Платени рекламни съобщения, правни обявления.			•							
4. Разработване на пълен набор от възможности за работа с групите с разнородни интереси	•				•	•	•		•	
5. Проникване в съществуващите мрежи, организации и институции										
- Служители	•	•	•			•				
- Клубове, обслужващи групи, др. организации	•	•	•			•				
- Родови съюзи	•	•	•			•				
- Училищни системи	•	•	•			•				
- Областни комисариати	•	•	•			•				

Methods Matrix

	Relationship building	Inform	Involve	Problem Solve	Consensus	See project as they do	Identify Solutions	Identify Problems	Depolarize	Evaluate
- State Agencies	•	•	•			•				
- Using other planning efforts to develop common messages and disseminate information, and to provide input to others' efforts.	•	•	•	•			•	•		
6. Roving Ambassador (making contacts with forest visitors at campgrounds, trailheads, field information stations, etc.)	•	•				•				
7. Employing an Advocate or Intervener (one who advocates on behalf of an interested group)	•					•			•	
8. Running Trap-Lines (establishing regular schedule to touch base with interest groups, elected officials, agency officials, and opinion leaders)	•	•				•	•	•		
9. Identifying Opinion Leaders (those who are listened to and whose counsel you trust; meet with and/or visit by phone as often as possible)	•	•				•	•	•		
10. Field Information Stations for Information Dissemination		•								
11. Reviewing and Monitoring Media (to learn about values, priorities, issues and cancers of interested groups)						•		•		
12. Partnership Building (using local citizens/organizations for project meeting mutual objectives)	•			•	•	•	•		•	
13. Issues Identification (identifying emerging issues)						•	•	•		
14. Conflict Mediation (mediating conflict interests to reach resolution)	•				•				•	
15. Sensing/Surveys:										
- Conducting Public Opinion poll/survey						•				•
- Validity model for public involvement						•				•
- Demographic/psychographics surveys						•				•
- Public perception analysis (surveying public on perception of agency activities).						•				•
- Collaborative social assessment project						•				•
16. Identifying and Developing a Community of Interest	•		•	•	•	•	•	•	•	
17. Identifying and Segmenting Public and Groups (identifying potentially affected interests)						•				
18. Citizen Oversight Group (key interests to review and focus on process and related concerns)	•	•		•		•	•	•		•
19. Seminars		•								
20. Brown Bag Lunch Sessions		•								
21. Field Trips/Show-Me Trips	•	•								
22. Using Audio-Visual Materials (video, displays, etc.)		•								
23. Communication										
- Active listening, recording, and documentation	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	
- Accessible language (lay terminology, Braille, TTY, bilingual)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	

Методологична матрица

	Изграждане връзки	Информира	Ангажира	Разрешава проблеми	Постига консенсус	Вижда с очите на хората	Открива решения	Открива проблеми	Сближава	Оценява
- Държавни агенции	•	•	•			•				
- *Полагане на* усилия за разработване на общи послания и разпространяване на информация и участие в работата на др. структури.	•	•	•	•			•	•		
6. Пътуващ посредник (създава контакти със заинтересованите групи на място, на разположение за срещи, обсъждания, разговори, пр.)	•	•				•				
7. *Наемане на* адвокат или наместник (защитаващ от името на заинтересованите групи).	•					•			•	
8. Установяване на график за редовни посещения и поддържане на отношения с лобисти, изборни политици, ръководители на агенции и представители на общественото мнение.	•	•				•	•	•		
9. Разпознаване на представителите на общественото мнение (*тези*, чиято дума "се чува" и на чиито съвет можете да се доверите; срещайте се с тях и / или се чувайте по телефона колкото се може по-често).	•	•				•	•	•		
10. Тематични информационни центрове за предоставяне и разпространяване на информация.		•								
11. Преглед и следене на медиите (за да се разберат ценностите, приоритетите и пробле-мите на заинтересованите групи)						•		•		
12. Изграждане на партньорство (като се използват граждани / организации на местно ниво в изпълнение на проекти *с общи* цели).	•			•	•	•	•		•	
13. Откриване на проблеми (откриване на назряващи проблеми)						•	•	•		
14. Посредничество при разрешаване на проблеми (посредничество при *разрешаване на* проблеми за вземане на решение)	•				•				•	
15. Придобиване на представа / проучвания:										
- Провеждане на проучвания на общественото мнение						•				•
- Обоснован модел за обществено ангажиране						•				•
- Демографски проучвания/психологически профили						•				•
- Анализ на общественото възприятие (*проучвания на* обществеността за начина на възприемане на дейностите на органа)						•				•
- Съвместни проекти за социална оценка на обществото						•				•
***16. Идентифициране* и разработване на групи с общи интереси**	•		•	•	•	•	•	•	•	
17. Идентифициране и сегментиране на обществото и групите (определяне на потенциално засегнатите интереси).						•				
18. Гражданска група за надзор (за преглед на важни интереси и насочване *към общи*, свързани проблеми)	•	•		•		•	•	•		•
19. Семинари		•								
20. Сесии с обеди на открито		•								
21. Тематични / *опознавателни* пътувания	•	•								
22. Използване на аудио-визуални материали (видео, екрани, т.н.)		•								
23. Комуникации										
- Активно слушане, записване и документиране	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	
- Достъпен език (внимателно използване на терминология, Брайлово писмо, език на глухонемите, двуезичност).	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	

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Mastering Constituency Relations

Borislav Vilarov

Establishing good relations with constituents and employing persuasion skills are two instruments used to enhance the effectiveness of the Member of Parliament and projecting a positive image of the MPs and the National Assembly.

By the Constitution of the Republic of Bulgaria, the MP:

• Represents the interests of his constituents and the Bulgarian people as a whole

• Exercises the legislative power and the parliamentary control over the Executive

• Participates in the making of important political decisionsIn

In order to perform their responsibilities effectively, MPs need to organize their activities at the national, regional and local level. This is related to the activities taking place at the National Assembly, maintaining relations with national and local institutions, communication with various civil society and religious organizations, the media, as well as individual citizens.

It is crucial that the effectiveness of the National Assembly as an institution is enhanced. With good organization and a limited funding the administrative and analytical departments of the Parliament may be able to effectively facilitate the MP activities.

In order to carry out their functions effectively, the MPs need to have a team to support them. It is up to each individual MP to determine the type of team he or she needs. The minimal team is composed of:

• Secretary - responsible for the calendar, schedule of meetings, and activities of the rest of the team

• Regional coordinator - manages the office in the constituency; collects information; serves as liaison with the local government and local branches of the stat institutions; is responsible for tracking the inquiries and petitions; organizes meetings with constituents and organizations; maintains relations with local media and the constituents

• Parliamentary assistant - supports the MP in his/her lawmaking activities and with parliamentary control over the Executive

• Image-maker (public relations

assistant) - responsible for creating and supporting the public image of the MP; informs the public and media on the MPs activities; maintaining contacts with the national, regional and local media

The MP: "servant and voice of the people"

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Усъвършенстване връзките с избирателите

Борислав Виларов

Установяването на добри контакти с избирателите и умението за убеждаване е от важно значение за подобряване ефективността на народния представител и създаване на положителен имидж на депутатите и Народното събрание.

Според Конституцията на Република България народният представител:

• представлява интересите на избирателите от района и целият народ;

• упражнява законодателната власт и осъществява парламентарен контрол;

• участва при взимането на важни политически решения.

За да изпълняват ефективно задълженията си народните представители трябва добре да организират дейността си на национално, регионално и местно ниво. Това е свързано с дейността в Народното събрание, подържане на контакти с държавни и местни институции, общуване с различни граждански и религиозни организации, медии и отделни граждани.

Важно е и да се повиши ефективността на Народното събрание като институция. С добра организация и малко средства административните и аналитичните звена на парламента, могат да улеснят дейността народните избраници.

С оглед ефективното изпълнение на функциите си народните представители се нуждаят от екип, който да ги подпомага. Всеки депутат трябва сам да прецени от какъв екип се нуждае. Минималният екип се състои от:

• секретар - грижи се за календара, личният график, и координира дейността на екипа;

• регионален координатор - завежда канцеларията и приемната в избирател-ния район, набира информация; осъществява контакт с представители на регионалните държавни институции и местните власти; отговаря за движението на жалбите и преписките; организира срещи с избиратели и организации; подържа оперативен контакт с регионалните и местните медии;

• парламентарен сътрудник - подпомага народния представител в законода-телната дейност и парламентарният контрол;

• имиджмейкър - отговаря за изграждане и подържане на публичния образ на народния представител; информиране на обществеността и медиите за неговата дейност; подържане на контакти с националните, регионалните и местните медии.

Народният представител "слуга и глас на народа"

За да могат да изпълняват тази мисия народните представители трябва да организират своите връзки с избирателите и да умеят да общуват с тях. Това изисква непрекъснато да се осъществяват три типа контакти - общуване с медии, с лидери на мнение и лични срещи.

Общуването с лидери на мнение играе важна роля в съвременното

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Mastering Constituency Relations

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In order to complete this mission successfully, MPs need to organize their constituency relations and to communicate skillfully with their constituents. Three types of communication must be carried out - communication with the media, with opinion leaders, and in personal meetings.

Communication with opinion leaders is crucial in contemporary society. The media allow for great communication opportunities, but with them the direct contact is lost. Personal contacts with large groups of people are very effective, but time consuming. Therefore, personal contacts with opinion leaders are so important - through them we might reach out to a larger audience. Opinion leaders are people who closely follow public life. Often times these are representatives of various institutions or civil society organizations, writers, sportspeople, or artists. They construc the opinion of the social groups in which they are functioning. Therefore, MPs must be able to identify these opinion leaders in the respective constituencies, to establish and sustain relationships with them and to ask their opinion.

Personal contacts might be either organized or spontaneous:

- Organized - surgeries with people or arranged meetings (thematic meetings; city or neighborhood meetings; with local organizations)
- Spontaneous - visiting busy public places in the constituency (marketplaces, celebrations, city centers) or visits to schools, hospitals, etc., without preliminary notice

The office of the MP plays an important role since it is the place where individual citizens interested in the activities of his or her representative, can contact either the MP or the team of the MP, or even file a complaint. The effective functioning of the office to a large extent determines the degree of successful communication with institutions and the people. The office needs to reflect the style (image) of the MP and to function permanently (with firmly fixed time for daily surgeries with an MP's assistant, as well as regular surgeries with the MP himself/herself). MPs need to prepare a schedule and to visit their constituencies frequently.

Complaints need to be properly processed and filed. A system for tracking complaints and for informing the people of the results in writing must also be established.

In their activities and constituency relations MPs need to address and persuade large audiences. Therefore it is crucial that MPs take into consideration the social and demographic characteristics of their audience (i.e. sex, age, education, socioeconomic status, etc.) and to receive feedback. Sixtynine per cent of the information processed by each individual is received through nonverbal communication (gestures, posture, clothing style). Shaping public opinion is influenced also by outer appearance (55 per cent),voice - timbre, intonation (28 per cent), first impressions (7 per cent). The different forms, colors, movements and rhythm are also important. Various

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общество. Медиите дават големи възможности за общуване, но при тях се губи непосредствената връзка. Личните контакти с големи групи от хора са много ефективни, но отнемат много време. Затова личните контакти с лидери на мнение играят важна роля, тъй като чрез тях можем да общуваме с голям брой хора. Лидерите на мнение са хора, които следят обществения живот. Често това са представители на граждански организации или бизнесмени, писатели, спортисти, представители на артистичните среди и институции. Те формират мнението на социалните групи, в които се движат. Затова е много важно народните представители да идентифицират в избирателния район и отделните населени места такива лидери на мнение, да подържат контакт с тях и да се допитват до мнението им.

Персоналните контакти могат да бъдат организирани или спонтанни:

- организирани - приемане на граждани или организиране на срещи (тематични; в населено място или квартал; с организации)
- спонтанни - обикаляне на оживени места в района (пазари, празници, център на населени места) или посещения на училища, болници и др. без предварителна уговорка

Канцеларията на народния представител играе важно значение, защото това е мястото, където всеки гражданин, който се интересува от дейността на своя избраник или има жалба, може да се свърже с депутата и екипа му. От ефективното функциониране на канцеларията в голяма степен зависи ефективното подържане на контакти с институции и граждани. Канцеларията трябва отразява стила (образа) на политика и да функционира постоянно (с точно определено време за ежедневно приемане на граждани от сътрудник на народния представител, и регулярно приемане на граждани от депутата). Народните представители трябва да изготвят график и редовно да организират обиколки из района с временни приемни.

С оглед повишаване ефективността и отговаряне на очакванията на гражданите, жалбите трябва да се обработват и архивират. Необходимо е да се създаде система за проследяване на пътя на жалбите и писмено уведомяване на гражданите за резултатите от проверките.

При своята дейност и осъществяване на връзки с избирателите на народните на народните се налага да общуват и убеждават големи хомогенни или хетерогенни аудитории. В процеса на общуване е важно народните представители да се съобразяват със социално-демографските характеристики и особености на аудиторията (пол, възраст, образование, социален статус и др.) и да се реализира "обратна връзка" (feedback). 69 % от информацията, която човек възприема е в резултат на невербално общуване (мимики, жестове, поза на тялото, стил на обличане). Формирането на общественото мнение се влияе от външността (55 %), глас - тембър, интонация (28 %), първото

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psychological factors, such as novelty, conformity, pessimism and positive/negative attitudes also play a crucial role. People process negative information three times faster than positive information. Between 40 and 70 percent of the time people make decisions influenced by pessimism. This is one of the reasons for the phenomenon called "voting against", a widespread phenomenon in Eastern Europe. Considerable influence is also exerted by the people's needs, predispositions, and stereotypes.

Personalization of political life and the image of the politician are playing ever more important role in contemporary society. Image represents the sum of all positive and negative impressions of the voters for the politicians. The power of visual influence is an additional psychological value, created in the process of media marketing and direct communication.

Conscious image making is crucial for the process of politicians' survival in the tough political struggles. Before moving into making the image, it is necessary to first transcend the "threshold of recognition" by means of enhancing the popularity and projecting personal information about the politician in public (childhood, family, health, profession, sport, hobby, pets, etc.).

Once beyond the "threshold of recognition" but before beginning to consciously construct the political image, one needs to determine the desires of the audience, the ideal image according to the constituents (positive and negative characteristics), and cityzens' strong and weak attitudes. Then we move forward to the actual construction of the political image, taking into account our specific characteristics and the wishes of the audience. The construction of the image is related to establishing a coherent system of political messages, visual references and a complex of symbols and events.

Six rules for formulating the major messages

- The messages need to be short (three to five words), clear and easy to remember
- The messages need to reflect the overwhelming aims, desires and expectations
- The messages need to incorporate an emblematic (identification) code
- The messages need to be dynamic. Dynamics is related to aggression towards our opponents and the activation of our sympathizers.
- The messages need to call for a particular action to be undertaken
- The messages need to establish an atmosphere of confidence

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впечатление (7 %). Различните форми, цветове, движения и ритъм също оказват съществено значение. Съществена роля играя и психологически фактори като новост, конформизъм, песимизъм и позитивна/негативна информация. Установено е, че негативната информация се възприема три пъти по-бързо от хората, отколкото позитивната. Между 40 и 70 % от избирателите взимат решение под влияние на песимизъм. На това се дължи явлението "гласуване против", което е широко разпространено в Източна Европа. Сериозно въздействие оказват също потребностите, нагласите и стереотипите.

Персонификацията на политическият *живот и образа на политиците* играе все по-важна роля в съвременното *общество. Имиджът представлява* съвкупност от всички положителни *или отрицателни* впечатления на избирателите за политиците. Силата *на образното* въздействие е в допълнителна психологическа стойност на имиджа, която се изгражда в процеса на рекламиране чрез медиите и директното общуване.

Съзнателното изграждане на имидж има важна роля за утвърждаването на политиците и тяхното съхраняване в тежките политически борби. Преди да пристъпим към изграждане на имидж е необходимо да преминем "прага на познаваемост" чрез повишаване на популярността и насищане на публичното пространство с лична информация за политика (детство, семейство, здраве, професия, спорт, хоби, домашни животни).

След като сме преминали "прага на познаваемост" и преди да пристъпим към съзнателното конструиране на политическия имидж е необходимо да определим желанията на аудиторията, идеалният образ според избирателите (положителните и отрицателните характеристики), своите силни и слаби страни. След това пристъпваме към *същинското изграждане* на политическия образ, като се съобразяваме *със своите индивидуални особености* и желанията *на аудиторията. Конструирането* на образа е свързано с изграждане на *цялостна система от политически* послания, визуални картини и комплекс от символи и събития.

Шест правила за формулиране на основните послания (ключови думи, лозунги)

- Посланията трябва да са кратки (три - пет думи) ясни и лесно запомнящи се.
- Посланията трябва да отразяват преобладаващите стремежи, желания и очаквания.
- Посланията трябва да съдържат емблематичен (идентификационен) код.
- Посланията трябва да са динамични. Динамиката е свързана с агресията срещу нашите опоненти и активизирането на нашите симпатизанти.
- Посланията трябва да имат призивен характер, да подтикват към конкретно действие.
- Посланията трябва *да създават* атмосфера на доверие.

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Lobbying, Goals and Principles

Stephen G. Lakis

Lobbying is a very important aspect of a developed democratic legislative process. It is also the most maligned and misunderstood aspect of that process.

As the world's longest continuing democracy and one in which the legislative branch plays a major role in the making of public policy lobbying activities have probably achieved their highest level of sophistication in the United States. So, this is the most logical starting point for an examination of how lobbying operates in a developed legislature or parliament and, more importantly, how it can be expected to operate in the National Assembly of Bulgaria as the Bulgarian democracy stabilizes and develops.

The perception that many Americans (as well as many people throughout the world) have of lobbying is of representatives of big corporations spending money lavishly to corrupt elected officials and get them to enact laws that will benefit their client corporations while doing harm to the vast majority of citizens. This is far from the truth, far from reality, and far from how the vast majority of lobbyists operate or of how most lobbying activity is conducted in a developed democratic process.

Exercising The Right Of Free Speech In A Democracy

Simply put, a lobbyist can be defined as someone who tries to influence legislation. In most, but not all, instances a lobbyist is compensated for his or her efforts. In the United States, the right to engage in lobbying is a protected right under the United States Constitution. The US Constitution guarantees every American the right of free speech and the right to petition their government. What we Americans call our "first amendment right of free speech" is probably our most fiercely protected constitutional right strongly supported and defended by those who call themselves conservative as much as by those who call themselves liberal. It assures any citizen or any group or organization no matter how unpopular their position and no matter how little support that position may enjoy among the people the right to state and explain their views without interference or hindrance from governmental authority.

Within the American legislative process, organizations or groups of individuals who have similar objectives utilize their constitutional right of free speech and petition to retain lobbyists to represent them and their views in the halls of the legislature. In some cases, a lobbyist will be hired under a contract and compensated for focusing on specific issues or bills in which the group or organization has an interest. Or a lobbyist may be a full-time employee of the group or organization whose specific job assignment is to be its lobbyist. Regardless of the employment conditions under which a lobbyist operates, any successful lobbyist will be thoroughly familiar with the details and specifics of all issues or bills for which he or she is responsible, and will also have a thorough understanding of

Лобиране - цели и принципи

Стивън Лакис

Лобирането е важен компонент на развития демократичен законодателен процес. Същевременно то е най-злепоставената и неразбрана страна на този процес.

Лобирането е може би най-добре развито в Съединените щати - страната с най-стара непрекъсвана демокрация в света, където законодателната власт играе огромна роля при формиране на обществената политика. Ето защо САЩ е най-логичната отправна точка за анализ на лобирането в една развита законодателна структура или парламент, а в нашия случай, на неговото бъдещо функциониране в Народното събрание на България, когато се стабилизира и развие българската демокрация.

Представата, която много американци (а и много други хора по целия свят) имат за лобирането е за представители на големи корпорации, които харчат безразборно пари за да подкупват политици, принуждавайки ги да приемат закони в полза на корпорациите, които да са в разрез с интересите на огромната част от обикновените хора. Това е твърде далеч от истината, твърде далеч от действителността и твърде далеч от начина на действие на голяма част от лобистите или от начина на лобиране в едно развито демократично общество.

Упражняване правото на свобода на словото в демократичното общество

Казано накратко, лобистът е човек, който се опитва да повлияе на законодателния процес. В повечето, но не всички случаи, лобистът бива компенсиран за своите усилия*. В САЩ правото да се лобира е защитено от Конституцията. Тя гарантира на всеки американец правото на свободно слово и правото на отправяне петиции към държавата. Това, което ние, американците, наричаме "първа поправка - право на свободно слово" е вероятно най-жестоко браненото ни конституционно право - силно подкрепяно и защитавано както от тези, които се определят като консерватори, така и от онези, които се считат за либерали. То гарантира на всеки гражданин, група или организация - независимо колко непопулярна е нейната позиция и независимо колко малка подкрепа ще получи - правото да изрази и обясни възгледите си без намеса или възпрепятстване от страна на държавните структури.

В рамките на американския законодателен процес, организации или групи хора със сходни цели се възползват от своето конституционно право на свободно слово и жалби и ангажират лобисти, които представляват тях и техните възгледи в законодателните структури. В някои случаи лобистът може да бъде нает с договор за изпълнение на конкретна задача, свързана с определен проблем или проектозакон, в които се засягат интересите на групата или организацията. Лобистът може да бъде служител на пълно работно време, назначен от съответната група или организация, като основните му

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the processes and procedures of the legislature or parliament in which he or she is working.

The Popular Misperception Of Lobbyists And Lobbying

Contrary to popular perception in the United States and throughout the democratic world, lobbyists in the Congress and in the fifty American state legislatures (which have authority and responsibility over many areas that, in other countries, are assigned to their national governments) do not primarily represent large corporations and big business. For sure, the business community is well represented by many well-paid and highly competent lobbyists. But large numbers of lobbyists also represent activities in which almost every American citizen has an interest.

How Do Lobbyists Lobby?

There are two basic ways by which lobbyists attempt to influence legislation. The first, which might be termed direct lobbying, involves an effort to persuade sitting legislators and parliamentarians to cast votes that will produce a result passage or defeat of a bill or bills favored by the client that the lobbyist represents. The second, which might be called indirect lobbying, involves working through the election process to elect members to the parliament or legislature who will represent viewpoints that coincide with those of the lobbyist's client.

