Reforms of the CEE Countries in View of the Enlargement

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In 2004, Europe will undergo a significant historical change in 2004. Several of the former communist countries of Central and Eastern Europe will join the European Union (EU) in creating an unprecedented voluntary association of democratic states with market economies. Thus, the whole structure of political, economic and social relations in the region will change. What will be the impact of this change on public policy and administration in the countries inside and outside the EU borders? What actions will be needed to harmonize the way public interests are followed on the whole continent?

This new situation will create serious challenges to governing capacities at all levels of governance, from the regional through the states toward the common European governance. Thus, the institutions of EU governance will face a series of critical choices with respect to agriculture and environmental policy, the European economy, trade and demographic processes and their regulation, issues of equity, and science and technology and their uses. Other issues will include how to maximize opportunities to enhance human capacities, deal with problems of terrorism and the control of weapons of mass destruction and mass killing. Moreover, all of the countries being integrated into the EU will face new challenges on regarding employment, migration, infrastructure, and the continuous integration of European processes and European policies.

These countries will need to deal with other new challenges which they have not met before do not meet earlier, such as like:

- Enhancing the capacity of their regional public administration to participate in EU programs,
- New demands for educational capacities,
- The transfer of knowledge, new technologies and experience from Western Europe to the new CEE member states and from the new member states to other CEE countries,
- Cooperation among the new member states,
- Dealing with new ways of fighting mismanagement as well as corruption and fraud,
- Responding to the hopes and fears of the population associated with the enlargement,
- Addressing the social and economic consequences of membership in new institutions and the approaches needed to cope with them.

During the last decade, Poland and the another accessions countries of CEE during last decade passed underwent major transformation in which many institutional reforms were initiated. This included introducing policies of economic stabilization, the free market, civil society and a common defense policy with the NATO countries. During these institutional reforms, new legal regulations were introduced, the new institutions were implemented and new standards of quality of public services were developed.

The transformation of accession countries was quite successful because the governmental leaders of CEE countries treated EU integration as a very important mission and as one of the main priorities of their state activities. Indeed, having integration with the EU served as a very important stimulator of institutional change and motivator of both the political leaders and the people. This goal served both as

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1 M.Potuček. NISP Cee Information about the XI Conference in Bukarest, 2003.
a stimulus to action and a way of obtaining support from major political parties, for the development of priority tasks for national authorities and for the establishment and implementation of national action plans. I agree with Jabes who stressed that: “For developing reforms process in the last ten years, the most important challenge for some (8-10) countries was their formal application to become members of the EU. To do that, candidate countries not only changed their national laws to fit with those of European ones, but during in the process they also had to transform nearly every active institution in their public administration system”.2

However, the But new legislation and institutional reforms in themselves are not enough for real and practical transformation and modernization of the system. Because even most sophisticated and optimally planned structures, regulations and institutions do not operate if the people do not have sufficient enough knowledge, energy and enthusiasm for their implementation.

The success of the transformation processes was additionally made feasible by:
- strong leadership from the units of national governments for European integration,
- new horizontal and hierarchical coordination mechanisms,
- commitment to undertake regulatory reform
- cohesive support from major political parties,
- monopoly of legislative initiative for acquis communautaire, and
- restricting of parliamentary amending powers.3
- determination of the people involved in the reform process.

But the situation regarding public administration reforms in the CEE countries with respect to EU integration is not a totally such optimistic one – especially in the public policy-making sphere. Generally speaking, I should stress that the basic problems of countries that have undergone systematic transformation is the lack of available indigenous capacities to solve both the general as well as specific problems. For example, taking into account Poland, the big and important country, one can say, that the position of public policy is far away from ideal. Although

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additional income. That is why some members of the Parliaments treat their parliamentary function as a way to a for more comfortable and luxurious life and they cynically and sarcastically patronize the Parliamentary Committees concerned with ethics and related matters. The situation is even more difficult when one realizes that even though some of the new MPs are looking for personal gain, there is not effective legislation in place regarding the regulation of lobbying or conflicts of interest. There are also some examples of MPs using Parliamentary immunity as a form of protection against criminal charges in order to avoid responsibility for their criminal activities before and during their term in the Parliament. Hence, the political culture of new democratic parliamentarism is continuously decreasing and the public’s opinion about political and governmental life, and especially about politicians, is becoming worse and worse.

