


Evaluations EIDHR

The Moscow School of Political Studies

MEDE European Consultancy in partnership with the Netherlands Humanist Committee on Human Rights and the Danish Institute for Human Rights

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The views expressed in this report do not necessarily reflect the official position of the European Commission.



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Abbreviations

ASCE	Altai School of Civil Education
CoE	Council of Europe
DfID	Department for International Development
EC	European Commission
EIDHR	European Initiative for Democracy and Human Rights
EU	European Union
FDPR	Foundation for the Development of Parliamentarism in Russia
HR	Human Resources
JP	Joint Programme
K&K	Igor Knyazev and Yuri Kurin, School Alumni
MP	Member of Parliament
MSPS / The School	The Moscow School of Political Studies
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
PAPEM	Perm Association of Political Experts and Managers
PR	Public Relations
Q&A	Questions and answers
RAS	Russian Academy of Sciences
TACIS	Technical Assistance Programme of New Independent States
UK	United Kingdom
US/USA	United States of America



1. Executive Summary

The evaluation of the Joint Programme was carried out in July 2003 and was meant to enable the European Commission to make an informed decision on possible continuation of support for the programme. The evaluation was based on a review of documentation, interviews with stakeholders and observation of a seminar (Annexes 3 and 4).

The Moscow School of Political Studies (MSPS, hereinafter: the School) was created in 1992 to promote such values and concepts as democracy, respect for human rights, rule of law and civil society among an emerging political and public elite in a country in the early stages of transition from communism to democracy. The School pursues this goal through a yearly series of seminars, a publication programme, a website and an alumni association. It seeks to stimulate discussion and reflection on these topics among its target audience of young political and public leaders from Russia's regions.

The core activity of the School, its seminars, seems carefully designed to achieve a synergy between a young and talented group of participants and top Russian and foreign experts, and ensure the formation of a strong networks among participants. The School has designed other activities, including its publication programme, website and Alumni Association, to provide its participants and alumni with further information on the concepts it promotes and to support networking. Both the forum for discussion and horizontal networks provided for by the design of the School appear unique in Russia today.

The School's seminars are effective in that the School manages to select high-quality participants and experts, seminar curricula appear in sync with the needs of the participants and participants universally state that they learn a lot at the seminars. Yet, selection procedures are currently not easily accessible for people without existing links to the School, which creates the impression of a closed, elitist 'club'. The number of participants at seminars is so large that their effectiveness risks being undermined. The School uses an old-fashioned teaching methodology (lectures followed by questions and answers at plenary sessions). The introduction of more interactive methods could improve the effectiveness of the seminars.

Judging by the feedback from alumni and participants, the publication programme fulfils its internal function – providing the School's alumni with continuing food for thought and a sense of continued belonging – effectively. Its external function – bringing the School's ideals to a larger public – is not pursued to its full extent. In particular, many publications are not yet accessible in full on the School's website.

The evaluation

Relevance and design

Effectiveness

The School's website and Alumni Association both have the potential to become effective tools in pursuing the School's mission. However, much of this potential remains unrealised. The School revamped its website in 2002 and the number of hits per month has grown. Yet the website is not an effective 'business card' to the outside world, as it is inhospitable to outsiders, which reinforces the notion of the School as a 'closed club'. The website also does not support the School's network as effectively as it could, although some improvements have been made in this area. Little strategic thinking about the role of the Alumni Association appears to have been done. As a result, elementary steps to support networking of the School's alumni have not been taken.

Impact It is impossible to measure the School's impact on the democratisation of Russian society on a macro level because too many extraneous factors influence democratisation processes. On a micro level, the School has made an impact on several levels. The School has helped alumni, in their own opinion, grow professionally and thus has a lasting influence on their work in democratic institutions around Russia. The School's network, unique of its kind in Russia, has empowered alumni with a broad base of support that may have helped improve legislation and other initiatives of the alumni. The School did not manage to achieve a uniform level of understanding of all concepts it promotes among all its participants and alumni. In particular, understanding of the concept of civil society was found to be weak.

The School has inspired several alumni to organise their own non-governmental organisations that promote democratic values, including organisations that replicate the School's model. The evaluators did not have the mandate or opportunity to evaluate the functioning of these schools but note that the Moscow School's success has been a combination of a sound design and the personal capabilities of its Director – a factor that cannot be replicated.

The indicators specified by the School to measure impact were found to be generally weak, badly formulated and sometimes not particularly relevant. In future, the indicators should be drafted in a way that makes them a useful evaluation tool. This tool could consist of both qualitative and quantitative indicators.

Efficiency The School appears to have made efficient use of the money it received through the Joint Programme. The costs of individual activities appeared well within the industrial norm. The School has shown good organisational skills running large and logistically complicated seminars. It has diligently reported on its activities and expenditure. The Council of Europe (CoE) was closely involved in overseeing the School's functioning.



The resources provided for under the Joint Programme have been sufficient to carry out the planned activities, contingent on significant additional contributions from other donors.

For years, growth in the School's activity has outpaced institutional development. As a result, the existing structure of the School, strongly centred around its director, is unlikely to be able to meet the organisational and fundraising demands required by the current level of activities. This is particularly true as, in order to secure long-term financial sustainability, the School will have to make a transition from a small number of large donors to a large number of small donors. With funds from the UK government, the UK-based organisation, Democracy International, has helped the School draft a business plan for 2002-2008 that addresses some of the institutional bottlenecks. The plan is being implemented but progress has been slow. The evaluators feel the School needs a professional manager to relieve the School's directors from the operational burden.

Current withdrawal of European Commission funding would have far-reaching consequences for the School. It is unlikely that the School would be able to find funding to replace the grant and, as a result, it would not be able to maintain the current level of activities.

In its activities, the School consistently gives visibility to the European Union institutions and the Council of Europe, in the form of references in materials it produces, speakers and a EU flag at seminars and a link on the website. Participants and alumni alike were well aware of the support both organisations give to the School.

European Commission and Council of Europe

The European Commission should continue to support the Joint Programme. New funding should be made contingent on institutional reform, in particular on the implementation of the development plan 2002-2008. In the opinion of the evaluators, the European Commission should help the School make the creation of such a position possible, perhaps in discussion with other donors to the School.

The Council of Europe could play a role in helping the School develop new teaching methodologies, possibly through the establishment of contacts with European institutions.

If the European Commission or Council of Europe is interested in encouraging or supporting the replication of the School's model in other former Soviet bloc countries, existing replication efforts, such as schools in Bulgaria and Georgia, should be evaluated separately.

Institutional assessment

Sustainability

Visibility

Key recommendations

Moscow School of Political Studies

The School should become more accessible to the outside world and less of a 'closed club'. Procedures to select new participants should become less exclusive. In particular, the School should try to attract participants from the human rights community and strive for representation from the full spectrum of political parties in Russia. Its website should be oriented much more toward outsiders and be actively promoted. The School's publications should be made available on the website in full.

The School should limit the number of participants at seminars to improve effectiveness of sessions and networking. It should also increase the number of interactive sessions. The School should increase support for alumni networking. It should make the alumni database available and searchable on its website and should create an alumni listserv. The School should make institutional reform an absolute priority. This should include implementation of the development plan 2002-2008 and a persistent effort to create an operations director position. The School should not allow further growth of its activities until significant progress has been made on these issues.



2. Background

The European Commission has financially supported the School since 1996. Most recently, in 2002 and 2003, the European Initiative for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR) awarded grants of €392,661 and €360,517 to a Joint Programme (JP) between the European Commission and the Council of Europe, to strengthen democratic institutions and civil society in the Russian Federation, with the School as the local implementing partner.

In July 2003, the European Commission EuropeAid F3 office ordered this evaluation to assess the relevance, efficiency, effectiveness, impact and sustainability of the Joint Programme. The European Commission has indicated it will use this evaluation report in its decision-making on possible continued funding for the School and similar projects in other countries. The current Joint Programme expires in April 2004.

The Moscow School for Political Studies was founded in January 1992. The School's mission is to strengthen democratic processes in Russia by providing an emerging new generation of young politicians with a forum to learn about and discuss concepts of democracy, rule of law and human rights. This mission was conceived by Elena Nemirovskaya, the founder and current Director of the School, and Catherine LaLumiere, then Secretary General of the Council of Europe, in the days following the August 1991 coup against Mikhail Gorbachev. Since 1992, more than 5,000 young politicians, journalists and others have attended the School. The School was the Council of Europe's first direct involvement in Russia.



3. The Evaluators, Approach and Methodology

3.1 Evaluators

The European Commission asked MEDE European Consultancy to organise the evaluation. MEDE put together an evaluation team of the following experts:

Mr Diederik Lohman, Team Leader (senior Russia expert at Human Rights Watch, former Director of Human Rights Watch's Moscow office)

Ms Dace Kavasa (Project Manager, The Danish Institute for Human Rights)

Ms Yelena Rusakova (Executive Director, Youth Centre for Human Rights, Moscow)

3.2 Approach

The European Commission provided the team with terms of reference that called for a review of the relevance and design, impact, effectiveness, efficiency, institutional development and sustainability of the School's projects and the visibility of the European Union and Council of Europe. In early consultations at the European Commission and the Council of Europe, the evaluators received further information on the aspects of the terms of reference that were considered of particular importance.

3.3 Methodology

The evaluators followed the methods provided for in the terms of reference, including review of documents, discussions with programme managers at the European Commission and the Council of Europe, individual and focus group interviews with School staff, stakeholders, current and former participants and experts, and observation of a July 2003 seminar. For a more detailed description of the methods used, see Annex 2. For a list of the documents reviewed and people interviewed, see Annexes 3 and 4 respectively.

The School facilitated many of the interviews with alumni, arranging for many of them to make a special trip to the School to meet with us. We are grateful to the School for these efforts but are also acutely aware of the drawbacks of such an arrangement. Unfortunately, within the limited time of the evaluation mission it was not possible to interview alumni, who are spread out over Russia, in any other way. In order to ensure we received the full breadth of opinions about the School, we made sure we interviewed a number of knowledgeable outsiders. Obviously, we picked current participants and experts for interview ourselves.



4. Relevance and Design

This section describes the School's design and mission and assesses their relevance in modern day Russia. It also explores the interests of the stakeholders in the School.

4.1 Context

The School was established in January 1992, at a time when Russia had just entered a period of radical economic and political reforms. A newly emerging political elite aspired to build a new Russia based on Western liberal values. Yet it had little real understanding of those values and no place to turn to learn.

The context in which the School operates has changed over the last decade. While Russia's leadership still formally aspires to build a democratic Russia, it is not at all clear that a process of democratisation is ongoing in today's Russia. Economic reforms have haltingly continued but political reforms gradually ground to a halt. Although multi-party elections are formally in place, Russia lacks a mobile and competitive political elite, real division of powers, rule of law, independent courts and division of economic and political power from administration. Administrative structures lack transparency and are deeply corrupt. Since 2000, numerous people with suspect credentials have come to positions of power, while pressure on democratic institutions such as the free media and non-governmental organisations has steadily increased.

As Russia lacks a democratic tradition, mechanisms for educating the emerging political elite and passing practical experience on to them are underdeveloped. In established democracies, teaching about democracy and its institutions are an integral part of the educational system and young people with an interest in pursuing a political career have ample opportunities to learn both the theoretical underpinnings of the system and the practical aspects of work in politics (political science studies, debates between experienced politicians in political cafes or on television, involvement with youth groups of political parties, becoming an assistant to an elected politician, etc). These mechanisms are still largely absent in Russia. There is not yet a large group of current experienced political leaders to pass its knowledge on to large numbers of emerging political leaders. The school and university systems still suffer severely from the Soviet legacy, as teachers were mostly educated under communist dogma. Unfortunately, serious debates of politically sensitive issues on Russian television have become increasingly rare. The European Union, United States and many private organisations are working to create these mechanisms in Russia now, through projects with schools, universities, politicians and others.

The European Commission and the Council of Europe's support of the School have taken place in the context of a rapid expansion of European institutions to the east. The period of the School's existence has seen the increasing integration of Russia with Europe. Many European Union countries are among the largest investors in the Russian economy and Russia became a member of the Council of Europe in 1996. With the admission of ten new members to the European Union in 2004, co-operation between the European Union and Russia will further increase.

4.2 The School's design

As stated in its 2002 annual report, the School's mission is to *"contribute to the building of an open democratic society in Russia based on respect for the rule of law, strict observation of human rights and the encouragement of civic initiatives"*.¹ The stated aim of the School's is to promote such values and concepts as democracy, respect for human rights, rule of law, civil society and free market economy, as well federalism and local self-government.

The School has chosen *enlightenment* rather than *education* as the means of promoting these values and concepts. The School's staff and others emphasised that the purpose of the School is not to teach theory but to touch on these issues in presentations so as to stimulate discussions among the School's target group and reflection by individual participants in the School's activities.

The School's *target group* includes young political and public leaders (including business people) from across Russia, who have already *"achieved a certain status"* and shown their ability to be *"agents for change"*. Participants must be 1) actively involved in political or public life; 2) open to discussions and debates; 3) aged between 30 and 35; and 4) have a clear understanding of what the School can mean for them. Although it does not appear anywhere in the documents, the School is aware of a current gender imbalance among participants. School staff say they are trying to ensure that more women are invited every year.

The School's target group has undergone certain changes over the decade of its existence. The initial narrow focus on federal politicians, particularly young members of the State Duma, has shifted and broadened. Now, most participants are regional and local parliamentarians (about 55% in 2003), regional and local administrators (about 20% in 2003) and journalists, business people and representatives of non-governmental organisations (about 25% in 2003). As School staff told the evaluators, this shift reflects the changes in the federal parliament and the general political climate, and an understanding that the regional political elite and civil society will eventually become an influential force in federal Russian politics.

1 From the MSPS annual report of 2002, available on <https://www.msps.ru/>



The School pursues its goal of enlightenment through a yearly series of seminars, its publication programme, website and Alumni Association.

4.3 The seminars

The yearly seminar programmes consist of three regional seminars called 'Federalism, Regional Politics and Local Government' (attendance by approximately 150 participants per seminar from the hosting and neighbouring regions); two federal seminars called 'Law, Politics, Economy and Mass Media' (100-150 participants from across Russia); one seminar in Western Europe or North America (30-40 participants); and a concluding seminar in Strasbourg (55 participants from across Russia). In order to become a School alumni, a participant has to attend two federal seminars and the concluding seminar, which form a series. The School also organises issue-based seminars, which are run on an ad hoc basis and cover specific themes, like the seminar on the 'Institute of Free Media', planned within the JP framework for autumn 2003.

There was universal recognition that the School's success depends on its ability to identify high-quality participants for its seminars. Indeed, the School has put into place a fairly extensive selection procedure and selection of the best participants continues throughout the seminars.

The School handles several key criteria in its selection procedure. Participants have to be under 35 (exceptions are made), they must be active in public life, open to discussion and have a clear understanding of what the School can help them achieve. The School actively strives for regional diversity and gender balance.

In their work, the evaluators primarily focused on the selection of participants for the School's core seminars: two federal seminars in Golitsyno and one in Strasbourg. It is our impression that selection procedures for other seminars, such as regional and media, follow the same pattern.

School staff identified four methods for selecting participants. First, School staff proactively approach alumni for recommendations. Secondly, School staff scout out good participants at regional seminars. Thirdly, School staff seeks recommendations from political parties, local parliaments and non-governmental organisations. Finally, in the last few years, the School increasingly receives applications through its website (in 2003, about 10% of participants were identified this way).

The School seeks background information on every potential participant, including their résumés, letters of motivation and letters of recommendation.

Selection procedures

Assessment of participants' needs

The relevant School staff member conducts telephone interviews with potential participants and seeks meetings with them whenever possible. On the basis of this background information, the School's selection committee decides whom to invite. In 2003, the selection committee invited 150 people to the first federal seminar, out of a total of about 250 candidates.

During the first and second federal seminars, a further selection takes place. Several School staff members observe the participation of participants in plenary sessions and working groups to determine whom to invite to the next seminar. A School staff member also speaks to every participant individually. In 2003, between 100 and 120 people attended the second federal seminars. 55 people will be selected to travel to Strasbourg for the year's final seminar.

According to the grant proposal, the School assesses the needs of the participants during the selection period and decides on the curriculum of seminars on the basis of that assessment. The evaluators found that in actual fact the procedure works differently.

The School's mission assumes the need among the new political and public elite for information and discussion on a number of standard themes: federalism, civil society, local self-government, rule of law and human rights. Each of these themes is an integral part of every seminar the School organises. Variation within these broad themes appears to depend on the following factors: 1) suggestions from the experts; 2) current affairs (such as the war on terrorism or the situation in Iraq); and 3) the needs and wishes of the participants.

The curriculum of the seminars is thus not based directly on an assessment of the needs of the participants. However, the School does collect feedback from participants in telephone conversations prior to seminars, in informal conversations with participants at the seminars and in written evaluations collected at seminars. The School seeks to incorporate the feedback received in subsequent seminars.

Experts

In 2003, the School plans to (co-)organise 22 seminars at each of which at least fifteen experts lead sessions. For years, the School has been able to attract top Russian and international experts to its federal seminars. It has invested much time and energy into cultivating lasting relationships with experts in order to ensure they return to the School in subsequent years. These experts are part of the School's Expert Council. New experts are identified through a variety of informal means: they may be people the School's director has met on her travels or may be recommended by existing experts or members of the board. In some cases, funders have selected experts.



The themes of the experts' sessions are negotiated between the School and the experts. The School provides the experts with information on the main themes of the seminar and a list of other speakers, and the expert suggests a theme for his/her session. Whenever possible, the School tries to arrange seminar days according to a specific theme. The School requires that experts give new lectures every time they appear at the School. The School prefers to work with its pool of known experts and let them determine the themes rather than the more traditional approach of determining themes and finding experts on those themes.

The School organises the seminars in a way that make them an intense experience for participants. The one hundred or more people gather for a full week (seven days) of non-stop sessions from 9:30 a.m. to 10:30 p.m. Seated around a rectangular table, the participants face experts (and thus also presentations) of a level most have never encountered before. A group of about ten School alumni are mixed in with participants to ensure a high level discussions with lecturers right from the start. The School's philosophy is that participants are thus forced to rise above their normal level to participate meaningfully in the discussion.

The School mentions six styles of teaching in its grant proposal (Annex 5). However, the evaluators observed only two clearly distinct styles at the federal seminar in July 2003: **plenary session** followed by questions and answers (Q&A) and **work in groups reporting to plenary session**.

Plenary sessions: In these sessions, the participants sit around a long rectangular table and experts generally give short presentations (25-40 minutes), followed by a question-and-answer session and sometimes discussion. During the July 2003 seminar, the evaluators observed some variation in the way these sessions were conducted, with some experts choosing to treat the session primarily as an academic lecture and others seeking to make the sessions as interactive as possible, considering the large number of participants.

Work in groups: These sessions usually take place at the end of (almost) each seminar day. They are led by Alexander Sogomonov and are interactive in nature. Mr Sogomonov invents an exercise based on one of the themes discussed that day. After a short introduction by Mr Sogomonov, the participants are asked to work in groups to come up with answers to specific practical problems. At the end of the session, the groups report back to the plenary session. In some of these sessions, Mr Sogomonov introduced an element of role-play.

Methodology of the seminars

4.4 Publication programme

The School's publication programme seeks to fill a gap in literature on modern governance, civil society, politics and philosophy. Within this programme, five types of publications are prepared:

1. The School publishes **books** in three series: The Library of the Moscow School of Political Studies (all written by Russian and foreign experts of the School); Culture, Politics, Philosophy (books by prominent politicians, writers, historians and philosophers of the 20th century who are not linked to the School); and Contemporary Thought (various cross-cutting themes relevant to Russia's transition toward democracy);
2. **Booklets are published** in a series called Peace and Security, containing articles, lectures and speeches by public figures and politicians on topical problems, and a series of **pamphlets is** devoted to the problems of the development of the European Union;
3. The quarterly magazine, **Open notebook (Obshchaya tetrad)**, has a thematic approach (e.g. corruption, Russia under Putin, globalisation, Russia and Europe) but also serves to publish seminar materials;
4. A quarterly magazine in English called **Russia on Russia**, is intended to give foreigners an insight into Russia from the Russian perspective. It covers a wide range of topics including Russia-European Union relations, economic developments, administrative and state reforms, corruption and others;
5. A **quarterly newsletter** in Russian and English on the School. The English version is, among other things, used for fundraising abroad.

The print-run of brochures and books in most cases is around 3,000 copies, *Obshchaya tetrad* – 1,000 copies (and available online) and newsletters – 2,500 copies in each language. The School circulates the Russian-language publications among alumni, libraries and universities. A small percentage is available for sale through a few bookstores in Moscow.

4.5 Website

The website serves two purposes: to facilitate the School's network of alumni and provide information about the School to the public. The website contains information on the School, information on seminars, an interactive forum, the publication programme (including some publications in full) and links to related organisations. In 2002, the School started a major overhaul of its website to make it more interactive, provide access to all the School's materials (including all publications and transcripts of all seminars) and create a limited-access section for alumni.

4.6 Alumni Association

This association, established in December 2001, is meant to institutionalise the otherwise strong informal network of the School's alumni. Through the association, the School hopes to strengthen horizontal contacts between its alumni, organise continuing education and, in the long run, raise funds for its core activities.