Direct Lobbying

The focus of a lobbyist's attention in direct lobbying is on the individuals who are considered to be the decision-makers on public policy. In the United States, with its tradition of an independent legislative branch and relatively weak party organization, the focus is often on individual legislators who run generally independent campaigns for office and, more often than not, will be at least as concerned about the reaction of their constituents to the votes they cast as they will to the reaction of their party leaders. In parliamentary systems, particularly those close in style to the British Westminster Model, a lobbyist's may focus more on party leaders and the heads of government ministries than on "backbencher" parliamentarians.

Lobbyists present their cases to legislators and public officials in a variety of ways. The first, and usually the most effective, is to provide legislators or other policy-makers with information that demonstrates to them why the legislation of concern to the lobbyist's client should or should not be enacted. This may involve direct one-on-one discussion between the lobbyist and the legislator or official, or it may involve providing written material explaining the merits of the client's position and also countering arguments offered by those on the opposite side of the issue. Astute lobbyists know that, just as brevity is important in making points in one-on-one conversations, written materials should be confined to no more than one or two type-

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задължения са да лобира за своя работодател. Независимо от трудово-правните отношения, всеки добър лобист познава изцяло и в детайли особеностите на всички теми или проектозакони, за които отговаря, както и всички процеси и процедури на законодателната структура, с която работи.

Популярната погрешна представа за лобистите и лобирането

Противно на разпространената представа в САЩ и в целия демократичен свят, лобистите в Конгреса и в петдесетте щатски законодателни органи (които имат правомощия в много области, с които в други държави се занимават държавните органи) не представляват единствено големи корпорации или големи икономически интереси. Естествено големите икономически общности са представлявани от много добре заплатени и изключително компетентни лобисти. Но огромна част от лобистите работят по проблеми, в които всеки американски гражданин има интерес.

Как лобират лобистите?

Лобистите се опитват да повлияят на законодателството по два основни начина. Първият може да се нарече директно лобиране и представлява работа в посока убеждаване на законодателите да гласуват за или против определен проект или група проектозакони в зависимост от интересите на клиента на лобиста. Вторият начин, така нареченото индиректно лобиране, е въздействие или работа по време на изборния процес в посока избор на членове в парламента или законодателната структура, които биха защитавали позиции, съвпадащи с интересите на клиента.

Директно лобиране

Вниманието на лобистите при директното лобиране е насочено към хората, които вземат решенията и така дефинират държавната политика. В САЩ, където независимостта на законодателната власт е традиционна, а партийността сравнително слаба, вниманието се насочва към отделните законодатели, провеждащи независими предизборни кампании и внимаващи за реакциите на своите избиратели, на чиито гласове разчитат толкова, колкото на реакциите на своите партийни лидери. В парламентарните системи, особено онези, близки до Британско-Уестминстърския модел, вниманието на лобистите е насочено най-вече към партийните лидери и министри от правителството, а не към редовите членове на парламента.

Лобистите излагат своите позиции пред законодателите и представителите на властта по различни начини. Първият и обикновено най-ефективен е да се предостави на съответния законодател или политик информация, доказваща защо даденото законодателство, което е важно за клиента на лобиста, трябва или не трябва да се приеме. Това може да стане по време на пряка дискусия

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written or printed pages if they want them to be read by the legislator. Anything longer runs a much greater risk of never being read.

Another way by which lobbyists convey information, particularly in the United States where legislative committees are strong and often determine the fate of legislation, is through presentation of oral or written testimony to a committee. In the Congress, oral testimony is presented only by invitation of the committee. But in the fifty state legislatures, this is done at public hearings at which any lobbyists or citizens are permitted to address the committee members to present their views.

Still another means of direct lobbying is to try to make the job of sympathetic legislators (or other policy makers) as easy as possible by providing them with a fully drafted bill or amendment. One advantage of this approach is that, if the lobbyist can get the bill or proposed amendment introduced (and, hopefully, passed) as drafted by the lobbyist, the language will be exactly as the lobbyist wants it.

All of the various means of direct lobbying involve providing individuals who make public policy with facts and information on issues that are under their consideration. All lobbyists understand that, if they are to be effective and successful in their work, legislators, parliamentarians and other policy-making officials to whom they provide information must feel confident that the information is true and accurate. It is common for American legislators to say that they will find time to talk to any lobbyist because they see them as a valuable source of information on legislation under consideration in their body. But these legislators also say that they make sure that each lobbyist they talk to understand that the first time the legislator finds that the lobbyist has lying to them or providing them with untrue or inaccurate information will be the last time that they will ever speak to that lobbyist.

Indirect Lobbying

The public cynicism concerning lobbyists and the criticism that the public often directs at them and their activities most often concerns the feeling that they utilize large sums of money placed at their disposal by their clients to corrupt the system, thwart representative democracy, and produce public policy that runs contrary to the interests of the majority of the people. In the United States, where lobbying activity is conducted at its most sophisticated level, restrictions and even prohibitions enacted in recent years on lobbyists' expenditure of money to directly entertain public officials (this will be discussed in the next section) means that the greatest focus of this public cynicism and criticism concerns indirect lobbying.

Indirect lobbying primarily involves money. As has been previously pointed out, the political system of the United States places most of the responsibility and burden on individual candidates-- with some limited support from their political parties to raise most of the funds to support their campaigns for election or reelection. The costs of

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между лобиста и законодателя, или да се изпрати като писмен материал, представящ преимуществата на позицията на клиента и опровергаващ аргументите на противниковата страна. Опитните лобисти знаят, че за да им бъде обърнато внимание им е нужна смелост по време на разговор при излагане на становището си и стегнат стил на писане, за да подготвят материал, който да не надвишават една-две машинописни страници. Всичко, този обем, рискува изобщо да не бъде прочетено.

Друг начин за предаване на информация при лобистите, широко използван в САЩ, където законодателните комисии имат силни позиции и често определят съдбата на един законопроект, е представянето на устни или писмени официални становища пред комисията. В Конгреса, устните становища се представят само по покана на съответната комисия. В законодателните органи на петдесетте щата това става по време на обществените обсъждания, където всеки лобист или гражданин има възможност да се обърне към комисията и изрази гледната си точка.

Трети пример за директно лобиране е предоставянето на симпатизиращия законодател (или политик) на предварително подготвен проектозакон или предложение за промяна на закон, като по този начин се улеснява неговата работа. Едно от преимуществата на този подход е, че ако проектозакона или предложението за изменение бъдат приети във вида, подготвен от лобиста, използваният език ще бъде точно такъв, какъвто лобиста иска да бъде.

Всички средства за директно лобиране включват предоставяне на политиците на факти и информация по въпроси, които ги вълнуват така или иначе. Всички лобисти са наясно, че ако искат да имат успех и ефективно да си вършат работата, законодателите, парламентаристите и другите политици, на които предоставят информация, трябва да са убедени, че тя е достоверна и точна. Американските законодатели често казват, че винаги намират време за разговори с лобистите, защото ги ценят като източници на информация. Но същите тези законодатели категорично заявяват на всеки лобист, когото срещат за първи път, че само една лъжа или невярна информация е достатъчна да ги накара никога вече да не говорят с този лобист.

Индиректно лобиране

Общественият цинизъм към лобистите и критикуването на тяхната дейност често са породени от впечатлението, че на лобистите се предоставят огромни суми, с които да корумпират системата и да попречат на представителната демокрация, като породят политика, насочена срещу интересите на по-голямата част от хората. В САЩ, където лобирането е достигнало своето най-високо ниво на развитие, приетите през последните години ограничения и дори забрани за разходването от страна на лобистите на средства за представителни нужди (над този

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American political campaigns are constantly increasing and the money to pay for them has to come from somewhere.

Only a very few American political candidates have sufficient personal wealth to fund their own campaigns. Government funding is not an option because public monies are not used to fund election campaigns in the United States (except for presidential campaigns in which taxpayers may voluntarily designate that one dollar of their federal income tax payments be assigned to a fund to help fund the presidential campaigns). Some funding support comes from individual citizens who favor a particular candidate or are actively involved in the candidate's political party. But the bulk of campaign funding support comes from what are commonly referred to in the United States as "special interests" with large amounts of money at their disposal. These special interests include labor unions, corporations and businesses, and professional groups and organizations, all of whom employ lobbyists to represent their interests before the elected officials whose campaigns they help to finance. While these campaign funds are given by these groups, they are funneled through their lobbyists on whose knowledge and judgment the organizations depend to determine which candidates and which political parties should receive money and how much they should be given.

In the United States, most lobbyist financial contributions are made either through what are called political fund raising affairs or by direct contribution to a candidate for elective office. Fund raising affairs are receptions sponsored by political parties, party leaders, or individual elected officials, and individual candidates. Lobbyist support for these affairs usually comes through the purchase of a ticket or of multiple tickets to the reception. If the fundraiser is held by a political party or by political leaders, the funds raised from it are either used to support the party operation or are selectively dispersed to candidates whose campaigns it is felt will benefit most from them.

The primary organ that lobbyists utilize to contribute directly to an individual political campaign is a political action committee (or PAC, as they are commonly called). PACs are organizations that collect voluntary contributions from particular groups or classes of individuals for the purpose of trying to help influence the outcome of elections. It is reasoned that, by combining and consolidating contributions from a large number of contributors with similar interests, the benefits of the monies can be maximized.

While making contributions to support political campaigns is a purely voluntary activity, lobbyists and the interests they represent know that they run a risk if they fail to do so, particularly if their competitors on the opposite sides of issues of concern to them do actively provide such support. The reality is that lobbyists and their clients do not provide money to support political parties and candidates for the purpose of influencing legislation as much as they do to avoid losing influence. In effect, it becomes a game of one lobbyist and

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въпрос ще се спрем по-нататък) показват, че този обществен цинизъм и критика са насочени най-вече към индиректното лобиране.

Индиректното лобиране преди всичко включва пари. Както бе споменато и по-рано, в политическата система на САЩ отделните кандидати поемат най-голямата отговорност и тежест при набирането на средства за провеждане на предизборни кампании, като от страна на политическите партии им се оказва съвсем ограничена помощ. Цената на политическата кампания в САЩ непрекъснато се увеличава, а парите все отнякъде трябва да дойдат.

Съвсем малка част от американските политици разполагат с достатъчно лични средства за да финансират кампаниите си. Не може да се разчита на средства от правителството, защото в САЩ не е възможно да се използват обществени средства за финансиране на предизборни кампании (изключение правят само президентските кампании, където данъкоплатците могат доброволно да отделят по един долар от сумите за федерален данък върху общия доход, който да бъде използван за създаване фонд за подкрепа на президентските кампании). Някои парични постъпления идват от отделни граждани, които симпатизират на определен кандидат, или от такива, които активно работят в политическата партия на кандидата. Голяма част от средствата, обаче, постъпват от така наречените в САЩ "специални интереси", които разполагат с огромни суми. В списъка на "специалните интереси" са синдикати, корпорации и цели индустрии, професионални групи или организации - всички, които ползват услугите на лобисти за да представят интересите си пред политиците, чиито кампании са подкрепили финансово. Средствата се отпускат от заинтересованите групи, преминават като през фуния през лобистите, наети от тях, които по своя преценка определят кои кандидати и кои политически партии ще получат средства и в какъв размер.

В САЩ паричните дарения от страна на голяма част от лобистите се правят предварително, по време на така наречените политически кампании за набиране на средства, или посредством преки дарения за кандидата. Кампаниите за набиране на средства обикновено са под формата на приеми, спонсорирани от политическите партии, партийните лидери, избрани лица или кандидати за изборни позиции. Лобиската подкрепа на подобни мероприятия се изразява преди всичко в закупуване на индивидуални или групови покани за определен прием. Ако приемът се дава от политическа партия или лидери, набраните суми се използват за подкрепа дейността на партията или се разпределят между кандидатите, които имат най-големи шансове да спечелят.

Основният орган, който лобиста използва, за да направи директно дарение за индивидуална политическа кампания, е Комитетът за политическо действие (КПД или PAC*). КПД-тата са организации, които съ-

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organization trying to keep pace with another.

Just as importantly, the impact of campaign contributions on the ultimate determination of public policy is considerably less than popularly assumed because legislators directly elected from a single-member (or multi-member) district know that support from their constituents will quickly dry up and eventually disappear if they are perceived as voting against the district's interests and in support of a lobbyist who made a large contribution to the legislator's election campaign.

The Regulation Of Lobbying

With its lobbying activity still in the early stage of development, the Bulgarian National Assembly is presented with a special opportunity to seize the initiative and act in anticipation and put regulatory machinery in place to protect Bulgarian democracy and provide assurance to the Bulgarian people that, as lobbying activity inevitably increases in their parliament, it will serve to strengthen their democracy and contribute in a constructive and positive manner to the development of sound public policy. If the 39th National Assembly will seize this opportunity and enact a lobbying regulation law, it will be doing a great service to the future of Bulgarian democracy. Just as there are distinct differences in the nature of direct and indirect lobbying, there are significant differences in how both types of lobbying activity should be regulated.

Regulation of Direct Lobbying

Direct lobbying activity can be most effectively regulated through a two-part process that involves official registration of individual lobbyists and their reporting of all monies they expend in the entertainment of parliamentarians or legislators and other public officials.

A good registration process will require each individual who receives compensation to lobby for or against legislation to formally register with a designated parliamentary or government agency. The lobbyist should be required to indicate the names of all clients from whom compensation is being received and the subject matters of legislation on which lobbying activity will take place. The roster of registered lobbyists should be a public record available to the media and any citizen for inspection. Consideration should also be given to requiring a lobbyist to wear a badge identifying himself or herself as a registered lobbyist when engaging in lobbying activity in either of the parliamentary office buildings.

An effective expenditure-reporting requirement will require a lobbyist to report all expenditures made to entertain MPs or other public officials who are responsible for making policy decisions on the content of legislation. Such expenditures might include payment for meals, tickets to entertainment events, or personal gifts.

But a simple reporting requirement is not sufficient. The parliament should also establish a limit on the amount of money that a lobbyist can spend on entertaining any individual official in

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бират доброволни дарения от икономически или социални групи, опитващи се да повлияят изборния резултат. Обяснението - събраните дарения на повече дарители със сходни интереси носят по-голяма полза за самите дарители.

Макар даренията за политически кампании да са напълно доброволни, лобистите и групите, представлявани от тях, знаят, че рискуват много, ако не успеят да се включат в кампанията, особено, ако техните конкуренти успеят активно да наложат своята подкрепа. В същност, лобистите и техните клиенти предоставят средства на политически партии и кандидати не толкова за да повлияят бъдещото законодателство, колкото да не загубят вече спечеленото влияние. В крайна сметка, всичко се превръща в съревнование, където стремежът е да не изостанеш от другите.

Не може да се каже, че даренията влияят значително върху крайното формиране на политиката, както се счита в обществото. Всеки законодател (от едномандатен или многомандатен район) знае, че ще загуби подкрепата на своите избиратели, ако се сметне, че гласува против интересите на района, но в полза на лобист, направил щедро дарение за предизборната му кампания.

Регулиране на лобирането

Народното събрание на Република България може да се възползва от това, че е в началния стадий на развитие на лобирането и да инициира регулационен механизъм, който да защитава демокрацията и дава гаранции, че с разрастването си лобирането ще работи за утвърждаване на демокрацията и за развитието на конструктивна и силна обществена политика. Ако 39-то Народно събрание се възползва от тази възможност и приеме закон за регулиране на лобирането, то ще има огромна заслуга за демократичното бъдеще на България.

Поради различното естество на директното и индиректно лобиране, те се нуждаят от различни форми на законодателно регулиране.

Законодателно регулиране на директното лобиране

Директното лобиране може да бъде регулирано най-ефективно посредством двустранна процедура за официална регистрация на лобистите и задължително водене на пълна отчетност за всички средства, разходвани при работата им с парламентаристи, законодатели или други публични фигури.

Добрият регистрационен режим изисква всяко лице, на което се заплаща за да лобира за или против определено законодателство, да се регистрира официално в предварително създадена парламентарна или държавна агенция. Лобистът се задължава да вписва имената на всички свои клиенти, компенсиращи го за извършения труд, както и въпросите, по които ще лобира. Регистърът на лобистите е публичен и до него имат достъп медиите и всички заин-

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any given year. One of the principal characteristics of the more restrictive lobbying regulations that have been adopted in the United States in recent years has been the establishment of lobbyist spending limits or a reduction in existing spending limits. Some American state legislatures have even taken the ultimate step one that has met with strong popular support of establishing a complete prohibition on a lobbyist spending any money in the entertainment of the legislators.

With its penchant for focusing on matters that tend to create suspicion about public officials, the media will almost always be interested in reporting lobbyists' official reports on monies that they spend on the entertainment of public officials. This, in turn, contributes to a sort of de facto self regulation by both legislators and lobbyists because no legislator wants to be publicly labeled as among the top recipients of lobbyist entertainment expenditures and no lobbyist (and no client of a lobbyist) wants to get a reputation for freely spending large amounts of money on the entertainment of public officials.

Regulation of Indirect Lobbying

As important as it is in a democracy that lobbyists be required to disclose how much of their clients' money they spend on entertaining lawmakers who make public policy decisions, it is equally important to the long-term stability of the system that the public know how much money lobbyists contribute to political parties or to their candidates in an effort to get them elected to lawmaking or other policy-making positions.

As has been shown, the focus of indirect lobbying involves the contribution of money to support election campaigns with the intent of electing individuals to public office whose personal views will be sympathetic to those of a lobbyist's clients. Short of complete public funding of election campaigns and a prohibition on any separate private contributions, the interest of the people and, as importantly, their confidence in the integrity of the democratic election process, is best served through a requirement that all monies contributed to a political parties or to individual candidates be fully reported and publicly disclosed. In the United States where campaigns are almost completely funded by private contributions, the burden and responsibility for reporting usually rests with both the political action committees (PACs) who make the contributions and on the parties or candidates who receive them.

The Importance Of Effective Enforcement

Any law that regulates lobbying activity will have little or no value if it does not include an effective enforcement procedure that provides for adequate sanctions and penalties for violation or abuse of regulatory guidelines. Penalties must be of sufficient severity to have a deterrent effect and should normally include fines, suspensions from future lobbying activity and, for the most severe violations, jail or

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тересовани граждани. Може да се помисли върху изискване лобиста да има значка или служебна карта, която да удостоверява, че лицето е официално регистрирано и има право да лобира в сградата на парламента или другите държавни институции.

Едно от основните изисквания към лобистите трябва да бъде воденето на строга отчетност за всички средства разходвани за представителни нужди при работа с народните представители или други политици. Такива са разходите за обеди и вечери, за билети за представления, концерти, спортни състезания и др. или за подаръци.

Но това изискване не е достатъчно. Парламентът трябва да определи годишен лимит на сумите, които лобистите могат да харчат за представителни нужди при работа с политици. Ограничаване размера на разходваните средства или намаляване на вече съществуващите лимити е един от белезите на все по-рестриктивната политика по отношение на лобистите в САЩ през последните години. Някои щати предприеха дори крайни стъпки посрещнати с горещо подкрепа от страна на обществеността и напълно забраниха на лобистите да разходват средства за представителни нужди при работата си със законодатели.

Винаги търсещи нещо подозрително около публичните фигури, медиите с готовност публикуват отчетите на лобистите за представителните им разходи. Това де факто е саморегулиращ се процес, защото няма законодател, който иска да бъде сред първите, възползвали се от средствата за представителни нужди на лобистите, както и няма лобист (или негов клиент), който иска да си спечели име на човек, харчещ с лека ръка големи суми, за да забавлява публични личности.

Законодателно регулиране на индиректното лобиране

Както за демократичното общество е важно да знае каква част от парите на лобистите, предоставени им от клиенти, се разходват за представителни нужди, така в името на дългосрочната стабилност на системата, обществеността трябва да е наясно какви дарения са направили лобистите на политическите партии или техните кандидати.

И преди споменахме, че индиректното лобиране е отпускане на дарения за подкрепа на предизборни кампании, целящо избор на кандидати, чиито възгледи са сходни с възгледите на клиентите на лобиста. Доверието на хората в почтеността на демократичния изборен процес може да се гарантира единствено като се води стриктна отчетност за всички средства, дарени на политическите партии или отделните кандидати, и тези отчети бъдат публично достояние. В САЩ, където кампаниите се финансират изцяло от частни дарения, задължението и отговорността за тези отчети обикновено се поделят между Комитетите за политическо действие (КПД), чрез които фактически се правят даренията,

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prison. To have a lobbying law that lacks effective enforcement procedures and appropriate penalties for violation may be worse than to have no law at all because an ineffective law will contribute to an erosion of public confidence and increased cynicism about the democratic process.

In the United States, enforcement responsibility is most often assigned to independent boards or commissions comprised of private citizens of high integrity and impeccable reputations. Usually, the members of these boards or commissions are appointed by elected officials who are recipients of lobbyist attention. But, once appointed, these board members are vested with full authority to serve and act without interference for the duration of their appointed terms.

The Future Of Lobbying In The Bulgarian National Assembly

It is not uncommon for members of developing parliaments, particularly in countries like Bulgaria that are emerging from a long period under a totalitarian system of rule, to say that there is not yet any lobbying activity in their parliament. This is not true. Parliamentarians, even in legislative bodies in the earliest stages of their development, are subjected to lobbying. Every time any group of individuals unionists, human rights activists, and students holds a demonstration outside of the parliament building, they are lobbying the members of the Parliament to pursue a desired course of action. In Bulgaria, as the National Assembly takes steps that it hopes will result in the country's early admission into the European Union, its members are regularly subjected to significant amounts of lobbying by representatives of the EU and by those individuals and their representatives (some of whom are surely compensated) who hope to influence the course of the country's privatization process.

Whatever the current level of lobbying activity in the National Assembly, it will, in the years to come, significantly and noticeably increase, both in volume and in sophistication, as Bulgarian democracy takes hold and the National Assembly develops into a modern parliament. Four suggestions are offered to help ease this evolutionary process and build valuable safeguards into the foundation of Bulgarian democracy.