This picture may be too pessimistic, but it is hard to deny hard, that in a democracy – indeed, every democracy – concerns about the distribution of positions, financial resources, privileges and influence is a central point of interest. According to Ryszard Legutko: “The scandalous affairs which have been made by at had made rotative political parties from the beginning of the existence the III RP are not contradictory to the nature of democracy. There is not exists such a society, in which the situation of the political desert generated after the fall of former regime, that would not lead to temptations of demoralization”.

To summarize the main weaknesses of the CEE countries in public governance we should mention:

• strongly legalistic and formalistic approaches combined with centralist and also autocratic factors together with quasi-elite structures taking turns with populist ones,
• the CEE countries have not passed through any deep process of “constructive destruction” of the former methods and manners of making public policy in general and conduct of public administration. Consequently, still public officials still solve the problems of XXI century in a manner of the past regime.
• There is no long term strategy in the CEE countries after the accession to the EU and no new imperative for a better more renovation of governance according to the continuous European transformation. Short term regional strategies imply getting funds principally from past sources of revenues, incomes and grants without taking into account a strategic potential of different funds and the assistance of the EU.
• There is a the problem with capital accumulation inside the country because of the system of high taxation and the lack of a pro-entrepreneurship policy of the states which results in the fact the result, that the capital produced in the CEE moves out rather than is being mainly reinvested there.
• Human resource management and development is still weak in the public governance sphere. The spoils system is widespread and it which it promotes weak and passive political leaders. Political leaders’ weakness causes of the lack of trust for civil servants, as then they encircle themselves by loyal relatives and friends and take advantage of set on utilization their moment in public life for own profits and advantages. In this situation even positive and innovative initiatives prepared by civil servants are thrown aside.
• Hence the creation and realization of public policy depends on the sometimes hysterical patching of the sudden holes in the methods from yesterday using the techniques of today and is complicated by the seemingly never-ending explanations by public officials of their lack of financial resources. The frequent action is not only to transpose the of faults of previous political governments but first and foremost more costly to demounting of all the reforms undertaken by their predecessors, without the regard of at the financial and social damage.
• Public mistakes and mismanagement as well as fraud and corruption are widely recognized by the public as the main problem of the political sphere in the CEE countries. This creates a closed circle in which the quality of political culture is decreasing as proportionally as the trust in public life and politicians is declining.
• As public opinion rejects participation in political life, spiritual leaders come out from political parties (Mazowiecki’s case in Poland), and the new generation does not vote during elections but criticizes politics as a dirty and stupid sphere. The data on public participation in national elections since 1989 in Poland powerfully confirm this phenomenon.

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While one cannot be blind in order that this dark picture did not blind the objective reality of this dark picture in the CEE countries one must also note, that many positive results of transformation are evident. These outcomes can serve to both the further more far transformation and modernization of the CEE countries as well as to further encourage the modernization of reforms underway in the UEU. Among them I should mention:

- Widespread enlargement of grass-roots, non-profit, non-government organizations serving in the social as well as the professional sphere and representing legitimate the civil society development.
- Steadily building new business elites on which are associated with the region and have an interest in investing in it, developing networks of these elites nationally and regionally.
- The high-level of quality of the universities, both state and private ones, with well-prepared faculty – many of whom are knowledgeable about issues of EU integration. The CEE universities compose an intellectual base for creating and executing realizing of the new long-term European strategy. This potential is networked through national organizations (like Polish National Association of Public Administration Education) as well as the inter-national professional associations (like the NISPAceee).
- The special sensibility of the people focused on the situation and dignity of individuals, the countries and regions which needed the structural and institutional reforms and the financial assistance. This kind of experience and sensibility exists in the CEEs because of the institutional and individual memory about the past when our countries and individuals were treated as the second category or underdeveloped.
- The experience and capacities of public officials and consultants connected with the implementation of the institutional reforms and their knowledge about the weaknesses and strengthens of the transformations of the political regime and the competence for anticipation of difficulties which may arise from these processes.
- Relative wide access to new information technologies which allow gathering important information and upgrading knowledge, sensitiveness and improvement techniques of doing better for the future of the common European and global space.