4.7 Interests of stakeholders

The stakeholders and partners of the School include the democratic political elite, civil society organisations, Russia's business world, the European Commission delegation in Moscow and the embassies of EU countries, the US embassy and the donor community.

Several top democratic political figures (themselves alumni of the School) see the School as a platform for free and constructive discussion of developments in Russia and brainstorming about new ideas. They view the School as creating social capital and networking opportunities that cut across narrow professional interests.

In their presentations to the School, several business representatives emphasised that businesses in Russia need a strong civil society. They said that a free and democratic society with active and organised citizens provides the necessary space for economic and social reforms and that civil society is invaluable in making both businesses and the state transparent and accountable for their actions.

A variety of current donors, including the US Agency for International Development, the Open Society Institute and the UK Department for International Development (DfID), who were present at the federal seminar attended by the evaluators expressed the view that the School provides a unique forum for discussion of Western values. They also expressed a particular interest in enabling the School to develop as an institution that is sustainable in the long term and can promote changes through a flexible approach in a changing environment.

The ambassadors of the EC delegation and several EU countries emphasised that the School provides a unique platform for discussion of European values that involves people from across Russia.

Democratic political elite

Russian business

Donor community

The European Commission delegation and EU embassies

Civil society organisations

They stressed that not only do the seminars (both in the regions and in Moscow) allow them to transfer the European experience to participants from remote regions, they also provide them with a rare opportunity to obtain knowledge about political and economic developments in Russia's regions directly from the political and business elite in those regions.

Representatives of several civil society organisations who do not directly participate in the School's activities expressed the view that the School is a unique and necessary platform for bringing the views of highly respected international experts to Russia and ensuring open dialogue with Russian experts. However, they also expressed concern about the closed nature of the School, saying it reminded them of a closed 'club' for the elite which is not readily accessible to outsiders. Though not unique, the School's publication programme was considered interesting and useful, despite not all publications being deemed of the same value.

4.8 Comments and recommendations

The evaluators believe the design of the School was relevant at the time the School was founded and remains relevant today. The School is designed to provide a new generation of parliamentarians, local administrators, representatives from businesses, media and civil society organisations with a forum to learn about modern concepts of governance and civil society, and debate them with leading foreign and Russian experts and among themselves. The design also envisages the creation of a horizontal network of active members of Russian civil society. The School is one of many organisations that tries to substitute and create the natural mechanisms for educating the emerging political elite that exist in established democracies. Yet, by the accounts of graduates of the School, the School's Russian experts and several outsiders, both the forum for discussion and horizontal networks provided for by the School are unique in Russia today.

The evaluators appreciate the importance of 'enlightenment' (stimulating discussion and reflection) as opposed to education. In practice, however, the evaluators noticed that the seminars also contain clear elements of education (for example, a session led by Vladimir Ryzhkov about a new draft law on local self-government). The evaluators felt that the combination of 'enlightenment' and elements of practical education was stimulating for the participants. **The School may want to make a less sharp distinction between 'enlightenment' and education in its public documents on its methodology.**



The evaluators welcomed the shift in target group from centralised, federal-level politicians to de-centralised regional level politicians, administrators, business and civil society representatives, which that has taken place over the years. **As the external operating environment of the School continues to change, it is important that the School maintains its flexibility so as to ensure it does not lose its relevance.**

Some of the concerns raised by interviewed stakeholders regarding the perceived closed nature of the School and its institutional sustainability are discussed below (see Chapter 8 and 9).



5. Effectiveness

This chapter assesses the effectiveness of the activities of the School and provides suggestions and recommendations throughout the text.

5.1 The seminars

The School is acutely aware of the crucial role the selection of participants plays for the success of its seminars and has invested significant time and resources in developing appropriate procedures. The general level of the participants at the July 2003 seminar was impressive. Experts who regularly appear at the School confirmed that the general level of the participants has noticeably increased over the years.

The evaluators are, however, concerned that the existing selection procedures create a 'closed club' impression. Indeed, it would seem difficult for people without insider connections to enter the School. The evaluators consider this to be problematic in a country where the gap between the political elite and ordinary citizens is so enormous. The evaluators also believe many people who could make a contribution to the School's mission are not identified because of the 'restrictive' selection procedures. **The evaluators therefore welcome the increased use of the website for identifying participants and recommend that the School seek more applications through the site.**

The evaluators further note that few representatives of the human rights movement benefit from the School's seminars. This is concerning because the Russian political elite and the human rights movement do not know each other well and often have adversarial rather than co-operative relationships. **The evaluators believe that the School could play a role in bridging this divide by inviting more representatives of the human rights movement.** In the opinion of the evaluators, such participation could have three important results: 1) human rights activists will become part of the School's network, increasing their lobbying capacity; 2) the traditional participants in the School's seminars will gain a better understanding of the concepts the human rights movement stands for; 3) human rights activists will learn how to better present their ideas to the political elite.

At the seminar we attended, most participants represented the Union of Right Forces, Yabloko or United Russia. We learned that in earlier years members of the Communist Party and the Liberal Democrat Party of Vladimir Zhirinovsky had also participated. **The evaluators understand that it may be difficult to bring representatives from those parties to the School but recommend that an effort be made to bring them in.**

Selection of participants

	<p>Finally, there was some concern that the selection during regional and federal seminars places too much emphasis on active participation by the participants. The evaluators conducted a focus group interview with five participants who had been relatively inactive during the seminar and discovered that, in the setting of a small group, these participants exhibited great intellect and eloquence. In our opinion, it would be a mistake not to select participants solely on the basis of their limited participation in discussions.</p>
Assessment of needs	<p>As stated above, the evaluators do not believe that the funding proposal correctly represents the way the needs of participants are assessed. Yet the School does carefully collect feedback on the wishes and needs of the participants, which is subsequently taken into consideration for future seminars.</p>
Experts	<p>The School has built up an impressive pool of Russian and international experts who regularly speak at its seminars. In the evaluators' observations, most experts managed to catch the attention of the audience and discussions were generally animated. The evaluators had some questions about the repeated use of certain experts but are satisfied that the School does actively seek new speakers, discards speakers who can no longer interest the participants and requires repeat speakers to prepare new presentations every time they appear at the School.</p>
Methodology of the seminars	<p>The attendance levels and hard work of the participants at the July 2003 seminar amazed the evaluators, who have all attended numerous seminars in Russia and elsewhere, but had never quite witnessed the dedication displayed by the participants at this seminar. Almost without exception, participants gave positive assessments of the sessions and the experts. Several emphasised that the seminars had exceeded all their expectations. Some felt that by inviting high-level experts the School had <i>"brought the world to us"</i>. Participants felt that they were given room for a frank exchange of experiences, impressions and emotions, and that the School's sessions helped them think more critically and learn the meaning of constructive dialogue. Participants were particularly positive about the group sessions led by Alexander Sogomonov. The overall assessment of the methodology and set-up of the seminars is therefore positive. However, the evaluators have a number of concerns:</p>
Size of group	<p>More than one hundred people attended the July 2003 seminar. As the rectangular conference table seats between 60 and 70 people, dozens of participants sat in second, third or even fourth rows. In interviews, these people said they felt as though they were excluded from the core group and had much less of an opportunity to participate in discussions than those sitting at the table.</p>



This places these people at an unfair disadvantage. Furthermore, the evaluators believe the overly large groups hinder an effective discussion and may also interfere with network creation as, in a large group, people tend to create small subgroups rather than meeting everybody. The evaluators understand the School's desire to allow as many people as possible to benefit from the seminars but believe that this may in fact undermine their effectiveness. **We therefore recommend that there should not be more participants than seats at the conference table.**

In its grant proposal the School describes six different types of sessions. This has a more descriptive character, rather than being a reflection of pedagogical methods. However, at the seminar it is not clear at all what parts of the programme constitute what types of sessions. It appeared that the type of session largely depends on the choice of individual experts. The School does not appear seek a specific combination of types of sessions on each day, except that most days end with work in groups. The evaluators believe that handling a variety of types of sessions is advisable. **We therefore recommend that the School reviews the types of sessions described in its methodology considering pedagogical approach and uses it in a more structured fashion in practice (see also recommendations on intensity).**

Participants were very enthusiastic about the group sessions. The evaluators shared that enthusiasm. These sessions allow the participants to creatively deepen their understanding of the themes presented during the day. However, the evaluators have some concerns about the size of the groups, facilitation of work in the groups and composition of the groups. In our opinion, the groups are too large (up to 25-30 people). We noticed on several occasions that a small core group worked out the task while the others were discussing entirely unrelated issues among themselves or, in one case, even fell asleep. **The School should strive to make the groups smaller.** We observed that the composition of the groups did not change throughout the week. As certain groups were much stronger than others, the strong groups developed quickly while the weaker groups stayed well behind. In the course of the week, alumni were added to the weaker groups to help them develop but **the evaluators believe it may be more useful to make sure the composition of groups changes throughout the week.** This would expose weak participants to the stronger ones and would also facilitate network building.

The amount of information provided to the participants at these intense seminars is enormous. In the observation of the evaluators, the intensity of the programme and resultant exhaustion help to facilitate strong human bonds between the participants. At the same time, participants cannot absorb all the information they receive.

Types of sessions

Group sessions

Intensity of the programme

Role of alumni

In order to reduce saturation, **the evaluators encourage the School to introduce different, truly interactive methods to break the pattern of full days of plenary sessions in the middle of the day.** We believe variation of methods may improve the capacity of participants to absorb new information. We understand that more interactive formats have repeatedly been discussed within the School, that there is a feeling that the current format works and a fear of breaking established and proven tradition. However, the evaluators believe the School should try out new methods in order to seek improvements to its current methods.

Alumni have an important role to play during the seminars: they pass the culture and traditions of the school on to the new generation and set the tone for discussions in the first few days. However, alumni often sit at the rectangular table pushing new participants to the second row or even further back. **The School may want to seat alumni in second row, at least in the later days of the seminar. We believe alumni could be given a formal role in the group sessions to ensure work in groups achieves the desired level. Finally, the School needs to take care that alumni do not dominate discussions at the expense of new participants.**

5.2 The publication programme

Most people interviewed about the publication programme gave a positive assessment of the programme. Alumni said it helps keep them involved in the School and provides them with new food for thought and further development. Several said they have a small library of the School's publications in their offices from which colleagues frequently borrow. People who are not linked to the School said the programme is valuable because few other publishers put out materials on the School's topics. However, they did note that not all publications are equally valuable. The author of one of the books the School has translated and published in Russian, historian Richard Pipes, told the evaluators that he was impressed by the quality of the translation and particularly by the fact that the translators had looked up all original source materials.

Apart from the value of the publication programme for alumni, the evaluators place great value on the fact that the publication programme brings the School's mission to a larger audience than it can possibly reach through its seminars. We believe distribution of these publications to libraries and universities is particularly valuable. Unfortunately, the high production and distribution costs do not currently allow for a much wider circulation of the publications. We were also told that, regrettably, it has proved to be difficult to sell the publications through bookstores, which could have helped increase print-runs.



The evaluators, therefore, attach great importance to the School's current efforts to make all publications available and downloadable through its website. We encourage the School to try to use the publication programme to increase name recognition of the School, for example, by organising presentations of new books at bookstores and other forums, as we understand is among the School's plans.

5.3 The website

In the opinion of the evaluators, the website clearly has important potential for the School, in terms of bringing its mission to a larger audience, making the School more accessible to outsiders and in sustaining its alumni network. The recent overhaul of the website is a first step toward realising this potential: the revamp of the website has resulted in a steady increase in the number of hits. The website is also ranked among the best 30 websites in politics on some search engines. Numerous alumni told the evaluators that they regularly use the website and participate in discussions through the interactive forum. In 2003, the website also brought in about 10% of the new participants at the School's seminars.

We are aware that development of the website continues. The webmaster told us about plans to make all the School's publication programme available on line and in full. He also spoke of several more initiatives to make the website more interactive. However, the evaluators feel that there are some very basic steps that the School needs to take as soon as possible to improve its website. In particular:

The website contains a long list of seminars, names of graduates and speeches to congratulate the School on its tenth anniversary. Yet it does not state anywhere what the School's mission is and how it pursues its mission. It does not invite visitors to apply to become a participant at the School's seminars. In short, the website reinforces the notion of the School as a 'closed club'. **The website should be made more hospitable to visitors who are not already involved in the School.**

The website contains a long list of names of alumni but the list cannot be searched and does not contain any contact information. As a result, one has to contact the School's office to get such information. **In order to strengthen networking, the School should have a searchable database of graduates on the website – this could be in a section of the website that is only accessible to the School's graduates.**

User friendliness

Strengthening networking

Links to other institutions

One of the School's goals is to improve understanding of and contact with European institutions among regional political and public leaders in Russia. However, the website does not contain any links to or any information about the Council of Europe or the European Union (with the exception of a link to the EIDHR page). It also does not contain links to institutions, such as universities, which contain information on the values the School pursues. **It would also be useful if the website contained links to sites of European governmental and other institutions.**

5.4 The Alumni Association

Although the Alumni Association was established in December 2001, the evaluators did not get a sense that the School's staff or the alumni have a clear sense of what the association should be doing. Since its establishment, the Association has organised several meetings in Moscow and one in London but has not been a dynamic body in the way the School itself is. In interviews, alumni told us they did not really know what the Association's role was and many expressed the opinion that the informal contacts between the School's alumni could not and should not be institutionalised.

The evaluators were surprised that several obvious steps to encourage and institutionalise networking among alumni have not been pursued. So far, there is no **closed section on the website** where alumni would be able to openly discuss issues. Similarly, the School does not maintain **an alumni listserv** to which alumni could post messages that would automatically be circulated to all other alumni. The evaluators believe a listserv could be a very useful tool in exploiting the School's network. For example, it would allow a lawmaker who is drafting a new piece of legislation to effortlessly post a message to all other alumni asking for lessons they might have learned when working on similar legislation. **The evaluators believe that the School should pursue both ideas as soon as possible.**



6. Impact

In this chapter, we discuss the impact of the School's activities on the basis of the indicators included in the logical framework of the grant proposal. We also discuss the quality and relevance of those indicators themselves.

6.1 The project goal

The overall objective of the Joint Programme is to *“strengthen the democratic culture and effectiveness of democratic institutions in Russia through civic education and enlightenment of young political and public leaders”*. In the opinion of the evaluators, the extent to which this objective has been achieved cannot be assessed on a macro level: too many political, social, economic and other factors simultaneously influence the development of democracy in Russia. The School (or any other institution) can only aspire to make a modest contribution to this process. We therefore focused on developments on a micro scale and found that the School has had and will have an impact on the development of democratic institutions in Russia.

First, a large number of young political and public leaders in Russia have participated in the School's seminars. Many of them told us that the School helped them reach a new level in thinking about democracy and the other concepts the School promotes. Many could not point to anything concrete but said the School changed them and thus influenced all their subsequent activities. Others did point to concrete ideas they conceived at the seminar which they implemented when they came home. For example, an alumnus from Samara said the School inspired her and another alumnus to run a 12-month project in the city on human rights, focusing on various human rights issues every month on radio and TV and in local publications. In the coming years, many of the alumni of the School will move up the ladder professionally, possibly in part due to their School experience. Thus, it is likely that the impact of the School will increase with time. The professional development of these alumni may in part be influenced by the School.

Secondly, the School has united these young people in a unique network which is actively used by alumni to exchange experiences and discuss ideas (see below for details). There is no doubt that these kinds of exchanges have had a positive impact on democratic processes in various regions of Russia. The evaluators are aware that the alumni network effectively saved a non-governmental organisation founded by a School alumnus from closure when it came under concerted attack from the local government.

Finally, the School has inspired a number of its alumni to establish non-governmental organisations that propagate the same ideals as the School (see below for details). Thus, the School has inspired the creation of new democratic institutions in Russia. These organisations include: the Altai School of Civil Education; the Perm Association of Political Experts and Managers; and the Centre for the Development of Civil Education in Volgograd region. For more information see Annex 6. Several of the School's participants from outside Russia have established organisations with similar goals and methodology to the School in their own countries, such as the Bulgarian School of Politics and the Tbilisi School of Political Studies. A similar school is currently being established in Armenia. The evaluators did not have the mandate or opportunity to evaluate closely the functioning of these schools and can therefore not assess how successful these replications have been. We wish to note, however, that the design of the School can clearly be replicated elsewhere. Yet the success of the Moscow School has been a combination of a sound design with a factor that cannot be replicated – the personality of the director.

Inspired by the School, the Open Russia Foundation has started two initiatives that replicate and build on the School's model. In 2002 the School, together with the Open Russia Foundation, established the Educational Centre, an organisation that works closely with the School but is a separate legal entity that provides advanced courses for alumni of the School. Whereas the School's mission is 'enlightenment', the Centre's courses focus on the alumnis' professional capabilities in their respective fields of work.

In 2003, the Open Russia Foundation initiated another project called the Regional Schools of Public Politics, aimed at establishing Schools based on the model of the Moscow School of Political Studies in regions throughout Russia. Twelve regional schools will start functioning in October 2003 but plans exist to extend the number of regional schools to fifty. The Open Russia Foundation is making extensive use of the network of the Moscow School of Political Studies to set up these regional schools.

6.2 The project purpose

The project purpose for the Joint Programme is to *"promote understanding of the concepts of democracy, human rights, rule of law, federalism, local self-government and civil society amongst young Russian leaders and help them to develop their personal political skills in these areas"*. The School's achievements in this area are predominantly positive, although evaluators had some concern over the understanding among alumni and participants of the concept of civil society.



The evaluators found that the School did not achieve a uniform level of understanding of all the concepts it promotes. Both participants and alumni generally had no problem with the concepts of local self-government and federalism but few were able to come even close to giving a satisfactory explanation of what the term civil society means. **The School should consider providing hand-outs at its seminars with clear explanations of these concepts and placing them on its website.**

Understanding of the concepts

The ability to network is possibly the most useful skill a politician can have. The evaluators found that participants in the School's seminars develop very strong bonds which are actively used in their subsequent working lives. Practically all alumni we interviewed said they make extensive use of the School's network. Many stated that whenever they travel within Russia, they call other School graduates for information on the local situation, contacts and logistical help. Many stressed that a fellow School graduate *"will never turn you down"*. Alumni also said they exchange information and experiences on draft legislation. For example, if a School graduate in a particular region is working on a certain piece of legislation, he or she may seek out School graduates from other regions where such legislation has already been passed. The School actively facilitates and encourages networking among its graduates. This large horizontal network, a rare occurrence in Russia, is entirely the work of the School.

Network building

6.3 Defined indicators

In the logical framework of the grant proposal to the European Commission, the School formulated a series of impact indicators. Below, the evaluators assess to what extent these indicators allowed the European Commission to properly assess the impact of the School's activities.

As stated above, the overall objective of the Joint Programme is to *"strengthen the democratic culture and effectiveness of democratic institutions in Russia through civic education and enlightenment of young political and public leaders"*. According to the School, the extent to which this goal is achieved can be measured by the extent to which democratic institutions in the regions develop in line with European standards, to be observed by a member state of the Council of Europe. It suggests that various Council of Europe reports and regional press articles can serve as a source of verification.

Overall objective

The evaluators did not find that the indicators or the sources of verification provided were workable. The Council of Europe reports referred to do not provide sufficient detail about regional institutions to be able to ascertain whether they are developing in line with European standards.

Indicators of the project purpose	<p>Even if these reports were much more detailed, Russia's regions vary enormously one from the other so a generalisation could not be made in any case. Furthermore, it is absolutely impossible to say whether and to what extent the School's activities influenced the democratisation of these regional institutions, as numerous social, political, economic and other factors are at play.</p> <p>The project purpose is to <i>"promote understanding of the concepts of democracy, human rights, rule of law, federalism, local self-government and civil society amongst young Russian leaders and help them to develop their personal political skills in these areas"</i>. The School stated that the quality of debates at the School's seminars and application of new skills during role play sessions allowed for objective verification, with reports by speakers, mission reports of the Council of Europe secretariat and feedback from role play sessions as the means of verification.</p>
	<p>The evaluators found these indicators reasonably workable. Although assessing the quality of a debate is a subjective undertaking, it is more or less measurable. The Council of Europe reports reviewed by the evaluators do indeed give an indication of the quality of debates at various seminars over the years. With respect to the role plays, the evaluators believe there is a mix-up in terminology. The School obviously means work in groups, which happens daily during seminars, and not role play, which we observed only once over the course of a whole seminar. The group-working sessions do allow participants to apply their new political skills.</p>
Expected results	<p>The School listed five expected results in the logical framework, together with indicators to verify their achievement. The evaluators found these results and indicators unworkable. Some of the indicators did not seem appropriate to measure the results and others were too vaguely or sloppily formulated to understand.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Result 1. The School suggests that <i>"interest among participants in obtaining more information about civil society, rule of law and human rights signifies that young regional leaders share these values"</i>. Although this is probably the case, observation of discussions and work in groups on these themes may be a better indicator of whether participants share these values. • Result 2. The expected result is that young regional leaders who are introduced to modern political and social development in the EU/CoE countries work to establish relations between Russian regions and EU/CoE countries. The indicator the School suggests to measure the achievement does not make any sense: <i>"10% of requests for MSPS materials (2003) are new requests"</i>.