1. Enact Legislation To Regulate Lobbyists And Lobbying Activity. The National Assembly should act now to adopt a lobbying law that will put the necessary regulatory and enforcement machinery in place. Do not wait and be forced to act in response to a scandal. Scandals are always destructive of public confidence in any democracy. ut in a developing democracy just emerging from a half century under a centralized totalitarian system, it can make the difficult, often wrenching, short-term decisions that MPs must make concerning privatization and the creation of opportunities for economic advancement even more difficult.

2. Establish Sanctions And

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и партиите или кандидатите, които ги получават.

Значението на ефективното прилагане на законодателството

Не би имало смисъл от закон за регулиране на лобирането, ако той не предвижда процедура за прилагането му, която да включва санкции и наказания при нарушаване или неспазване на съответните разпоредби. За да имат ефект наказанията трябва да са достатъчно строги и да включват глоби, лишаване от право на лобиране, а за най-големите нарушения - лишаване от свобода. Създаването на закон за лобиране, който не предвижда процедури за ефективно прилагане и подобаващи наказания при извършване на нарушения, е по-лошо от липсата на закон. Неефективният закон води до загуба на обществено доверие и натрупване на негативизъм към демократичния процес в обществото.

В САЩ отговорността за прилагане разпоредбите на закона най-често се възлага на независими съвети или комисии, съставени от частни лица, доказали почтеността и безпристрастието си. Членовете на тези съвети или комисии се назначават от политиците на изборни длъжности, които работят с лобистите. Веднъж назначени, обаче, членовете на съветите придобиват правото да служат и действат независимо за времето на своя мандат.

Бъдещето на лобирането в Народното събрание на България

Често народните представители от развиващи се демокрации, особено в държави като България, които се намират в период на преход след дълги години на тоталитаризъм, споделят, че липсва лобистка активност в техните парламенти. Това не е вярно. Парламентаристите от всяка законодателна структура са предмет на лобиране. Винаги има група хора - синдикалисти, защитници на човешките права, студенти, които демонстрират пред сградата на парламента - всички те лобират народните представители, опитвайки се да наложат желания от тях курс на действие. Парламента и народните представители в България, предприемайки стъпки за по-бързото приемане на страната в Европейския съюз, стават обект на значително лобиране от представители на ЕС или отделни хора, които се надяват да повлияят на процеса на приватизация в страната.

Каквото и да е настоящото ниво на лобиране в Народното събрание, в предстоящите години то ще се увеличи осезателно, както количествено така и качествено, тъй като демокрацията в България се развива и Народното събрание се превръща в един модерен парламент. Имам четири предложения, които могат да подпомогнат Парламента в тази еволюция и да спомогнат за запазване здравите основи на българската демокрация.

1. Да се приеме законодателство за регулиране работата на ло-

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Penalties For Violation Of Lobbying Regulations That Will Provide For Sufficient Punishment Of Violators.

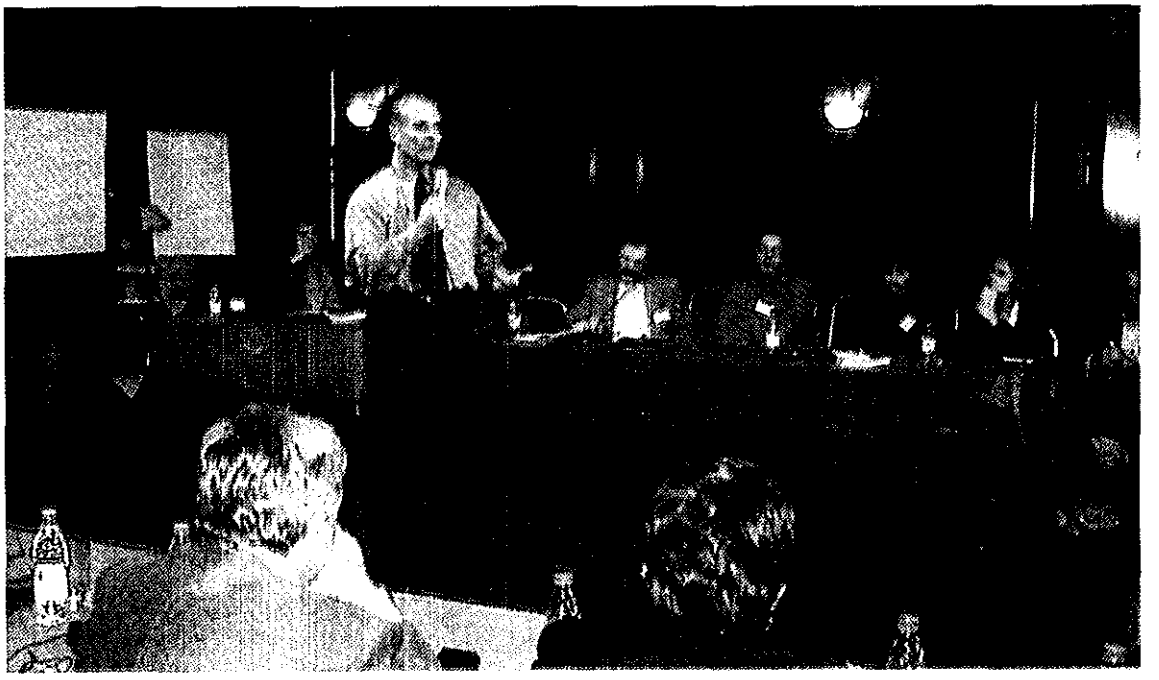
Only with adequate penalties will lobbying regulations have "teeth" and be seen by the public as protecting the integrity of the democratic process.

3.Establish An Independent Commission Or Agency To Oversee The Regulation Of Lobbying Activities.

The commission or agency should be comprised of citizens of high integrity who, once appointed to the body, will have full power and authority for the duration of their respective terms to enforce the regulation laws and assess penalties without any interference from those who appointed them, or from anyone else.

4. Include As A Component Of Any Lobbyist Regulation Program A Code Of Ethics For Members Of The National Assembly.

The burden for ethical action cannot and should not rest exclusively on lobbyists. A representative assembly holds a public trust as the people's "guarantor" of their democracy. Parliamentarians are expected to act ethically and the people they represent and serve should expect nothing less from them. A Code of Ethics for the National Assembly will provide MPs with standards and guidelines to help them determine acceptable and unacceptable behavior and will provide their constituents with increased assurance that the integrity of the political and governmental system is protected. The specific components of a parliamentary Code of Ethics is a matter outside the purview of this presentation and requires a separate and comprehensive examination.



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бистите и лобирането.

Народното събрание трябва да започне работа за приемане на закон за регулиране на тази дейност и правилник за неговото прилагане. Не чакайте да избухне скандал, който да ви застави да действате. Скандалите влияят деструктивно на общественото доверие във всяка демокрация. Но в една млада демокрация, утвърждаваща се след половинвековна тоталитарна система, липсата на подобно законодателство ще направи работата на народните представители изключително сложна.

2. Да се предвидят справедливи санкции и наказания при нарушаване на правилата за лобиране.

Само при наличието на адекватни наказателни мерки правилата за лобиране ще имат "зъби" и обществото ще ги възприема като механизми за защита на демократичния процес.

3. Да се създаде независима комисия или агенция за надзор над прилагане правилата за лобиране.

Тази комисия или агенция трябва да бъде съставена от уважавани граждани, които след своето назначаване за периода на мандата си ще имат пълната власт и право да прилагат регулационните норми, предвидени в закона, и да налагат наказания без външна намеса.

4. Да се подготви Етичен кодекс на народните представители като компонент от Програма за регулиране на лобирането.

Задължението за етично поведение не може и не бива да лежи единствено върху плещите на лобистите. Представителното Народно събрание държи на общественото доверие като гарант на демокрацията. От парламентаристите се очаква да се държат етично и хората, които те представляват и на които служат, не бива да се примиряват с поведение, различно от това. Етичният кодекс на Народното събрание ще постави пред народните представители стандарти и насоки, които ще им помогнат да определят кое е приемливо и кое неприемливо поведение и ще даде гаранции на избирателите, че почтеността на политическата и управляващата система е защитена. Специфичните компоненти на един Етичен кодекс не са предмет на разглежданата тема и изискват отделен и задълбочен преглед.

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Civil society development requires free expression of ideas and interests, which compete within an open public discussion to attract public attention and approval. Every organization, including civil society organizations, needs to have available certain socially acceptable mechanism for action in defense of its cause. One of these mechanisms is lobbying.

Lobbying includes interpersonal communication with representatives of the legislative and executive powers at all levels of government, and aims supporting or blocking the passage of a bill or regulatory act - rule, directive, or another piece of legislation. Practicing lobbying requires specialized training, as well as professional persuasion and communication skills.

Lobbying is widely practiced in all developed democracies; but is particularly well-established in the United States, where an impressive number of lobbying bodies and individual lobbyists are registered, at the local, state, and federal levels. The term lobbying means group (lobby - group) and form (specific type of interpersonal communication), as well as pressure for affecting (legislative or government functionaries).

The major problem concerning lobbying is drawing the fine line between the legality of lobbying activities and corruption. Even though by definition lobbying involves exerting influence over the legislative process and its venue is the lobby of the National Assembly, contemporary lobbying has acquired the status of public communication, an integral part of civil society dialogue and public debate between competing group interests. This renders lobbying open and enough transparent, and by extension - acceptable for the democratic public conscience. Lobbying is usually considered within the field of public relations, although the idiosyncratic nature of this communicative technology justifies its independent development and separation from the general practice of public relations. Specialization in the field of lobbying is imperative: different legislative matters require different expertise. A good lobbyist should have qualifications in political science and political practice, a sound understanding of the real political and administrative systems of government; and appropriate personal contacts with politicians and administrative officers from the functioning hierarchies of power. Apart from the above, it is self-evident that excellent communication skills, particularly in rhetoric and persuasion, are imperative.

Group interest might spring from any type of social origin. In this case emphasis is placed upon the third sector - the system of voluntary civil initiative, manifested through nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). Unfortunately, the topic of group interest and lobbying is barely present in the Bulgarian public arena, and to the extent that it is present, it bears overwhelmingly negative connotations. The lack of legal regulation of lobbying in Bulgaria, and of ethical standards for that matter, renders suspicious the characteristics and moral nature of the practice itself, thereby severely limiting

Лобиране - цели и принципи

Райна Тимчева

Развитието на гражданското общество предполага свободна изява на идеи и интереси, които легитимно и прозрачно, в условията на открита публична дискусия да се конкурират за спечелване на общественото внимание и на неговото одобрение. Всяко формирование, в т.ч. гражданските организации, трябва да разполагат с обществено приемлив механизъм за действие в полза на своите каузи. Един от тези механизми е лобирането.

Лобирането включва междуличностни комуникации с представители на законодателната и изпълнителната власти на всички нива на управление с цел да бъде подкрепено или осуетено прокарването на проектозакон или регулативен нормативен документ - правило, наредба или друг законов нормативен акт. Лобирането изисква специализирана подготовка, както и професионални умения в убеждаващата комуникация.

Лобизмът се практикува обичайно във всички развити демокрации, но е особено силно представен в САЩ, където има регистрирани впечатляващо количество лобистки агенции и практикуващи лобисти, които действат на местно, щатско и федерално ниво. Терминът лобизъм означава и група (лоби - група), и форма (специфичен вид целенасочена междуличностна комуникация), и натиск за въздействие (над законодатели или правителствени дейци).

Основният проблем при лобирането е провеждането на ясна разграничителна линия между легалността на лобистката дейност и корупцията. Независимо от това, че по дефиниция лобирането е свързано с упражняване на влияние над законотворческия процес и теренът за неговото практикуване обичайно са парламентарните кулоари, съвременната лобистка дейност отдавна има статут на публична комуникация, превърната в елемент на гражданския диалог и на обществения дебат между конкуриращи се групови интереси. Това прави лобирането видимо и достатъчно прозрачно, а следователно - приемливо за демократичното обществено съзнание.

Обикновено проблематиката на лобирането се разглежда като част от системата на Public Relations (PR = ПР), макар че строгата специфика на тази комуникационна технология дава основание за нейното самостоятелно развитие и известно отделяне от общата практика по връзки с обществеността. Специализацията в областта на лобирането е задължителна: трябва да се познават различни законови материи, необходима е квалификация в политическите науки и политическите практики, добро познаване на реалните политически и административни системи на управлението; полезни са подходящи лични контакти с политически и административни лица от действащите властови йерархии и т.н. Наред с изброеното очевидно се изискват и отлични умения за комуникации особено в реториката и убеждението.

Груповият интерес може да има всякакъв социален извор. В случая акцентът се поставя върху третия

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its effectiveness.

Campaign FOR

A good example of lobbying is provided by the advocacy campaigns of nongovernmental organizations, which joined their efforts in passing a modern law regulating the activities of Bulgarian NGOs. With the appeal of fourteen nongovernmental organizations of January 21, 1999, to the Members of Parliament the "FOR" campaign was kicked off. The campaign facilitated the voting of a modern regulatory law for the Bulgarian NGOs. It exerted public pressure for protecting the NGO interests and it provided through the media information concerning the activities, goals and substance of the nongovernmental sector in the country.

The strategies of the campaign were:

- Getting involved an optimal number Bulgarian civil society organizations in the campaign
- Securing the support of local government, business and media
- Securing the support of Members of Parliament

The FOR campaign is an initiative unique in its scale, bringing together as it does more than 600 Bulgarian civil organizations. The third sector managed to organize itself for joint efforts aiming at preventing the passage of a not so perfect law on NGOs, which would have otherwise happened without the participation of the civil society organizations themselves. The campaign is an example of exerting adequate and loyal pressure to the government institutions on the part of civil society.

Suggestions:

1. The nongovernmental organizations need to participate in public hearings on bills, introduced to the National Assembly and for in every legislative act to be provided information whether the NGOs have participated in its deliberation.
2. Working groups need to be introduced adjacent to the administration, to include representatives of the nongovernmental organizations with a say in decision-making.
3. Public authoritiescan make progress only if they realize their shortfall in expertise and if they reach out to the civil sector for partnership and cooperation. A transparent and accessible system in which public authorities publicize their need for expert information and analysis, and for partnership, needs to be inserted into the process of institutionalizing this dialogue.

Лобиране - цели и принципи

Райна Тимчева

сектор - системата на доброволната гражданска инициатива, изявявана чрез неправителствените организации (НПО). За съжаление темата за груповия интерес и лобирането е слабо представена на българска почва, а доколкото я има, тя носи поскоро негативно съдържание. Липсата на законова уредба за лобиската дейност в България и на етични стандарти поставят под съмнение характера и моралността на тази практика и значително ограничават ефективността й.

Кампания ЗА

Добър пример за лобиране бе застъпническата кампания на неправителствените организации, обединили усилията си за приемането на модерен устройствен закон за работата на НПО в България. С обръщението на 14 нестопански организации от 21 януари 1999 г. до народните представители стартира кампанията с позитивното наименование "ЗА". Кампанията съдейства за приемането на модерен устройствен закон за работата на НПО в България. Оказа публичен натиск за защита интересите на неправителствения сектор в България. Предостави, чрез медиите, информация за дейността, целите и същността на неправителствения сектор в страната.

Стратегии на Кампанията бяха:

• Въвличане на максимален брой български граждански организации в кампанията

• Осигуряване подкрепата на местната власт, бизнеса и медиите

• Осигуряване подкрепата на народните представителиКампанията ЗА е уникална по мащабите си съвместна инициатива на повече от 600 български граждански организации. Третият сектор успя да се организира за съвместни действия срещу предотвратяването на един не особено добър закон за НПО, който щеше да бъде приет без участието на самите граждански организации. Кампанията е пример за оказване на коректен и лоялен натиск към държавните институции от страна на гражданското общество.

Предложения:

1. Неправителствените организации да участват в публични обсъждания на законопроектите, внесени в Народното събрание, и към всеки нормативен акт да има справка дали е обсъждан с неправителствени организации.

2. Към администрацията да се създадат работни групи, включващи представители от неправителствените организации, които да участват във вземането на решения.

3. Публичната власт би спечелила, ако осъзнае своя експертен дефицит и потърси партньорство с гражданския сектор. В основата на институционализацията на този диалог трябва да бъде една достатъчно прозрачна и достъпна система, чрез която публичната власт прави достояние на гражданския сектор своите потребности от експертизи, нужди, търсени партньорства при делегиране на свои функции.

Public Hearings

Helen Desfosses

Focus

My focus in this presentation will be on public hearings, and their utility in the legislative process. I will discuss benefits and challenges of incorporating public hearings into the parliamentary process, and give practical techniques for ensuring that they proceed smoothly.

Relevant Aspects of My Background

I will base my discussion today on several aspects of my background and training. The first concerns my many years of travel in, and academic study of, the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. I will incorporate my knowledge of the political attitudes and values, the so-called political culture of the region, into my presentation.

Second, I will draw on my many years of legislative consulting in the Middle East, Africa and Latin America, and the co-edited volume that I prepared in 1997 entitled "Designs for Democratic Stability", a comparative study of constitutional provisions all over the world.

Third, I will base my remarks on my own learning curve as President of the Albany (NY) City Council, formally called the Common Council. The Common Council is the city legislature, and frequently holds public hearings as a required part of its legislative procedures. Over the five years I have served in this role, I have frequently observed the need to be prepared for many variations at the intersection of theory and practice.

Furthermore, I have observed the passions and intensity that public hearings can generate. The public hearing we held over whether to add fluoride to the city's water supply-Albany is the only major city in New York state that does not fluoridate its water-was very contentious, and brought out the long-time opponents and the more recent opponents. However, nothing could have prepared us for the hostility generated by the proposal for permit parking for residents of Albany, New York's capital city. Given that Albany is the only capital city in the northeastern United States not to have permit parking, hundreds of people wanted to speak at the hearing. The efforts of hundreds of people to be heard, and to speak as long as they wished, taught me much about the merits of specific time parameters for the entire event and for the remarks of each speaker. Third, I have experienced the cross-pressures of dealing with fellow legislators and with members of the public as the presiding officer. Finally, I have learned much from my own recent experience testifying before a public hearing on economic development held by the New York State Senate. This experience taught me a great deal about the need to announce ground rules in advance, to ensure that they are followed, and the need for those presiding to set a welcoming tone for members of the public who are speaking.

Public Hearings and Democracy

Публични обсъждания

Хелън Десфосис

Фокус

Фокусът на тази презентация е насочен към публичните обсъждания на законопроекти и ползата от тях в законодателния процес. Ще аргументирам преимуществата и предизвикателствата при интегриране на обсъжданията в законодателния процес, и ще дам практически напътствия за гладкото им провеждане.

Опит и квалификация, свързани с темата на презентацията

Ще базирам настоящата презентация на някои аспекти от професионалната си биография. Първият, свързан с годините, прекарани в пътуване и изучаване на бившия Съветски съюз и Източна Европа - в изложението включвам познания за политическите нагласи и ценности, т.нар. политическа култура на региона.

Вторият включва опитът ми от годините, прекарани в законодателно консултиране в страните от Близкия изток, Африка и Латинска Америка, и се позовава на книгата, в която участвах като редактор: "Модели за стабилност на демокрацията", 1997 г. - сравнително изследване на конституционни норми от целия свят.

Трето, базирам твърденията си на моя собствен опит и познания, натрупани като председател на Градския съвет на Олбани, щата Ню Йорк, официално наричан Общ съвет. Общият съвет е законодателния орган на града и често провежда публични обсъждания, които са неразделна част от законодателната процедура. През петте години на тази позиция често съм ставала свидетел на необходимостта да бъдеш подготвен за промяна в пресечната точка на теорията и практиката.

Още повече, че самата аз съм наблюдавала страстите и напрежението, които публичните обсъждания могат да провокират. Проведеното обсъждане за това дали да се добавя флуор към водата в града - Олбани е единственият сред големите градове в щата Ню Йорк, където водата не се флуоридира - беше разгорещено и открито противопостави по-стари и по-скорошни опоненти. Нищо обаче не би могло да се сравни с разпалилият се диспут върху предложението за предплатено паркиране за гражданите на Олбани, столицата на щата Ню Йорк. Тъй като Олбани е единствената столица в североизточните щати без предплатен паркинг стотици граждани държаха да се изкажат на обсъждането. Усилията на стотици граждани да говорят и да бъдат чути ми показаха колко полезни са ограниченията във времето - както за цялото обсъждане, така и за всяко отделно изказване. В качеството си на председател лично съм преживяла напрежението от работата едновременно с колеги законодатели и с граждани. Научих много от личния си опит като докладващ експерт на публичното обсъждане за икономическо развитие на Щатския сенат на Ню Йорк. В резултат на опита си там разбрах колко са необходими предварително дефинираните правила, тяхното стриктно спазване, както и нуждата от налагане на добър тон за изказващите се граждани от страна на председателстващите обсъждането.

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Public hearings are the essence of democracy-hearings are important because the normal democratic process in the United States is "one in which there is a high probability that an active and legitimate group in the population can make itself heard in some crucial stage in the process of decision." (Robert Dahl, A Preface to Democratic Theory.) Public hearings are an important arena for citizen engagement in the policymaking process.

Public hearings help people to recognize their roles and responsibilities as citizens within the larger community.

Many scholars believe that increased citizen participation contributes to the development of the individual and the quality of their lives: the individual learns to be a public as well as a private citizen. Public hearings also promote representative government by increasing the accountability of legislators-by linking opinions, responsiveness and policy.

It is true that we must be mindful of certain concerns that have arisen about public hearings in recent years. First of all, citizen participants are often not typical citizens. Second, citizen influence can be hampered if there are many clashing voices on an issue; under these circumstances, citizen influence can be drowned out by 'experts'. Alternatively, when citizen groups fail to convey a clear message, legislators may feel free to ignore them. Third, even the public doesn't have all the answers. However, given the concept of the "New Public Service", i.e. that "the primary role of the public servant is to help citizens articulate and meet their shared interests rather than to attempt to control or steer society," legislators have a responsibility to help citizens explore the options.

Of course, we must be mindful of the recent case study of public hearings around the Genetic Engineering Act of 1990 (Germany). These hearings revealed widespread frustration, confirmation of preexisting prejudices, an administration reaction that they were expensive and time-consuming, and a concern that scrutiny of the administration was impeded by the highly technical nature of the information revealed.