- Stable growth of GDP as well as clean and friendly environment with quite well developed infrastructure for continuing foreign as well as domestic investments.
- Existence of strong avant-garde of the society in science, cultural, mass media and non-government organization and business sphere, which creates strong spiritual leadership for society. The Nobel Prizes for on literature for Imre Kertesz and Wiesława Szymborska and all the other awards are give evidence of this.
- where making Ethical judgments made in a conflict situation are based on religious values as well as secular morality standards arising from the Convention of Human Rights.
- A well educated new generation with determination of improving their individual life through passion, enthusiasm and very hard work toward being equal partners for their Western colleagues.

The above Below mentioned factors could be used for the development of ing common European strategy as well as for building global policy of the Europe toward developing countries and especially toward the Commonwealth of Independent States and the West Balkan Countries. But before doing this, the European institutions should address governance reforms and the institutional democratic deficit. Definite pressures for reforms of EU governance have arisen from the increased tasks of EU institutions, the complexity of decision making, problems with the growing unpopularity of the EU in some places, the attitude of national governments which have become increasingly wary of formal and detailed bureaucratic procedures, growing concern about the legitimacy of the EU and their institutions, and the need for improving accountability, responsibility and clarity of the EU institutions.

Although Even if the European Parliament has increased its powers and has become a significant actor alongside the Council, European Court of Justice and the Commission, there is still still exista great need for the simplification of the EU’s institutional architecture and a clearer allocation of functions between the EU institutions as well as the EU and national levels. Additionally, several different decision-making procedures exists making things even worser. In this complicated environment, it is important to remember that the future enlargement will make many traditional arrangements impossible to maintain such as the as the rotating presidency or even the existing form of the College of Commissioners.

The situation is further complicated by both considering Taking together the sometimes bad quality
of parliamentarianism and political life in the CEE countries which, after the enlargement to the European Parliament and to European politics, may be transplanted with its consequent difficulties and problems, thus counteracting the effective and functional governance of the EU itself. Thus, one can say that this marriage may generate a divergence of rational European governance in the future. This kind of mismatch may cause the of dangerous of emergence of the EU as a Global Leviathan - that is a constellation of superpowers which enforce of the self interest of engaged international and national institutions, political parties and groups of interests. Working against to this dangerous is the fact that the redesigned proposals of the European Union parliamentarianism and governance should be ready by for the time when the shocks of the unification of the ten in 2004 create a demand for them.

To solve Toward solving these problems we will need a greater concentration of the EU institutions (and mostly the European Parliament) on strategic roles leaving detail implementation to the members states. National governments and societies as a whole, require a new “cartography” to comprehend ongoing transformations and their potentials and to serve as a compass for navigating through the dynamic labyrinths they present. I hope that the European Institutions and mostly the European Parliament will have this compass in their mind navigating us and allowing the member states and societies to feel safety and prosperous in theseis new geographical diversities. We should not, therefore, expect too much, even from radical and well-thought-out governance reforms. But I strongly believe if we try very hard, enough can probably be achieved to make a significant difference to the future of European population.

The EU is a special international organization which has a legitimate role in serving the strategic, higher-order tasks of Europe. The European Convenant as well as the EU important institutions like the European Parliament, the Council of Europe and the European Commission should become more engaged in building political culture architecture focused on its strategic role and “higher-order tasks”. To do this successfully, needed is an agreement between all institutions of the EU on a conceptual revolution is needed with a focus upon thinking, improving and acting in terms of “influencing the future”, “intervening in history”, “setting trajectories into time”.

The adequately fulfilling of ordinary as well as strategic, higher order tasks in the XXI century is needed for the EU to avoid very costly failures, take advantage of fleeting opportunities and influence the future for the better. From the global perspective, the central minds of government of the EU which have significant impact on the future of the world should meet the requirements much more than it is necessary for individual countries. There is no doubt that new integrated countries and population will be learn new, modern ways of parliamentanism and democracy from the European Union governance system and its practice. Consequently, European Union governance, as an the example of the best practice, should develop the highest quality of attributes such as: a commitment to morality and knowledge, to the future, and to consensus-based, high energy thinking that is selective, holistic, pluralistic and committed to decisive governance.