- **Result 3.** The expected result is *“information about contemporary politics and EU development disseminated throughout public spheres and political circles in the regions of Russia”*. Once again, the indicator is incomprehensible: *“Applications based on the recommendations of former pax increase by 10% in 2003.”*
- **Result 4.** The School suggests that *“alumni attendance at formal meetings is the way to measure networking among the School’s alumni”*. Although participation in formal meetings is an indicator of networking, it is a weak one as most networking takes place informally. If the School were to start an alumni listserv, traffic on that listserv would probably be a much better indicator.
- **Result 5.** The expected result was that membership of the Alumni Association would double. For this, *“200 members would have to pay membership fees”*.

In general, **the evaluators suggest that the School rethink its indicators for the next grant application and draft them in such a way that they become a useful evaluation tool.** This tool could consist of both qualitative and quantitative indicators, some of which are included in the text of the current proposal.



7. Efficiency

While the Council of Europe is the formal beneficiary of the Joint Programme, it functions primarily as a subcontractor. The local partner, the School, actually organises all the seminars, publications and other activities provided for in the contract (with the exception of the Strasbourg seminar, which is organised jointly). The School submits proposals and budgets for each activity to the Council of Europe for approval and the latter transfers the necessary funds to the School. After activities, the School submits activity and financial reports to the Council of Europe. It also drafts the final reports on implementation of the contract, which the Council of Europe reviews and edits before sending them on to the European Commission. The School currently has little direct contact with the European Commission (except with the delegation in Moscow, see below).

The School's organisational structure includes a staff of 12 people (headed by the Director and founder, Elena Nemirovskaya), an advisory board (comprising high-level Russian and western individuals and headed by former UK ambassador to the Soviet Union and Russia, Sir Rodric Braithwaite) and an Experts' Council (which includes many of the Russian and foreign experts who regularly participate in the School's seminars). The School's staff are primarily responsible for organising the School's activities but regularly draw on the Experts' Council for seminar topics, experts or books for translation and publication. The advisory board provides overall guidance to the School and sets out its strategic development.

In organising its seminars, publications and other activities, the School also co-operates with a number of other partners and stakeholders. These include donors such as the US Agency for International Development, the Swedish International Development Agency, the Open Society Institute and others. These donors sponsor the trips of experts, provide core funding for the School and otherwise support the School's activities. The School also works closely with the European Commission delegation and embassies of various EU member states in Moscow, which frequently provide ambassadors as speakers for the federal and regional seminars. In co-operation with local partners, the School organises several seminars each year in Western Europe.

The evaluators are satisfied that the School implements the contract carefully both in terms of content and timeliness. In 2003, the School organised three regional seminars, two seminars in Western Europe (Italy and Spain) and two federal seminars – all according to the contract's schedule. In addition, continuous work is carried out on publications, the Alumni Association and the website. Three further seminars (a media seminar, a seminar in Italy and the concluding Strasbourg seminar) are planned for autumn 2003 and spring 2004.

The evaluators confirmed that the Council of Europe closely follows the implementation of the contract and that consultation between the two organisations is held on a regular basis on the planned activities and on possible required changes to the programme. We are also satisfied that the School diligently reports on its spending and that the Council of Europe has all documentation that might be required for a possible external audit if one were to be conducted. Furthermore, it appears that the School consults regularly with partners and stakeholders on its seminars and publication programme to ensure their quality and relevance.

The evaluators would like to acknowledge that the seminar they attended was extraordinarily well organised. Although logistical problems repeatedly challenged their organisational skills (several experts did not arrive in time due to an airline strike in the UK, another expert cancelled because of a death in his family), the School's staff smoothly moved sessions around so that the programme was never once disrupted.

The financial resources provided by the European Commission and in-kind contributions from the Council of Europe in the last few years have been sufficient to conduct the planned activities. However, this has been contingent on several factors: 1) the School's ability to find separate funding for its core organisational costs (Open Society Institute) and for additional experts (Swedish International Development Agency, US Agency for International Development, UK Department for International Development, Adenauer Foundation); 2) seminar participants pay their way to Moscow for the federal seminars (in exceptional cases, the School pays part of the ticket price); 3) foreign speakers waive honoraria; 4) local partners in Spain and Italy make in-kind contributions by hosting seminars there. These contingencies have been met in previous years and there is no immediate indication that that will change in the next year. However, while the funding has been adequate for the implementation of planned activities, the evaluators are concerned that the current level of funding has not allowed the School to overhaul its organisational structure – much-needed for the long-term sustainability of the School (see below).

The evaluators believe that the costs of the School's activities are clearly proportionate to their benefits. The School has organised a large number of events, spending its resources frugally. In our opinion, it has consistently chosen economically prudent options (in terms of venue, meals, etc) and the costs of each activity were well within the industrial norm. It is also important to stress that the participants pay for their travel to and from Moscow themselves. Also, the School has managed to invite world-class experts to its seminars without paying honoraria.

8. Institutional Assessment

The School's growth over the last decade mirrors that of many other Russian NGOs. Spurred on by a charismatic leader, a small but highly dedicated staff has built up an impressive and ever-expanding curriculum of yearly activities and publications. However, growth of the activities has been haphazard and has not followed any clearly formulated strategic plan. The pace of institutional development has lagged far behind the growth of the School's activities.

The School currently has an annual budget of around US\$1 million and has 12 employees. In 2003, it aims to organise a total of 22 seminars, produce more than a dozen publications, create and maintain an interactive website, develop the Alumni Association and help the Open Russia Foundation set up ten regional schools across Russia. In addition, it is also seeking to diversify its fundraising base to create better prospects for long-term financial sustainability.

The School's current structure will not be able to meet the demands of all these activities for much longer. The director, who is not a professional manager, carries sole responsibility for all aspects of the School's work. The organisation does not have a clearly structured hierarchy, meaning that all staff report to the director, who appears to be involved in almost all decisions, however minor. The School's staff work very long days, including many weekends. During seminars, many of the staff work practically non-stop.

The School and several of its stakeholders have recognised this problem and have taken steps to address it. Several years ago, with funding from the UK government, the British organisation Democracy International reviewed the School's activities and organisational structure. The following problems, among others, were identified:

The School budgeted only for specific grants and never prepared integrated annual budgets covering all its activities. As a result, the School had only a rough idea of its annual fixed costs and could not draft any long, medium or short-term financial plans.

The School receives the vast majority of its funds from a small number of large grants from governments and foundations. However, none of these donors can be expected to continue funding at the current level indefinitely.

The School's management methods are old-fashioned in terms of, among other things, internal management, financial control and fundraising. Democracy International also found that records of participants, alumni, experts and others were not kept in database files, could not be searched and were often outdated and incomplete.

Budgeting

Fundraising

Administration

On the basis of these findings, Democracy International, together with the School, drafted the School's first ever development plan (for the period 2002 to 2008). This plan maps the School's current activities, identifies priorities for development for the planning period and suggests steps for institutional development and broadening the fundraising base (see Annex 7).

The School has started to implement this development plan, with Democracy International as the driving force. However, progress on institutional development and broadening the fundraising base has been slow. The pace may slow down further now that the UK government grant to Democracy International has ended. At the same time, the School continues to develop new activities at a fast pace.

The evaluators are concerned that, although the current institutional structure has managed so far, it will not be able to meet the level of organisational and fundraising demands required by the School's activities. This would especially be the case if one or more large donors were to cease their funding. **We therefore feel that the School must reform its internal structure as a matter of priority and suggest that the School should hire a professional operations director.** This person would have to be in charge of the School's operations (long-term planning, budgets, contracts, financial reporting, office management, internal School proceedings, etc.), allowing the director to focus on fundraising and development of the School's current and new activities. The evaluators believe such a manager would make the School's activities far more sustainable in the long run. The evaluators understand that, in a recent grant to the School, the US Agency for International Development may have made a similar recommendation. It was unclear whether it had also agreed to provide the funding for the position.



9. Sustainability

Several aspects of sustainability have been touched on above. The possibility of replication of the School's model has been discussed under Impact. Under Institutional assessment, we discussed the long-term viability of the School's current organisational structure and concluded that institutional reform is required to ensure such sustainability. In this chapter, we explore the hypothetical scenario that the European Commission ceases its funding and the impact of this on the School's sustainability.

With the 2002-2008 development plan, the School and its supporters seek to address the problems that have arisen due to the unsustainable growth of the organisation over the years. The evaluators believe that the development plan provides the School with a real opportunity to become financially sustainable in the long term, especially with the help of the UK and US governments. Over the last few years, a fundraiser in the UK has worked out modern fundraising strategies and made contacts in the private sector with a view to obtaining funds. With the help of the US government, a fundraiser is now also operating in the United States. The hiring of an operations director should free up the School's director to devote more time to fundraising.

However, these fundraising efforts have been relatively slow. The development of a diversified, sustainable donor base requires considerable persistence and time. The current economic situation in Europe and the US no doubt complicates fundraising efforts. Nevertheless, a Democracy International consultant believes the efforts initiated in the last few years in the UK to cultivate relations with potential private donors should start to bearing fruit in the next few years.

In the opinion of the evaluators, the School is not at present able to replace the European Commission's funding. The School would have to cancel many of the activities it has developed in recent years.

The evaluators believe that the withdrawal of funding now would have far-reaching consequences for the School in terms of its ability to maintain the current level of activities. **We therefore believe that the European Commission should continue its funding for the School. However, any new funding could be made contingent on institutional changes and the development of a sustainable fundraising base that would allow the European Commission to decrease or end its funding over time without jeopardising the School's core activities.**



10. Visibility

The visibility of the European Union institutions and the Council of Europe is measured in two ways: the level of visibility given to these institutions in the School's activities and the awareness of European Union and Council of Europe involvement in the programme.

Both the European Union and the Council of Europe are a clear presence in the School's activities. At the seminar, a large EU flag hung in the conference room at all times, both organisations were acknowledged in the programme booklet and both institutions came up regularly in presentations, discussions and work in groups. The School's publication programme has produced a ten-issue series of pamphlets on the European Union and a recent issue of *Russia on Russia* was devoted to Russia-European Union relations (see <http://pubs.msps.ru/specvyp/specvyp3p0.html> for a list of these publications). The website contains a European Union banner with a link to the EIDHR website.

In interviews participants demonstrated that they were aware of the involvement of the European Union and Council of Europe in funding the School. As School staff noted, one of the key premises of all the seminars is the notion that Russia is a part of Europe and should seek close integration with the European Union. The evaluators noticed, however, that some participants had difficulty with the distinction between the European Union institutions and the Council of Europe. Also, it appeared that the visibility and awareness of the Council of Europe's involvement with the School was higher than that of the European Union, mostly because the concluding seminar each year is held in Strasbourg.



Annex 1: Terms of Reference

Terms of Reference (Draft 30 June 2003)

TITLE : **Joint Programme of Co-operation between The European Commission and the Council of Europe to strengthen Democratic Institutions and Civil Society in the Russian Federation - Moscow School of Political Studies**

REFERENCE: **EuropeAid/B7-701/2001/3116**
EuropeAid/B7-701/2002/3061

1. Outline of the evaluation

The programme to be evaluated is a joint programme between the European Commission and the Council of Europe implemented by the Moscow School of Political Studies. It aims to strengthen democratic institutions and civil society in the Russian Federation through civic education of young, regional, political and public leaders in democratic values, rule of law, human rights, federalism and self-government. Other objectives are:

- to create an active network of young political and public leaders from all over Russia and other neighbouring countries.
- to disseminate information among the Russian regions about modern political and social development and relations between the European Union, other European institutions and the Russian Federation.
- to make the Moscow School for Political Studies a lasting, substantial and well-governed institution.

This joint programme is being implemented by the Moscow School of Political Studies through a series of successive similar projects, the most recent being EuropeAid/B7-701/2001/3116 (total cost €392 661, duration 15 months, concluded) and the project EuropeAid/B7-701/2002/3061 (€360 517, duration: 12 months, ends June 2004).

The project activities include the organisation of several regional and thematic seminars, publications and the organisation of the annual meeting of the School Alumni Association.

The informal request for continuation of the Programme received by the Council of Europe (to be financed through the 2003 budget), emphasises the priority to be given to the evaluation of the activities of the previous projects.

This evaluation will assess the relevance, efficiency, effectiveness, impact and sustainability of this ongoing joint programme support, and shall provide guidance for a decision from the EC and CoE regarding the continuation of funding.

2. Issues to be studied

Impact	<p>Assess the extent to which the benefits received by the target groups have had a wider overall effect on a larger number of people. The evaluators are expected to review the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This programme being in place since 1996, what kind of lessons can be drawn for the EIDHR? • Which added value for the EIDHR? • In what way have School's activities of training and seminars contributed to the wider process of democratisation in Russia? (in Russian civil and political society). • Have the indicators foreseen to assess the results been correctly designed in order to meet this purpose? • Did they allow the European Commission to make an in-depth judgement of the impact of the Programme? • In the hypotheses of a follow-up of this programme, would it be necessary to define new indicators? • Which unforeseen positive or negative effects of the Programme are evident?
Relevance and design	<p>Verify the relevance of the programme's activities to meet the needs of the target groups and beneficiaries and assess the design of the programme. In particular the evaluators should focus on:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Have the needs of the participants been properly identified? • The extent to which the design of the Joint Programme addressed the needs of the participants. • The extent to which the Moscow School of Political Studies methods of intervention were relevant to meet the needs of the target groups. • The extent to which the target groups and stakeholders have understood the philosophy behind the Joint Programme. • The level and quality of stakeholder participation in the formulation of the programme. • The quality and comprehensiveness of assumptions made and risks identified during the design stage. • The degree of flexibility of the design of the programme to respond to changes in the programme's implementation environment.



Assess the degree to which the project purpose has been achieved - what difference has the project made in practice as a result of the activities? Particular attention should be given to the fact that processes are both an end and a means to an end. Evaluators are expected to focus on:

- The extent to which the MSPS methods of intervention were effective. The evaluators may suggest improvements in the methods of intervention that the MSPS should incorporate in future programmes to be more effective.
- The extent to which the external environment (political, economic, security) have affected the achievement of the programme purpose.
- Have the expectations of the participants been fulfilled?
- Whether planned benefits of active networks have been realised by the stakeholders.
- Whether the political skills and attitudes of young leaders have been developed and whether their understanding of concepts of human rights, the rule of law and civil society has improved.
- Any unplanned benefits arising from the processes.
- Any multiplier effect arising from the processes.
- The contribution by the programme to the creation of social capital (capacity building of local partners).
- The extent to which flexibility (if necessary) was applied in the implementation of activities.

Assess the extent to which programme resources were utilised efficiently, in particular:

- The quality of programme management, reporting, financial management, personnel management, procurement, monitoring and evaluation systems.
- The degree to which actual activities and strategies adopted are consistent with the financing agreement in terms of both the content and timeliness.
- The degree to which local partners and stakeholders are participating in the JP's processes and projects.
- The adequacy of resources (financial, human and capital) provided for the programme, with particular regard to the quantity and level of human resources provided 'in kind' by the CoE.
- The extent to which project expenditures are justified by the benefits.
- The quality of support rendered to the programme by the EC Delegations in the region.

In this regard, factors that contribute to the sustainability of the benefits derived from the programme should be reviewed. In particular, the evaluators should focus on:

Effectiveness

Efficiency

Sustainability

Institutional assessment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The extent to which the programme can be replicated (see Impact, what kind of success story for the EIDHR?) • Without the support of the EU Budget, what kind of consequences would there be for the sustainability of the Programme? <p>Assessment of the programme's institutional arrangements. The evaluators should review the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The appropriateness of programme's institutional framework (examining the School's management structure, international and local partner relations). • The programme's communication system. • The effectiveness of decision-making systems within the programme. • Transparency and accountability within the programme's management structure.
Visibility	<p>Analysis of whether the recipients/partners/beneficiaries involved in the programme were aware of the role of the European institutions involved.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Were the beneficiaries aware of the role of the CoE in the programme? • Were the beneficiaries aware of the role of the European Union in the programme?

3. Methodology

The main reference documents will be the project proposals/ contracts (including the logical frameworks and detailed budgets) and the School's activity reports (see attachment for the list of documents). The EuropeAid Task Manager of this programme will be available to discuss and provide further documentation on the projects before the mission takes place.

The evaluation techniques and research methods will be:

- study of documents/ materials of the MSPS and EC/CoE.
- discussion with the relevant Project managers (EC and CoE) before the mission takes place.
- interviews with School staff, relevant stakeholders (representatives of relevant government agencies, representatives of relevant civil society organisations, representatives of the international community in Moscow (notably EU, CoE representation, embassies).
- attendance and observation at the Summer Moscow Seminar (20-26 July 2003).
- interviews with current and former participants in the project's activities.



A proposal for a programme of interviews will be made by the national expert before the mission takes place. It will be discussed with the MSPS director, who can give suggestions and input, and then be discussed and agreed with the international expert(s).

The mission will present and discuss its major findings and recommendations to the MSPS director/ staff at the end of the mission to Moscow.

4. Expertise

The evaluation will require two international and one local expert with the following profiles:

- All experts should be Russian-speaking and have a good knowledge of Russian political and social development. The two international experts should have experience with or insight into the operations of the European Union or the Council of Europe.
- International expert/team leader: With background in political or social science or in law and with considerable experience of academic work in the region. Experience of practical human rights or democracy work essential, coupled possibly with evaluation and consultancy experience. Knowledge about current Russian political and social development. Insight into and experience in the work of the European Union is necessary.
- International expert: With background in political or social science or law and with experience of the region. Consultancy and project experience essential. Insight into the work of the European Union is necessary
- Local expert with academic background, with experience of project or consultancy work and with good knowledge of academia in Moscow.

5. Workplan and time schedule

a) Workplan

Activity	Number of days
Inception and preparation: Study of documents, preparation of mission, interviews with project management EC and CoE. Preparation includes identification of former participants in school activities	Two days for team leader and local consultant, one day for the second international expert
Mission: Interviews with school staff, attendance and observation at the Summer Moscow Seminar, interviews with current and former participants in project activities. Interviews with relevant stakeholders (government agencies, representatives of the international community, civil society organisations)	Five days for international experts Four days for local expert
Draft final report: Report writing	Five days for international experts, two days for local expert
Feedback presentation: Mail comments	One day for the team leader
Final report: Editing and including comments	Two days for two international experts
Total	15 days for the team leader, 13 days for the second international expert, and 8 days for the local expert

b) Time schedule

Deadline for draft: 4 August 2003

(key expert will comment before 18 August)

Deadline for final report: First week of September 2003



The evaluation should take place during the month of July 2003 for the following reasons:

- better availability than August 2003 of people mentioned in point 3 to conduct the interviews
- imperative to attend the Seminar at end of July 2003, having already started the evaluation beforehand
- imperative to deliver the final version at the beginning of September 2003 at the latest in order to meet the Commission deadlines as regards budgetary procedures

c) Communication

Reports (draft and final) to be submitted by MEDE European Consultancy to:

Tim Clarke, Head of Unit EuropeAid F3, Timothy.Clarke@cec.eu.int

Franck-Olivier Roux, Task Manager EuropeAid F3, Franck-Olivier.Roux@cec.eu.int

Mario Rui Queiro, Task Manager EuropeAid F3, Mario-Rui.Queiro@cec.eu.int



Annex 2: Methodology

The evaluators used the following methods in their work:

Prior to the evaluation mission in Moscow, the evaluators collected and analysed documents on the School, including the most recent grant proposal to the European Commission, progress reports from the Council of Europe, annual reports of the School, minutes of board meetings and seminar programmes. We also studied the School's website. During the course of the evaluation, we came across a number of other relevant documents, including a development plan for 2002-2008.

Both foreign experts had briefings at the European Commission at the beginning of the evaluation. The team leader was also briefed extensively by relevant Council of Europe officials. At both briefings, the evaluators received additional documents.

One team member visited the School's premises prior to the seminar and reviewed documents and publications. School staff provided preliminary information on the practicalities of running the School. The visit also gave some insight into the preparation process for the seminars.

The team attended the School's second federal seminar, 20-27 July 2003. It observed numerous sessions and interviewed staff, alumni, participants, experts, stakeholders and others.

Most interviews with the School's staff, participants, experts, board members, alumni, stakeholders and representatives of civil society were carried out on a one-to-one basis. The team also conducted several focus groups with five participants each time to observe discussion among participants on the values and substance of the School, its methodology and its effect on participants.

Due to the short time planned for the evaluation and deadlines for submission of the report to the EC, it was not possible to carry out an evaluation in the regions on the impact of the School. Consequently, individual interviews with former participants of the school were focused on identifying the subsequent activities in the regions which were initiated by the alumni, their networking effect and impact. This, we believe did partly compensate for the lack of visits by the evaluators to the regions and observations are given in the Impact section.

Due to the fact that the evaluators were in Moscow during a seminar week (when all School staff were occupied with running the seminar), we had limited opportunities to review internal school documents at the office.