Overall, when we examine the role of the public, testifying as individuals or as citizen groups, we conclude that testifying helps to legitimize a group, validate a group's participation in the legislative process, validate the posi-

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Хелън Десфосис

Публичните обсъждания и демокрацията

Публичните обсъждания са есенцията на демокрацията - обсъжданията са важни доколкото нормалния демократичен процес в САЩ е "такъв, че има голяма вероятност една активна и легитимна група от населението да бъде чута във важен етап от процеса на вземане на решения" (Робърт Дал, "Предговор към демократичната теория"). Публичните обсъждания са важна арена за участие на гражданите в процеса на формиране на политика.

Публичните обсъждания помагат на хората да разпознаят ролята и отговорностите си вътре в обществото. Много учени са на мнение, че интензивното участие на гражданите в обществения живот спомага за развитието на отделния човек и за повишаване качеството на живота: индивидът се научава как да бъде едновременно част от обществото и отделна личност. Публичните обсъждания утвърждават и представителното управление като засилват отчетността на законодателите - свързвайки мнения, отклик и политика.

Необходимо е да обърнем специално внимание на известни проблеми, проявяващи се напоследък, свързани с публичните обсъждания. Първо, гражданите-участници най-често не са типични граждани. Второ, влиянието на гражданите може да бъде отслабено, ако по даден въпрос звучат много противоречащи си гласове едновременно; в такива случаи влиянието на гражданите се измества от 'експертите'. А когато гражданските организации не успеят да формулират ясни послания, законодателите могат спокойно да ги игнорират. Трето, дори обществото няма всички отговори. С оглед, обаче, на концепцията за "новата служба на обществото", а именно че "основната роля на държавния служител е да помогне на гражданите да формулират и обслужат общите си интереси, а не да контролира или направлява обществото", законодателите носят отговорността да помогнат на гражданите да разгледат различните възможности.

Не бива, разбира се, да забравяме и случая от близкото минало с обсъжданията на Закона за генното инженерство от 1990 г. (Германия). Обсъжданията тогава доказаха наличието на масови притеснения, втвърдяване на съществуващите предубеждения, твърдения на администрацията, че обсъжданията са били скъпи и продължителни, както и опасения за това, че детайлния анализ на администрацията е бил невъзможен поради изключително техническата същност на разкритата информация.

Когато разглеждаме ролята на обществеността, която участва в обсъжданията, представлявана от отделни граждани или граждански формирования, можем да направим извода, че изказванията по време на тези обсъждания спомагат за легитимирането на организациите, дават им възможност да участват в законодателния процес, утвърждават позициите на лидерите на организацията, които обикновено се изказват на обсъжданията, като по този начин позицията и информацията, с която организацията разполага, се включва в законодателния процес и спомага организацията да изгради ав-

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tion of the organization's leaders, who typically deliver the testimony, inserts their perspective and information into the legislative process, and helps them to become known as sources of reliable information.

Rationale for Public Hearings

There are many rationales for public hearings. First of all, there are the legal and constitutional requirements. Second, there is the practical utility, in that they help to surface opposition and concerns that can be dealt with. Third, while legislators sometimes have anxieties about public hearings, they do have political advantages: they link representative government and popular participation, they give citizens knowledge regarding other citizens' needs and views; they build support for policies; they help to develop good constituent relations. Finally, they promote awareness of individual legislators, the Parliament as a whole, and the issue itself.

Public hearings also allow committee chairs and members to develop their reputations as "subject-matter experts." The committee system introduces specialization into the Parliament, and the seniority system places at the head of the Committee those persons longest exposed to the subject matter.

In sum, public hearings provide timely information for the authorities, allow it to be presented in oral, not necessarily, written form, provide information for the public, additional scrutiny of government proposals, legal protection for those potentially affected by the decision, and at an early stage in the proceedings, representation of interests, and legitimization or acceptance of the administration's actions.

Political Challenges of Public Hearings

Of course, there are many political challenges and anxieties that arise for members of parliament when they contemplate holding public hearings. It is true that damaging information can come up, but it can be controlled, and it is better to have it revealed early in the policy process when it can dealt with. There is also the issue that once you ask the question, i.e. how does the public feel about an issue, and then you have to be prepared to deal with the answer. Finally, there's the problem, particularly acute in Bulgaria today, of press relations. However, even in the United States, we find that while it's impossible to control the free press, it is possible to give out the press release in advance, and emphasize the points you wish to stress.

Other political challenges and anxieties stemming from public hearings concern the fact that the give all groups a forum; furthermore, grandstanding or efforts to dominate the hearings by experts or legislators can occur.

Techniques and Procedures for Facilitating Public Hearings

First, it's important to observe all the legal requirements regarding which topics must have public hearings, how

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Обосновка на публичните обсъждания

Има много възможности за обосновка на публичните обсъждания. Първо - законовите и конституционни изисквания. Второ - практическа стойност - помага да изкристализират противоречията и проблемите, по които да се работи. Трето, макар законодателите понякога да имат притеснения относно публичните обсъждания, те имат политически преимущества: свързват представителното управление и обществеността участие в политическия процес, дават на гражданите познания относно нуждите и възгледите на другите граждани; осигуряват подкрепа за конкретни мерки; спомагат за изграждане на добри връзки с избирателите. И накрая, те повишават информираността на хората за отделните законодатели, за Парламента като цяло, и за самият дискутиран въпрос.

Публичните обсъждания помагат и на председателите на комисии да се наложат като "експерти в областта". Системата от комисии привнася специализация в Парламента, системата 'по старшинство' поставя начело на комисията законодателите, които най-дълго са работили в съответната област.

В обобщение, публичните обсъждания предоставят навременна информация на властите, дават възможност тя да бъде представена в устна, а не задължително писмена форма, информират обществеността, допълнително разглеждат проектите на управляващите, осигуряват законова закрила на потенциалите потърпевши от решението и на един ранен етап на законодателния процес представят различните интереси и осигуряват легитимиране или съгласие с действията на администрацията.

Политическите предизвикателства на публичните обсъждания

Мисълта за провеждане на публично обсъждане буди много притеснения и политически предизвикателства пред депутатите. Възможно е, наистина, да се появи неблагоприятна информация, но тя може да бъде контролирана, а и по-добре да излезе наяве в по-ранен етап на законодателния процес, за да й бъде отговорено. Има го и това, че щом веднъж зададеш въпроса, т.е. какво е мнението на обществото по даден проблем, трябва да си готов да посрещнеш отговора. И накрая, един проблем особено остър в България сега - този за отношенията с пресата. Но дори и в САЩ сме се убедили, че ако е невъзможно да се контролира свободната преса, то поне е възможно предварително да се подготви информация за медиите, и там да се наблегне на желаните от нас аспекти на проблема.

Други политически предизвикателства и притеснения при публичните обсъждания се свързват с факта, че те дават трибуна на всички групи; още повече, че е възможно да се стигне до опити на законодатели или експерти да доминират обсъждането или да се изтъкват.

Техники и процедури за провеж-

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much advance notice must be given, where public notice must be provided, and what constitutes adequate public notice.

Second, both for reasons of good public relations as well as strong public involvement, it's important that the hearings be scheduled at a convenient time and location for the public.

Third, it's important that members of parliament, in this case, the chair of the relevant committee, and staff, interact to pay scrupulous attention to the many details and arrangements required for a successful hearing. Staff should be present during the hearing as well to handle unexpected situations that may arise.

Details that must be worked out for a successful public hearing include the size of the crowd, the level of anger and potential conflict (and therefore, the security needs), finding a convenient time, accommodating-and handling-the media, room arrangements-seating for committee and speakers, water, room temperature, microphones, fail-safe recording equipment, signs directing people to the room, sign-in sheets and staff at table, and making arrangements for transcripts.

Fourth, it is critical that ground rules be set up in advance of the hearing, and that they be announced by the committee chairman or chairwoman at the beginning of the hearing. These ground rules should be grounded in generally accepted standards of parliamentary procedure, which the chair should master. Furthermore, these rules must be scrupulously and even-handedly applied, and it's important to get agreement in advance from committee members. Remember that different rules can produce different atmospheres, processes and outcomes.

Topics which should be addressed by the ground rules include the following:

a) how long can people speak?

b) can they be interrupted or questioned?

c) will there be time limits for individuals and for the event as a whole?

d) how will the time limits be enforced? Who will function as the timekeeper and which techniques will be used?

Another critical issue for a public hearing is setting the tone and creating a welcoming atmosphere for members of the public. The legislature, after all, is the "people's house", and every effort should be made to reduce any sense of intimidation and to make the people feel sincerely welcome. Through their attitudes and words, committee chairs, legislators and staff can either encourage or discourage persons who are hesitant about their involvement.

Another important issue for a public hearing is dealing with other legislators on the committee. For example, it is helpful to limit opening statements by legislators, as well as their ability to interrupt the speakers. After all, who is this hearing really for? It is important not to allow legislators or experts to crowd out, or drown out, members of the public.

Of course, speakers can be hostile, and there are several techniques for

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дане на публични обсъждания

Първо, важно е да се съблюдават всички изисквания на закона, касаещи кои теми трябва да се разглеждат на публични обсъждания, колко рано да се обяви за предстоящото обсъждане, къде да се обяви обсъждането, и какво точно представлява адекватното публично обявяване на обсъждането.

Второ, с оглед на добрите връзки с обществеността и за силното ангажиране на гражданите, важно е публичните обсъждания да се провеждат в удобно време и на удобно за гражданите място.

Трето, важно е депутатите, в този случай, председателят и служителите в съответната комисия, да си взаимодействат, за да се обърне внимание на всеки детайл от организацията, необходим за успеха на обсъждането. Служителите в комисията би трябвало да присъстват на обсъждането, за да се справят с евентуални неочаквано възникнали ситуации.

Детайлите, които трябва да се отработят, за да бъде обсъждането успешно, включват големината на групата, нивото на противоречие и потенциален конфликт (и оттам нуждата от охрана), намиране на подходящото време за провеждане, включването и справянето с медиите, подреждане на залата - местата на членовете на комисията и на говорещите, вода, температурата в залата, микрофони, сигурна техника за запис, знаци, насочващи хората към залата, маса за регистрация и водене на стенограма.

Четвърто, изключително важно е предварително да се определят правилата за провеждане и да бъдат огласени от председателя на комисията в самото начало на обсъждането. Тези правила би трябвало да следват установените парламентарни процедури и да се владеят добре от председателя. Освен това, правилата е необходимо да се прилагат стриктно въз основа на постигнато предварително съгласие с всички членове на комисията. Помнете, че различните правила могат да доведат до различна атмосфера, процеси и резултати.

Въпросите, които трябва да се регулират от правилата за провеждане, включват:

а) колко дълго може да бъде едно изказване?

б) по какъв начин да бъдат прекъсвани или адресирани с въпрос?

в) ще има ли ограничения във времето за отделни участници и за цялото обсъждане?

г) как ще се прилагат ограниченията във времето? Кой ще следи за времето и кои техники ще се използват?

Друг важен въпрос при публично обсъждане е налагането на тон и създаването на благоприятна атмосфера за депутатите и гражданите. Законодателният орган в крайна сметка е "дом на хората" и е необходимо да се положат всички усилия за отпадане притесненията на хората, които да почувстват искрено гостоприемство. Посредством отношението и думите си, председателите на комисии, законодателите и служителите, могат както да насърчат така и да откажат хората, които се колебаят дали да се включат в обсъждането.

Важен момент в обсъждането са и

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dealing with hostile speakers. First of all, it is important to be non-judgmental; a very good response to even the most hostile comments is to keep your temper and simply say, "thank you for sharing your thoughts with us." If the speaker remains hostile and/or refuses to cease demanding a response, try to respond to the person's point calmly-if you fight with them, the audience will sympathize with 'the underdog'. If the speaker persists, try saying "why don't you come up later, and we'll continue this conversation?" This often defuses the situation, and allows the speaker to retain his or her dignity. If these techniques do not work, remaining options include calling a recess, which is a time-out, or actually calling security to persuade the person to leave the podium or speaker's table.

Finally, let me present some informal rules that could be helpful to individual legislators. It is critical to start and end the hearing on time. Try not to deal in personalities or personalize conflict; an issue focus and a focus on finding solutions, points of agreement, and compromises works best. Also, the individual legislator might want to do homework in order to be as knowledgeable on the issue as possible, and be careful not to become known as the captive of some special interest group.

Results and Impact of the Public Hearing full spectrum of possibilities

When hearings occur, all remarks and transcripts become part of the public record. And it's important to let the public know at the end of the hearing what will happen next, and what will happen with the opinions and views they have expressed, i.e. how will they be factored into the policymaking process. Public hearings can increase contacts and expertise for citizens and members of parliament, and help the citizens to feel more engaged with their legislature. At best, public hearings can inform the judgment of legislators, help the political party to advance its legislative agenda, result in revisions of the original proposal, suggest ideas for future legislation, and, most importantly, be a critical step in the long process of public education and legislative deliberation that is so important to democracy.

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отношенията с останалите законодатели в комисията. Например, добре е да се ограничат въвеждащите изказвания на депутатите, както и възможността да прекъсват говорещите. В крайна сметка, за кого се провежда публичното обсъждане? Важно е да не се позволява на законодатели или експерти да изместят или изморят гражданите.

Естествено изказванията могат да са враждебни, но съществуват няколко техники за справяне с подобни ситуации. Първо, важно е да давате оценки; най-добрият отговор дори на най-враждебната забележка, е да запазите самообладание и да кажете, "благодаря Ви, че споделихте мислите си с нас". Ако изказващият се продължи да се държи враждебно и да изисква отговор, опитайте се да отговорите на въпроса му спокойно - ако влезете в битка, публиката в залата ще заеме страната на 'жертвата'. Ако изказващият се продължи, опитайте със "защо не дойдете по-късно при мен да продължим разговора?". Това често успокоява нещата и позволява на председателя да излезе от ситуацията с достойнство. Ако тези техники не проработят, остава възможността да прекратите заседанието с почивка или да повикате охраната да убеди изказващия се да напусне трибуната или мястото си.

Накрая, позволете ми да ви предложа някои неформални правила, които може да са от полза на отделните депутати. Много е важно да откриете и закриете обсъждането навреме. Опитайте се да не персонифицирате конфликта; насочете вниманието към темата, към намиране на решение; въпросите, по които е постигнато съгласие и компромис работят най-добре. Овен това отделният законодател е добре да си подготви домашното, за да е максимално добре запознат с дискутирания въпрос, и да внимава да не бъде възприет като "заложник" на интересите на определена група.

Резултати и влияние на публичното обсъждане - пълен спектър от възможности

Когато се провежда обсъждане, всички забележки и стенограми стават част от обществения архив. Важно е в края на обсъждането публиката да разбере какво предстои и какво ще се случи с мненията и възгледите, споделени от нея, т.е. как те ще бъдат преработени в процеса на формиране на политика по определена тема. Публичните обсъждания могат да увеличат контактите и експертните познания на гражданите и депутатите, и да спомогнат гражданите да се почувстват по-ангажирани със законодателството. В най-добрия случай публичните обсъждания могат да мотивират решенията на законодателите, да помогнат на политическата партия да популяризира собствената си законодателна програма, да провокират промени в първоначалния проект, да генерират идеи за бъдещи законови актове и, преди всичко, да се превърнат в значима стъпка в дългия процес на обществено образоване и законодателно обсъждане, толкова важни за демокрацията.

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Public Hearings

Prof. Emilia Drumeva

"Public Hearings in the National Assembly" is a particularly important topic for a contemporary democratic state. This presentation will neither exhaust the topic, nor attempt to do so. The major emphases here are:

• Theoretical analysis of public hearings as an institution of contemporary parliamentary discourse

• Contemporary legal regulation of public hearings in Bulgaria - Rules of Organization and Procedure of the National Assembly and de *lege ferenda* suggestions for forthcoming regulation

Public Hearings - Notion and Essence

The essence of public hearings in Parliament:

• Technology

• Result from multi-layered, pluralistic accumulation

Characteristics of public hearings in Parliament·

• Open in nature

• Public hearings take place in the parliamentary committees

Parliament is frequently criticized for insufficient effectiveness, insufficient transparency, and also for insufficient sensitivity and reaction to public will. Public hearings should provide the Parliament with specific information, in order for the above-mentioned insufficiencies to be overcome.

Critical Participants in Parliamentary Committee Public Hearings

• Representative of the respective interests

• Experts and individuals - sources of information

• Citizens

Types of Parliamentary Public Hearings

• Discussing bills

• Discussing other issues within the parliamentary committee focus

Use and Goals of Parliamentary Public Hearings

By obtaining information, Parliament can make some headway in catching up with the Executive. Hearings are criticized for not providing MPs with sufficiently valuable information. For example, MPs skip hearings because they know what will come out of the hearing, and who the speakers and experts are. Public hearings, however, are increasing in number; receiving external information, and additional expert advice in legislative deliberation are valuable additions to the process. Therefore, there is not a unitary picture. Some people's skepticism is offset by the need for more information: hearings are to help regular MPs from both the majority and the opposition alike, get oriented in the jungle of complex leg-

Публични обсъждания

Проф. Емилия Друмева

"Публични обсъждания в парламента" е особено значима тема в съвременната демократична държава. Изложението не може да изчерпи богатството на тази тема, нито има такава цел. Основните акценти тук са:

• Теоретичен анализ като институт на съвременния парламентаризъм·

• Съвременна правна уредба на парламентарните публични обсъждания в България - Правилника за организацията и дейността на Народното Събрание и предложения de lege ferenda за бъдеща регламентация

Публични обсъждания - понятие и същност

Същност на публичните обсъждания в парламента:

• Технология

• Резултат от многопластово плуралистично натрупване

Характеристики на публичните обсъждания в парламента

• Отворен характер

• Публичните обсъждания се провеждат в парламентарните комисии

Към парламента се отправят упреци за недостатъчна ефективност, недостатъчна прозрачност и често - за недостатъчен усет и реактивност към обществената роля. Публичните обсъждания трябва да осигуряват на парламента собствена информация, за да може той да преодолява посочената недостатъчност.

Задължителни участници в публичните обсъждания в парламентарните комисии

• Представители на засегнати интереси

• Експерти и лица - източник на информация

• Граждани

Видове публични обсъждания в парламента

• По законопроекти

• По други въпроси от ресора на парламентарната комисия

***Предназначение и цели на* парламентарните публични обсъждания**

Получаване на информация - парламентът да 'навакса' спрямо изпълнителната власт. Има упреци, че обсъжданията не носят достатъчно ценна информация на депутатите. Например, депутати отсъстват от обсъжданията, защото предварително знаят резултата от изслушването като имат предвид кой е поканен и кои са експертите. Но въпреки това обсъжданията се увеличават и получаването на информация 'отвън' и допълнителни съвети от експерти в полза на зако-

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islation.

In any case, it is clear that an already formulated opinion could always be enriched, especially - from different perspectives. This should be a major rule in the modern Parliament! Furthermore, most important is not the expert knowledge, but the consideration of the facts and assessing them vis-a-vis alternative decisions. The Parliament constitutes the sounding board for what can be achieved. Therefore, it should rely not only on the Cabinet, but also on the various public interests and their 'resonance'.

Assessing the Functions and Benefits of Public Hearings

Different views concerning the functions and benefits are often associated with public hearings. On the one hand, they revive the parliamentary functions of exerting control and providing a forum, without causing a breakdown of legislative effectiveness. They are perceived as an institutionalized communication channel for society and the state.

On the other hand, their use value in providing information to MPs, government and the public, is estimated to be insignificant: they are perceived as a 'ritualized procedure', incapable of altering the substance of the decision, but capable only of providing additional legitimization to it.

The pros and cons will be deduced from the parliamentary functions.

The parliamentary functions serve as a screen, used for assessing the value of public hearings as an instrument, which is well-established in the parliamentary internal regulations: do public hearings enhance the legislative and control function of Parliament, or do they serve as a legitimizing 'fig-leaf' that slows down the legislative process? Is Parliament's capacity to express certain interests is augmented by public hearings? By holding public hearings, does Parliament better fulfill its function to inform the public and render the political process transparent?

Impact of Public Hearings on Core Parliamentary Functions

By definition public hearings have different types of impact:

- As for the **legislative function** - they provide the MPs with information and specific knowledge; institutionalize the place of scientific research in the legislative process
- Concerning the **oversight function** - they renders discussions transparent, allowing for participation by associations, interest groups, etc.
- As for the **publicity** of parliamentary activities: the communication flow between Parliament and the public is activated in both directions, and Parliament prevents losing more of its positive image by enhancing the transparency of political decision-making
- And concerning the so-called

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нодателните дискусии, се смята за най-ценното в обсъжданията. Следователно картината не е единна. Скептицизмът на едни се надвива от нуждата от повече информация: особено са полезни за обикновените депутати както от опозицията, така и от мнозинството, за да се ориентират в джунглата от трудни закони.

При всички съображения обаче едно е ясно: едно оформено мнение винаги може да бъде обогатено, при това - от различни страни. Последното трябва да е правило в съвременния парламент! При това най-важното са не експертните знания, а по-скоро претеглянето на фактите и тяхното преценяване при алтернативи за решения. Парламентът е 'резонантната' почва за това, което може да бъде постигнато. Това значи, че не трябва да гледа само в правителството, но и в различните обществени интереси и тяхното 'трептене'.

Преценки за функциите и ползите от публичните обсъждания

Преценките за функциите и ползите от публичните обсъждания са различни. От една страна като тяхно предимство се признава, че съживяват контролната и форумна функция на парламента без да причиняват срив в законодателната ефективност. Разглеждат се като институционализиран канал на общуване между държавата и обществото.

От друга страна, тяхната информационна стойност за депутати, изпълнителна власт и общество се преценява като малка: те биват оценявани като 'ритуализирана процедура', която не може да промени същността на решението, а трябва само допълнително да го легитимира.

'За' или 'против' ще се изведе от парламентар-ните функции

Парламентарните функции служат за растер, чрез който се прави равносметка на обсъжданията като инструмент, който отдавна присъства в парламентарните правилници: дали публичните обсъждания засилват законодателната и контролната функция на парламента или те са легитимиращ смокинов лист, който на всичко отгоре забавя законодателния процес? Дали капацитетът на парламента да изразява интереси се засилва от чрез обсъжданията? Дали чрез тях парламентът изпълнява по-добре обществената си функция да информира публиката и да прави политическия процес прозрачен?