I agree with Yeheskel Dror that the most important moral imperative and essential basis for engaging well ion “weaving the common European future” by all EU institutions and officials is the Raison d’Humanit?*. Raison d’Humanite what Dror means is that in government decision making be highest priority in shaping action and policy should be given to the preeminence of the individual human being and his or her wealth being. If it does is not exist yet as the main decisive factor then Raison d’Humanit? must become a main moral driving force and decision criterion, guiding increasingly guiding all the levels of European governance, especially in their efforts to weave the future. “Raison d’Humanit? in modern age is an essential concept of statecraft and what should be called for the lack of better term “human-kind-craft” in the XXI century, but of course, there must be some safeguards against its misuse”. Moving to some preliminary thoughts on the structure, nature and substance of “Raison d’Humanit?” it is to be noted that it should be more oriented more toward consequences than intentions. Having in mind 11 September 2001, we shall stress that it is not enough to be very “moral” even in the extreme sense of being ready to give up one’s life for one’s values, but consequences must be weighed up in terms of “Raison d’Humanit?.. Our communist history makes the point that rather then intensity of subjective “moral” intentions, their actual or probable consequences are central to moral judgement in “Raison d’Humanit?”.

This brings us back to the need to imbue political cultures with commitment to “Raison d’Humanit?” chiefly in the big powers with the greatest influence on global policies. This mean encouraging feelings of solidarity and growing “concern... with the good of other people whose lives are distant from ours” and hence significant changes in consciousness in order to facilitate the switch from tribalism to the

European good and the European common interest. Cultural identities and pride in ethnic character should not, and need not be sacrificed. But self-awareness as an individual and a member of the Europe must be combined with a strong sense of belonging to the human race.

Bringing the changes in political culture necessary for European governance to foster “Raison d’Humanit?” is to get engaged in “cultural architecture” and “soulcraft” through deliberate action guided by avant-gardes operating partly through and in governance.

But in my mind this avant-garde should create the “elite of consciousness” but not the “elite of privileges”7. There is it exists however, the problem how we can find such human beings and how to include them to both, to the European system of governance and, to the European Parliament and also to the elites of power in the integrated countries.

We all agree that democracy acts through general elections. Elections constitute the main process in representative democracies through which people directly exercise their power, by deciding who shall represent them and who shall rule on their behalf and by calling senior politicians to account. However, nowadays today this process is being perverted by contemporary electoral dynamics, in which dramatic stage-managed confrontations between candidates on TV and theatrical meetings with “the people” - with handshaking, kissing babies and the like - make elections even more of a circus, while implicit promises to the various interest groups and money providers are largely hidden from public scrutiny. The people therefore, have hardly have a chance to glance behind the mask and assess the candidates’ true worth.

If however reforms in electoral system are difficult to adopt in individual countries - this seems that such reforms of electoral system could be suggested propose in the elections to the European Parliament. If we want to have the real avant-garde - not “elites of privileges” - in the composition of the Parliament of Europe, the special proceedings of selection candidates should be established allowing to choose the best and most talented people for the viewing the candidates suggested by political parties. Any sub-

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7 Y. Dror, op.cit., p. 135.

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8 Y. Dror... op.cit., p. 101.
stantive disinformation from candidates should be treated as a serious criminal offence9.

If we accept that every academic teacher who wants to have a fellowship abroad should undergo the selection procedure with the tests, reviews and qualification exam – why cannot a similar procedure for the MPs positions in such very prestigious institution like the Parliament of Europe - similar procedure can not be implemented?. This should be especially so if we are looking for the “elites of consciousness” to build the strategy for Europe and positions in the EP (especially given the reality of political life in the CEE countries – which constitutes major temptations for competent and not competent people).

Off course the type of open personal information, the manner of appointment of “candidate examiners”, the nature of public hearing would depend on circumstances and preferences established during a political dialogue and a commitment of the EU political parties as well as institutions. But some steps in this direction are essential to counter the camouflaging of candidates behind carefully constructed masks and to change the nature of the political circus so that voters can make a more conscious informed choice. I do believe that without this qualification procedure all the EU structural and institutional reforms may be counter-productive, by providing the instruments to for doing more efficiently what is wrong, such as better logistics for an immoral war.

For successful refashioning of the European Parliament Elites and for counteracting of democratic deficit one should rethink the level of participation of young generation in politics. This is one of the most important factors which should be considered during the refashioning of European governance because long terms strategy established by EU institutions will have an impact on this generation own life not on for the lives of 55-75 years-old people. Unfortunately, a new generation in the CEE countries is not active in the election procedures both as a voters and as well as the candidates for political posts.