Study of relevant documents

Briefings at the European Commission and Council of Europe

Visit to the School prior to the July 2003 seminar

Attendance and observation at the July 2003 seminar

Interviews



Annex 3: List of Documents reviewed during evaluation

EIDHR Application Form No. EuropeAid/B7-701/2001/3116

Grant Agreement B7-701/2001/3116

EIDHR Application Form No. EuropeAid/B7-701/2002/3061

Activity Report to EuropeAid on project B7-701/2001/3116

Activity Report to EuropeAid on project B7-701/2001/3116

Final Narrative Report from the Council of Europe to EuropeAid on project number 98/331

Moscow School of Political Studies Report 1999-2000

Moscow School of Political Studies Annual Report 2000

Moscow School of Political Studies Annual Report 2001

Moscow School of Political Studies Annual Report 2002

Moscow School of Political Studies, Development Plan 2002-2008

Methodology of the Moscow School of Political Studies

Financial Report 2002

Financial Projections 2003 and beyond

Moscow School of Political Studies Seminar Schedule for 2003 and 2004

Internal Report on First Federal Seminar of 2001

Internal Report on First Federal Seminar of 2002

Internal Report on Regional Seminar in Leningrad Region, 2002

Internal Report on 2001 Seminar on Media

Internal Report on 2001 Seminar in Spain

Internal Report on 2002 Seminar in Italy

Report by Council of Europe official on First and Second Federal Seminar of 2000

Report by Council of Europe official on December 2001 Alumni Association meeting

Report by Council of Europe official on Regional Seminar in Leningrad Region of 2002

Programme for the 1999 Strasbourg Seminar

Programme for First Federal Seminar of 2002

Programme for First Federal Seminar of 2003

Notes of board meeting of July 2001

Notes of board meeting of September 2000



Annex 4: List of people interviewed for evaluation

Interviews		
International partners and stakeholders		
EU	Richard Wright	European Commission Head of Delegation, Moscow
	Guillermo Martinez	EU Delegation in Moscow (by phone)
	Timothy Clarke	EuropeAid
	Franck-Olivier Roux	EuropeAid
	Mario-Rui Queiro	EuropeAid
	Francois Ruell	TACIS, Russia Desk
	May Ann Ramsay	
CoE	Jean Louis Laurens	
	Jeremy Moakes	
	James Donally	
Office of the Commissioner for human rights of the Council of Europe	Alexander Guessel	
UK Embassy	Sir Richard Lyne	Ambassador of the United Kingdom to the Russian Federation
Swiss Embassy	Walter Fetcherin	Ambassador of Switzerland to the Russian Federation
Open Society Institute	Yuliya Lakina	Programme Manager, Higher Education Support Programme
Democracy International, UK	Keith Hampson	
Italy	Fabrizio Zucca	Member of the Board, Centre for the Development of Relations Between Italy and Russia
MSPS Board		
	Sir Rodric Braithwaite	Chair of the Advisory Board of MSPS
Staff		
	Elena Nemirovskaya	MSPS, Director
	Yuri Senokosov	MSPS, Publishing Programme
	Andrei Tsukanov	MSPS, Website Administrator
	Marina Matveeva	MSPS, Accountant
	Svetlana Radkevich	MSPS, Office Administrator
	Marina Chekunova	MSPS, HR Manager

	Anna Zelentsova	MSPS, Programme Manager
	Alexander Sogomonov	Special Adviser
Experts		
(also Alumni)	Iatyana Nesterenko,	Deputy Finance Minister of Russia
	Andrey Il'nitsky	Principal Expert, Open Russia Foundation
	Daniel Tarschys	Professor, Department of Political Science, Stockholm University, ex-General Secretary, Council of Europe
	Dmitry Trenin	Director, Carnegie Moscow Centre
	Irina Busygina	Professor, Moscow State Institute of International Relations
	Richard Pipes	Professor, Harvard University
	Sergei Vasiliev	Federal Assembly, Committee on Financial Markets
	Sergey Nedoroslev	President, Kaskol Group of Companies
(also Alumni)	Vladimir Ryzhkov	MP, Russian State Duma
Participants		
	Andrei Karpov	Chair, Regional Youth Union of Yablokopolitical party
	Dmitry Martysenko	Assistant to MP, Chair, Kaluga Regional Branch, NGO Business Russia
	Dzhambulat Ozdoev	Director, NGO Civilisation, Ingushetiya
	Egor Chegrinets	Deputy Head of Department, Moscow Accounting Chamber
	Evgenia Ivankova	Political Observer, <i>Kaskad</i> regional newspaper, Kaliningrad region
	Grigorii Voevodin	Deputy Editor in Chief, <i>Guberniya</i> newspaper, Karelia Republic
	Inna Shagaeva	Deputy Head of Yabloko political party regional branch in Buryatia Republic
	Irina Drazhina	Tiumen Regional Administration, Control Department
	Lilit Asatryan	President, NGO Centre of Legal and Social Aid for Youth
	Magomed Alkhazurov	MP, People's Council - Parliament of Chechnya Republic

	Maxim Gurevic	Head, Press Service , Krasnoyarsk Region Administration
	Nikolai Sorokin	MP, Kostroma City Council
	Roman Kalyaev	Chair, Youth NGO New perspectives
	Semen Berezin	MP, Parliament of the Sakha-Yakutiya Republic
	Stanislav Babitsky	MP, Azov City Duma
	Stanislav Kislov	MP, Kaluga City Duma
	Tatyana Zvereva	Editor of the news service, Radio Station Melodia Kaliningrad
	Valerii Pryzhkov	Commercial Director of the Centre for Economic Development, assistant to a member of the Kaliningrad regional parliament
Alumni		
	Alexander Khrustalev	Assistant to MP, Legislative Assembly of the Leningrad Region
	Alexander Sysyoev	MP, Voronezh City Duma
	Andrey Smolovik	MP, Rostov City Duma
	Boris Pashtov	MP, Kabardino-Balkar Republic
	Dr Andrei Zakharov	Foundation for the Development of Parliamentarism in Russia
	Ekaterina Zhilyakova	Editor-in-chief, <i>Municipalnaya Vlast</i> (Municipal Authority) magazine, Krasnodar region
	Igor Gordeev	Councillor, Public and Regional Affairs Committee, Moscow City Government
	Irina Lukyanova	Television journalist, Samara
	Irina Podlesova	Correspondent for newspaper <i>Izvestia</i>
	Irina Savchenko	Journalist, <i>Izvestia</i> newspaper, Kemerovo region
	Ivan Burmistrov	MP, Kaluga City Duma
	Ivan Starikov,	Federal Assembly (Senate)
	Larisa Mishustina	Referent (speech writer) to the President of the Russian Federation
	Lyudmila Savochkina	MP, Saratov Regional Duma
	Michael Emelyanov	MP, Russian State Duma
	Natalia Volodina	Head of Presidential Administration, Chuvash Republic
	Natalya Loseva	Web editor for newspaper <i>Izvestia</i>
	Olga Okuneva	Vice Speaker, Sverdlovsk, Regional Duma

	Sergey Neganov	Head, Policy and PR Department, Perm Region Administration
	Vadim Bondar'	MP, Russian State Duma, SPS Party Group
	Vladimir Shmelev	Chair, NGO Movement First Free Generation
	Yuri Zagrebnoy	Assistant to Auditor, Control Department, Moscow City Duma
	Yury Petukhov	Chair, City Election Committee, Novosibirsk
	Civil society	
	Arsenii Roginskii	Memorial
	Konstantin Yanovskii	Institute for Transition Economy (regional organisation of SPS Party)
	Lyudmila Alekseeva	Moscow Helsinki Group
	Yurii Dzhibladze	Centre for Development of Democracy and Human Rights

Annex 5: School's description of types of session used at seminars

Politics, economy, human rights, legal system, media studies etc. During these sessions participants are introduced to the current state of mind in the modern political (economical, legal, etc) understanding of various global issues by recognised experts in relevant areas. The School pays special attention to the 'style' of these sessions: all presentations and discussions are executed non-academically – in clear and accurate terms of public concerns.

Politics, economy, human rights, the legal system, media science, etc. Sessions of this type are practically oriented and linked to background knowledge sessions, usually given beforehand. Presentations are currently run by high-profile politicians, journalists and business people etc, i.e. by 'practical people' – experts who have already demonstrated professional success in a practical sphere.

This type of session puts participants and experts head to head for joint discussion on global and universally significant problems. During these sessions, they share each other's personal views and expertise. The moderator of the forum only leads the discussion, leaving open space for mutual comprehension and understanding.

At the panel discussions one specific topic is discussed by several experts. They all cover different areas of one issue and represent a broad insight, i.e. reflect the whole spectrum of personal (expertise and) views on the issue in question.

Participants at this particular stage of the seminar's inner development are required to speak as experts themselves. To implement this task, the School usually organises presentations, in which the participants study the modes and styles of expressing their thoughts in clear and accurate terms. A typical example of such a session would be the presentation of a book written by a School expert and published by the School. The participants are required to read the book and to publicly share their opinions and views on a topic presented in the book.

To finish an ordinary seminar's working day, the School organises summing-up role play sessions. Within this format, participants play political and public roles, covering the topics of the day. An important point of the role play session is to implement into participants' personal experiences the practical skills of reactivity, intellectual acuteness and improvisation. These, together, bring them closer to real life in politics and the public sphere.

Background knowledge

Practical knowledge

Forum

Panel discussion

Presentation

Role play



Annex 6: List of NGO initiatives inspired by The School

From Keith Hampson, Democracy International, report.

Russia has seen enormous social, political and economic change during the last decade. The greatest change of all is that people are now able to act for themselves and for people around them on their own initiative. They are free to set their own goals and work to achieve them.

The Moscow School's mission is to spread the spirit of a civil society, of co-operation for the common good. It has done a great deal for the consolidation of democracy, promoting the rule of law, serving the principle of a free and independent media and developing public institutions in Russia. It has positively encouraged its students to take their own initiatives in public life in pursuit of its goals. These are some of the results:

1. The Foundation of Social, Economic and Political Studies 'Regional Strategies' (Kaliningrad region)
2. Krasnodar Club of Civil Education in 2002-2003: Creative Union
3. Altai School of Civil Education
4. The Pervoye Svobodnoye Pokoleniye (First Free Generation) movement
5. Projects by School alumni, Igor Knyazev and Yuri Kurin
6. Projects by School alumnus Sergey Moshkin
7. Projects by Moscow School alumni in Perm region
8. The Civil Initiatives Foundation; a Project of the Moscow School's alumnus Lyudmila Savochkina
9. Projects by Natalia Volodina
10. The Vozrozhdenie (Revival) Centre for Social Projection
11. Centre for the Development Civil Education
12. Foundation for the Development of Parliamentarism in Russia
13. Regional Schools of Public Politics project

1. Foundation of Social, Economic and Political Studies 'Regional Strategies' (Kaliningrad region)

The project was started by Solomon Ginzburg to provide training for civil volunteers. The training is in the protection of civil rights. The 'Regional Strategies' project has been training civil society volunteers for two years. The project is training volunteers in youth movements from the regional centres and nearby cities: activating local civil society initiatives for young people and broadening the network of public groups that are involved in the work of civil rights protection.

Each of these initiatives is subsequently outlined by the organisations themselves

The Foundation's programme is centred around the formation of local youth unions. With the assistance of the Foundation, the youth organisation Nadezhda Stoletiya (The Hope of the Century) was formed, with five branches in small cities in the Kaliningrad region.

The Foundation seeks to work with local initiatives, involving youth in public life on a local level and focusing on specific actions for safeguarding individuals' rights. All the experience of two years' work shows that this initiative is changing the situation in youth movements in positive ways.

The project's team plans to expand its work to a wider area of activity. It has planned to start developing a public attitude monitoring system. Gathering information on how the community feels about local civil society initiatives. This will provide a feedback to assist the continuing development of the volunteers' work.

It is hoped that the final result of the programme will be as follows. The development of an educational programme for young activists from all the region's zones that would reflect the changes in the attitudes and needs of the local community. Some of the volunteers are expected to seek public positions (municipal council deputies, leaders of local public groups, local self-government workers).

Contact information:

Solomon Ginzburg, Deputy of Kaliningrad
Regional Duma, Moscow School alumnus 1994
Director of the 'Regional Strategies'
Address: 236000 Kaliningrad, Kirova street h.17
Tel: (0112) 22 84 75
Fax: (0112) 22 84 82
E-mail: ginzburg@duma.kaliningrad.org

2. Krasnodar Club of Civil Education in 2002-2003: Creative Union

Established by Evgeni Grekov, the Club works for the development of civil society by providing the space for public talks on the most important regional and federal public and political issues.

The main targets of the Krasnodar Club of Civil Education are:

1. To provide opportunities for the expert evaluation of the social and public situation in the region.
2. To inform the public of the activities of the government, political parties and civil institutions through contacts with the regional media.
3. Publishing the information booklet *Otkritiy mir* (Open World) to inform officials, deputies at different levels, the media, academics and students studying politics, management and journalism.
4. To create a dialogue between officials and the representatives of the local community and opposition political parties.
5. To increase the transparency of the government through open discussion of its activities.
6. To search for youth leaders and seek to help them realise their potential.
7. To provide the possibility of contact with the political and public leaders of the region and the country for politically oriented young people.
8. To widen inter-organisational links.
9. To expand information activities in the areas of human rights and international and religious tolerance.

The Club's sessions are divided between Krasnodar and the Sochi, Novorossiysk and Slavyansk-na-Kybani regions. All of them are held in the form of open round table discussions. Openness is the trademark of the Club. Anyone can take part and share their views. There is only one official at the session – the moderator of the open table – everyone else is equal and there are no opinions that are more important than others.

Everything is recorded and afterwards used in publishing the newsletter *Otkritiy mir* and various materials for the media. Anyone can use these records.

Regional partners of the Club help organise the regional sessions. They define what topics are the most important to focus the session on, help to find the place to hold the session and gather together all the people interested, including local authorities, journalists, politicians and deputies. The Club in turn finds experts, the press and the equipment. The project was established as an open project. That means that all the compliments, requests and comments can be made public during the sessions.

Club participants fill in questionnaires, where they state their opinions on the work of the Club and leave their contact information. Any participant can contribute to the project through the Club's website <http://www.kuban.ru/~yvolna/>.

The most important kind of feedback is the reaction of the media to the Club's sessions. All materials are collected and carefully analysed.

Contact information:

Evgeni Grekov,

Moscow School alumnus 1997

Chair of the board of NGO Yuzhnaya Volna

Tel: (8612) 53 32 42

Fax: (8612) 53 32 42

3. Altai School of Civil Education

Altai School of Civil Education was created as a public enterprise on 9 February 1996 with the active participation of Vladimir Ryzhkov, Moscow School alumnus 1993 and a deputy of the State Duma of the Russian Federation for the last decade. The School's activities are directed towards strengthening inter-faculty and inter-institute relations in the area of political sciences. In 1998 ASCE gained the status of a science and study laboratory of the Altai State University.

ASCE is working to unite the experts of different specialisations – historians, political scientists, sociologists, economists, lawyers and others. Officials, business people and journalists are included in the School's projects. Dozens of prominent Russian and foreign experts have already taken part in the work of the Altai School of Civil Education. Among the Moscow experts taking part in ASCE work in recent years were: Sergey Aleksashenko, Oleg Barabanov, Igor Bunin, Alexey Zverev, Dmitry Kaljuga, Michael Krasnov, Alexander Livshits, Vladimir Lysenko, Vladimir Mau, Alexey Miheev, Sergey Nedoroslev, Alexander Nekipelov, Vladimir Pavlihin, Vladimir Ryzhkov, Alexey Salmin, Marina Sal'e, George Satarov and Vladimir Judin. Graduate and postgraduate students receive valuable practical skills for the organisation of scientific conferences and political science research.

One of the main areas of ASCE work is international scientific conferences and issuing assessments of actual problems in political life.

ASCE is also constantly involved in educational work – round table events, lectures, publishing articles in newspapers and so on. Experts from ASCE have conducted round tables on TV and radio, discussing the Federal Duma elections, presidential and gubernatorial elections, the multi-Party political system, war in Chechnya, Russia's Independence Day, Russian nationalism, educational reform in Russia, the meaning of different laws, etc.

Another kind of work in which ASCE is involved is consulting and applied political science research. During the Federal Duma deputy elections, presidential and gubernatorial elections ASCE carried out focus groups and telephone and questionnaire-based research. The results of this research for the most part are published in newspapers.

The results of ASCE's scientific work can be seen on the School's website, where all the texts of *ASCE Diaries* are located. In 2000 this site received the prize for best site from Project Harmony. Starting from June the mini-site of the project has opened, providing quick access to the most important information resources.

Contact information:

Vladimir Ryzhkov,

Deputy of the State Duma of the Russian Federation

Tel: 292 07 01

Fax: 292 15 63

4. Public movement *Pervoye Svobodnoye Pokoleniye* (First Free Generation)

The *Pervoye Svobodnoye Pokoleniye* movement was founded in 1996 by a group of students from several institutes. In 1997 it was registered as an inter-regional youth public movement. In October 2000, after the movement was joined by most democratic youth organisations, it became the biggest all-Russian right-wing youth movement. It now has 52 regional branches. The Chair of the movement is Vladimir Shmelev, one of its founders, and a Moscow School alumnus 2001. The *Pervoye Svobodnoye Pokoleniye* movement unites several thousand young people from more than 50 regions of Russia.

The representatives of the movement take part in elections at different levels and some of the movement's members are active members of local and regional legislative assemblies.

The main objective of *Pervoye Svobodnoye Pokoleniye* is to increase involvement in public and political activities by young people – the generation after democratic Russia has emerged. The movement feels that this new generation of Russians is capable of adopting new approaches to old problems, to help the country to get out of crisis. All its project work is directed towards strengthening civil society and establishing active democracy in Russia.

During the six years of the movement's existence, several dozen federal and regional projects have been brought about and more than one hundred mass actions and festivals undertaken.

Contact information:

Vladimir Shmelev,

Moscow School alumnus 2001

Chair of the movement Pervoye Svobodnoye Pokoleniye

Address: 125299 Moscow, Kosmonavta Volkova street h5.1

Tel : (095)156-2013

Fax: (095)156-2013

E-mail: psp@1sp.ru

5. Projects by the School alumni Igor Knyazev and Yuri Kurin

The main projects of K & K are *Liberal Heritage* and *Baikal Liberal Forum*. Both are oriented towards a very wide circle of participants, independent of their political sympathies.

Liberal Heritage undertakes research on the city's history, the history of the region and installs memorials with memorial plates to public figures, writers and scientists who contributed to the development of Siberia. The most recent one was installed on 20 March 2003 on a house in Irkutsk, where M. M. Speranski lived and worked. The installation of plates is preceded with a series of publications on the life and actions of the historical figure.

The project *Citizen's Help Service*: To fulfil this project the Moscow School alumni use the help of two young lawyers. Twice a week they work with citizens in our waiting room, providing free legal advice.

The project *Patriot*: In this project Moscow School alumni pay for scholarships (17 in 2002 and seven in 2003) of up to 1,000 roubles to young men who spent their military service in Chechnya and go on to higher education afterwards. By this adaptation process, life is made easier.

The project *We Shall Help Children*: Within the framework of this project the Moscow School alumni have reconstructed part of the premises of High School N 30 and installed special equipment there. It has allowed three children with physical disabilities to study at school, in the same class with other children. The Moscow School alumni bought a specially equipped minibus 'Gazelle' which takes these children from home in the morning and takes them back after school.

The project *Centre of Hippotherapy*: Involves the rehabilitation and treatment of children through the use of horses. The Moscow School alumni bought two horses and food for them for the centre and provided sufficient financial support.

The project *Internet to Schools*: The aim of the project is to connect several schools in villages and distant districts to the internet. Igor Knyazev and Yuri Kurin bought 10 computers for schools in the Irkutsk region and children are now able to use the resources of the internet and teachers can teach computer skills. Besides that, two teachers were sent to a specialist computer education centre.

The project *In Memoriam of Dramatist Alexander Vampilov*: A scale model of the memorial monument has been made and a place for it has been found. Fundraising is now in progress. It is planned that in August or September 2003 this monument to the great dramatist Alexander Vampilov will be placed near the Irkutsk Drama Theatre. Citizens and intelligentsia took an active part in this project.

Contact information:

Igor Knyazev,

Moscow School alumnus 2001

Deputy Chair of Irkutsk regional branch of SPS political party

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6. Projects by School alumnus Sergey Moshkin

Moscow School alumnus 1996, Sergey Moshkin is working with students at the Ural Academy of Federal Service on values of democracy, personal freedom and civil society.

In 1999 on Sergey's initiative a fundamental research programme was developed for the Institute of Philosophy and Law of the Ural Regional Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences (RAS) under the name of Civil Society and the State. The programme gained accreditation from the RAS presidium.

In 2003 the fundamental research project, 'Transformation of civil society institutes in a modern world', was developed for the institute mentioned above. This programme was approved by the RAS presidium as well. As a result of this work a two-volume book *Civil society and the State* will be published.

In 2000 Sergey Moshkin took part in a project of the Russian Foundation of Legislative Reforms, 'Perfection of the legislation and jurisdiction process in the Russian Federation'. As a result of three years' work, three monographs and several textbooks, aimed at the deputies of Russian regions were published.

In 2001 Sergey Moshkin initiated a periodical publication and became a member of the editorial board of the scientific almanac *Diskurs-Pi*, in which topics of democracy and civil society are the primary concern.

Sergey Moshkin acts as a permanent co-organiser of different conferences under titles in tune with the spirit of the Moscow School. To name a few recent ones: 'Interaction of political science with governmental bodies during the formation of political processes in the Russian Federation and in the newly independent states', and an international conference 'Russia in search of a national development strategy'.

Most of the projects are practical projects. They usually result in publications, local legislature development and education and enlightenment activities. The participants in the projects are from the scientific community, administrators at all levels and representatives of the media and students.