Въздействие на публичните обсъждания върху основни функции на парламента

По дефиниция те имат много и различни въздействия:

• Върху **законодателната функция** - снабдяват депутатите с ин-

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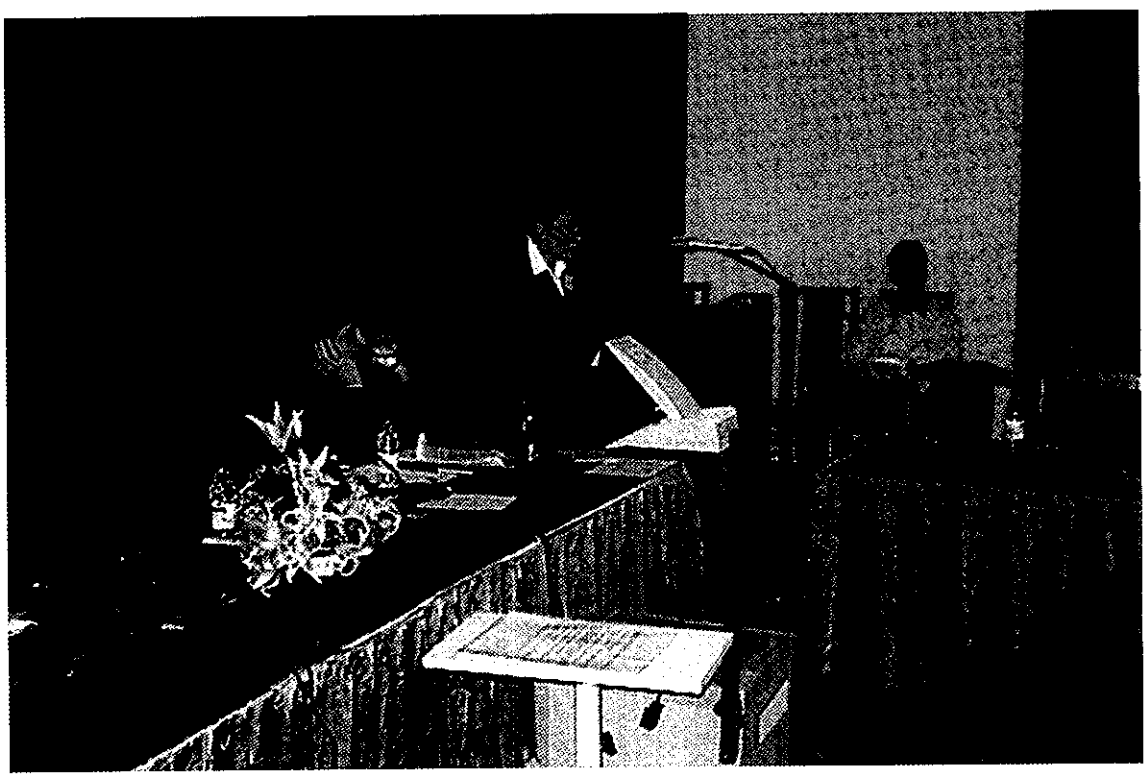
recruiting function - each individual MPs is able to acquire specialized knowledge

Overall, Parliament strengthens rationality in the legislative process and legitimizes its competence and effectiveness. Does the Bulgarian Parliament live up to the potential of public hearings?

Public Hearings - a Step Towards Making the Parliamentary Activities More Open

Hearings contribute to the better performance of the legislative, oversight and articulation functions, but tend to serve primarily a public relations function. Increasing the number of public hearings in the committees effectively means making them more important in contemporary parliamentary discourse. The Parliament itself is currently is under pressure for legitimization in society. Public hearings are capable of moderating this pressure to the extent that they reveal the content and procedures of politics. This is not a weakness of representative democracy, but demonstrates the realization that the Parliament owes more to the public, if recognition and approval are to be improved. The Parliament becomes stronger by opening itself to the public.



Публични обсъждания

Проф. Емилия Друмева

формация и предметни знания; институционализират участието на научното изследване в законодателния процес

• Върху **контролната функция** - прави прозрачна дискусията, участват съюзи, групи на интереси и т.н.

• ***Публичността*** *в дейността на* парламента печели: комуникационният поток между парламент и публика се активира в двете посоки, парламентът успява да намали загубата на авторитета си като допринася за повече прозрачност в политическите решения

• Върху т.нар. рекрутираща функция - отделният депутат получава възможности за профилиране на своята осведоменост

Общо парламентът повишава рационалността в законодателния процес и легитимира компетенцията и резултатността си. Дали българският парламент консумира този потенциал на публичните обсъждания?

Публичните обсъждания - едно стъпало към повече публичност на парламентарните функции

Обсъжданията допринасят за по-доброто изпълнение на законодателната, контролната и артикулационната функция. На най-вече спомагат за публичната функция. Увеличаването на обсъжданията в комисиите означава нарастване на значението им в съвременния парламентаризъм. Самият парламент като институция е поставен под натиск за легитимация в обществото. А публичните обсъждания в парламента могат да го намалят, тъй като разкриват съдържанието и процедурите на политиката. Това не е проява на слабост на представителната демокрация, а осъзнаване, че на обществото се дължи повече, за да се постигне висок процент на приемане и одобрение. Парламентът става по-силен като се отваря повече към обществеността.

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Bridging the Perception-Reality Gap in a Representative Democracy

Dr. Alan Rosenthal

The experience of contemporary American state legislatures suggests that however positively legislative systems perform, the public perceives them negatively. This paper will explore the performance-appearance paradox, whereby legislatures look bad while doing good and seem worse while becoming better. It will address the actual quality of legislative performance; how legislatures and legislators appear to the public; why appearance is out of line with performance; and what can be done to bring appearance into line with performance. There may be lessons in the experience of American legislatures for the Bulgarian Parliament. I would suspect so.

What is the actual quality of American state legislative performance?

The principal functions that American legislatures perform in the political system are three: first, they represent constituencies; second, they make laws; and third, they balance to some degree the power of the executive. How well do they perform each of these functions?

Legislators and legislatures do an excellent job representing constituents and constituencies. The most important thing for each member is his or her constituency. Much of a legislator's time and energy is spent on constituency affairs visiting with constituents in the capitol or in the district, attending constituency meetings and events, ensuring that the district benefits from the local aid (and especially school aid) formulas enacted by the legislature, getting projects for the district in the state budget, and helping out constituents with individual problems they encounter in their dealings with law and government. Representing the values, interests, and opinions of the constituency is a more complicated matter. On most of the issues that come before the legislature, constituents have no views and their interests are not at stake. On some issues, constituents are divided. So whichever position a legislator takes, some constituents' interests and views may not be represented. On no more than a few issues can a constituency mandate be said to exist, and it is rare that a legislator opposes it. Legislators faithfully represent their constituencies because: they are constituents themselves; they believe that the job requires it; and they risk defeat in primary or general elections if they don't.

Legislatures are also effective in law making. The enactment of law can be a difficult process, and on controversial issues it is supposed to be. Majorities have to be put together at a number of steps in the process in one, two, or more committees, once or twice on the floor of the senate and the house, and perhaps in a conference committee appointed to reconcile differences between the two chambers. Building and maintaining majorities entails both deliberation on the merits on the one hand and negotiation, bargaining, and compromise on the other. Individuals and groups have an opportunity to argue their case and legislators have a

Преодоляване на несъответствието *възприето-реално постигнато* в представителната демокрация

Д-р Алън Розентал

Опитът на съвременните щатски законодателни органи в САЩ показва, че независимо колко добре се представят законодателните системи, обществото ги възприема негативно. Настоящото изложение ще разгледа парадокса постигнато-възприето, според който законодателите изглеждат зле, когато правят добро, и по-зле, когато се справят по-добре. Ще бъде засегнато действителното качество на щатското законотворчество; как законодателите и законодателната власт изглеждат в очите на обществеността; защо общественото възприятие се разминава с действително постигнатото; и какво може да се направи, за да се сближат действително постигнатото и неговото обществено възприемане. Предполагам, че българският парламент би могъл да се поучи от опита на американските законодатели.

Какво е действителното качество на законодателната работа в отделните американски щати?

Основните функции на щатските законодателни органи в политическата система са три: първо, те представляват избирателите; второ, те създават закони; и трето, те балансират, в известна степен, изпълнителната власт. Как се справят с всяка една от тези функции?

Законодателните органи и законодателите отлично си вършат работата като представители на своите избиратели или избирателни райони. Най-важното нещо за всеки депутат е неговия избирателен район. По-голямата част от времето и усилията на народния представител са посветени на работа с избирателния район - срещи с избиратели в парламента или в самия район, присъствие на срещи и мероприятия, организирани от избирателния район, проверки дали района се възползва от законово уредените механизми за местно подпомагане (особено подпомагане на училищата), осигуряване на финансиране от държавния бюджет за проекти от значение за района, и подпомагане на избиратели при разрешаване на индивидуалните им проблеми, свързани със закона и управлението. Представляването на ценностите, интересите и мненията на избирателите е по-сложен въпрос. За по-голямата част от въпросите, които стигат до народния представител, избирателите нямат собствено мнение и интересите им не са изложени на риск. По други въпроси, обаче, избирателите са на различни мнения. Така че, която и страна да вземе народния представител, винаги ще има избиратели, чиито интереси няма да бъдат представени. В много малко случаи народния представител получава доверието на всички свои избиратели и рядко той се противопоставя на това. Законодателите вярно служат на интересите на своите избиратели, защото: те самите са избиратели; вярват, че работата го изисква; рискуват да изгубят местните или парламентарните избори, ако не работят за избирателите си.

Народните представители са ефективни и в законотворчеството. Приемането на един закон може да бъде труден процес, особено когато става дума за противоречив проблем. Трябва да се формират мнозинства при редица етапи от процеса на приемане - в една, две или три комисии, един или два пъти по време

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chance to hear presentations of the substantive and political merits and demerits on all sides of the issue. The processes of lawmaking vary from state to state, chamber to chamber, and issue to issue. Generally speaking, however, legislative systems perform pretty well when it comes to making (or not making) law.

More problematic is the legislature's performance balancing the power of the executive. The framers of the U.S. Constitution deliberately set up a government of separated powers and checks and balances in an effort to prevent the concentration of authority in one branch or a few hands. Over time the executive has acquired more power than the legislature. The chief advantage governors have over legislatures is that the executive is essentially one while the legislature is many. The executive speaks in a single voice; the legislature speaks in the voices of the senate and the house, the majority party and minority party, and each and every individual member. Furthermore, governors exercise substantial influence by virtue of their various veto powers and, in most states, by virtue of the role they play in formulating the budget. Nevertheless, few legislatures abdicate their own power or defer to the executive. They are constantly balancing executive power, at times to a greater and at times to a lesser extent.

Legislatures today are doing a good job, better than they did thirty, forty, or fifty years ago. They have modernized, built capacity, reached out to the public, adopted codes of ethics, and democratized internal processes. Not every American legislature has made exactly the sameprogress, but every one has made some progress.

How do legislatures and legislators appear to the public?

Americans are cynical with regard to political institutions, political processes, and political people. Cynicism was undoubtedly always a part of the American orientation toward politics, but in the 1970s, as a result of the Watergate scandal and the Vietnam War, it became the dominant orientation. Although the events and the rally-round-the-flag aftermath of the September 11 terrorist attacks revived Americans' trust in government, they did not fundamentally affect the deep-seated cynicism with which politics is viewed. It is pervasive just about everywhere in the United States, as is evidenced by public opinion polls, focus groups, and most important by referenda in two-fifths of the states limiting the terms that legislators may serve.

Americans think legislators are corrupt. For example, a survey of citizens in New Jersey, asked: "What percentage of legislators in Trenton (the state capital) do you think take bribes?" Respondents could answer anything in the range from 0 percent to 100 percent. As many as one out of three respondents said that anywhere from 50 percent to 100 percent of legislators took bribes. No New Jersey legislators in recent years had been publicly accused of taking a bribe, none had

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на разисканията в Сената или Конгреса, а понякога и пред комисия, сформирана за да разгледа различията между двете камари. Създаването и поддържането на мнозинство от една страна изисква дебатиране по преимуществата на проектозакона, а от друга - убеждаване, пазарене и постигане на компромис. Отделните индивиди и групи могат да представят и защитят своите възгледи, а законодателите - възможността да се запознаят с политическите и "по същество" преимущества и недостатъци на всеки един аспект от законопроекта. Процесът на създаване на един закон се различава във всеки щат, във всяка комисия, по всеки въпрос. Но като цяло законодателните системи работят добре, когато става дума за правене (или неправене) на закони. По проблематична е ролята на народните представители в процеса на балансиране на отговорностите на изпълнителната власт. Разпоредбите на Американската конституция предвиждат разделение на властите, проверки и балансиране, за да се предотврати съсредоточаването на прекалено много правомощия в някоя от властите или в нечии ръце. С времето изпълнителната власт е придобила повече власт от законодателната. Основното преимущество, което имат представителите на изпълнителната власт над тези от законодателната е, че обикновено изпълнителят е един, докато законодателите са много. Изпълнителят говори в единствено число, а законодателите от името на Сената или Конгреса, на мнозинството или опозицията, на този или онзи народен представител. Нещо повече, облеченият в изпълнителна власт има значително влияние, поради възможността си да налага различни видове забрани, а в повечето щати и поради ролята си при формиране на бюджета. Въпреки това, много малко са законодателите, които биха се отказали доброволно от това си правомощие или биха отстъпили на изпълнителната власт. Те винаги се стремят да балансират правомощията на изпълнителната власт - понякога с по-голям успех, понякога с по-малък.

Днешните законодатели си вършат работата далеч по-добре от своите предшественици от преди трийсет, четирийсет или петдесет години. Те са модернизирали работата си, консолидирали са капацитета си, осигурили са си достъп до общественото мнение, приели са етични закони и демократични вътрешни процедури. Не всички американски законодателни органи са постигнали еднакъв прогрес, но всеки законодателен орган е постигнал известен прогрес.

Как законодателите и законодателните органи изглеждат в очите на обществеността?

Американците имат цинично отношение към политическите институции, политическите процедури и политиците. Цинизмът винаги е бил част от отношението на американците към политиците, но през 70-те години в резултат на скандала Уотъргейт и войната във Виетнам, той става доминиращ. Макар че терористичните атаки от 11 септември сплотиха хората и съживиха доверието на американските граждани в тяхното правителство, те не засегнаха дълбоко залегналия цинизъм, с който се възприемат полити-

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been indicted and, of course, none had been convicted. Even if they do not go as far as believing that legislators take bribes, two out of three Americans believe that legislators are in politics to serve their own personal interests and not the public interest. Americans do not feel that legislators care about or respond to the concerns of ordinary people; outside of their personal interests, people feel, all legislators care about are the special interest groups with whom they are so cozy.

What people think is way off the mark. The overwhelming majority of legislators are public spirited. They want to change or improve health policy, education policy, transportation policy, or whatever. They want to help their constituents with their problems. They want to make a difference to their communities and to the lives of people. And, naturally, they want to get reelected. The overwhelming majority of legislators are men and women of integrity.

Why is appearance so out of line with performance?

The political system is not perfect. There are, and will always be, problems. There are, and will always be, corrupt politicians, who are a tiny proportion of the total. People tend to focus on the problems, not the achievements. People tend also to focus on the corrupt, not the honest. So, when Americans generalize from that with which they are more familiar, they generalize from the few problems and the few corrupt politicians to the entire system and all politicians. It is interesting that they do not generalize from their own legislators, whom they like (according to public opinion polls) and reelect (according to electoral statistics), but rather from the few rotten apples in the barrel to the entire barrel.

The media, of course, encourages generalizing from the worst possible cases. For the media, news is normally what is negative. And the more negative, the more newsworthy. "If it bleeds, it leads" is a journalistic expression in the United States. Legislators are fair game, big game for investigative reporters. Journalists seek the highest professional award, a Pulitzer Prize, which is often given for exposing corruption and are never given for reporting on how well a legislature is working. The media in the U.S. are in a fierce competition with one another. Their survival, and certainly their prosperity as the businesses they are, depends on attracting an audience. Americans want to be entertained, and the media seeks to provide entertainment. The more sensational, salacious, and scandalous, the larger the audience. It is little wonder that the orientation toward political institutions and politicians that Americans derive from the negative drumbeat of the media is a cynical one!

Political campaigns just reinforce the negative effects of the media. Campaigns of incumbents and challengers alike emphasize the negative--about the opponent and even about the legislative system. It is believed by campaign professionals that voters pay more attention to the negative than to

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ците. Тази тенденция е очевидна в САЩ и се доказва от многобройните обществени проучвания, изследвания върху фокус-групи и най-вече от проведените референдуми в две пети от щатите, за ограничаване броя мандати на законодателите.

Американците са на мнение, че техните законодатели са корумпирани. В едно проучване сред жителите на Ню Джърси, например, се задава въпроса: "Според Вас какъв процент от законодателите в Трентън (столицата на щата) взимат подкуп?". Отговорите могат да варират от 0 до 100 %. Един на всеки трима отговорили посочват, че от 50 до 100% от законодателите взимат подкупи. Нито един от законодателите в Ню Джърси не е бил публично обвиняван в приемане на подкуп, нито един не е бил подвеждан под съдебна отговорност и, разбира се, нито един не е бил осъждан. Дори и когато не се стига толкова далеч, да се твърди, че законодателите взимат подкупи, двама от всеки трима американци вярват, че народните представители участват в политиката, за да обслужват своите собствени интереси, а не интересите на обществото. Американците не споделят мнението, че законотворците се интересуват или отговарят на нуждите на обикновените хора. Хората са на мнение, че освен от личните си интереси, законодателите се вълнуват единствено от специфичните интереси на определени групи, с които са в особено близки отношения.

Това, което хората си мислят, обаче, се разминава с от реалното състояние на нещата. Огромната част от законодателите са отдадени на работата си. Те искат да променят и да подобрят здравната политика, образователната политика, транспортната политика или която и да е друга политика. Те искат да помогнат на своите избиратели да разрешат проблемите си. Искат да променят облика на своите райони и да подобрят живота на хората. И, естествено, те искат да бъдат преизбрани. Огромна част от законодателите са хора с достойнство и принципи.

Защо възприетото се разминава до такава степен с постигнатото?

Политическата система не е перфектна. Има и винаги ще има проблеми. Има и винаги ще има корумпирани политици, които са една малка част от цялото. Хората обикновено обръщат повече внимание на проблемите, отколкото на постиженията. Хората, също така, обръщат повече внимание на корумпираните, а не на честните. Така че, когато американците обобщават от това, с което са по-добре запознати, те правят своите изводи за цялата система и всички политици на база малкото проблеми и малкото корумпирани политици. Интересното е, че не правят изводите си на базата на своите законодатели, които харесват (според проучвания на общественото мнение) и преизбират (според избирателните статистики), а по-скоро на основата на малкото "гнили ябълки" в кошницата.

Медиите, разбира се, насърчават обобщаването въз основа на възможно най-фрапиращите случаи. За медиите новина е това, която е негативно. Колкото е по-негативно нещо, толкова повече заслужава внимание. "Ако кърви, върви" - това е журналистически израз, използ-

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the positive. Given the frequency of campaigns, the competitiveness of many races, and the attack mode, it is not surprising that cynicism is reinforced and strengthened.

The same effects are produced by issue campaigns, which are conducted by political interest groups. When the objective is to mobilize their own grass roots and influence a broader audience, interest groups rev up the rhetoric, attacking opponents and the system that is resisting their demands. Business and labor, liberals and conservatives, whatever the group, the system never seems to be sufficiently responsive to what they want and believe they deserve.

Legislators, themselves, tend to blame their own institution for what the legislators fail to get enacted into law. Members of the minority party blame the majority party, members of both parties blame committee chairmen and legislative leaders. The process is frustrating, and is designed to be so. A safety valve, however, is to blame the system.

If legislators blame the legislative system, if interest groups blame the legislative system, if candidates blame the system, and if the media--above all blame the system, how can we expect people to view the legislature from a positive perspective? Only the relatively few, who come from political families or who become political junkies after working in political campaigns or interning in the legislature, are positively oriented toward the legislative system.

Add to all of this the fact that although Americans like democracy in theory, they do not like the nitty-gritty of democratic practice. Americans, who normally deal with people who have similar political views to their own, do not see the reasons for conflict in the political system. "After all," their thinking goes, we (the people) agree on what has to be done, why don't they (the legislators) just do it?" Because conflict is anathema doesn't mean that compromise is the answer. Americans see compromise as selling out one's principles, and consequently are critical of normal politics and politicians.

If people regard conflict and compromise negatively, how can they like legislative performance? Public opinion polls show that they don't. A study of the public's assessment of congressional job performance, for instance, found that Congress scored higher when no contentious issues were being handled, but significantly lower when it was battling over an important, divisive issue. Years ago, I examined a decade's job-performance ratings of the New Jersey Legislature. The public's evaluations were lower during the months of the winter and spring, but rose during the summer months. Why? Because the legislature was in recess over the summer, on vacation, and not doing its job. The conclusion that has to be drawn is that: when the legislature is doing its job, it looks worse to the public; when the legislature is not doing its job, it looks better to the public.

If people actually see the legislature at work, they become dubious about the entire enterprise. They don't like

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ван в САЩ. Законодателите са лесна, тлъста плячка за разследващите журналисти. Журналистите преследват най-високи професионални отличия - наградата Пулицър, например, която обикновено се присъжда за разследване за корупция и никога за репортаж на тема колко добре се справя народния представител със задълженията си. Медиите в САЩ са в жестока конкуренция. Тяхното оцеляване и, естествено, техният просперитет зависят от привличането на публика или читатели. Американците желаят да бъдат забавлявани, а медиите търсят с какво да ги забавляват. Колкото е по-сензационно, непристойно и скандално, толкова е по-голяма аудиторията. В такъв случай никак не е чудно, че отношението на американците към политическите институции и политиците, провокирано от ширещия се в медиите негативизъм, е цинично.

Политическите кампании допълнително подсилват пораждания от медиите негативизъм. Кампаниите на управляващите и аспиращите да станат управляващи отново наблягат върху негативното - към опонента и дори към цялата законодателната система. Специалистите по водене на кампании изказват мнение, че гласоподавателите обръщат много по-голямо внимание на негативното отколкото на позитивното. Като се има пред вид честотата на водене на кампании, конкуренцията при всяка надпревара и формите на атака не бива да ни изненадва факта, че цинизмът се засилва и става все по устойчив като нагласа.