To ward motivate the people, but especially the young generation for political process: new schools of Public administration should be established, the civic education into all universities curricula should be implemented and positive attitude to for the future of new European politics should be explored. Not only for this reason, but to for making the people more participateing in crucial decisions - elections procedure and referenda should be open for new methods of voting like: using the internet, SMS, telecommunications as well as regular post. Deliberative democracy should be advanced then with electronic voting, accompanied by steps to increase public understanding of the issues involved.

MThe modern people, especially new generation can not accept making a crucial decisions about their future using in the XXI century – well known as the century of “communication revolution” — the manner of voting established in the XIX century. There are no technological barriers for making this possible. The real barrier lies in current anxious politicians anxious who are afraid of the results of voting of the young generation and account these results as unpredictable. However, further expansion of direct democracy must wait for order-of-magnitude increases in public affairs enlightenment

Speaking about the people in the EP one can stress that the special attention of research and activities should be focused on the all groups of individuals who can have a very powerful impact on the direction which European institutions and national governments takes. It should be addressed then to officials; national and sub-national governments (elected MPs, appointed senior government officials, senior civil servants) and leaders in the public, private and non-profit sectors. This modern leadership should find an easily operational way of defining it in order to determine to whom one would direct one’s efforts. According to Geert Bouckaert, Renewed public leadership consists of three components, which should interact in a renewed way: new political leadership, executive and legislative, new administrative leadership and new citizen leadership. This may result in rebalancing the power in society. A specific actor in this side ...is the media, which has a major responsibility in renewing leadership in society.”

According to Alan Rosenbaum, “the competencies most necessary for top level government leadership to function effectively in a globalizing world are the ability to: convey complex ideas orally and in writing, adapt rapidly to change and complexity, to foster effective collaboration, see situations as others see them, build democratic institutions, foster ethical awareness and sensitivity, develop enhanced self-management capability, entrepreneurialism and risk-taking ability, engage in strategic planning, facilitate effective staff professional and personal development, build and nurture harmonious multi-ethnic, multi-cultural gender equitable environments and focus in an increasingly diffuse environment. Developing these areas of competency ensure a seamless process of

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9 Y.Dror,…op.cit. p. 136

10 Geert Bouckaert, Renewing Public Leadership; the Context for Public Service Delivery Reform. The NISPaee Conference, Cracow, 2.05.2002.
intellectual growth”¹¹. Consequently the main task of governments should be preparing highly competent and qualified knowledge leaders who will have the add characteristic of being learners, innovators and entrepreneurs. Lifelong learning and personal employability will become the main source of personal security of these leaders rather then traditional job security.

Enhancing new governmental leaders in these new abilities gives new complexion to modern, intelligent leadership. Improvement of these areas of competency of leaders is especially important in CIS and WB countries since authority in their public sectors is still highly centralized and control and loyalty are treated as values and measures of performance. Likewise, too often people are instruments to achieve results and human capital is treated as secondary to financial and physical capital assets.

In this old environment only new intelligent leadership may give new moral impact between government and its employees and guarantee the full implementation of new innovative reforms in the public sphere. That is, in my opinion, not purely institutional reforms, but human resource development reforms, which give new faces of leadership, may change our world toward expecting new ideas and values and fighting poverty.

This new kind of intelligent leadership will also ensure that more people are more knowledgeable about all aspects relevant to the mission of the European governance or the collective undertakings of their society. It means that building the learning infrastructure of the common Europe will not be any easier or less costly than building the physical infrastructure of the industrial era. But fighting people from poverty, providing health services, providing a decent environment, these are essential to ensure that no one is excluded from the benefits of lifelong learning as a way to grow and develop in a free society.

Furthermore, the conceptual work of new leaders is essential to support progress in the sectoral areas responsible for the issues important for the development of CEE countries as such income, poverty, health, education, employment and the environment. CEE states will better achieve the targets in these areas if they can rely on intelligent leadership in governance, an innovative civil service, an educational revolution for society and fruitful public-private partnership.

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**Vidurio ir Rytų Europos šalių reformos plėtros aspektu**

Santrauka


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