The real practical result is very hard to measure (not counting publications and programmes), because it is very much connected with transformational issues.



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7. Projects by Moscow School alumni in Perm region

Three seminars of the Moscow School took place in the Perm region and all three of them were exceptionally successful. The seminars of 2001 and 2002 were organised with the active support of Perm City Duma. In 2003 the regional administration acted as an initiator.

Perm Political Forum will be a permanent initiator of open contacts between politicians, political scientists and experts from Russia and from abroad.

In December 1997 one of the Moscow School alumni, Sergei Neganov, and his friends announced the creation of Perm Association of Political Experts and Managers (PAPEM). Sergei is still secretary of this organisation. The first time the Association was presented to the public was the Perm regional seminar of the Moscow School in early 1998.

PAPEM united a number of specialists, realising their professional abilities in organisation, management and political research. Among members of PAPEM are scientists, specialists in election technologies, journalists, image-makers, political advertising specialists and sociologists. High standards are demanded of its members.

PAPEM is a public, non-governmental, non political, non-profit-making organisation. It does not have an official registration or status as a legal entity. Besides that, PAPEM has no official head. The Chair's functions are handled by each member of PAPEM in alphabetical order. To fulfil organisational functions, the Association has three elected posts: secretary, press editor and treasurer.

This kind of democratic way of working was adopted to realise the main aim: to unite all active specialists in research and management of political processes in the region, independent of the political groups they may belong to.

PAPEM works on the basis of a code of professional ethics. It is used as a guidance tool in any political circumstances, however difficult.

Besides the internal activities, the Association organises round tables, conferences, seminars, etc. All these activities are focused on developing the political culture in the region. During the last four years the number of members has risen from two to five thousand people.

In the middle of 2000, Sergei Neganov suggested to the regional administration of Perm region the idea of a regional programme to develop political culture. It took one and a half years for it to take shape.

The aim of this programme is to build a system of interdependent action: methodological, scientific and practical, focused on the development of the regional and judicial culture and civil society, analysing political processes in the region; co-ordination of the activities of different researchers, educational organisations and enterprises that work in the formation of political and judicial culture; uniting the efforts of governmental bodies, local self-government, public organisations, consultancies and other experts in order to strengthen political stability.

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8. Civil Initiatives Foundation

Moscow School alumnus 2000, Lyudmila Savochkina, apart from being a deputy of the Saratov Regional Duma, is a Vice President of the Civil Initiatives Foundation, located in Balakovo, Saratov region. The birth of this foundation was inspired by the Moscow School's seminars on civil society and civil initiatives.

The Foundation has its own newspaper, which has the biggest print-run in the city. It uses it to translate its intentions and to inform people about its projects.

The Civil Initiatives Foundation has announced two programmes: The Cosy Yard and Children's Play Space. Work materials are provided by the Foundation.



In autumn 2002, The Foundation organised two 'subbotniks' (weekend activities), planting several trees and in winter six skating rinks were organised. The Foundation was involved in a 'Leaders' Factory' seminar for the best students of the city. It is planned to organise this seminar in following years.

The Foundation also unites three public organisations:

- For Survival, involving over 1,300 people. This organisation provides legal assistance and consultations for pensioners.
- The next is an Entrepreneurs' Association with 1,264 members, also providing legal consultations on tax legislation. It helps entrepreneurs to stand up for their rights in court.
- The third is Labour Protection, i.e. working with unions of enterprises and budget organisations.

The Civil Initiatives Foundation plans several new projects. One of these is a youth organisation, another is an organisation to protect people's rights in the housing and municipal services sphere. This organisation will establish associations of home owners and then provide them with legal assistance. Another plan is to establish an Entrepreneur's Club as a communication platform for entrepreneurs and business people.

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9. Projects by Moscow School alumnus Natalia Volodina

Natalia Volodina, Moscow School alumnus 2002, is now Minister of Press and Information Policy in the Chuvash Republic and Deputy Chair of the Chuvash Republic cabinet. Natalia as an official is actively working to strengthen and promote the principles of a free and independent media in Chuvashia, to increase its competitiveness. But she has also launched several major projects:

- The first project was a project on public finance department reform. The Ministry of Finances of the Russian Federation, together with the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development, organised a tender that was won by Chuvashia.

This project has been running for three years and in all the intermediate stages Chuvashia is taking the lead, demonstrating the best, most transparent taxation and budgeting policy. The grant that is provided for the project is seven million dollars. Within the framework of this project, the Republican information analysis system was created, and Natalia Volodina took an active part in this process.

- Natalia has also taken part in a programme organised by experts of the UK Department of International Development. As a result of a trip to Northern Ireland an experiment in introducing modern methods of prediction, financing and technical support into the state and municipal governmental bodies of the Chuvash Republic has been arranged.
- Another project of Natalia Volodina, as an assistant to the Chuvash Republic President, was to build a new website for the Presidential Administration. After three years it has become a fully functional portal for the Republic administration at different levels and for some judicial authorities, municipal and public organisations.
- In March 2003 the seminar 'Modernisation of Russian Education: The experience and the perspectives of relations with the media' was held. It was initiated by the Chuvash Ministry of Press and Information Policy together with the Ministry of Education. The experience of Chuvashia in an area of information policy was shared with representatives of over 70 regions of Russia.

All these projects have been directed towards increasing the transparency of governmental and municipal government actions and are promoted by means of a wide internet-based network that is being constructed in the Chuvash Republic, involving public libraries, schools, institutes, clubs and centres of public service.

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10. The Vozrozhdenie (Revival) Centre for Social Projection

The Vozrozhdenie (Revival) Centre for Social Projection was founded in July 1990 as a non-governmental social service organisation whose function is to provide support in the form of organisational and legal assistance to community-based organisations.

On 7 March 1997 the employees of the Vozrozhdenie Centre and its partners (a total of 16 citizens of the Russian Federation) became the founders of the independent not-for-profit organisation, The Vozrozhdenie Centre for Social Projection (Government Licence Registration # 822 dated 7 March 1997). The Centre has continued its activities in accordance with the new civil code of the Russian Federation and the federal law concerning not-for-profit organisations.

The mission of the organisation is to provide support to community initiatives by means of implementing socially meaningful programmes that will provide project guidance – from the conception of an idea to implementation and self-sufficient functioning.

The strategic goals of the organisation are:

- To achieve and fully guarantee within the Russian Federation the individual rights and freedoms of people as established by international law, and to form a public body responsible for monitoring such rights and freedoms.
- To help form a civil society and legal government in the Russian Federation.
- To create conditions that allow for the successful implementation of independent and socially meaningful initiatives of citizens.
- To expand and deepen cultural horizons, to create a more humane society and to promote morals and values common to all humankind.
- To assist the activities of not-for-profit organisations.

The Founders' Council provides leadership within the organisation and consists of five people elected at a general meeting of all founders. The Founders' Council elects a General Director of the Organisation and also elects an Auditing Commission from among its members. The Director acts as the executive branch of the organisation.

The Analytical Bureau 'SocioFocus' was founded in 1997 and conducts research in the area of public opinion and a variety of aspects of applied sociology.

The Political Information Agency 'Navigator' was created in 2000 and provides analysis of the social and political processes in the Pskov region.

The Department of Economic Analysis was created in 1999 and specialises in the analysis of municipal budgets, investment attractiveness of the Pskov region and a detailed evaluation of the financial and economic conditions of a given organisation.

Organisation Management

The Regional Centre for the Development of Not-for-Profit Organisations, Second Wind. Since 1997, the centre has sought to provide stability to not-for-profit organisations in the Pskov region by attracting new personnel, information and material resources. Nearly 120 organisations throughout the region regularly use our consultative and technical resources. Consultative services are available to not-for-profit organisations concerning issues of strategic planning, organisational development, legal matters, accounting, the competitive bidding process and the production and distribution of public service announcements and advertisements. General office support for not-for-profit organisations is also available.

More than 15 books and brochures on history, culture, sociology, economics, regional politics, law and not-for-profit organisations have been prepared for publishing by the centre.

Since 1998, the broad diversity of specialists at the Vozrozhdenie Centre for Social Projection has allowed the organisation to take on and complete regional multi-faceted projects, which are all of a public nature and relate to socially significant issues.

The Vozrozhdenie Centre is a grant recipient from the following:

- The European Union Programme TACIS – a project created a service of judicial and accounting consultation for not-for-profit organisations.
- The National Endowment for Democracy Foundation, USA – project providing assistance to the formation of an open socio-political process in the Pskov region, 1998-1999; projects Voters Forum XXI 1999-2000, Party Politics 2000-2001, Regional Parliament 2001-2002.
- The Eurasia Foundation – Projects created a centre for not-for-profit organisations in the Pskov region, 1999-2002.
- The Open Society Institute – provided support for the publishing of the *Pskov Volniy University Bulletin*, a humanitarian/research journal and out-of-competition project Voice of Help (Pskov psychological support hotline service – confidential hotline) within the Civil Society programme.
- The Ford Foundation - In 1999 the centre was a regional partner of the St Petersburg Humanitarian and Political Centre, Strategy, working on the project 'Municipal Authorities and Citizens on the Path to Co-operation: Creating a budget that is flexible and which can be understood'.

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11. Centre for the Development of Civil Education

The Centre was created in 2001 with the support of an interregional association, For Civil Education, the Department of Education, Sport and Youth of the Volgograd Administration, the Volgograd State Pedagogical University, the Embassy of the USA and by Anna Zelentsova, a Moscow School alumnus.

The Centre is not a commercial organisation. It was created to protect the common interests and to consolidate public activities of teachers, education and science personnel, and other people working in an area of civil education and youth education.

The Centre's aims are:

- Consolidation and expansion of positive pedagogical experiences in civil education among the teachers of the city and region.
- Co-ordination of activities of organisations interested in the development of a regional system of civil education.
- Serving as an informational centre on problems of civil education, education in children's rights, human rights, peace and democracy.
- Studying the experience of child and youth movements in conditions of social democratisation.
- Co-operation with organisations abroad working in the area of civil education
- Organisation of training and retraining of educational specialists of middle and senior level institutions, leaders of public youth organisations.

During the 2000 -2001 academic year, five seminars and conferences were undertaken, and during the 2001-2002 academic year another seven events took place.

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12. Foundation for the Development of Parliamentarism in Russia

The Foundation for the Development of Parliamentarism in Russia (FDPR) was set up in January 1994 to provide assistance to committees and commissions of the Federal Assembly (Russian Parliament) chambers, political parties and independent deputies in drafting laws and undertaking independent professional assessment of bills and laws.

The establishment of the FDPR was supported by the President of the Russian Federation in his Executive Order No. 171-RP issued on 15 April 1994. In 1998 the FDPR became a charitable foundation and relevant legal amendments were added to its Charter.

The Foundation is an interregional charitable organisation aimed at maintaining and supporting the development of parliamentarism and democracy in Russia. Its main tasks include:

1. drafting legislation and undertaking independent professional assessment of bills and laws;
2. political, social and economic forecasting;
3. providing parliamentary structures with information services;
4. rendering assistance in mastering IT technologies in parliamentary work;
5. creating conditions for the effective interaction between the executive and legislative branches of power;
6. promoting relations between Russian and foreign parliamentarians.

Moscow School alumnus, Andrei Zakharov, is Vice President and Executive Director of FDPR.

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13. Regional Schools of Public Politics project

In May 2003 the project Regional Schools of Public Politics was launched. This project is entirely based on the resources of the Moscow School of Political Studies. The project's target is to form the human resources to bring about democratic changes – by cultural and institutional activities.

The aim is initially to establish in 12 regions a new network of centres of civil education, based on the pattern of the Moscow School. They will begin in October 2003.

These regional centres will undertake:

- Education and training of those who are part of the regional elite, in principles of modern politics – its theory and practice.
- Broadening the information channels between the regional, federal and overseas elites, political activists and public figures.
- Creating assessment and training tools for young people who are going to take an active part in public politics.

During 2003-2005 it is intended that the Regional Schools of Public Politics programme will be extended to some 50 centres

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Annex 7: School's development plan 2002-2008

Fourth Draft



MOSCOW SCHOOL OF POLITICAL STUDIES

Business Plan 2002 - 2008

.Russia will only occupy a worthy place in the modern world when it finally understands that human rights and freedoms do not destroy our country but strengthen its civil society and national security. To this end we must pool our efforts discussing the problems that Russia shares with the West as it seeks to overcome the lingering mutual mistrust and the tragic legacy of the outgoing century.

Lena Nemirovska, MSPS Founder and Director, Annual Report 2001

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PREFACE

This business plan is for the internal reform and planning of the Moscow School. It sets out a programme of activity, development and financial operation for the period until 2008.

It is important that the Board and staff of the School commit to the implementation of the Plan once it has been agreed by the Board at its July 2002 meeting. A timetable needs to be agreed for its implementation.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE FUTURE

QUALITY CONTROL

- There should be a strategy for taking action on the results of the surveys of seminars.
- There should be six monthly follow ups of the surveys including a reminder of the existence of the alumni association

ACTIVITIES

Seminars

The School plans to broaden its audience through creating more places on regional and issue-based seminars. Attempting to squeeze more people into the existing seminars would damage their interactive nature, so the only solution is to increase the number of seminars.

Regional seminars will help to reach parts of the country which we have not been to before. The issue-based seminars will be directed at those from public life who may not necessarily be elected politicians. A wider range of topics will be discussed such as social policy, law and the social responsibility of business, ethics and integrity in politics and

business, public involvement in the political process, Russia-Europe relations. In due course, these courses could be offered on a non-subsidised basis to leading employees of commercial organisations, or could be tailor-made according to demand.

The feedback from seminars should be reflected in a list of topics for discussion at future seminars that should be prepared so as to avoid unpopular sessions being scheduled.

Publications

The publications will make a vital contribution to the spread of the School's values. Rather than increasing the number of publications, we will focus on increasing the readership through improved distribution, including commercial channels. The new pocket series on political culture will be developed and aimed at a wider circulation audience.

As far as possible publications should be self-financing through sales and advertisements and sponsorship so that resources can be increased.

Publications need to be professionally marketed and distributed.

There should be a questionnaire in all publications to get feedback from readership

Specific plans are for:

Obschchaya Tetrad - The aim is to use commercial agents to distribute the magazine to news stands and shops. The frequency should also be increased from 4 times a year to 6 times. In the future advertising should be sought so that resources can be increased to allow for a greater impact through improved design and content.

Russia on Russia - More articles should be syndicated to western newspapers and magazines as a means of promoting the School and its ideals and aims. Each edition should be more actively promoted through issuing a press release announcing the content. It is the intention to find a distributor so that more should be available through bookshops in the UK and also in the States. It would be helpful to have a base in the UK where MSPS staff could work to proof read the booklet and distribute it. The aim is to convert a larger number of recipients to be paying subscribers with a target of 20 to 30% by the end of 2005.

Books - Books should be launched to wider audiences and this should also present a sponsorship opportunity.

Web Site

The web-site will continue to become more interactive: the current comments page should eventually transform into a sort of "Democracy Help-Desk" with the facility to send questions, and a place for all the regions of Russia to exchange "best-practices". A longer-term plan is for the web-site to enable visitors to download all of the School's publications and give access to an audio-archive of selected seminars. The ultimate goal is that all the Federal seminars will be transmitted live, on-line and that question and answer sessions with experts will be held also on-line. These will be held first at seminars but special sessions could be held at other times.

Other developments to be pursued are:

- Receive feedback to publications and send this to authors
- Use of advertisements and sponsorship
- but the private section open only for Members of the Association is planned for the near future.

Alumni Association

It is the intention to strengthen further the Association, as a major tool of the realisation of the School's mission.

The School needs to agree concrete targets for signing up members.

The Association should in time become a support service not just for the Alumni, but a resource for regional administrations and political institutions seeking to implement reformist policies. It should also become a useful regional network to support corporate friends interested in developing their business in the regions.

The School will use the alumni base for fundraising directly or indirectly through its members appealing for corporate donations. This resource will be developed as the School increases its fundraising expertise. The Alumni Association will be used as a networking device to help sponsors and donors develop their presence in the regions.

Post Education Centre

The aim is to hold two seminars in 2002 in Russia, focussing on specific issues relevant to the political, social and economic development of Russia to be explored in depth. The European Seminars will also be included in the course offering.

Commercial Activity

It is a long term aspiration of the school to create a small political bookshop in Moscow which would also be a library and a coffee shop. This would be something akin to the Politicos Bookshop in London and it is hoped that this may be possible in three to four years. As well as improving access to the Schools publications, it would provide an outlet for other publications from Russia and the west as well as providing a source of income.

Media Relations

The School aims to continue raising its profile in the press and the mass media by engaging in concerted public relations activities. The main aim will be to increase awareness of democracy amongst a broader audience. High media interest can also help to attract sponsorship and further funding.

The School's press coverage is already very strong, especially in the regional press, but in order to maximise impact, it will be important to gain more TV and radio coverage. Talks are taking place for MSPS to have six television slots on three national stations. These programmes would be at a minimal cost and control of the content would lie with the School. Assistance would be provided by the professional staff of the stations although the School recognises that it would benefit from input from television and communication experts in Russia and overseas. It is considered that this would present a sponsorship and advertising opportunity of very good value to commercial organisations.

GOVERNANCE OF THE SCHOOL

There is a need to review the governance structure of the School to allow for a greater degree of accountability of the operation of the School both to the Board and to donors. The review could examine the option of a management board which would meet more often than the current Advisory Board, perhaps every two months. This would be composed of perhaps half Russian members and half people from Europe and the States. Its role would be to receive financing and activity reports and agree on the implementation of the School's strategy. It would not be involved with day to day running of the School.

An overall Advisory Board of independent directors could be reformed to include donor representatives as non-executive members so ensuring that donors could not seek to directly control the School's operations and philosophy.

A paper outlining options should be prepared by the current Board for discussion.

STAFF DEVELOPMENT

A training programme should be put together outlining these needs and to allow for this to be planned and financed. The priorities for this are:

- Database management
- Financial budgeting
- Financial reporting

It is suggested that there is a need for a Chief Officer with management training. The roles, level of experience and qualification that may be required and the cost of extra staff need to be planned.

RECORD KEEPING

Students:

- A registration form is prepared for all seminars asking for full contact details including e-mail where available.
- This information and all other records are entered onto a database programme.
- This needs to include fields indication year/s of attendance, whether a member of the alumni association, location, category of position.
- A form is included in the School's newsletter asking for notification of change of contact or position details and urging recipients to fax or post this back to MSPS
- A similar form is placed on the School's website.
- A comprehensive circulation to update records is held every two or three years
- Training is provided in the use of Access.

Experts:

- An update form is sent to all experts.
- All information is entered on in database format
- Fields need to include country, year/s of attendance, category of position, subject specialisation,
- Given that most of the experts will be on e-mail, they should receive the newsletter and other communications electronically

Friends:

- A comprehensive list of the School's friends should be compiled.

FINANCE

Fixed Costs:

- Fixed costs need to be determined for the current financial year which ends on 31st December.
- They need to be estimated for the next six years allowing for the growth that the School plans in its activities and the burden this will throw on the core administration.

- Any aspect of central costs that is incurred through directly supporting a project should be apportioned to that project and included in its budget. This might include laser printing costs for letters, programmes and briefings, telephone charges and staff time spent on a project.
- The element of fixed costs that will be recouped in this way should be accounted for in the forward budgets.
- In budgeting for fixed costs, the School needs to include an element for reserves.

Variable Costs

- It is important that the school costs its activities accurately as it has no reserves to draw on if expenditure exceeds income on projects and if the funding for core costs is to be sufficient to allow for organisational development.
- The school needs to prepare realistic and comprehensive budgets for each type of its activity so that it may prepare budgets for future needs.
- The budgets should meet the activities outlined in the future plan covering the next six years
- Account should be taken of possible higher prices in future years.

Sources of Income to be Developed

- Students could be asked to contribute to their seminar accommodation
- Sell publications
- Sell places on Seminars
- Provide tailor-made programmes for corporations or governments
- Arrange academic programmes on a profitable basis
- Your points in 13.2
- Long-term creation of endowment
- The appointment of a Manager for the Alumni Association and a Moscow-based fundraiser.

Accounting

Accounting staff from the School need to be trained to produce an overall income and expenditure account and a balance sheet.

Financial Stability

To put the School on more secure financial footing, the following steps should be taken:

- Some agencies may allow the organisation to retain any sums not spent on a project and these should be channelled into the central funds. This may particularly be the case where a fixed sum is paid and the School manages to reduce costs to below this figure. A timetable and action plan for this sort of discussion to take place needs to be prepared
- Project budgets should include all elements of office and staff costs attributable to the project.
- Project budgets should include an element to cover finance charges and currency conversion charges.

- **An accountable contingency element should be put in all project budgets to provide funds for unforeseen extra costs so avoiding the School having to draw on other monies.**
- **In budgeting for core costs, an element for reserves should be included to allow the School over a number of years to accumulate a targeted amount.**

1.0 ABOUT THE SCHOOL

1.1 Mission

The School's mission is to help establish in Russia an open society based on the rule of law, with sound democratic institutions, respect for human rights, a commitment to a market economy and a strong civic responsibility.