Същият ефект се наблюдава и при кампаниите, фокусирани върху определен проблем, които се водят от политически лобита. Когато целта е да се мобилизира основната членска маса и да се окаже влияние върху по-голям кръг от хора, заинтересованите групи завишават оборотите на риториката, атакувайки опонентите си и системата, която се противопоставя на техните искания. Работодатели и работещи, либерали и консерватори, каквато и да е групата - системата никога не отговаря в достатъчна степен на техните искания и представи за това какво заслужават.

Самите законодатели имат склонността да обвиняват законодателните институции за това, което не са успели да уредят със закон. Членовете на партии, малцинство в Парламента, обвиняват партията на мнозинството; членовете на всички партии обвиняват председателите на комисии и законодателните лидери. Този процес е твърде изнервящ, но е създаден за да бъде такъв. За да се изпусне парата, се обвинява системата.

Ако законодателите обвиняват законодателната система, ако лобиските групи обвиняват законодателната система, ако кандидатите обвиняват законодателната система и ако медиите - като капак на всичко - също обвиняват законодателната система, как тогава да очакваме хората да възприемат законодателната власт от положителната й страна. Само една съвсем малка част от хората, произхождащи от семейства на политици, или които са пристрастни към политиката, защото са участвали в политически кампании или са били на стаж в законодателни институции, са позитивно настроени към законодателната система.

Прибавете към всичко това факта, че макар американците да одобряват де-

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what they see. The legislative process is complicated, human, and messy. It is by no means as understandable as a television game show, a baseball or football game, or even a judicial proceeding. Indeed, it is almost impossible for people to understand or appreciate. It requires being part of it (as legislators are), observing it at close hand (as I do), taking on a different perspective (as, I will argue below, people ought to do), or making a leap of faith (which we cannot expect people to do).

What can be done to bring appearance more into line with performance?

I can think offhand of three possibilities. First, change legislatures. Make them look good. Have them operate the way the media says it wants them to operate. But why change the legislature if it is performing well? Legislatures have a job to do in a democratic polity and the way they work should enable them to do the job. Right now, the way they work gets the job done. Second, change the media. That is not possible, since the business of the media has its own imperatives. Chances of changing the media are the equivalent of teaching pigs to fly. Third, change the public, or at least the framework with which people view political institutions, political processes, and political people. The latter is the best course.

Changing the framework or orientation of citizens requires more intense and effective civic education on the subject of representative democracy. Civic education is hardly new, although civic education focused on representative democracy is seldom encountered. A number of institutions in America share responsibility for civic education. Most important are the elementary, middle, and high schools and the social studies teachers who teach history, government, or civics. For various reasons, the schools have not been doing a good job of providing the framework necessary for an appreciation of representative democracy. Moreover, social studies teachers seem to be as cynical as citizens in general. Why shouldn't they be, considering that they too are subject to all of the negatives that predominate in the environment! Colleges and universities have been involved in civic education on representative democracy, mainly by way of a few weeks of readings and instruction during introductory American government courses. Colleges and universities certainly have opportunities to do more and do what they do better.

Legislatures, however, ought to take primary responsibility for the job. Explaining representative democracy is part of the representational role of legislatures. In order for representation to be most effective, people have to know generally how the system works and what they can and cannot expect from democratic processes. Taking primary responsibility is no simple matter. It means that legislators and staff alike must be involved in what might be called "teaching democracy appreciation." And it means that the function has to be institutionalized, so that it

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мокрацията на теория, те не харесват истинската същност на демократичната практика. Американците обикновено общуват с хора с политически възгледи като техните и не виждат причини за разногласия в политическата система. Те си казват: "В края на краищата, ние (хората) сме единодушни какво трябва да се направи, защо те (законодателите) просто не го направят?" Само защото конфликтът е проклятие, не значи, че компромисът винаги е верния отговор. Американците приемат компромиса като отстъпление от собствените принципи и в резултат критикуват обичайната политика и нормалното поведение на политиците.

Ако хората се отнасят към конфликта и компромиса негативно, как биха могли да одобрят постигнатото в законодателството? Проучванията на общественото мнение показват, че те не го одобряват. Едно проучване на обществената оценка за работата на Конгреса, например, показва, че работата му се оценява по-високо, когато се занимава с по-незначителни проблеми, и значително по-ниско, когато в него се водят словесни битки по важни и противоречиви проблеми. Преди години, в продължение на едно десетилетие, проучвах работата на законодателния орган на щата Ню Джърси. Оценката на обществото за работата му бе ниска през зимните месеци и пролетта, но се покачваше през лятото. Защо? Защото законодателите не заседават през лятото, те са във ваканция. Изводът, който можем да направим е, че когато законодателите си вършат работата, те изглеждат още по-зле в очите на хората; когато не си я вършат - изглеждат по-добре.

Ако хората опознаят работата на една законодателна институция, съмнението започва да ги гложди. Не им харесва това, което виждат. Законодателният процес е сложен, субективен и объркан. В никакъв случай не толкова лесен за разбиране, колкото е, да речем, една телевизионна игра, колкото са футбола или бейзбола, или дори колкото е съдебния процес. Наистина, почти е невъзможно за хората да разберат и оценят подобаващо законодателния процес. Нужно е да си част от него (каквито са самите законодатели), да го наблюдаваш отблизо (какъвто е случаят с мен), да се промени подхода към него (което, ще се опитам да Ви убедя по-долу, хората трябва да направят) или да разчитаме на Божията воля (което е малко вероятно).

Какво може да се направи, за да се сближат постигнатото и неговото възприемане?

Веднага ми идват наум три възможности. Първата, да променим законодателните органи. Да ги накараме да изглеждат добре. Нека да работят така, като медиите изискват от тях. Но защо е нужно да променяме законодателните органи, ако те работят добре? Те имат своята роля в демократичното държавно устройство и начина, по който работят, би трябвало да им дава възможност да си вършат работата. Засега, начина по който работят, дава резултати. Втората възможност е да променим медиите. Това е невъзможно, тъй като бизнесът на медиите се подчинява на своите си закони. Колкото прасетата могат да се научат да летят, толкова и медиите могат да се про-

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persists from one legislature to the next and is performed regularly, as is the legislature's review of the state budget.

Mainly through their public information offices legislatures have been reaching out to the public for a number of years. These offices provide members of the public with information on the status of bills, how a bill becomes a law, the organization of the senate and house and their committees, and so forth. But the information provided to people by legislatures does not provide a coherent framework or acquaint people with the essentials of representative democracy. Such efforts have not had much effect in countering the negative messages that dominate the environment. The need is first, for an essential message about representative democracy to be formulated and second, for methods of delivery to be devised. As political campaign consultants urge candidates, they must have a message and they must stay on message.

The National Conference of State Legislatures (NCSL), which is the membership organization for state legislatures and legislators, has taken on the challenge. About two years ago NCSL established the "Trust for Representative Democracy," a civic education program for the 50 states. The initial task was the formulation of a message. That work was done by four political scientists: John Hibbing of the University of Nebraska; Burdett Loomis of the University of Kansas; Karl Kurtz of NCSL; and me.

The message we formulated is as follows:The message we formulated is as follows:

- In a pluralistic society such as our own, Americans naturally have different values, interests, and opinions. People disagree on many important matters of politics and public policy.
- Representation of different values, interests, and opinions is effected through political parties, interest groups, and especially the representatives whom constituents elect to office
- Different values, interests, and opinions come into conflict in the legislature, the process of which is marked by access, deliberation, negotiation, and compromise, with successive majorities required for a law to be enacted. Settlements are reached, but seldom are they permanent.
- Accountability is maintained through periodic (most state senate terms are four years, most state house terms are two years) elections. In essence, the message emphasizes that in a pluralistic democracy people disagree and legislatures, through a variety of processes, try to resolve disagreement and build consensus.

The message has been tested on college students who were interning in legislatures in about a dozen states. It has been more widely distributed in a monograph, **The Case for Representative Democracy: What Americans Should Know About Their Legislatures**, published by NCSL. It will soon be published by Congressional Quarterly press as **Appreciating Democracy: The Strength of Representative Government**, designed for college stu-

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менят. Третата *възможност е да променим* хората или поне начина, по който хората възприемат политическите институции, политическите процеси и политиците. Тази възможност изглежда най-реалистична.

Промяна в начина на възприемане *или нагласата на хората* изисква по-интензивно и ефективно гражданско образование по въпросите на представителната демокрация. Гражданското образование съвсем не е нещо ново, макар че гражданското образование, фокусирано върху представителната демокрация, е нещо, което рядко се среща. Няколко институции в САЩ си поделят отговорностите на гражданското обучение. Най-важни са началните, средни и гимназиални училища и учителите по социални дисциплини, които преподават история, държавно устройство или гражданско общество. Поради редица причини училищата не се справят добре със задачата да наложат рамката за формиране на положително отношение към представителната демокрация. Нещо повече, учителите по социални науки са също толкова цинично настроени, колкото всички останали граждани. И защо да не са като имаме пред вид, че и те страдат от негативите на заобикалящата ни действителност. Колежите и университетите също са *включени в гражданското* образование по представителна демокрация. То се изразява най-вече в четене и преподаване в рамките на въвеждащите курсове по американско държавно управление, които са само по няколко седмици. Колежите и университетите имат *възможностите да направят* повече и да го направят по-успешно.

Въпреки всичко, основната отговорност се носи от самите законодателни органи. Разясняването на представителната демокрация е част от ролята на законодателите като народни представители. За да бъдат представлявани най-ефективно, хората трябва да са наясно какво да очакват и какво - не от демократичните процеси. Да носиш голямата отговорност не е лесно. Изисква се законодателните органи и техните екипи да се включат в така нареченото "преподаване на положителна оценка за демокрацията". Това ще рече, тази функция да бъде институционализирана, за да може процесът да продължава от мандат в мандат, независимо от законодателите, да се провежда редовно, както, например, законодателят редовно преглежда държавния бюджет.

В продължение на години законодателните органи достигат до хората главно чрез своите информационни центрове. Те предлагат информация за статуса на проектозаконите, как проектозаконите се превръщат в действащи закони, организацията на Долната и Горна Камари и техните комисии и т.н. Но информацията, предоставяна на хората от законодателните органи, не изгражда единна рамка или, с други думи, не запознава хората с есенцията на представителната демокрация. Дейността на тези центрове не противодейства ефективно на негативните послания, които доминират в нашата действителност. Необходимо е, първо, да се формулират значими послания за представителната демокрация и, второ, да се намерят подходящите методи за тяхното разпространение. Така както консултантите по политически кампании

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dents in introductory American government courses.

Most important, curriculum materials are being prepared for social studies teachers and middle school and high school students. Institutes are being held for teachers, who are learning about representative democracy and figuring out ways to teach students about it. A three-year project, now getting underway in four states, is inquiring into what teachers teach about representative democracy and why they teach what they do. This project will also work with teachers to develop additional institutional materials and try to ensure that representative democracy is taught in high school curriculums.

Legislatures and legislators, as well as members of Congress, have to be involved in an enterprise such as the "Trust for Representative Democracy." For the past two years NCSL has sponsored a program that encouraged every one of the 7,425 state legislators to visit one or several schools in his or her district. Materials, including a video, were provided legislators so that they could address critical aspects of the representative democracy message. Over a thousand legislators participated each year.

An important task immediately ahead is for legislatures to attempt to institutionalize the function of civic education. This can be done in part by assigning responsibility to a legislative staff agency, usually a public information office. Such assignments have already been made in a number of states. But legislators, themselves, ought to play a leadership role. Therefore, it is necessary for legislatures to establish standing or special committees with the responsibility for the civic education function.

In the last budget the U.S. Congress appropriated funds to NCSL, the Center for Civic Education, and the Center for the Study of Congress at Indiana University to collaborate on promoting civic education on representative democracy. Together with foundation funding, private contributions, and public funds from states, the financial resources should be sufficient for a substantial effort to be made. That effort is now getting underway.

Does the American experience apply elsewhere?

The experience of Congress and state legislatures suggests that while democracy may work well, it is not likely to look good. Environmental forces are too negative. Although parliamentary systems differ significantly from legislative systems in the United States, they too are subject to similar environmental forces, particularly the media which accentuate the negative and ignore anything positive about political institutions and political processes.

Like representative democracy, parliamentary democracy is not easy for people to appreciate--not unless they are positively oriented toward politics. In the United States legislatures have just begun to concern themselves with and take responsibility for civic educa-

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настояват кандидат-политиците да имат своето послания, което да отстояват.

Предизвикателството бе прието от Националната конференция на щатските законодатели (NCSL) - доброволна организация на щатски законодатели и законодателни структури. Преди около две години NCSL основа "Тръст за представителна демокрация" - програма по гражданско образование за петдесетте щата. Първоначалната задача бе формулирането на послание. Това направиха четирима учени в областта на политиката: Джон Хибинг от Университета в Небраска, Бърдет Лумис от Университета в Кензас, Карл Курц от NCSL и аз.

Посланието, формулирано от нас, е следното:

• В едно плуралистично общество като нашето, е естествено американците да имат различни ценности, интереси и мнения. Хората изразяват несъгласие по много важни въпроси на политическия и обществен живот.

• Представляването на различните ценности, интереси и мнения се осъществява от политическите партии, лобиски групи и, най-вече, от народните представители, които хората избират директно.

• Различните ценности, интереси и мнения влизат в конфликт в законодателните структури - процес, съставен от приемане, обсъждане, преговаряне и постигане на компромис за формиране на успешни мнозинства, които са задължителни за влизането в сила на закон. Стига се до споразумение, което в редки случаи е за дълго.

• Прозрачността се постига чрез периодични (за повечето щатски Сенати срокът е четири години, а за Горните Камари - две години) избори. Накратко, посланието набляга на това, че в една плуралистична демокрация хората имат свободата да изразят несъгласието си, а законодателните органи, посредством множество и различни процеси, се опитват да разрешат несъгласията и да постигнат консенсус.

Това послание бе тествано в десетина щата върху колежани, правили стаж в законодателни структури. То бе широко разпространено чрез монографията **"Представителната демокрация: Какво трябва да знаят американците за законодателните органи"**, публикувана от NCSL. Тя скоро ще бъде публикувана и в тримесечните издания на Конгреса под заглавието **"Да ценим демокрацията: Силата на представителното държавно управление"** и ще е предназначена за въвеждащите курсове по държавно управление в колежите.

Важен момент е, че са подготвени материали за учебните програми, които ще се ползват от учители по социални науки и ученици от средните и горни класове. Провеждат се обучения на учители, които разясняват представителната демокрация и предлагат методология за обучение. Наскоро стартира тригодишен проект в четири щата, който проучва какво се преподава за представителната демокрация и защо се преподава точно това. Този проект ще работи с учителите за разработване на допълнителни институционални материали и ще се опита да включи обучение по представителна демокрация в учебните програми на горните класове.

Би било добре както законодателните органи и законодателите, така и членове-

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tion on representative democracy. The job ahead of them is certainly a difficult one; it will require commitment, resources, and persistence. But the trust, support, and involvement of citizens requires that it be done. Parliamentary democracies, it would appear, face a similar challenge. Their citizens also have acquired a negative perspective, and they too need to learn the positive, as well as negative, aspects of parliamentary democracy in their nation.

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те на Конгреса да се включат в начинание, подобно на "Тръст за представителна демокрация". През изминалите две години NCSL спонсорира програма, която насърчаваше всеки един от 7 425-те щатски законодатели да посети едно или повече училища в своя избирателен район. На законодателите бяха предоставени материали, включително и видеофилми, така че да могат да отговорят на забележки, касаещи посланието за представителната демокрация. Над хиляда законодатели се включваха в тази програма на година.

Една важна задача, която стои на дневен ред пред законодателните органи, е институционализиране функциите на гражданското образование. Това би могло да стане, ако някоя от агенциите на законодателния орган (обикновено това е информационния център) бъде натоварена със задачата. По подобен начин постъпиха редица щатски законодателни органи. Но самите законодатели, от своя страна, трябва да играят водеща роля в този процес. Ето защо е наложително създаването на постоянни или временни комисии, които директно да носят отговорността за адекватното функциониране на гражданското образование.

В последния бюджет Американският конгрес задели средства, които се предоставят на NCSL, Центъра за гражданско образование и Центъра за проучване работата на Конгреса към Университета в Индиана, които да се използват за популяризиране на гражданското образование по представителна демокрация. Провеждането на тази мащабна програма ще бъде възможно и благодарение на средствата, събрани от фондации, частни дарители и обществени фондове в отделните щати. Програмата се изпълнява в момента.

Приложим ли е американския опит по света?

Опитът на Конгреса и щатските законодателни органи сочи, че макар демокрацията да действа добре, тя не винаги изглежда добре. Силите, действащи в заобикалящата ни действителност, са твърде негативни. Макар парламентарните системи да се отличават значително от законодателните системи в САЩ, те също са обект на влияние от страна на подобни сили и най-вече на медиите, които акцентират върху негативното и игнорират всичко позитивно, свързано с политическите институции и процеси. Както представителната, така и парламентарната демокрация, е трудна за възприемане - освен ако хората са позитивно настроени към политиците. В САЩ едва напоследък законодателните органи започнаха да се занимават и да носят отговорност за гражданското образование по представителна демокрация. Работата, която им предстои, със сигурност не е лесна; тя изисква всеотдайност, ресурси и постоянство. Но за да се спечели доверието, подкрепата и участието на хората тази работа трябва да се свърши. Пред парламентарните демокрации стои подобно предизвикателство. Техните граждани също изграждат негативни представи и те също трябва да бъдат научени да възприемат и положителните, а не само негативните аспекти на парламентарната демокрация.

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Tatyana Dronzina

If you ask the journalists what are their major complaints regarding the politicians are, you are likely to receive the following answers: politicians do not provide any information; they do not provide timely information; they provide filtered information, prepared by their PR specialists; they do not take into consideration the technological requirements of the media; they are difficult to access.

The grievances expressed by politicians are equally numerous: journalists are not objective; media coverage is biased and factually inaccurate; journalists are always after the sensational story or headline; they aren't interested in the good news, but are anxiously anticipating the bad news; their attention is not attracted by the fact that the dog has bitten Ivan, but they are having fun when Ivan bites the dog.

And so on. Both sides can expand the list infinitely. It reflects both real problems in the relations between the media and the authorities, and real controversies in the interest of the two professional groups. The two groups are situated on the opposite sides of the counter at the political marketplace - to avoid saying/staying on the opposite sides of the barricade. This, however, does not exhaust the big picture either. In a certain sense journalists and politicians are on the same side - the side of legality and the right to information. On the opposite side is lawlessness, information voids and lack of competency.

The latest public opinion polls demonstrate that the rating of the National Assembly is not only low, but also has steadily deteriorated in the last several months. This is partly explained by the great obstacles to constructing a common parliamentary public discourse. The difficulties are determined by complex and ambiguous processes such as: consolidation of the public consensus around basic values, establishing the rules of public debate, sensitivity to and tolerance of the public when it comes to certain behavioral patterns, etc. In other words, the birth of the language, which the Bulgarian public expects the democratically elected Parliament to use in expressing itself, still has not happened. When it happens, we are likely to witness the construction of a new image of the parliamentary institution, associated with constitutionalism and legal order, and not only with it being the stage and space where inter-party public debate takes place.

The image, rating and chances for party and personal success of every public persona depend not only on his or her deeds, but also on the public perception of these deeds. Publicizing in a socially responsible, acceptable and comprehensible language enhances the formation of the common democratic discourse and the trust in the legitimacy of the institutions - which, in our transition to democracy, is a condition for their effective functioning. The general framework of this process is set by establishing the value of the communication between nationally responsible leaders and interest

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Татяна Дронзина

Ако попитате журналистите какви са основните им оплаквания от политиците, ще получите приблизително следните отговори: политиците не предоставят никаква информация; те не предоставят навременна информация; те предоставят филтрирана информация, за което имат грижата специалистите им по връзки с обществеността; те не се съобразяват с технологичните изисквания на медиите; те са труднодостъпни.

Не по-малобройни са недоволствата на политиците: журналистите са необективни; медийното отразяване е тенденциозно и фактологически неточно; медиите са недобронамерени; те винаги търсят сензации; те не се интересуват от добрите новини, но стръвно очакват лошите; вниманието им не може да бъде привлечено от това, че кучето е захапало Иван, но истински се забавляват когато Иван захапе кучето.

И така нататък. Списъкът от двете страни може да бъде продължен безкрайно. Той отразява както реални проблеми в отношенията между медиите и властта, така и реални противоречия в интересите на двете професионални групи. Прието е да се смята, че те са от двете страни на сергията на политическия пазар - за да не казвам от двете страни на барикадата. Но и това не изчерпва пълнотата на картината. В определен смисъл журналистите и политиците са от едната страна - от тази на законността и правото на информация. От другата се беззаконието, информационното затъмнение и некомпетентността.

Последните изследвания на общественото мнение показват, че рейтингът на Народното събрание е не само нисък, но и трайно спадащ през последните месеци. Без да се впускаме в подробен анализ на причините, ще отбележим, че това отчасти може да се дължи на големите предизвикателства, пред които формирането на общ парламентарен публичен дискурс е изправено. Трудностите на това формиране не са неразбираеми като се има предвид, че пряко или непряко са детерминирани от такива сложни и неоднозначни процеси, каквито са: консолидирането на обществения консенсус около базисните ценности, изработването на правилата на обществения дебат, чувствителността и толерантността на обществеността към определени поведенчески образци и др. С други думи, раждането на езика, на който българското общество очаква демократично избраният парламент да се изразява, е все още несъстояло се събитие. Когато то се случи, вероятно ще станем свидетели и на изграждането на нов образ на парламентарната институция, асоциран с конституционализма и правовия ред, а не само с ролята му на сцена и пространство за партийния публичен дебат.

Известно е, че имиджът, рейтингът и шансовете за партиен и личен успех на всяка публична личност зависят не само от това, какво е направила, но и от това, което общест-

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groups or communities, while its content is related both to specific policies and practices and to enhancing personal communicative competence. The suggestions below might help in bridging the perception-reality gap.