1.2 Origins

The Moscow School of Political Studies was conceived by Dr Elena Nemirovskaya – a well known member of the Moscow intellectual community, in August 1991, at the time of the attempted coup. The concept had a great relevance in a period of uncertainty and political upheaval and the Council of Europe offered support.

The School was launched in January 1992 with the clear intention of fighting the old Soviet mind-set and awakening Russia's fledgling political leaders to democratic ideas and new ways of thinking and acting. Not the least of its goals was introducing these young reformers to each other and keeping them in touch. The School's motto is "DARE TO THINK".

The School co-operates closely with Russian and foreign organisations. On-going financial support comes from the Council of Europe and the European Commission, the Open Society Institute, the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the British-Russian Development Partnership, the US Agency for International Development, the TACIS Democracy Programme, the International Republican Institute, the Swedish International Development Agency and the Westminster Foundation for Democracy.

The School preserves its independence at all times. It establishes contacts with central, regional and city governments and with all political parties in Russia, but studiously avoids any involvement in party politics.

1.3 Aims

- To influence and inspire young Russian political and civic leaders, across the range of Russian politics, to contribute to Russia's democratic development.
- To introduce them to new concepts and new thinking in the fields of political, economic and social reform.
- To make foreign ideas and theories accessible in Russia and offer comparative experiences of political and social reform from other countries.
- To provide the skills needed to operate and develop democratic institutions, particularly communication skills.
- To identify and work with young, promising leaders from Russia's regions.

- To promote a decentralised democracy, encouraging pluralism and tolerance at a local level.
- To establish and maintain a network of its graduates across the Russian Federation.

2.0 OPERATING ENVIRONMENT AND MSPS'S RESPONSE

2.1 From 1993 To Date

During the first four years of the School's operation the backdrop was one of radical change in the country and political instability, of a debate between communism and anti-communism. Against this, the emphasis of the School's activities in the early days of the post-Soviet period was to consider what system should take the place of communism and which ideals should determine the future direction of the State. People focussed on the national level, the grand strategy and picture. The early seminars and activities reflected this with lectures and debate on the macro level and philosophy.

Gradually people became more cynical about the direction of the country and the effects of change and there was a real need to promote a wider understanding of how the ideals of democracy, freedom and market reforms translate into effective policies that affect everyday lives. From the acceptance of democratic ideas, the country now needs to move towards considering in detail their application. After a period of turmoil, there is a demand for stabilisation and focus on reality.

2.2 Current Environment

2.1 The School's early years were a period of radical change – and disorder - in Russia; of political instability and wild capitalism, and of an intense debate between communism and anti-communism. Against this, the School sought to evaluate the alternatives to Soviet-style government and communism and debate what should determine the future direction of the State. Participants tended to focus on the national scene, grand strategies and political philosophy.

More recently, there has been a real need to promote a wider understanding of how the ideals of democracy, freedom and market reforms translate into effective policies that affect everyday lives.

The balance of the School's programme has reflected this. Activities are presently concentrating on local self-government, federal-regional-local relations and more seminars on specific issues, such as the media, the accountability of government and practical social programmes.

But the School believes above all in the on-going need of striving to create independent minded people amongst the leaders of all sectors of Russian society. This is its vital role.

Democratic institutions exist in Russia, but what is their strength? Much has been achieved; more remains to be done. With a third of the country living below the poverty line many people perceive few material benefits from concepts of freedom and democracy, so the focus of attention is less on the building and sustaining of democratic institutions and values.

This has potential dangers for civil society and human rights. There are threats to the independence of the media, the judiciary, political parties and local self-government. Parliament is not operating as an effective check on the Executive. There is therefore a pressing need for the agenda of reform and liberalisation to maintain a momentum - moving Russia forward and preventing it slipping back into the old ways by offering a vision of the new. In turn, Russia's politicians require a new dimension – a greater willingness to communicate with and be accountable to the people.

Russia is at a threshold with pressure from many for turning back to the ways of social protection. With a third of the country living below the poverty line they have more interest in stability and protection than the concepts of freedom and democracy and do not perceive any material benefits from these. There is a need for those in favour of reform and liberalisation to contribute to the momentum of moving Russian society forward and preventing it slipping back into the old ways.

As the country goes through this period of stabilisation, less attention is being paid to the building and sustaining of democratic institutions and values from top to bottom in the country.

This has potential dangers for civil society and human rights. There are threats to the independence of the media, the judiciary, political parties and local self-government. Parliament is not operating as an effective check on the Executive. There is therefore a pressing need for the agenda of reform and liberalisation to maintain a momentum - moving Russia forward and preventing it slipping back into the old ways by offering a vision of the new.

There is a need to create more independence for the country's institutions of governance and civil society and more independent minded people amongst the leadership of all sectors of society.

Part of the problem is that it is felt that politicians and official leaders are not used to communicating effectively with the people they represent or govern. They do not yet see themselves as public property and do not realise the need for this to change, to have a greater willingness to communicate with, and be accountable to, the people.

2.3 Future Environment

The School recognises that its current phase of operation is set in the political environment leading to the forthcoming Parliamentary and Presidential elections. But the School has always re-assessed its development and programme priorities in the light of the changing political scene and its business plan aims to reflect this. The School will re-evaluate its priorities for the period of the second term up to 2008.

7.2.1 An important issue of great interest to the School is the relationship of Russia and Western Europe. It is recognised that this is an idea, particularly in the regions, which seriously splits public opinion. But the school believes it is important to stimulate an awareness of the need to bring Russian institutions and instruments of civil society up to the same democratic and transparent standards of those of Western Europe.

7.2.

MSPS is the first organisation pressing this agenda in Russia and it is a priority area for the School and because of links already developed it is well placed.

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The School sees that its current phase of operation is set against the political environment up to the next Presidential election in 2004. This is a period when the President is operating a cautious policy to ensure that he is re-elected. Should this happen, which currently seems likely, then the School's belief is that he will be more radical in pursuing reform and linking Russia with Europe. As he will have nothing to lose given that the constitution means he can only serve for two terms. To respond to this, the School will re-evaluate its priorities for the period of the second term up to 2008. The business plan aims to cover this period.

As democratic institutions will be largely established in Russia by 2004, educating the broad population in how those institutions work and how to use them will be an important area for the School to address in their programmes. This issue is similar to the one faced in the West (as evidenced by the first round of voting in France). There needs to be broader public involvement in the political process. This will require some innovation in the School's programmes. As it needs to get a wider range of young leaders, not just politicians, into the seminars, and a wider "popular" readership for the publications.

An important issue for the country which is of great interest to the School is the relationship of Russia and Western Europe and the general integration of Russia into the West, such as accession to the WTO. It is recognised that this is an idea, particularly in the regions, which seriously splits public opinion, but the School believes it is important to stimulate an awareness of the need to bring Russian institutions and instruments of civil society up to the same democratic and transparent standards of those of Western Europe. The School has a role to play in

exchanges of politicians and young leaders, not only for the Russians to understand the West, but also for people abroad to understand Russia better. This would also hint at the idea of the School linking up with academic institutions in the West.

2.4 The School's Response

The School's current activities reflect the changes in the environment in which it is operating. Activities are concentrating on local self-government, federal/regional/local relations, strengthening civil society and discussion of the delivery of policy. Instead of philosophical discussions, there is a concentration on the technical and practical as evidenced by the holding of more seminars on specific issues such as the media, the accountability of government and practical, social programmes. Participants look to be more participatory in debate rather than being the passive recipients of ideas.

The School believes above all in the on-going need of striving to create independent minded people amongst the leaders of all sectors of Russian society. This is its vital role.

The priorities of the School now are:

- ⚡ Achieve wider reach and deeper understanding of the School's ideas in Russia
- ⚡ Assure long-term financial stability of the School
- ⚡ Help create a pool of people who will pursue reform and strengthen their awareness of Europe. Expanding this pool will make it more difficult for policy to go backwards.
- ⚡ Encouraging politicians to do more to involve the people in what they do, to be more accountable and more prepared to explain actions taken and the benefits that will accrue.
- ⚡ Enforce in the minds of regional leaders the need to establish effective, democratic political life at the local level.

It will do this through:

Goal	Action	Long-term Targets
Broaden participation	More regional and issue-based Seminars	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increase regional seminars from 3 to 5 • Increase issue based seminars from 2 to 4 • Double number of new student places from 450 to 950
Deepen understanding of School's ideas through continuous education	Set up Advanced Courses	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2 new Seminars for graduates • Round-tables and European Seminars • Double number of advanced student places from 290 to 600 (inc AGM)
Create powerful shared-value network	Establish Alumni Association	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 30% Alumni and 80% graduates registered members • 180 people to Annual General Meeting • Link with Friends of School organisations
Disseminate the School's values	Mass media, publications, web-site	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pocket book series to increase to 2 titles/annum • Increase TV and radio coverage • Increase Web-site to 300 pages and on-line audio-visual facilities
Diversification of funding	Fund-raising, sponsorship, sustainability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More foundation and individual contributions • Sales of publications and seminar services to 20% of total budget
Strengthen School organisation	Management, training	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conduct skills assessment • 5 man/days per annum of training per member of staff
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3.0 THE IMPACT OF THE MOSCOW SCHOOL OF POLITICAL STUDIES

3.1 National and International Reputation

Over its relatively short life, the School has achieved a great deal. As a standard bearer of democratic thinking it has been a key player in winning the battle of ideas and consolidating civil society in Russia. It has grown to embrace students from all the regions of the Russian Federation

and some of the former Soviet states. It has steadily expanded in size and in the range of its activities.

Over this period, the School has gained remarkable influence in the Russian politics. *"After study at the School one is living no longer in a tunnel without a light but in a tunnel with glass walls"*, says Natalia Losevo, now an editor for the Izvestia newspaper's internet. There is no other institution like it.

Internationally it has also developed a high reputation amongst governments, institutions and sponsors. The Washington Post has praised MSPS's impact as the one Russian organisation that has *"worked very hard to find and advise potential provincial reformers"*.

It's reputation is measured by:

- ✎ The opinion of the students about the Seminar and the personal impact on their thinking. These inputs come from various surveys conducted during and after the Seminars. We also monitor opinions of the lecturers about the School and the students

- ✎ The career development of alumni - this indicates the degree to which democratic ideas are likely to be disseminated, and the influence of purveyors of democratic ideas on politics and society. The School sends out an annual questionnaire to students to gather information about career progression.

- ✎ Alumni contributions to democracy - the School monitors direct contributions to democracy by alumni: for instance the role played by an individual in pushing forward liberal legislation, During recent regional elections (2000-2001), about 80% of the regions have supported centrist and pro-reformist politics; this result has emerged directly from the regional branches of democratic parties, many of which are led by the School's graduates.

- ✎ Alumni setting up democratic bodies – round tables to promote democratic debate have been established in Russia's regions such as in Krasnodar and Altai. Some students have set up Schools modelled on MSPS in Bulgaria and Georgia.

- ✎ Reaching a wide community – disseminating its knowledge through political, administrative, community centres and universities, the School has created a unique Russia-wide network that comprises over 1,000 correspondents

- ✎ Bringing to Russian politics prominent international experts including former leaders of western countries and the heads of bodies such as the Council of Europe.

- ✎ In general, during recent regional elections (2000-2001), about 80% of the regions have supported centrist and pro-reformist politics; this result has emerged directly from the regional branches of democratic parties, many of which are led by the School's graduates.

- ✎ Press and media coverage - this demonstrates the interest in the School's programmes, and helps to disseminate the School's ideas to a broader audience.

- ✎ Publications and web-site readership. This is measured in terms of the number of web-site visits and the size of our publication readership list.

3.3 Growth of Activities

The amount and depth of the School's activities have also grown:

- The seminar programme has developed from two regional seminars in 1993 to conducting ten seminars in different Russian regions and EU-member states in 2001.

- The publications programme including the development of the web site is now just as important as the seminar programme allowing the School to broaden the range of its audience and impact.
- Two new organisations have been established; the Alumni Association, which is a separate legally, registered entity with a regional network numbering more than 5000 people and the Education Centre, which is supported by Russian money.

3.4 The Students

A crucial measurement of the School's success is the success of its students.

Much time is spent selecting the most appropriate people with backgrounds that will potentially lead to positions in Russian society that will enable them to apply the ideals that the School espouses. The Financial Times said they were "*Young, quick, alert, formidably educated*".

A professional survey was undertaken in September and October 2001 and from it a comprehensive list has been compiled of all current and previous students showing the years they attended the School, their region or city, their current and sometimes, their past, positions. The list of prominent and influential positions attained by graduates is already impressive. The School's graduates have brought with them new ways of governing and a new understanding of the effectiveness of democratic institutions.

Amongst these are the following:

- 22 graduates of the School are members of the Russian Federal Parliament.
- Many graduates are in senior administrative positions, including a Deputy Federal Minister for the Media, the Head of the Federal Treasury, a Presidential speech writer, a regional Commissioner for Human Right
- Over 90% of the School's participants who were members of regional legislatures and local councils have retained their positions In 2002 seven of our alumni were re-elected as regional MPs. Three of the School's alumni were elected to regional parliaments for the first time:
- At the local level, several graduates have been elected city and district councillors.
- The School has also contributed directly and indirectly to strengthening the effectiveness of democratic institutions. The School's graduates have taken important positions in newly created inter-regional democratic institutions (e.g. "Club 2015", "Co-ordinating Committee of Local Representative Bodies"). Links between the political-administrative elite and the public have become stronger and more effective at the local level; many of the School's graduates have come to politics and government from the public sector.
- Many non-governmental organisations are chaired by the School's graduates
- Several of the School graduates have achieved senior media position including the Editor in Chief of 'Izvestia another in charge of the same paper's web site, and a prize winning journalist from from "Novaya Gazeta" weekly.
- Among the alumni there are 11 members of national parliaments of East European and CIS countries. Many of the foreign participants held important positions in governmental and non-governmental institutions in their countries. In 2002 three Georgian alumni have taken up senior positions: one elected to be the chairman of the Republican Party of Georgia; one to become the head of economy department, Georgian State Chancellery and one appointed as the state minister (deputy Prime Minister) of Georgia.

3.5 Shortcomings

The School recognises the need for critical self-assessment. (points to follow)

- The most significant shortcoming in nine years is that the School has not generated any sustainable funding or established institutional fundraising to make itself financially independent. It is still being dependent on grant in aid.
- The School has already started to implement an ambitious programme of institutional development to increase the financial sustainability of the organisation. It has made a full analysis of the School's activity and a survey of the graduate network. Upon this base the School has begun its strategic planning for the period of 2001-2004.

3.6 Quality Control and Monitoring

✎ Feedback during Seminars: The seminars are usually attended by most of the permanent members of Staff of the School, and they make a point of speaking to as many participants as possible in order to receive feedback about the School. The inputs are written up as an end-of-seminar report which is circulated amongst the School's management team

✎ Questionnaire: At the beginning of the Seminar, the School distributes a questionnaire in which participants can evaluate the individual speakers and the quality of the discussion and other aspects of the Seminar

✎ External Audits: On occasions, the School invites an external, independent auditor to inspect the School and to make recommendations about improving the form and content of the programmes

Recommendation:

- **There should be a strategy for taking action on the results of the surveys of seminars.**
- **There should be six monthly follow ups of the surveys including a reminder of the existence of the alumni association**

4.0 THE PRODUCT

4.1 The Uniqueness of the School

The Moscow School of Political Studies is unique in that it is not a school (or college) in the normal sense. The School does not try to teach its participants the best way of doing things; its aim is to provoke thought and debate and encourage them to speak out; in effect a process of self-enlightenment.

The School considers that it has a product unique to Russia and probably many other countries. Its five main selling points are that it is:

- i. World Standard education: The only non-governmental organisation in Russia, which provides world standards of public education in social political sciences thanks to its ability to bring top level speakers from the top institutions all over the world.
- ii. Experience: The School has ten years of experience in successfully organising seminars, conferences and meetings throughout Russia and abroad. It has developed a top class logistical infrastructure, and is able to arrange top level events at a competitive cost.
- iii. New generation: The organisation deals specifically with educating a new generation of leader. The network of about 1,500 alumni stretches the breadth of the country and encompasses different fields of political life, business and media. These young people play important and increasingly influential roles in the social life of the country.

- iv. Regional scope: The School is the only organisation which works with nearly all Russia's Regions and CIS countries. Its network of contacts in the regions is unparalleled in other institutions in Russia.
- v. Broad reach: Through large scale activities in publishing and the internet the School is increasingly broadening its audience. Thanks to this and media coverage, the School is able to get its message across to a far wider audience than just those attending the seminars,

The School provides:

- An open forum of debate and interaction for young national, regional and local politicians, journalists and businessmen from every kind of background.
- A privileged opportunity for them to meet experts with a wide range of experience including senior specialists from other countries to discuss and weigh the merits of different ideas and experiences.
- A wider knowledge of what is happening in other parts of the Russian Federation.
- A growing library of political and academic publications, with over 50 volumes and selected lectures published so far and a rapidly developing web site.

4.2 Competitors

There is no obvious competitor in Russia in terms of undertaking the same activity and certainly not with the same recognition. The School appears to be unique; it has unrivalled international recognition with many overseas agencies approaching it for nominations for their programmes. It is regarded as the lead organisation for democratic development in Russia by bodies such as NATO.

However, it is recognised that no agency can monopolise this field. Although there may be no direct competitor in terms of activity, there is always very strong competition for funding sources whether governmental, charitable or corporate and therefore the School has to remain highly competitive in its product.

Similar organisations in other countries such as in Georgia and Bulgaria, only exist with Government support and are not independent.

5.0 MSPS ACTIVITIES

5.1 Seminars

The seminar programme is the brand leader of the School. Seminars are intended not to teach, but to enlighten the participants. Seminars the programmes of all seminars are designed to encourage independent thinking as well as fostering a democratic outlook and practice

Over ninety seminars have been organised since the opening of the school and some 5,000 "students", with an average age of 35, have attended - elected parliamentarians, members of regional legislatures, executives of regional governments, young businessmen and journalists from all over Russia. The School now usually conducts 12-15 seminars a year, in virtually all Russia's regions and in a variety of West European countries.

There are four main types of seminar:

- ✚ **Federal Seminars** entitled "Law, Politics, Economy and Mass Media" focus on issues of national relevance. The Federal course comprises two seminars (in May and July) at the Golitsyno conference centre outside Moscow, a seminar in an EU-country and a closing seminar in the Council of Europe (Strasbourg). This is the core programme of the School and

students have to attend three seminars. Every year, fifty students who have completed the core programme receive a diploma from the Council of Europe at the Strasbourg Seminar.

✎ **Regional seminars** consider issues such as the separation of powers, the local implementation of policies, federalism and local self-government. There are three Regional Seminars held annually in different Russian regions. These are organised jointly with the help of Alumni and regional or local authorities. Cities which have hosted regional seminars include St. Petersburg, Perm, Volgograd, Rostov, Novosibirsk, Irkutsk, Astrakhan, Kaliningrad and Barnaul. Each Regional Seminar has about 150 students, comprised of elected regional and city politicians, local officials such as city and regional press secretaries and journalists from the local region. For whom this is usually their first introduction to the School.

✎ **European seminars** focus on the theory and practice of regional government as practised in Western Europe, and the inter-relationship of local, national and international politics. Students are restricted to about 40, most of whom are graduates. So far regional councils in 11 different European countries have hosted such seminars.

✎ In 1999 the School launched a series of **issue-based seminars** directed at a wider audience. These are devoted to the analysis of concrete problems of topical interest to present-day Russia. Issue-based seminars have included "Corruption in Civil Society and Business ethics", "The Role of the Media" and "Issues of government accountability".

5.1.3 Format of Seminars

In the beginning some 30 people attended the seminars, currently the average figure is around 120-140. From the very beginning the seminars took the form of set piece lectures. There was then added the end of session round table discussion. This format has not really changed since and there is no intention to radically alter the structure in the future.

The School is not opposed to changes in format, especially the use of workshops and they have been tried. However, in its experience this only works when they are led by the speaker and when competent people can be designated as group leaders or rapporteurs. Also, the success of this format does depend on the participants as some are reticent to take part. It is seen that the workshop format is most applicable to specific issue seminars as opposed to the more general ones on federalism.

5.1.4 Participants

Those invited to the School each year are very carefully selected and screened. The emphasis is on those involved in political and social life in the regions.

About 60 % of the federal class participants are elected representatives (members of the State Duma, regional and municipal legislatures, heads of regional administrations, and city mayors).

Around 20 % are high-ranking executives of the State and municipal administrative bodies. The rest are prominent people from business, the media and NGOs. There are only a few people from the country's Executive branch of government. The School co-operates with all the political parties and movements represented in the Russian Parliament.

Most participants are identified by School graduates throughout the country and are invited in the first instance to a regional seminar. An increasing number, mostly thanks to the web site, are finding the School and expressing an interest. Currently about 10% of candidates are coming through this route.

About 250 resumes are collected from potential candidates from throughout Russia, and from other countries such as Armenia, Belarus, Bulgaria, Estonia, Georgia, Ukraine and Yugoslavia. These are passed to the School Selection Committee, who take up references and interview

candidates to select 100 participants to be invited to the first federal seminar. Selection committee members follow five main criteria:

- ✎ Age around 35
- ✎ Active involvement in social and political life
- ✎ Openness to discussion and debate
- ✎ A clear understanding of how the School could help in his/her activity
- ✎ Commitment and availability to attend full seminar programme
- ✎ Ability and willingness to pay internal travel costs (some help is given where a genuine lack of resources would otherwise prevent a suitable candidate from attending).