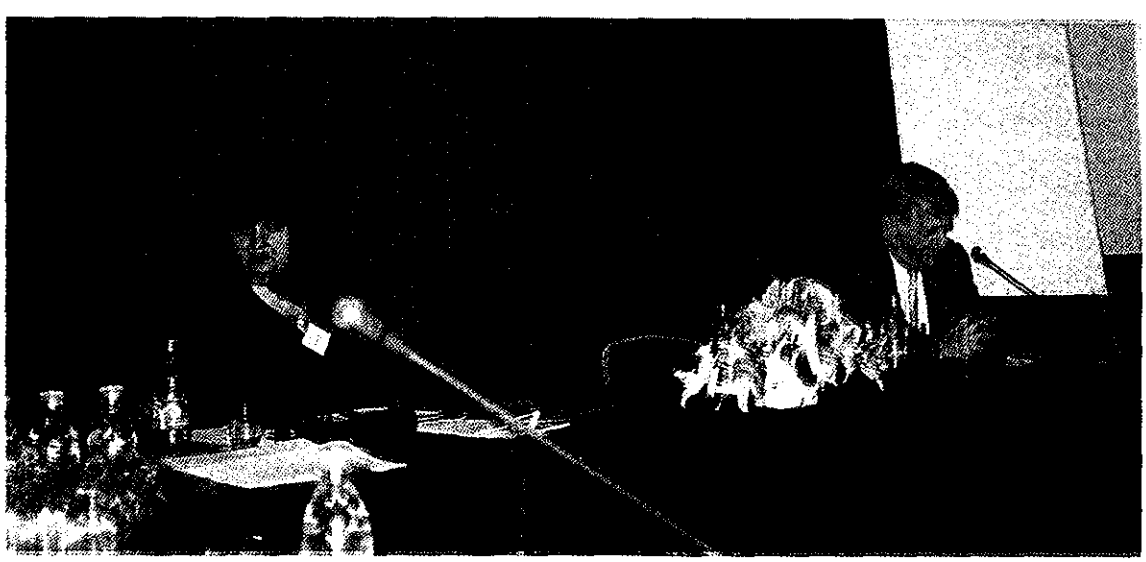
1. One of the most substantial motivations for aspiring to achieve effective communication with the media is related to the fact that people are communicating not so much with you but with your media image. Given time constraints you can meet face-to-face with only a limited number of people perhaps hundreds or several thousands. The remaining eight million will know you as the media have presented you.

2. Remember that the adequate perception of performance is conditioned on its adequate media coverage. Before you require this from the media, you need to provide them with adequate information. No matter what the story is, it is better if they hear it from you - in this way you have greater ability to control the message.

3. The classical maxim that the newspaper is a window to the world, but that the window to the world may be covered with a newspaper, reflects a truth both obvious and commonly hidden: the power of media is not so much in their ability to influence the voters, but in that they play a crucial role in setting the public agenda. Your personal chance to succeed is determined also by how skillfully you are able to fit into the media's agenda. Before you can expect positive public attitudes, you need to first get into the public eye.

4.It is true that media influence public opinion, but they are not capable of altering it indefinitely. The public's perception and assessments are determined by a number of factors, media being one of them.

5.Happily some of these factors are controlled neither by the media nor Parliament. If they were public opinion would amount to an easy object of manipulation, both by the media and by the institutions. But it isn't, because culture and society have established a



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веността мисли, че е направила. Оповестяването, направено на социално отговорен, социално приемлив и разбираем език допринася за формирането на общия демократичен дискурс и доверието в легитимността на институциите, което в нашия демократичен преход е условие за тяхното ефективно функциониране. Общата рамка на този процес се формира от утвърждаването на ценността на комуникацията между национално отговорни лидери и заинтересовани общности, а съдържанието му е свързано както с конкретните политики и практики, така и с подобряване на личната комуникативна компетентност. Препоръките, които следват по-долу, са именно в тази насока. Може би те ще помогнат да се стесни пропастта между извършеното и възприетото.

1. Един от най-сериозните мотивиращи доводи да се стремите към ефективна комуникация с медиите е свързан с обстоятелството, че гражданите общуват не толкова с вас, колкото с вашия медиен образ. За времето на един мандат вие можете да се срещнете очи в очи с определен краен брой гласоподаватели от порядъка на стотици или на няколко хиляди. Останалите 8 милиона ще ви познават такъв, какъвто са ви представили медиите.

2. Помнете, че адекватното възприемане на постигнатото зависи от адекватното му медийно отразяване. Преди да го изисквате от медиите, следва да им представите адекватна информация. Каквато и да е историята, по-добре е да я научат от вас - така имате по-голяма възможност да контролирате посланието.

3. Класическата максима, че вестникът е прозорец към света, но че прозорецът към света може да бъде затулен и с вестник, отрязва една безспорна, но често забравяна истина: силата на медиите е не толкова в това, че са способни да променят мнението на избирателите, колкото в това, че формират дневния ред или поне имат сериозен дял във формирането му. Вашият личен шанс за успех между другото се определя и от това, до каква степен сте успели да се впишете в очертания от медиите дневен ред. Преди да се надявате на положителна оценка от страна на обществеността, трябва да сте попаднали пред погледа й.

4. Медиите наистина влияят върху общественото мнение, но не могат да го променят безгранично. Възприятието и оценките на избирателите се определят от редица фактори и медиите са само един от тях.

5. Част от тези фактори не са под контрола нито на медиите, нито на парламента - и слава богу, защото в противен случай общественото мнение щеше да бъде лесен обект за манипулиране както от страна на медиите, така и от страна на институциите. Но не е, защото културата и обществото са създали механизъм, който допринася за запазването на личната автономност. Част от този механизъм е референтната рамка, в която всеки човек реди мо-

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mechanism, which allows for personal autonomy to be preserved. Part of this mechanism is the frame of reference in which all of us arranges our perceptions of the world - including the political world - and puts together it's the big picture. And to the extent that individual experience is always unique, the frames of reference are different. Your message, situated in different frames of reference, sounds differently - and this is one of the reasons for it to be accepted or rejected.

6. Elected officials are often concerned about what they perceive to be incorrect, sensational, and sometimes openly cynical language of the media. The feelings of failure and bitterness of the part of anybody who falls prey to these is understandable. Media, however, constitute a social phenomenon. In spite of the fact that there are good and bad journalists, just like there are MPs who perform their functions well and those who don't, the media as a whole do not reproduce individual patterns of behavior. They reproduce collective behavioral models, one part of which is also the specific political discourse, commonly being devised by the political elite. In this sense, before asking why the media's language is incorrect, impolite and inaccurate, we should address this question: Do the institutions, including the Parliament, use always correct, polite and accurate language? Probably not.

7. If media have been successful in creating a scapegoat of somebody, it merely means that they have adopted some collective behavioral model or attitudes. If you are prone to utilizing media in this fashion, there are no obstacles to them utilizing you accordingly. Anybody can be forced to play the scapegoat, including you, since there is neither legal nor moral ground to prevent this kind of victimization.

8. Regardless of your personal intentions, behavior and motivations, your image bears the positive and negative attributes associated with your institution, in this case, the Parliament. There have been and will be good and bad parliamentarians. There have been and will be good and bad journalists. The voter may says, "This Parliament seems to be just like the previous one", and the reader may joins in: "This newspaper seems to be just like all others". Your public conduct and self-presentation need to take this fact into consideration.

9. Media constitute a huge resource for every government and political regime. First of all, they are a resource since they can successfully sell the positive image of any political force, leader or institution. But they are also a resource since through them you can could inform the public about your policy decisions. It is not always the case that the most functional and effective government decisions are also the ones most strongly supported by the public. Most strongly supported are those decisions that are best explained; decisions that have been made on the basis of broad public debate and have attracted broad social support as a result of this debate. Public debate promotes citi-

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зайката на своите възприятия за света - в това число и на политическия свят - и сглобява от отделните късчета неговата цялостна картина. И тъй като индивидуалният опит е абсолютно уникален, и рефрентните рамки са различни. Вашето послание, ситуирано в различни референтни рамки, звучи по различен начин - това е една от причините то да бъде възприето или отхвърлено.

6. Едно от най-значимите недоволства на публичните личности е свързано с неточния, сензационистки, а понякога и открито циничен език на медиите. Разбираемо е усещането за крах и огорчение на всеки, който се окаже в подобна ситуация. Но медиите са социален феномен. Независимо от факта, че съществуват добри и лоши журналисти, както съществуват добре изпълняващи е зле изпълняващи функциите си народни представители, медиите като цяло не репродуцират индивидуални образци на поведение. Те възпроизвеждат колективни поведенчески модели, част от които е и специфичният политически дискурс, които най-често се задават от политическия елит. Затова преди да се запитаме защо езикът на медиите е некоректен, недобронамерен и неточен, следва да поставим въпроса: винаги ли езикът, на който говорят институциите, в това число е парламентът, е коректен, добронамерен и точен? Какъвто и да е отговорът, взаимовръзката не подлежи на съмнение.

7. Ако медиите са успели да превърнат някого в жертвен агнец, това само означава, че отново са възпроизвели някакъв колективен поведенчески модел или нагласи. Ако сте склонни да използвате средствата за масова информация по този начин, няма пречка и те да ви използват така. В ролята на жертвения агнец може да се окаже всеки, в това число и вие, защото няма нито законово, нито морално съображение, което пречи на този тип виктимизация.

8. Независимо от лични ви намерения, поведения и мотиви, вашият имидж носи пасивите и негативите на вашата институция, в случая, парламента. Имало е и има добри и лоши парламентаристи. Имало е и ще има добри и лоши журналисти. Но въпреки това избирателят казва "И тоя парламент май е като предишния", а читателят му приглася: "И тоя вестник май е като другите". Вашето публично поведение и самопредставяне трябва да отчита този факт.

9. За всяка власт и за всеки политически режим медиите са огромен ресурс. Те са ресурс най-напред защото могат да продават успешно позитивния имидж на дадена политическа сила, лидер или институция. Но те са ресурс и защото дават шанс да осведомите обществеността за вашите управленски решения. Не винаги най-функционалните и най-ефективните управленски решения са най-подкрепяни от гражданите. Най-подкрепяните решения са най-добре обяснените решения;

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zens' right to political participation; it establishes shared responsibility for the choice of an alternative; and it mobilizes, - as well as generates, the resources necessary for its enforcement. If you want to enjoy the support of the people, explain to them what your current and intended activities are.

10. Perceive the media not merely as a resource, but also as a partner. It is good when we enjoy full consensus with our partners. Unfortunately, this is not always possible. Does it mean we shouldn't be investing in partnerships? It doesn't, particularly when we perceive our partner to be vital to solving our problem. The same applies to your relations with the media. You don't have to like them. It suffices to realize that without them you can't achieve your own goals.

The strategy of silence might prove fruitful for some time; its major weakness, however, is that it can't be used forever. It would also deprive you of one of the few and still cheap resources - public support. When you can speak and you have something to say, and you know you can say it in a socially responsible and acceptable way, it is better if you don't keep quiet. Inherent in the notion of democracy are certain shared values; these cannot be shared without the flow of communication.

No matter how effective your communication with the media and interested publics may be, or how good your PR specialists are, there is no power capable of indefinitely presenting irresponsible, ineffective, and incompetent conduct as responsible, effective and competent. Every PR specialist knows that different customers, at different times may be lied about different things. But all customers, at the same time, may be lied only once. This law governs all markets, including the political one.

Even if you have followed the advice provided in these seminars, tomorrow you may again read in the papers some significantly distorted information on what has been said or done here by us. Remember what is written on Solomon's ring: "This, too, shall pass". One lost battle for your image doesn't mean losing the war for the right to information, publicity, transparency and civilized choice. As a voter and consumer of the information provided by the media I would like to believe that victory in this war is the goal both of media and of the government. And to believe that the war is led in my name.

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тези, които са взети в резултат на *най-широк обществен дебат* и по силата на този дебат са привлекли широка *социална подкрепа*. Общественият дебат реализира правото на гражданите на политическо участие, той създава споделената отговорност за избора на алтернатива и мобилизира, а понякога и генерира ресурсите за нейното осъществяване. Ако искате подкрепата на гражданите, обяснете им какво правите или имате намерение да правите.

10. Гледайте на медиите не просто като на ресурс, а като на партньор. Хубаво е да харесваме, обичаме и да се радваме на пълно съгласие с партньорите си. За жалост това не винаги е възможно. Следва ли оттук, че не трябва да инвестираме в партньорството? Не и ако погледнем на партньора като на някой, без който не можем да решим собствения си проблем. Същото важи и за отношенията между вас и медиите. Не сте длъжни да ги обичате. Достатъчно е да разбирате, че без тях не можете да постигнете собствените си цели.

11. Стратегията на мълчанието може да се окаже добра за известно време; неин основен недостатък е, че не може да продължава вечно. Тя ви лишава от един от малкото и все още сравнително евтини ресурси - обществената подкрепа. Когато можете да говорите и имате какво да кажете, и сте сигурни, че можете да го направите на социално отговорен и приемлив език, е по-добре да не мълчите. В основата на демокрацията лежат споделените ценности; те няма как да бъдат споделени извън рамките на общуването.

12. Колкото и ефективна да е комуникацията, която осъществявате с медиите и заинтересованите публики, колкото и да са добри специалистите по връзки с обществеността, които работят за вас, няма сила, която да може да представя безкрайно безотговорното, неефективно и некомпетентно поведение като отговорно, ефективно и компетентно. Всеки специалист по маркетинг знае, че различни клиенти, по различно време могат да бъдат лъгани за различни неща. Но всички клиенти, в едно и също време, по повод на едно и също нещо, могат да бъдат излъгани само веднъж. Това е закон на веки пазар, в това число и на политическия.

13. И, ако въпреки че сте спазили препоръките, дадени в рамките на този или друг семинар, утре отново прочетете във вестника силно преиначена информация за казаното или направено от нас, спомнете си за надписа на пръстена на Соломон: "И това ще мине". Една загубена битка за вашия имидж все още не означава поражение във войната за правото на информираност, публичност, прозрачност и цивилизован избор. Като гласоподавател и потребител на предоставяна от средствата за масово осведомяване информация бих искала да вярвам, че победата в нея е цел както на медиите, така и на властта. И че тя се води в мое име.

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Biographical Data

Robert D. Kaplan, a correspondent for The Atlantic Monthly, is the best-selling author of nine books on international affairs translated into over 15 languages. Kaplan has reported on assignments for the magazine from over 80 countries from Europe, Africa, the Middle East, Asia, Latin America, and the United States. In the 1980s he was the first American writer to warn in print about a future war in the Balkans. Former Pres. Clinton and Pres. George W. Bush are both readers of Kaplan's books, and Kaplan has briefed former Pres. George Bush in the White House.

Robert Kaplan is a prolific writer: his books include Eastward to Tartary: Travels in the Balkans, the Middle East, and the Caucasus (2000), The Coming Anarchy: Shattering the Dreams of the Post Cold War (2000), and Balkan Ghosts: A Journey Through History (1993). Balkan Ghosts has become a guide for making sense of the complex context of the 1990's wars in the Balkans, a compulsory text in any university course focusing on Southeastern Europe. The book was chosen by The New York Times Book Review as one of the "best books" of 1993, and by Amazon.com as one of the best travel books of all time.

Kaplan is also a provocative essayist: his article "The Coming Anarchy" in the February, 1994 Atlantic Monthly, about how population rises, urbanization, and resource depletion is undermining governments, was hotly debated in foreign-language translations globally. So was his December, 1997 Atlantic cover story, "Was Democracy Just a Moment?" According to U.S. News & World Report, "President Clinton was so impressed with Kaplan, he ordered an interagency study of these issues, and it agreed with Kaplan's conclusions."

New York Times columnist Thomas Friedman calls Kaplan among the four "most widely read" authors defining the post-Cold War (along with Francis Fukuyama, Harvard Prof. Samuel Huntington, and Yale Prof. Paul Kennedy). His essays have appeared in Forbes and the editorial pages of The New York Times, The Wall street Journal, The Washington Post, and The Boston Globe. He has been a Fellow of the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland, and is currently a senior fellow at the New American Foundation in Washington. Robert Kaplan lectures at the U.S. Department of State, CIA, the FBI, as well as universities and business forums around the world.

Dr. Louis Fortis, Ph.D. Economics, has taught Economics and Economic Development Policy both at the undergraduate and graduate level. He served on the Wisconsin State Legislature for three terms and chaired the Financial Institutions and Insurance Committee, as well as the Health

Биографични справки

Робърт Каплан, кореспондент на влиятелното списание The Atlantic Monthly, е най-продаваният автор в областта на международните отношения - неговите девет книги са преведени на над 15 езика. Каплан е публикувал репортажи и статии за над 80 страни на Европа, Африка, Близкия Изток, Азия, Латинска Америка и САЩ. През 80-те той е първият американски писател, който предупреждава в публикациите си за опасността от бъдеща война на Балканите. Сред читателите на Каплан са президентите на САЩ Бил Клинтън и Джордж У. Буш, той е консултирал лично и бившия президент Джордж Буш в Белия дом. Робърт Каплан е плодовит писател: негови са книгите "На изток към Татария: Пътувания из Балканите, Близкия Изток и Кавказ" (2000), "Настъпващата анархия: Разбитите мечти след края на Студената война" (2000), "Балкански призраци: Пътуване в историята" (1993). "Балкански призраци" се превърна в стандартно ръководство за разбиране на сложния контекст на войните на Балканите през 90-те и христоматиен текст за всеки университетски курс с фокус Югоизточна Европа. The New York Times Book Review (най-престижната класация за книги) я посочва за една от "най-добрите книги" за 1993 г., според Amazon.com това е един от най-добрите пътеписи за всички времена. Каплан е провокативен есеист: неговата статия в Atlantic Monthly от февруари 1994 г. "Настъпваща анархия", която описва как нарастващото население на Земята, урбанизацията и изчерпването на природните ресурси подкопават правителствата и режимите по света, предизвика многоезичен разгорещен дебат. По подобен начин бе приета и водещата статия от декември 1997 год. на Atlantic Monthly "Само миг ли беше демокрацията?". Според U.S. News & World Report "Президентът Клинтън бе толкова силно впечатлен от аргументите на Каплан, че поръча междуведомствено изследване, което потвърди заключенията на автора."Томас Фрийдман, редактор в New York Times, нарежда Каплан сред четиримата "най-четени" автори след края на Студената война (наред с Франсис Фукуяма, Харвардския професор Самюел Хънтингтън и Професор Пол Кенеди от Йейл). Негови статии са публикувани в сп. Forbes и на страниците на The New York Times, The Wall Street Journal, The Washington Post и The Boston Globe. Каплан е специален гост на Световния икономически форум в Давос, Швейцария и настоящ почетен член на Фондация Нова Америка, Вашингтон, чете лекции пред Държавния департамент на САЩ, ЦРУ, ФБР, както и пред множество университети и форуми по цял свят.

Д-р Луис Фортис (Доктор по икономика) е преподавал Икономика и Икономика на развитието на ниво бакалавър и магистър. В продължение на три мандата е работил в зако-

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Care Financing Committee. He also ran a statewide development corporation and a small venture capital company in Wisconsin. Currently Louis Fortis is the publisher and Editor-in-chief of Metro Milwaukee's weekly newspaper with over 225,000 readers. He has extensive international experience working with parliaments in diverse countries, such as Romania, Uganda, the Indonesian part of Borneo, as well as the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Lili Marinkova, MA Journalism from Sofia University "St. Kliment Ohridski", is currently host of the weekly political digest on the Bulgarian National Radio - Nedelia 150 (Sunday 150 [min]), by far the most popular political show currently on air. Her outstanding career is marked by controversies and provocative statements that often times are hard for the respective people in government to digest. Lili Marinkova has worked as host of the National Radio shows Horizont Before Everybody Else, Conversation With You, and Sunday 150. She has also hosted political analysis rubrics at the Bulgarian National Television, and the Studio BG of Radio Free Europe.

Dr. Alan Rosenthal, Ph.D. Political Science form Princeton University, is Professor of Public Policy and Political Science at the Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University and served as its Director in 1974-1994. He has consulted and supervised comprehensive studies of legislative organization and procedures in over 30 states. Currently he is working with the National Conference of State Legislatures, the American Political Science Association (APSA), and the Center for Civic Education on the development and communication throughout the states of a new public perspective on representative democracy. In New Jersey he chaired the Ad Hoc Commission on Legislative Ethics and Campaign Finance, appointed in 1990 by the Speaker of the Assembly and President of the Senate. In 1992 Dr Rosenthal received the APSA's Charles E. Merriam Award, which honors a person whose published work and career represent a significant contribution to the art of government. He served also as a Fellow in Harvard's Program on Ethics and the Professions and as a Research Fellow at the Institute of Politics at the John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University. He has published extensively in the areas of state legislatures and state politics.

Antony Todorov, Ph.D. Contemporary History at the Institute for Social History in Sofia, is currently Associate Professor of Political Science/International Relations at the New Bulgarian University and Deputy Head of the Department of Political Science. He serves as Director of the Institute for Social Values and Structures in Sofia. His research assignments have been undertaken within projects of the Council of Europe, the North Atlantic Assembly, East-West Studies Institute in

нодателния орган на щата Уисконсин и е председателствал Комисията по финанси и застраховане и Комисията по финансиране на здравеопазването. Ръководител е на консултантска кантора с офиси из целия щат и малка фирма за управление на капитали в Уисконсин. Сега д-р Фортис е издател и главен редактор на седмичника Metro Milwaukee с повече от 225 000 читатели. Има значителен опит при консултирането на парламентите на много държави, сред които Румъния, Уганда, Западния бряг на ивицата Газа и др.

Лили Маринкова завършва журналистика в СУ "Климент Охридски" и в момента работи като водещ на седмичния политически дайджест по БНР "Неделя 150", най-слушаното политическо радио предаване. Изключителната й кариера е съпътствана от противоречия и провокативни материали, които често я поставят в опозиция на управляващите. Лили Маринкова е работила в Националното радио и като водещ на предаванията "Хоризонт преди всички" и "Разговор с Вас". Водила е политически рубрики по Българската национална телевизия и предаването "Студио БГ" по радио "Свободна Европа".