From those attending the first seminar, 70-75 of them are invited for the second seminar. The criteria for the selection are attendance of all the sessions and active participation in the discussions and openness to the new ideas and concepts

After the second seminar the School selects a final group of 55 persons to attend the autumn seminars in EU-countries and to receive diplomas in the Council of Europe.

Each year about 10-15 of the School's graduates are invited to the federal seminars in Golitsyno to ensure the continuity of the School's networking process and to pass on the traditions and style of the seminars' discussions.

5.1.5 Visiting Experts at Seminars

The School has attracted many eminent Russian and international speakers to its seminars. (see [appendix x](#) for a full list). Among them are leading politicians, members of parliaments, high-ranking officials, successful businessmen, well-known journalists and academicians from Russia, European countries and the USA. Amongst the most prominent have been

Helmut Schmidt (former Chancellor of Germany), Yegor Gaidar (former Prime minister of Russia), Lord Heseltine (former deputy Prime Minister of the UK), Grigory Yavlinsky (Leader of the Yabloko Party), Walter Schwimmer, (Secretary General of the Council of Europe), Richard Perle (Chairman of the Defense Policy Board of the USA), Baroness Williams (former Labour Cabinet Minister), Lord Dahrendorf (former Director of the London School of Economics), Professor Richard Neustadt (Harvard University), Andrey Illarionov (Economic Adviser to the President) and Mikhail Khodorkovsky (Chairman, Yukos Oil).

In 2001, over 100 Russian and foreign experts have contributed to the School's programme.

About 50% of the speakers at each annual programme seminars are regular presenters, but the other half are new. Speakers are sourced through:

- Using members of the Advisory Board
- Using the regular core of presenters
- Through overseas foundations and partners
- From observing them at other forums

The most successful speakers are often asked back.

5.1.6 Feedback

At the end of every seminar a feedback form is distributed for participants to complete. On the basis of their evaluation the School tries to improve its programme and selection process.

At each federal seminar there is a group discussion on the seminar itself allowing participants to discuss what they would like to see at the seminar and what they would like to change.

The most popular sessions are those on federalism, Russia in Europe, the market economy, social policy and social responsibility of business.

The less popular sessions tend to be those that are about foreign institutions. These can be of interest, but many are not seen as useful as they are not relevant to Russian practices or culture. Sometimes, such as with presentations on the use of the internet, they are not relevant to the current priorities of Russia or are not even understood.

Future Activity:-

The School plans to broaden its audience through creating more places on regional and issue-based seminars. Attempting to squeeze more people into the existing seminars would damage their interactive nature, so the only solution is to increase the number of seminars.

Regional seminars will help to reach parts of the country which we have not been to before. The issue-based seminars will be directed at those from public life who may not necessarily be elected politicians. A wider range of topics will be discussed such as social policy, law and the social responsibility of business, ethics and integrity in politics and business, public involvement in the political process, Russia-Europe relations. In due course, these courses could be offered on a non-subsidised basis to leading employees of commercial organisations, or could be tailor-made according to demand.

The feedback from seminars should be reflected in a list of topics for discussion at future seminars that should be prepared so as to avoid unpopular sessions being scheduled.

5.2 Publications

MSPS has sought a wider dispersal of its knowledge and ideals by creating a successful publications and information programme which is disseminated widely through its web-site and extensive networks. This includes books written by the School's speakers and Western books to which there has been little access in Russia; twenty-four have currently been printed.

There are five major elements of the publishing activity:

- *Obshchaya Tetrad'* - quarterly magazine for the regions.
- *Russia on Russia* - quarterly magazine in English.
- *Library of the MSPS* – book series authored by the School's experts.
- *Culture, Politics, Philosophy* – book series authored by prominent Russian and Western social thinkers .
- *MSPS Newsletter* – quarterly report on the School published in English and Russian.

5.2.1 Obshchaya Tetrad. (An Open Notebook) Published since 1995, it is the only analytical journal of its kind. It is a quarterly magazine for the regions seeking to bring ideas from Europe and the wider world to the attention of policy makers in the regions whilst also reporting on the regions. It commissions articles of analysis from leading figures who have spoken at the School. It is relevant to businesses, governments and NGOs.

The Foreign Publications section acquaints the Russian reader with leading political journals in the West. There are also regular reviews of literature on social and political matters published in the regions.

Among the authors of the magazine are well-known European, American and Russian experts including leading lawyers, ambassadors, political scientists, senior Government advisers and officials, philosophers, politicians and economists.

The journal has a print run of 1,000 distributed through the School's students and alumni and to universities and libraries. The journal is currently funded through grants from the European Commission and USAID with some sold on a subscription basis.

5.2.2. Russia on Russia

This English language quarterly publication was launched in 2000 with the aim of introducing new, Russia to the views of Western opinion formers to help to overcome the barrier of understanding about what are the main trends and developments in today's Russia. Each edition contains about ten articles on a theme from Russian and overseas experts and commentators on developments in Russian society relevant to the School's areas of interest.

In 2001 there were 3 issues:

- Corruption in Russia
- Administrative and State Reforms in Russia
- The Russian Economy Today

Articles from the publication have been syndicated in other publications including one in the Financial Times. The content is also now available on a CD-ROM and on the School's web site. So far three copies each have been sent to three London bookshops including Waterstones and Politicos and they have all been sold.

Some 700 of its print run of 1,000 are distributed directly to recipients around the world, although only a small number, about 50, of these currently pay the \$30 a year subscription. The current sponsor of the publication for 2002 is the Carnegie Corporation, It is intended to maintain the current print run. As this will never cover all the costs of publication, there is a need to attract more secure funding for the publication including through sponsorship from overseas bodies with an interest in Russia.

5.2.3 Book Publishing

The School also has two book publication programmes and aims to publish a book every month or month and a half. The School acts as its own publishing house, although this operates at a loss.

The first of the programmes, 'the Library of the Moscow School of Political Studies', comprises works by the School's experts, both Russian and foreign. As a rule, authors allow the School to publish their works free of charge. Since 1995, 24 volumes have come out as part of the Library:

The second series of books, " Culture, Politics and Philosophy ", was initiated in 2000. Unlike the Library series it includes classical works of relevance to modern Russia. The publication of this series was made possible by the support of Russian sponsors, who are the School's alumni.

Each title has two presentations with one being to the School itself through the author attending a seminar. The second is a new innovation in 2001 where the author presents the publication to the outside world through a launch at an appropriate venue such as a press club to which the press and relevant groups are invited. This allows for discussion to take place amongst those attending who include politicians, political scientists, journalists, and students of different Moscow universities.

Books are supported by donation although some income is gained from sales (how much ?) and these receipts are used to print more copies or go towards a future publication. Purchases may be made through the School's web site which contains an outline description of each title.

5.2.4. MSPS Newsletter

The School's quarterly Newsletter is published in Russian and English. This publication with a print run of 5,000 helps students, graduates, visiting experts and friends maintain and strengthen their mutual contacts and keep them posted on current events in the School's life.

It is paid for by a grant for a year at a time.

5.2.5 Booklets and Pocket Books

In co-operation with the Centre for European Reform, MSPS jointly published a series of brochures on European studies. There were 10 brochures in the programme which is now completed.

This has been replaced by a new pocket book edition which is set to attract a broader circulation. Three books have so far been published in this series which the School is undertaking on its own.

Future Activity:-

The publications will make a vital contribution to the spread of the School's values. Rather than increasing the number of publications, we will focus on increasing the readership through improved distribution, including commercial channels. The new pocket series on political culture will be developed and aimed at a wider circulation audience.

As far as possible publications should be self-financing through sales and advertisements and sponsorship so that resources can be increased.

Publications need to be professionally marketed and distributed.

There should be a questionnaire in all publications to get feedback from readership

Specific plans are for:

Obshchaya Tetrad - The aim is to use commercial agents to distribute the magazine to news stands and shops. The frequency should also be increased from 4 times a year to 6 times. In the future advertising should be sought so that resources can be increased to allow for a greater impact through improved design and content.

Russia on Russia - More articles should be syndicated to western newspapers and magazines as a means of promoting the School and its ideals and aims. Each edition should be more actively promoted through issuing a press release announcing the content. It is the intention to find a distributor so that more should be available through bookshops in the UK and also in the States. It would be helpful to have a base in the UK where MSPS staff could work to proof read the booklet and distribute it. The aim is to convert a larger number of recipients to be paying subscribers with a target of 20 to 30% by the end of 2005.

Books - Books should be launched to wider audiences and this should also present a sponsorship opportunity.

5.3 Web-Site (<http://www.msps.ru>)

The aim of the web-site is to increase the numbers of people exposed to the ideas and values propagated by the School through its seminar and publications programme. In addition, the site facilitates communication between alumni and with others. As a result it provides a unique forum that strengthens the School community. Alumni Association registration can be made on-line.

At the end of 2001 the School's website was completely re-developed and made three times larger. This allows for more information both about the seminars and the publishing programme as

well as creating a network among the School's participants and alumni. In the following two months, the site received more than 12,000 visitors making it the 90th most popular political web site in Russia which an achievement considering that the it is not providing political news or selling anything.

The site is updated every two days.

5.3.1 Content

There are two parts to the site, with the first all about the School itself. This includes

- Staff and location information
- News of forthcoming programmes
- Annual reports
- Details of all seminars held
- Lists of experts and participants of all the Seminars from 1993
- Library listing of all publications including providing a short resumes of every book, brochure and journal published by the School. More that ten books from the library are available for downloading, One book is available for reading on the site. All issues of the periodical journals '*Obschaya Tetrad*' in Russian only and '*Russia on Russia*' in English only are available for reading.
- Books are also available to buy, although because of the lack of credit cards in Russia, this has to be by phone or post.
- The plan is to put all the publications of the School in full on the web. Should this be realized the site would be one of the largest web-libraries on the Russian Internet.
- Details of the Alumni Association - registration can be made on-line The development of this section will depend on the Alumni Association,

A forum page to allow for on-line discussion.

The second part of the site contains a new web-project, a weekly bulletin, '*EuRussia*' in Russian only. This contains information on EU-Russia relations and civil society and democracy in Russia's regions. It is compiled though monitoring main European web-sites such as the Council of Europe, Russian regional web-sites and interviewing the School's experts and participants. This is emailed every week to more than 350 subscribers all over Russia. Each article is available for discussion through the on-line forum.

Also in this section;

- Information about the Web-Project
- A photo gallery with pictures from seminars
- A humour section with selected quotes from speakers
- A forum/comment page which receives input once or twice a day

The use of the web site will go hand in hand with the development of internet access in the country. This currently stands at about 5% of the population and is concentrated in Moscow and St Petersburg.

Future Activity:-

The web-site will continue to become more interactive: the current comments page should eventually transform into a sort of "Democracy Help-Desk" with the facility to send questions, and a place for all the regions of Russia to exchange "best-practices". A longer-term plan is for the web-site to enable visitors to download all of the School's publications and give access to an audio-archive of selected seminars. The ultimate goal is that all the Federal seminars will be transmitted live, on-line and that question and answer sessions

with experts will be held also on-line. These will be held first at seminars but special sessions could be held at other times.

Other developments to be pursued are:

- Receive feedback to publications and send this to authors
- Use of advertisements and sponsorship
- but the private section open only for Members of the Association is planned for the near future.

5.4 Alumni Association

The School has always worked with its graduates to provide new ideas and materials on a regular basis, to assess the needs of particular regions, and to recruit new participants. This arrangement though was formalised when The Alumni Association of the Moscow School of Political Studies was launched on 8th December 2001.

It came about both because of the large pool of support that has been created over the years and can be tapped to support the School, and also through the continued dependency on the School by many graduates and their wish for continued links.

The overall mission of the Association is to maintain contacts and to develop further the network of the School's 5,000 Alumni of young regional political leaders, journalists and businessmen and over time help provide funds and support for the School. Anyone who has been through any of the School's Seminars may join the Association.

At the inaugural meeting, a Declaration was adopted which proclaimed the principles and goals of the institution. A co-ordinating committee, the executive body of the Association, was elected. The Association defines itself as an autonomous NGO, acting under the patronage of the School. The outline plan is for -

- A three day general meeting of the Association once a year. About a third of the most active members will be invited. There will be discussion of questions about the organisation and development of the Association. There will also be a prominent speaker. In 2002 this will be George Soros. This key note speech will be published and distributed to all members of the Association and to the regional network.
- Alumni will be asked to help identify both future students and topics for the School's seminars, and assist with the planning and organisation of regional seminars, issue-based seminars and the distribution of the School's publications. They will also provide links into the local media to support the dissemination of the School's ideas.
- Holding of regular (approximately once a month) short-format working groups with participation by 8-10 alumni from various regions of the country.
- Regular updating of information about the members held on a database
- A support service not just for the School but for regional administrations and political institutions seeking to implement reformist policies and structures.

Parallel to the inaugural meeting of the Alumni Association, a new section 'Alumni Association' opened on the web-site. This section contains a list of Members, the Declaration, programme and other features as well as the opportunity for former students to register on-line.

Future Activity:-

It is the intention to strengthen further the Association, as a major tool of the realisation of the School's mission.

The School needs to agree concrete targets for signing up members.

The Association should in time become a support service not just for the Alumni, but a resource for regional administrations and political institutions seeking to implement reformist policies. It should also become a useful regional network to support corporate friends interested in developing their business in the regions.

The School will use the alumni base for fundraising directly or indirectly through its members appealing for corporate donations. This resource will be developed as the School increases its fundraising expertise. The Alumni Association will be used as a networking device to help sponsors and donors develop their presence in the regions.

5.5 Post Education Centre

A new innovation for 2002, the Post Education Centre will seek to invite the most promising graduates on a very selective basis to attend an advanced course. The aim will be to promote the idea of continuous education and a deeper understanding of the theory and practice of public policy.

The course will consist of interactive workshops where the postgraduates will work with experts through tutorial sessions rather than lectures.

To be revised following the new arrangement with Khorokovsky

Future Activity:-

The aim is to hold two seminars in 2002 in Russia, focussing on specific issues relevant to the political, social and economic development of Russia to be explored in depth. The European Seminars will also be included in the course offering.

5.6 Commercial Activity

It is a long term aspiration of the school to create a small political bookshop in Moscow which would also be a library and a coffee shop. This would be something akin to the Politicos Bookshop in London and it is hoped that this may be possible in three to four years. As well as improving access to the Schools publications, it would provide an outlet for other publications from Russia and the west as well as providing a source of income.

5.7 Media Coverage

The School has always worked closely with both Russian and foreign journalists. Every year the School's seminars include journalists both as participants and as experts. Journalists have returned the interest as well, and many articles about the School have appeared in Russia and abroad.

When the School visits a region, it is almost always featured in extensive television broadcasts and documentaries. In some cases, the seminars have been broadcast live; in other cases, local television has interviewed experts and participants. This is one of the School's most effective methods of communicating its ideas to a broader audience, as well as building its reputation.

There will be more work on using press coverage in Russian and foreign newspapers and syndicated articles from the School's publications as a means of promoting the School.

5.7.1 Media Comment

Examples of press quotes about the School:

"When describing the School's initial impact, we emphasized the creation of a democratic spirit among young parliamentarians, officials, businessmen and journalists" ("International Herald Tribune").

"...Young, quick, alert, formidably educated, the students on this week course are all active in politics" ("Financial Times").

There are also Russian organisations that have worked very hard to find and advise potential provincial reformers..." ("Washington Post").

In January 2002 a full page feature on the School was published by Izvestia

Future Activity

The School aims to continue raising its profile in the press and the mass media by engaging in concerted public relations activities. The main aim will be to increase awareness of democracy amongst a broader audience. High media interest can also help to attract sponsorship and further funding.

The School's press coverage is already very strong, especially in the regional press, but in order to maximise impact, it will be important to gain more TV and radio coverage. Talks are taking place for MSPS to have six television slots on three national stations. These programmes would be at a minimal cost and control of the content would lie with the School. Assistance would be provided by the professional staff of the stations although the School recognises that it would benefit from input from television and communication experts in Russia and overseas. It is considered that this would present a sponsorship and advertising opportunity of very good value to commercial organisations.

A forward plan of activities until 2008 is in [appendix x](#)

6.0 GOVERNANCE STRUCTURE OF THE SCHOOL

The Moscow School of Political Studies is an independent, non-governmental, not-for-profit organisation. The School is registered under the laws of Russia and the legislation of the city of Moscow.

The School is governed by an international Advisory Board, the Chairman of which is Sir Rodric Braithwaite, the British Ambassador to the Soviet Union and to Russia 1989 to 1992. It has a small dedicated staff of eight and an Expert Advisory Council is responsible for supervision and advice on the speaking programme. Full details of Board and Council membership are in [appendix x](#).

There is a need to review the governance structure of the School to allow for a greater degree of accountability of the operation of the School both to the Board and to donors. The review could examine the option of a management board which would meet more often than the current Advisory Board, perhaps every two months. This would be composed of perhaps half Russian members and half people from Europe and the States. Its role would be to receive financing and activity reports and agree on the implementation of the School's strategy. It would not be involved with day to day running of the School.

An overall Advisory Board of independent directors could be reformed to include donor representatives as non-executive members so ensuring that donors could not seek to directly control the School's operations and philosophy.

A paper outlining options should be prepared by the current Board for discussion.

7.0 ADMINISTRATION OF THE SCHOOL

7.1 The Staff

Its small full time staff team work under the Direction of Lena Nemirovskaya.

Elena NEMIROVSKAYA	Founder and Director
Yury SENOKOSSOV	Publishing Director
Alexander SHMELEV	Programme Manager
Svetlana RADKEVICH	Organiser and Financial Manager
Marina TONKIKH	Assistant to Programme Manager
Marina MATVEEVA	Accountant
Peter TRENIN-STRAUSSOV	Web-site Administrator

To be supplied – an organagram of the School's office

The Director is the driving force and there is a need for more staff development to enable the staff to better support her and take on more responsibility.

7.2 Staff Development

The School has grown very quickly over the past few years, often in a quite intuitive way.

Lack of resources has meant that there has been no formal staff development programme. For example Marina, the accountant, and also Sveta should have accountancy training including in financial reporting and the preparation of management budgets.

A size and complexity have now been reached where professional management methods need to be introduced, both in internal management, financial control and fund-raising. As well as developing existing staff, consideration needs to be given to recruitment needs as the School grows as planned.

One of the School's donors has helped the School management team to create a proper business plan and strategy. The next step is to ensure that staff are properly trained for the tasks they are expected to perform.

A training programme should be put together outlining these needs and to allow for this to be planned and financed. The priorities for this are:

- Database management
- Financial budgeting
- Financial reporting

It is suggested that there is a need for a Chief Officer with management training. The roles, level of experience and qualification that may be required and the cost of extra staff need to be planned.

7.3 Location

The staff currently work out of fairly cramped accommodation in central Moscow. Although just about adequate now, should the School be successful in growing the organisation's activities as planned there will be a need to move or to take another room in the current building and this should be catered for in its projections.

7.4 Equipment

The office is well equipped with modern computers, printers, a fax and continuous on line modem. There does appear to be an inventory of these assets and there is a need to prepare a depreciation table to calculate the provision for this in the accounts so that allowance is made in

the budget for loss of value and provision is made for the cost of replacement and for extra machines as they become necessary.

8.0 RECORD KEEPING

Record keeping is beginning to be systemised although there needs to more development before the data is able to be used to its full potential, including for fund raising purposes.

8.1 Students

Thanks to a survey exercise in September and October 2001 funded by DFID, a comprehensive list has been compiled of all current and previous students showing the years they attended the School, their region or city, their current and sometimes, their past, positions.

This does not include any contact details such as addresses, telephone numbers. The records are now in Access but there is a great deal of inputting to be done.

The records do not include participants of regional seminars as apparently no central records have been kept of these. Some could be retrieved by contacting the School's alumni and supporters in the regions who have helped to find participants. In future names will be kept.

It is suggested that:

- A registration form is prepared for all seminars asking for full contact details including e-mail where available.**
- This information and all other records are entered onto a database programme.**
- This needs to include fields indication year/s of attendance, whether a member of the alumni association, location, category of position.**
- A form is included in the School's newsletter asking for notification of change of contact or position details and urging recipients to fax or post this back to MSPS**
- A similar form is placed on the School's website.**
- A comprehensive circulation to update records is held every two or three years**
- Training is provided in the use of Access.**

8.2 Experts

A list exists of all the experts who have visited the School and contributed to its programmes. Although this indicates the years that they have attended the School, it appears not to be up to date in terms of the positions currently held or for contact details. The list is also MS Word based.

It is recommended that:

- An update form is sent to all experts.**
- All information is entered on in database format**
- Fields need to include country, year/s of attendance, category of position, subject specialisation,**
- Given that most of the experts will be on e-mail, they should receive the newsletter and other communications electronically**

8.3 Friends of the School

No comprehensive list of the School's friends exists. This needs to be compiled and the people involved asked to supply contact details and up to date positions. As many friends will have e-mail, they should receive the newsletter electronically. The structure of the database will be similar to that for the experts.

Recommendation:

A comprehensive list of the School's friends should be compiled.