Д-р Алън Розентал (Доктор по политология от Университета в Принстън) е Професор по държавно управление и политология в Института по политика "Игълтън" към Университета Ратгърс и е бил негов директор през периода 1974 - 1994 год. Той е консултирал и ръководил научни разработки по въпросите на законодателната организация и процедури в над 30 щата. Понастоящем, съвместно с Националната конференция на Щатските законодателни органи, Американската асоциация по политология (ААП) и Центъра за гражданско образование, работи за развитието и разпространението на ново обществено разбиране за представителната демокрация. Председателства Временната комисия по законодателна етика и финансиране на кампании, създадена през 1990 г. от Председателя на Камарата на представителите и Председателя на Сената в Ню Джърси. През 1992 г. д-р Розентал получава наградата "Чарлз И. Мериам" на ААП, която се връчва на автори, чиито публикации и цялостна дейност са допринесли значително за развитие на държавното управление. Бил е стипендиант по Програмата на Харвардския университет за Етика и професии и гостуващ изследовател в Института по политика към Школата за държавно управление "Джон Ф. Кенеди" към Харвардския университет. Автор е на множество публикации в областта на щатското законодателство и държавната политика.

Антони Тодоров (Докторат по Съвременна история в Института по история в гр. София) е доцент по политология/международни отношения в Нов български университет и заместник декан на Факултета по политология. Той е също така Директор на Института за социални ценности и структури. Работил е по проекти на Европейския съюз, Северноатлантическата асамблея, Институ-

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Prague, as well as a number of research institutions in France. Antony Todorov has also served as Senior Adviser at the Research Department of the Bulgarian National Assembly in 1995-1997.

Dr Sue Senecah, Ph.D. Communications from University of Minnesota, is an Associate Professor of Public Policy at the State University of New York College of Environmental Science and Forestry. Her research and teaching focuses on the design, practice and evaluation of participatory processes for public policy decision-making, concerning a wide range of policy issues, among which environment, regional planning and hazardous waste. She also serves as the Coordinator of the undergraduate and graduate programs in Communication and Participatory Processes. In addition, she is the Associate Director for Environmental Conflicts and Public Participation in the Program on the Analyses and Resolution of Conflicts at Syracuse University. Dr Senecah has served for nine years in the New York State Legislature, as Special Assistant for Policy for NY State Senator George Maziarz, and coordinated public outreach on the staff of Senators John DeFrancisco and John Sheffer. She has an international reputation as a mediator, facilitator, trainer, and process design consultant for public policy decision-making, and has published extensively on public participation in the policymaking process. **Borislav Vilarov**, Ph.D. Social and Political Communication from Sofia University, currently teaches Political Marketing and Communications at Sofia University. He also serves as Executive Director of the Bulgarian Association of Political Marketing, and Secretary of the Board of the Institute for National Policy "ProImage". Borislav Vilarov has been involved with numerous research, analysis and consulting assignments for election campaigns during the last ten years.

Stephen Lakis holds Political Science degrees from Bridgeport University (BA) and the American University in Washington, D.C (MA). Currently he serves as President of the State Legislative Leaders Foundation (SLLF), which he transformed during the past two decades into the preeminent leadership organization in the United States. Under his leadership the Foundation's scope of activities expanded globally as well as nationally into a vigorous, multi-faceted organization funded by 65 major corporations. Stephen Lakis owns a publishing company responsible for the most widely read political reference text on Massachusetts state government, The Massachusetts Political Almanac. During the past decade he has organized issues programs across Europe for European parliamentary and business leaders. In 1998 he created a new international branch of SLLF in Europe, based in Berlin and spanning the continent with parliamentary leaders from 25 nations represented on the

та Изток-Запад в Прага, както и в научни институти във Франция. Г-н Тодоров е бил и старши съветник в Изследователския отдел на Народното събрание през 1995 - 1997 год.

Д-р Сю Сенека, (Доктор по комуникации от Университета в Минесота), е доцент по Държавно управление в Колежа по Околна среда и гори към Университета на щата Ню Йорк. Нейните научни разработки и преподавателски опит са в областта на дизайна, практиката и оценка на общественото участие в процеса на взимането на решения, сред които са опазването на околната среда, регионалното благоустройство и опасните промишлени отпадъци. Тя е координатор на бакалавърските и магистърски програми по Комуникации и обществено участие в процесите на вземане на решения. Наред с това е Директор за Екологични конфликти и обществено участие в Програмата "Анализ и разрешаване на конфликти" на Университета в Сиракуза. Д-р Сенека е работила девет години в законодателните структури на щата Ню Йорк като Специален асистент по политическите въпроси на сенатора от щата Ню Йорк, Джордж Мациарц, и като координатор на срещите с обществеността на сенаторите Джон ДеФрансиско и Джон Шефър. Тя има международна репутация на експерт-медиатор, обучаващ, консултант по процесуален дизайн в областта на вземането на обществено значими решения и е публикувала множество статии за общественото участие в процеса на вземане на решения и управление.

Борислав Виларов, докторант по Социална и политическа комуникация в Софийския университет, преподава Политически маркетинг и Политическа комуникация в Софийския университет. Той е Изпълнителен директор на Българската асоциация за политически маркетинг и Председател на Управителния съвет на Института за Национална Политика "Проимидж". Борислав Виларов е работил по множество изследвания, анализи и консултации за предизборни кампании през последните 10 години.

Стивън Лакис има степени по политология от Университета Бриджпорт и Американския Университет във Вашингтон. Той е Председател на Фондация Щатски законодателни лидери (SLLF), която под неговото ръководство през последните две десетилетия се превърна във водещата организация на парламентаристите в Съединените щати. Г-н Лакис разви дейността на Фондацията на международно и национално ниво и превърна организацията в мощна, многопланова структура, финансирана от над 65 големи корпорации. Стивън Лакис притежава издателска фирма, която публикува най-четения политически справочник в щата Масачузетс - "Политически алманах на Масачузетс". През последните десет години е организирал редица програми предназначени за европейски парламентаристи и бизнес ръководители. През 1998 год. той откри нов международен клон на SLLF в Европа, със седалище Берлин, който обединява ръководители-

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Foundation's board.

Raina Timcheva has served as Program Director of Training and Consultation Program at the Resource Center Foundation since it was established in 1999. She coordinated the most successful public lobbing campaign in Bulgaria - Campaign "FOR", for a new Law on Nongovernmental Organizations from 1999 until it was passed in 2000. Her campaigning experience includes also the campaign "Platform 120" of Women's Alliance for Development during the 2001 Elections for more women in politics. Raina Timcheva managed the projects "Women in Politics - Local Elections '99", financed by the Westminster Foundation for Democracy, UK, and "Women in Business", financed by Global fund for Women, USA.

Helen Desfosses, MA Harvard University and Ph.D. Political Science from Boston University, currently serves as Associate Dean of the Rockefeller College of Public Affairs and Policy, State University of New York (SUNY) at Albany, and as Associate Professor at the Departments of Public Administration and Policy and of Africana Studies, SUNY at Albany. Prof. Desfosses also serves as the President of City of Albany Common Council. She has published extensively in the areas of her major academic interests: women's issues, socialist and post-socialist societies, African and East European issues. She has been a member of the Center for Women in Government Board of Directors since 1979; since 1997 she has provided consulting services within USAID projects for strengthening legislatures and consolidation of democracy in the countries in transition.

Emilia Drumeva, LL.D. Sofia University "St. Kliment Ohridski", has served as Head of the Legal Department at the Bulgarian National Assembly since 1990, i.e. throughout the entire transition period. She is also serving her second mandate as member of the Committee for the Prevention of Torture, Council of Europe. Emilia Drumeva is a Professor of Constitutional Law at the Law Faculty of Plovdiv University; she has specialized on a Konrad Adenauer Fellowship at Max Planck Institute, Heidelberg, and published extensively in the area of public law.

Tatiana Dronzina, Ph.D. Political Science from Sofia University, is currently serving as Associated Professor of Public Relations and Conflict Resolution at Sofia University. Her professional experience includes Editor-in-chief of Bulgarian Public Relations Journal, Editor of Euronews bulletin and expert in public communication of the Euro Info Correspondence Center in Bulgaria. Tatiana Dronzina has published extensively and taught at both the graduate and undergraduate level in the areas of public relations, public communication and conflict resolution in Bulgaria, as well as in France, Spain, UK, and Austria.

те на Парламенти от над 25 страни, участващи в борда на Фондацията.

Райна Тимчева работи като Програмен директор "Обучение и консултации" в Фондация Ресурсен център от създаването й през 1999 год. Координирала е Кампанията "ЗА" нов закон за организациите с идеална цел през 1999 год. до приемането на Закона през октомври 2000 год., която е най-успешната лобистка кампания, провеждана в България. Опита й в кампании включва кампания "Платформа 120", водена от Женския алианс за развитие, избори 2001, за повече жени в политиката. Ръководител на проекти "Жените в политиката - Местни избори 99", финансиран от Westminster Foundation for Democracy - Великобритания и "Жените в бизнеса", финансиран от Global Fund for Women - САЩ.

Хелън Десфосес (Магистратура в Университета Харвард и Докторат по политология от Бостънския университет) е Помощник-декан на Колежа по държавно управление и политика "Рокфелер" към Университета на щата Ню Йорк (SUNY) в Олбани и доцент във Факултета по Публична администрация и политика и по Африкански науки към SUNY. Тя е и Председател на Общинския съвет на град Олбани. Има множество публикации, свързани с нейните научни интереси: проблемите на жените, социалистическите и пост-социалистически общества, проблемите на страните от Източна Европа и Африка. Член е на Управителния съвет на Центъра "Жени в управлението" от 1979 год., а от 1997 год. работи като консултант по проекти на Американската агенция за международно развитие (USAID) за усъвършенстване на законодателството и консолидиране на демокрацията в страните в преход.

Проф.Емилия Друмева (Професор по право от Софийския университет) работи като Директор на Правен отдел към Народното събрание от 1990 год. Втори мандат служи като член на Комитета за Превенция на изтезанията към Съвета на Европа. Емилия Друмева е Професор по Конституционно право в Правния факултет на Пловдивския университет. Специализирала е на стипендия Конрад Аденауер в Макс Планк Институт, Хайделберг, и е публикувала значителен брой студии в областта на публичното право.

Татяна Дронзина (Доктор по политология в Софийски университет) в момента работи като Доцент по връзки с обществеността и разрешаване на конфликти в Софийския университет. Нейният професионален опит включва: Главен редактор на списание "Връзки с обществеността", Редактор на бюлетина на Евронюз, Експерт по публична комуникация на Евро-Инфо Кореспондентски център за България. Татяна Дронзина публикува активно и преподава на ниво бакалавър и магистър в областите Връзки с обществеността, Обществени комуникации и Обществени конфликти. Академичната й кариера е свързан с проекти в България, Франция, Испания, Великобритания и Австрия.

Design and Prepress: imigix Ltd.
Print: Artik-2001 Ltd.
Circulation: 700

Графично оформление: „Имиджикс“ ООД
Печат: „Артик-2001“ ЕООД
Тираж: 700

245

Annex D: Work Plan

WORK PLAN:

SUNY/BULGARIA "LEGISLATIVE STENGTHENING FOR THE BULGARIAN NATIONAL ASSEMBLY"

CONTRACT: OUT-AEP-803-00-00003 TASK ORDER No. 804

INTRODUCTION:

Under the terms of the above named Task Order SUNY is required to submit five main deliverables in terms of reporting on the Project. These are:

- A work plan (draft and final versions)
- Report on recommendations for Standing Rules Revision*
- Parliamentary/New Members Handbook or PIC Brochure
- Technical Guide to organizing/conducting an orientation program
- Final activities report

* In light of recent conversation with the Secretary General of the Bulgarian National Assembly, this activity may not be implemented and may be substituted with another activity mentioned below.

A simple spreadsheet to identify each Task Order activity, with the approved budgetary and timeline data is also attached.

The human resources for the SUNY/BULGARIA include a Project Director (technical advisor) and Project Manager (Home Office Coordinator) and a small in-country field office led by the Chief of Party. The US-based SUNY/BULGARIA team will provide strategic programmatic advice and administrative support to the field office. The Home Office provides advice and guidance on SUNY policies and procedures as well as monitoring the implementation of the contract. While the in-country staff will be responsible for the actual implementation of the activities set out in the Task Order, the SUNY Home Office will play an active role in providing strategic advice as well as in sourcing and facilitating the travel of the international consultants. Wherever appropriate, CCN resources will be utilized to provide technical support for the field office.

6. To make MPs more productive, flexible and successful in their main activities as a legislative power.

This program is divided into three areas of support. Given the scope of SUNY's Task Order, it will concentrate on one area: orientation of new Members of Parliament. *The list of workshops below has been taken from the draft programme mentioned above. However, there have been a few modifications. In the interest of maximizing use of international consultants some workshop topics have been combined while other new topic areas have been added*

1. **Orientation of Members of Parliament**

Module 1: Brainstorming on Roles and Functions of Members of Parliament

This workshop will give the MPs the opportunity to participate in a coordinated group dynamic to brainstorm about their roles as legislative representatives and their functions as Members of Parliament in a developing country. A consultant will coordinate and moderate the session working to motivate the MPs to participate and see beyond their common knowledge. They will also have the opportunity to discuss the constraints to perform their jobs and what can be done to improve their work. In the end the consultant will expand on the thoughts and ideas collected and contribute with suggestions, recommendations and comparative notes.

Module 2. The Role of Public Hearings in the Interaction between the MPs and Civil Society

The module will focus on the organization and management of the public hearings as an appropriate way of interaction between the MPs and citizens through which the lawmakers receive the necessary feedback to correct their political behavior in terms of enhancing more responsive policies. The main purpose of the seminar will be to elaborate the available techniques and strategies for communication with the civil society. The module will also outline the role of the information technologies for optimizing the contact between the MPs and citizens.

Module 3: Mastering Constituency Relations

Developing and maintaining good relations with the constituencies is important because it demonstrates concern and compassion by the individual MP, the

party, and the institution of Parliament for the citizens of the country. Therefore the module will focus on the available strategies and resources for legislators to resolve constituents' problems – sociological analysis, psychological profiles and expected reactions from the public.

Module 4: Dealing Successfully with the Media

In today's world of mass communication it is essential that MPs understand how to utilize the media in order to represent their constituents' concerns and interests. The module will concentrate on the creation of the proper MP image. Workshops for MPs in press relations, drafting press releases, interviewing techniques will be included likewise similar training for media personnel.

Module 5: Linking Civil Society Organization/Non-governmental Organizations to Parliament

As is the case for many media personnel, knowledge of how Parliament functions is also rare among leaders of CSOs/NGOs. Workshops that facilitate the flow of knowledge in both directions are an excellent way to enhance the representation function. The interaction between the CSO/NGO and the Parliament will facilitate the legislative initiative of the MPs and thus will enhance the legislation process as a whole.

Module 6: Strategies for Strengthening Parliamentary Committees *(combined with Module on Interaction with the Executive Power in Terms of the Oversight Authority of the Parliament)*

Efficient committee operation is key to making a Parliament an effective lawmaker. The module will provide workshops strengthening the ability of the MPs to manage with the various committee operations. An introduction will be given on the constitutional framework of the Parliamentary committees and some specific features as to the rules that govern them will be studied in depth. The workshops will demonstrate MPs how to hold committee hearings in order to obtain expert testimony. In that way the Parliament's capacity will be increased in view of its oversight function. The formal authority of the MPs to oversee the executive branch will be the central topic of the seminars included in the module. An introduction will be given on the essence and goals of Parliamentary control. A comparative oversight study will point out the various constitutional models of Parliamentary oversight, which can be found in the different Parliamentary systems.

Module 7: Understanding the Legislative Process and the Rules of Procedure *(combined with module on Reforming the Rules of Procedure)*

The module will focus on the main principles and features of the lawmaking process as well as the actors involved in it. The MPs will acquire knowledge about how a bill becomes a law, how to draft legislation, write amendments and how to use the Standing Orders (rules of procedure) to win legislative battles. Legislative rules govern all aspects of Parliamentary management. The workshops in this module will point out the drawbacks of the comprehensive rules system and will show the possible ways for simplifying and streamlining it.

Module 8: Bill Drafting and Tracking

Professional bill drafting within the Parliament allows legislators preferences in bills to be put into proper legislative language. Normally this is a function of professional administrative units in the Parliament. Similarly, the development of a database—electronic or otherwise—provides all MPs with an organized track of the various stages in a bill's life as well as a repository of bills enacted into laws. The workshops in the module will provide this basic knowledge to MPs and will demonstrate them how to utilize these services effectively.

Module 9: Enhancing Access to Research Expertise within the Parliament

The module will consider the role of the expertise for the efficient functioning of the lawmaking capacity of the Parliament. The MPs need to know how to request information from the available research offices and to whom to request it from. The workshops set out in the module will provide for such skills and thus will ensure the quality of the legislative process.

Module 10: Strengthening MPs Understanding of the Budget Making Process

The role of the Parliament in budget preparation is another important aspect of its oversight function. Therefore it is imperative that MPs understand their rights and responsibilities in the formulating and monitoring the national budget. Workshop topics covered in the module include: the basics of public budgeting, strategies for monitoring ministerial expenditures, how to hold hearings on budget matters.

Module 11: Ethics Laws Governing the MPs Conduct in the Parliament

In order for MPs to have the moral authority to provide oversight of the executive, they must become fully conversant in the leadership code that governs their positions. The workshops set in the module will focus on the implications of certain actions and strategies to avoid MP being accused of wrongdoing while in office.

Module 12: Lobbying: Goals and Principles

The module will provide information on the basic aspects of lobbying as an available mode for interaction with the interest groups in terms of the legislative process. The MPs will be acquainted with the existing institutional and non-institutional models in the world, which accept the lobbying as legitimate activity.

Module 13: Improving Legislature Communications

Given the giant growth in IT over the last decade, the legislature communicates internally and externally has changed dramatically. The seminars in the module will focus on using the Internet to do research, communicating via email and word processing, spreadsheet as well as other useful software applications. The workshops predominantly orientated to particular part of the staff - IT, PR, Library and Research, cover more in -depth IT topics such as state-of-the-art web design, database development and use of innovative research, library, public relations software.

METHODOLOGY: Based on discussions with the SG, and on the outcomes of the Joint Committee Retreat held on September 29th and subsequent meeting held at PACEL held on October 3, 2001, the new MP orientation workshops will be conducted in a single two-day conference followed by three to five seminars not covered in the conference. Approximately six different topic areas, two to three hours in duration, held during a two-day orientation conference located out of Sofia. In addition, after the conference there will be follow-on workshops on topic areas either not covered in the conference or with more in depth discussion on topics discussed during the conference.

For the follow-on workshops, SUNY will work with other Joint Commission partners to share responsibilities of organizational planning, cost sharing, or providing lecturers or consultants.

In all workshops, an effort will be made to ensure that international experts are paired with local experts in delivery of exercises. Every workshop will also try to include a group dynamic, a simulation exercise or a brainstorm session where the MPs will get to communicate in small groups, discuss and then informally present their conclusions for further discussion and analysis.

A technical guide to organizing/conducting an orientation program is also required as one of the "deliverables" of the task order. However, given the

change in approach to the orientation training, it is recommended that in lieu of the technical guide, a compendium of conference proceedings will be printed and distributed to all participants and multiple copies will kept in the National Assembly library for future reference by MPs and Staff.

LEVEL OF EFFORT: Home Office, Chief of Party, local and international consultants
TIMELINE: November through February 2002.
BUDGET: $120,000

Activity 2. Provide assistance in the form of specialists on comparative legislative process and procedures, as needed, to help the National Assembly revise its Standing Rules to increase the quality and efficiency of its lawmaking process.

DESCRIPTION: Since the start date of the Task Order was delayed, discussions with the newly appointed Secretary General (SG) of the National Assembly have revealed that this activity may no longer appropriate during the anticipated six month time period of this project. In lieu of this activity, the SG recommended a **comprehensive management review** of the National Assembly's departments, which directly provide Members with technical support. The objective of such an activity would be to provide the SG with an analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of particular departments in providing technical services to MPs. The consultants' report would also provide recommendations for improving the efficiency and effectiveness of departmental operations.

METHODOLOGY: One international parliamentary management consultant, the Project Director, and one CCN consultant to spend two weeks in Sofia to analyze and make recommendations on improving the administrative capacity to support MPs. The scope of work for the consultants will be written in close coordination with the SG and his staff. The Home Office will provide the necessary background materials for the consultants. The COP will make all necessary protocol arrangements with the SG and USAID as well as logistical arrangements for the consultants prior to their arrival in Sofia.

LEVEL OF EFFORT: Home Office Coordinator, COP, PD, international consultant, local expert
TIMELINE: January 2002
BUDGET: $30,000

Activity 3. General Public Outreach and Assistance to the Parliamentary Information Center (PIC)

DESCRIPTION: The goal of this activity is to assist the PIC through an introduction to the BNA Committee on Civil Society Issues in an orientation seminar to help the PIC achieve its public outreach goals allowing focus on its activities and services facilitating better relations between NGOs/CSOs and MPs, enhancing its impact, improving the work environment and in sustaining its services.

As part of the comprehensive management review, SUNY consultants will give special attention to PIC operations and help staff to develop a strategic plan on the best practices in providing information on the National Assembly to different audiences (Government, CSOs, citizens, etc).

METHODOLOGY: The field office is working together with PACEL to organize a one-day workshop mentioned above. CCN experts have been identified to facilitate the seminar.

In light of request by the SG for SUNY to perform a management review of the administration of the National Assembly, it is recommended that this activity be bundled into Activity 1, but given special emphasis. If this approach is not approved, one USN or TCN consultant working with a CCN expert for two to three weeks in Sofia in close consultation with the Director and staff of the PIC will suffice.

LEVEL OF EFFORT: Home Office, Chief of Party, USN/TCN and CCN consultant
TIMELINE: December 2001/January 2002
BUDGET: $4000

Activity 4. Design and Publish a Parliamentary Handbook

DESCRIPTION: The SUNY team has learned that Parliament has already contracted for the handbook to be printed. Therefore, meeting with the SG and his staff have revealed that assistance with design and printing for the information brochures such as *"Welcome to the National Assembly"* or another PIC publication.

METHODOLOGY: Using the previous handbook as a model, the Chief of Party will work closely with the National Assembly Public Relations and Information office to obtain the relevant data needed for the new publications as well as on

the appropriate design and printing specifications. A CCN contractor will be appointed through competitive tendering to undertake the production/printing of this publication(s).

LEVEL OF EFFORT: Chief of Party and CCN specialist
TIMELINE: January—February 2002
Budget: $4,900 (includes design, logistics and printing costs)