9.0 FINANCE

As funding is currently all directly related to grants received from donors, so accounting processes are likewise all related to each of these cash streams. There is no central accounting or any form of consolidated accounts. The funding for the office's administration is also accounted for by a grant, from the Soros Foundation. There is no structured budgeting for the School's overall needs and no long, medium or even short term financial planning. Everything is geared around specific projects and many of these may only be for a year.

Each project is carefully budgeted for, but each in complete isolation from each other and also from central core costs. There is no apportionment of these costs to project work.

Accounting practices are rudimentary and knowledge is lacking of even basic historic or management accounting techniques as is freely acknowledged by staff. There is though a keen willingness to learn to be more financially sophisticated, to be able to plan ahead and to be financially more secure and self sustaining.

9.1 Expenditure

To date, there has been no separate identification of fixed and variable costs, indeed there is not an understanding of these. These costs need now to be identified and the costs estimated.

9.1.1 Fixed Costs

Currently there is no separate identification of fixed costs, i.e. those that are incurred centrally and are not directly related to any individual project. They support the operation of the MSPS office. They should cover the core operations including:

- Administration
- Accounting
- Marketing
- Staff development
- Planning programmes

Currently a budget for the running costs of the office is put together in August/September and firmed up in October for submission to the Soros Foundation. All the office costs are set according to the money available as opposed to the need. It would also seem that central costs incurred on project work are not being charged as they should be which will not help the organisation's position as this means that resources to provide for core activities are subsidising projects. This leaves no scope for reserves to be developed, which are important when sums are required to be paid in advance as often happens and no scope for development of staff and the organisation. It also leaves no scope for planning for more than the current year.

To become more financially sustained, the School needs to have a budget over a number of years to plan for growth and also to build reserves to prevent it incurring finance charges from advance payments and to be able to cope with all exigencies. Through more accurate budgeting for projects, more resources will be freed for the core activities of staff development, planning growth and marketing.

Recommendations:

- Fixed costs need to be determined for the current financial year which ends on 31st December.**
- They need to be estimated for the next six years allowing for the growth that the School plans in its activities and the burden this will throw on the core administration.**

- ❑ **Any aspect of central costs that is incurred through directly supporting a project should be apportioned to that project and included in its budget. This might include laser printing costs for letters, programmes and briefings, telephone charges and staff time spent on a project.**
- ❑ **The element of fixed costs that will be recouped in this way should be accounted for in the forward budgets.**
- ❑ **In budgeting for fixed costs, the School needs to include an element for reserves.**

9.1.2 Variable Costs

Similarly, those costs that are directly related to the running of a project or the provision of a service need to separately identified and accurately budgeted for

Recommendations

- ❑ **It is important that the school costs its activities accurately as it has no reserves to draw on if expenditure exceeds income on projects and if the funding for core costs is to be sufficient to allow for organisational development.**
- ❑ **The school needs to prepare realistic and comprehensive budgets for each type of its activity so that it may prepare budgets for future needs.**
- ❑ **The budgets should meet the activities outlined in the future plan covering the next six years**
- ❑ **Account should be taken of possible higher prices in future years.**

As MSPS moves to bidding to run management projects for agencies, it is vital that its budgets are accurate and include all the appropriate costs involved otherwise it will find itself being awarded contracts on an unsustainable basis.

9.1.3 Purchasing

For major equipment purchases the School has technical advisers who suggest what is required and what is the best value purchase. Apart from venues, refreshments and travel costs, a significant outlay is the hire of interpreters and equipment for seminars. Here the School has a long-term arrangement with a supplier and as a result benefits from a discount and also the company involved has invested in new equipment solely for the School's needs.

There would appear to be no purchase order book as such although an invoice is always obtained before payment is made and documentation supports every entry in the cash book where all payments are lodged.

There is recognition that costs need to be tightly controlled and this could be more systematic such as through using information entered in tables and depicted in graph form to illustrate trends.

9.2 Income

The Director considers that she spends about 85% of her time on fundraising. Such an obvious drain on time and effort is debilitating and detracting from work to strengthen and grow the organisation. Funding needs to be on a more secure, long term basis with the emphasis on core funding.

In assessing income needs for the future, both project and general income should be included in the budget. This will allow the School to see what surplus may exist through, and at the end of, the year which will be available to be transferred to reserves.

9.2.1 Past and Current Sources of Income

The list of previous income sources with details of amounts provided and when is in [appendix x](#). Detail of all income projected for the current and those promised for subsequent years together with [an outline of the terms and conditions attached to each funding stream \(what the money is for and restrictions on how it can be spent\) and the flow of cash \(when tranches are due\)](#), are in [appendix x](#).

In 2001 the School began to receive donations from some of its Alumni. This provided for the publication of a special series of books, entitled "Politics, Philosophy, Culture".

9.2.2 Fundraising Activity

The School today depends on Government funding. The strategy for the next year will be to concentrate on increasing the funding from Foundations, and preparing the way for a commercialisation of some of the School's services, and attracting corporate sponsorship. In-kind donations, such as academic or education exchanges should be encouraged, but on a profitable basis. The current basic sources of funding are:

Government funding

- 2002 level: 57% of total income
- Current donors: CofE, DFID, USAID, Sweden
- Trend: Decreasing (DFID pulling out)
- Challenges: EU involvement, hold USAID
- New targets: Dutch Government
- Actions: Build allies in EU Commission

Foundations

- 2002 level: 25% of income
- Current donors: Carnegie, Soros
- Trend: Holding steady
- Challenges: Extend Carnegie, Soros
- New Targets: McArthur, Mott, Hewlett, BAT, Rothschild, Rausing
- Actions: Dual approach

Strategic Alliances

- 2002 level: 18% of income
- Current donors: in-kind seminars (eg Spain, Italy)
- Trend: Increasing
- Challenges: Structure relations profitably
- New targets: Yukos, Geneva, Ditchley, LSE, Kennedy
- Actions: Build profitable partnerships with local governments, academic institutions

Commercial activities

- 2002 level: 0%
- Trend: None
- Challenges: Broaden scope and audience, Cost structure, Marketing, Management
- New targets: Ikea, Citibank, Alfa-Bank, Wimm-Bill-Dann, conference organisers, publishing houses
- Actions: New issue-based seminars, regional links, develop role of Alumni Association in part as a networking organisation for Western business

A report needs to be prepared on what approaches have proved to be successful in the past and which not successful.

The main priority of the School will be to devote more effort to fund-raising in order to create a reserve fund and eventually an endowment. Thanks to two of its donors, it now has fund-raisers in UK and US and a new International Secretary to the Advisory Board who will help coordinate fund-raising activities of the Advisory Board members.

The goals of these fundraisers are to:

- Create and maintain links with Western individual benefactors, foundations, and business corporations
- Sourcing money for stable core funding
- Maintain a database of actual and potential funding sources for MSPS in the West
- Establish a club, "Friends of the Moscow School" in the United Kingdom and in the United States

In order to diversify its sources of revenue, the School will be exploring a wide range of opportunities. The funding "in kind" of Regional Seminars by Western and Russian local authorities has proved to be extremely successful and can be developed further. Similarly, issue-based seminars should in due course attract corporate sponsorship. In order to achieve this, the Russian and international business communities will be involved in the School's activities through the seminars and the Alumni Association.

In the longer-term, the School will be aiming to commercialise some of its services. Some of the publications could generate revenue through commercial sales, and some educational services could be made accessible to fee-paying participants. Further revenue could be generated in the long term by the political bookshop and café idea. The School however insists on safeguarding its fundamental values: the overall aim will not be to become a commercial organisation, but to use commercial activities to achieve the political and social goals.

9.2.3 Recommendations

- **Students could be asked to contribute to their seminar accommodation**
- **Sell publications**
- **Sell places on Seminars**
- **Provide tailor-made programmes for corporations or governments**
- **Arrange academic programmes on a profitable basis**
- **Your points in 13.2**
- **Long-term creation of endowment**
- **The appointment of a Manager for the Alumni Association and a Moscow-based fund-raiser.**

10.0 BUDGETS

Budgets are needed for MSPS to plan ahead. This will particularly become important as it seeks to raise general funding for the organisation rather than just project funding.

As stated above, it is important that each project is accurately budgeted for including apportioning elements of fixed costs (such as salaries, machinery use etc) that are attributable to the project.

Whilst MSPS will need a budget for separate projects for which it seeks dedicated funding, it should also seek to prepare an overall operating budget for the organisations. This will enable it to ascertain the resources it needs to sustain and develop MSPS over the period of the business plan.

Attached in **appendix x** is an overall operating budget for every year from 2002 to 2008 inclusive. This includes all fixed and variable costs as well as a capital expenditure forecast indicating what will be required to spend on new equipment. From this the requirement for income can be determined.

This is based on the six year programme budget and pro forma budgets for the following defined projects in appendix x

- Federal Seminar
- Regional seminar
- Book publication and launch
- Russia on Russia
- 'Obschaya Tetrad

11.0 CASH FLOW

Cash-flow is an important issue due the project-based nature of funds from governmental donors, the lack of a reserve fund, and the need to pay for services in advance.

Greater attention needs to be paid to cash flow planning including the preparation of a centralised cash flow forecast to ensure that the timing of money being received does not present any problems in terms of meeting obligations for payment.

It will also show when there is some spare money which may be allocated to reserves if it is not likely to be needed. It will also allow determination of when there is enough cash to invest in new machinery or possibly even to pay someone extra to work part or full time.

Currently there is no overall cash flow forecast. Each project is separately monitored and with many there are problems with income flows not being commensurate with expenditure leading to extra bank costs and difficulties.

A cash flow forecast for the next two years matching income streams against expenditure requirements, is in **appendix x**.

12.0 FINANCIAL RECORDS

12.1 Income and Expenditure Accounts and Balance Sheets

There are currently no end of year accounts prepared. Expenditure logged against income from grants is well documented and supported by documentation and this is submitted to the funding organisation showing in detail how their money has been spent, but there is overall historical financial record for the School for any one year. Indeed, it would seem that the staff are unfamiliar with the concept of balance sheets.

Accounting staff from the School need to be trained to produce an overall income and expenditure account and a balance sheet.

12.2 Auditing

On completion of each grant aided project final accounts are prepared and these have to be audited by a Ministry of Finance licensed auditing firm. The depth of inspection is decided by the auditor.

13.0 FINANCIAL STABILITY

13.1 Financial Risks

In its operations the School faces a number of financial risks including:

- When payment is received from overseas agencies in dollars this has to be converted at the bank into roubles. The time taken from the invoice being sent by MSPS to the agency and this conversion taking place may be two or more weeks and in that time the rouble may devalue as has happened and therefore the School receives less money than is due.
- Account needs to be taken of inflation in labour and service costs
- Three times in the School's existence there has been a banking or economic crises and the School has not been able to get at its funds in the bank or has suffered from devaluation of the currency.
- With some agencies, most notably the European Commission, there is a problem with late payment of grant. In one case a payment from the EC was nine months late. This causes a major problem when all payments to suppliers have to be made either in advance or very promptly.
- Advance payments, either in full or in part, have to be made for some facilities such as the use of Golitsyno and yet no payment is received until after the event or later. This means the School having to incur financing charges.

To avoid financing charges in most cases and to provide some financial security to the School there is a need to introduce more accurate budgeting and build up a reserve. The issue of receivables needs to be dealt with more professionally by the School. with a proper process between the School and its donors being established.

13.2 Improving Financial Stability

There is a need to build up the core funding of the School. The priority must be for any general finding received, such as from corporate, alumni or other individual sources to be used for central funding purposes and not to be used for activities.

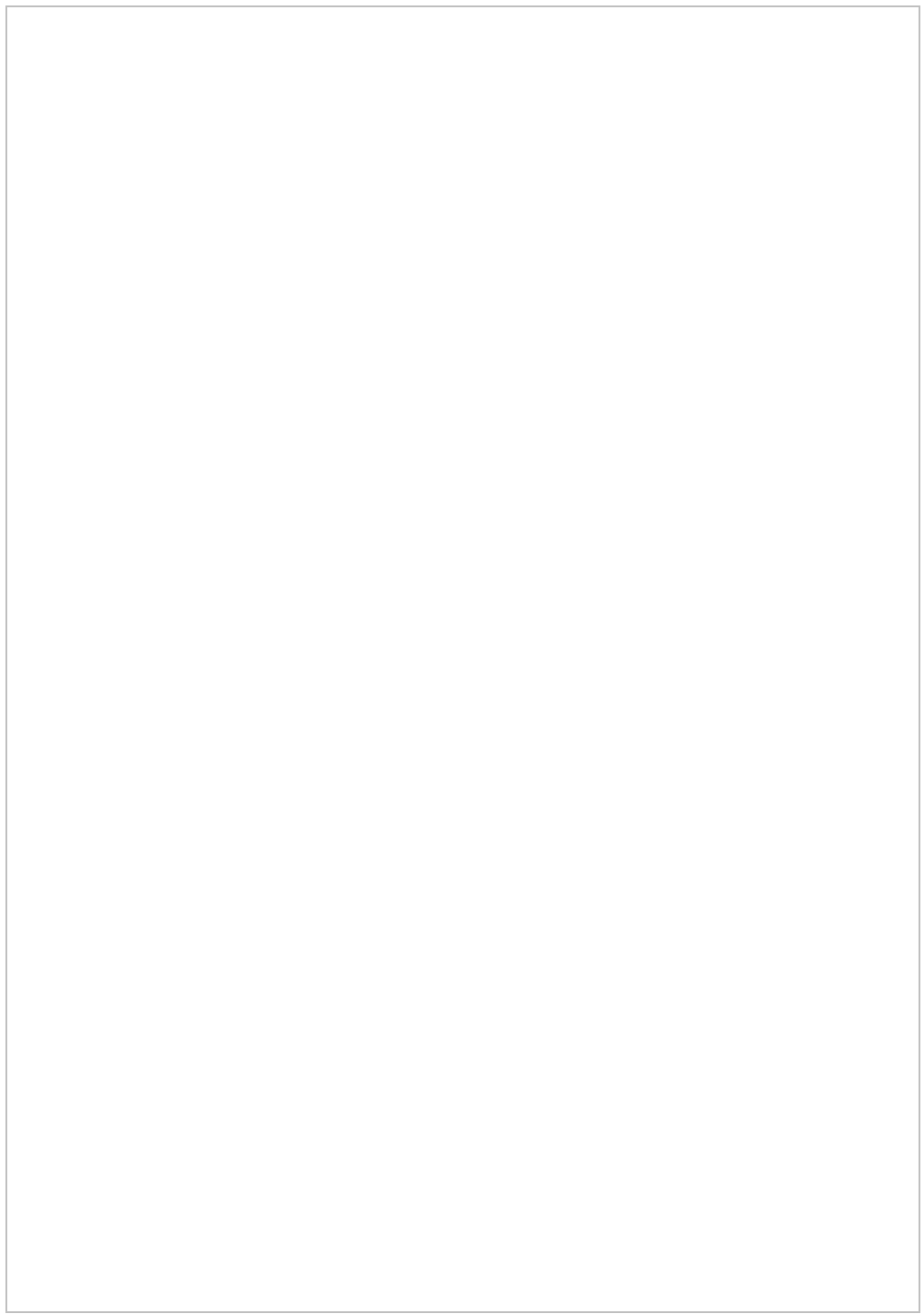
To put the School on more secure financial footing, the following steps should be taken:

- **Some agencies may allow the organisation to retain any sums not spent on a project and these should be channelled into the central funds. This may particularly be the case where a fixed sum is paid and the School manages to reduce costs to below this figure. A timetable and action plan for this sort of discussion to take place needs to be prepared**
- **Project budgets should include all elements of office and staff costs attributable to the project.**
- **Project budgets should include an element to cover finance charges and currency conversion charges.**
- **An accountable contingency element should be put in all project budgets to provide funds for unforeseen extra costs so avoiding the School having to draw on other monies.**
- **In budgeting for core costs, an element for reserves should be included to allow the School over a number of years to accumulate a targeted amount.**

14.0 TIMETABLE

To be prepared in consultation with the School.

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Annex 8: Overall Objectives

The overall objective of the School's activities is to "strengthen democratic culture and effectiveness of democratic institutions in Russia through civic education and enlightenment of young political and public leaders." According to the School, the extent to which this goal is achieved can be measured by the *extent to which democratic institutions in the regions develop in line with European standards to be observed by a member state of the Council of Europe*. It suggests that various Council of Europe reports and regional press articles can serve as a source of verification.

The evaluators did not find the indicators or suggested sources of verification workable. The Council of Europe reports referred to do not provide sufficient detail about regional institutions to be able to ascertain whether they are developing in line with European standards. Even if these reports were much more detailed, Russia's regions vary enormously one from the other so a generalisation could not be made in any case. Furthermore, it is absolutely impossible to say whether and to what extent the School's activities influenced the democratisation of these regional institutions as numerous social, political, economic and other factors are at play.

The project purpose is to "promote understanding of the concepts of democracy, human rights, rule of law, federalism, local self-government and civil society amongst young Russian leaders and help them to develop their personal political skills in these areas." The School suggested that the **quality of debates at the School's seminars and application of new skills during role play sessions** allowed success in achieving the goal to be measured, stating reports from speakers and mission reports of the Council of Europe secretariat and feedback from role play sessions as the means of verification.

Project purpose

The evaluators found these indicators reasonably workable. Although assessing the quality of a debate allows plenty of room for subjective opinion, it is not impossible to measure. The Council of Europe reports reviewed by the evaluators do indeed give an indication of the quality of debates at various seminars over the years. With respect to the role plays, the evaluators believe there is a mix-up in terminology. The School obviously means work in groups, which happens daily during seminars, and not role play, which we observed only once over the course of a whole seminar. The group-working sessions do allow participants to apply their new political skills, although certain improvements could be made here.

In the opinion of the evaluators, the School has a mixed record with respect to this indicator. Whereas the quality of debate was generally good, the evaluators are concerned that participants and alumni have a much better understanding of certain concepts that the School promotes than of others.

Expected results according to grant application

In particular, we found that while terms related to local self-government and federalism did not cause difficulties for participants, few were able to come even close to giving a satisfactory explanation of what the term civil society means.

The School has listed **5 results** that it expects to achieve during the programme phase and possible indicators to measure whether these results are achieved. The indicators listed in the log-frame matrix attached to the grant application are of very poor quality and have unclear formulations, and the expected results do not match. The listed of expected results in the project documents include reference to how the School intends to measure its results, rather than the results themselves. We have listed here the expected results as formulated in the log-frame matrix and have tried to identify possible indicators that the School has listed in the grant application, including the Expected Result section. We can conclude that the School does measure its own achievements through self-evaluation, but this appears clearly neither in the grant application nor in the reports submitted by the School. The highlights in bold indicate reference to the indicators and results stated by the School:

Result 1: “Young regional leaders introduced to democratic values, sharing principles and values of civil society, rule of law and human rights.” It is obvious that participants are introduced to the above-mentioned terms and **feedback of participants** collected by the School staff during and after the seminar indicates the interest in further studies. Participants and alumni interviewed referred to the importance of School publications, which encouraged many participants to read more related material after the seminars. However as we have mentioned in the discussion of the Project Purpose, the participants must be able to use concepts correctly. Hence the use of ‘introduction’ to the terms does not does not indicate an adequate result.

The School also presupposes that **“stabilising of the functions of democratic institutions at national and local level”** would allow the understanding of the values promoted by the School to be measured. This, however, relates to overall objectives and our conclusions mentioned above.

“Support given to the NGO sector, so that it is better organised to contribute to political and social decision-making process” could be a workable indicator. There are a number of examples where participants from NGOs are implementing new initiatives and have been able to survive the pressure from local governing institutions, due to the network created by the School, and sharing the same values.



A stronger NGO sector does contribute to the openness and accountability of state structures and if the School can contribute to sustaining and inspiring the work of NGO representatives, even in small numbers, it can be measured. The evaluators make this assessment based only on the examples gathered during interviews and provided by DfID. It is suggested that the School follow up the NGO activities through relevant links on the website, maintaining databases and also increasing the number of participants both from the human rights community and from other regionally active NGOs.

Finally, **“increase in number of people in regional administration and legislature who are more aware of modern democratic principles and values, and gain in experience and professionalism”** is measured through the database and information on the career developments of participants. Each year 500 participants go through the basic programme of regional, federal and Strasbourg seminars and 80% of these people are taking decision-making positions in their respective legislative or administrative bodies. However, numbers alone are not the decisive element; the level of understanding by all participants of these common values is also key.

1. **“Young regional leaders introduced to modern political and social development in the EU and CoE countries establishing relations between Russian regions and EU/CoE countries;” and**
2. **“Information about contemporary politics and EU development disseminated among public spheres and political circles in the regions of Russia”.**

The indicators for these results will be reviewed together. The log-frame indicator not is formulated very clearly. We understand the means of verification to suggest that an increase of subscriptions to MSPS publications and new entries on distribution lists could mean the increase in information distributed to the regions. This can indeed be measured. Yet this alone does not provide enough information on what the target group knows and whether any relationships with respective partners in European countries are established.

Links between the EU and Russian regions established through participants can serve to evaluate the success of the school. Each year, the school organises two visits to local governments in EU member states within this grant programme, while other possibilities for exchange are available in bilateral agreements with EU member state donor organisations. This process gives first hand experience of the functioning of the EU system and national specifics. However, the evaluators do not have any precise data on how many continuing bilateral relationships have been established during such visits.

In the 2003 class, however, one participant is working directly with strengthening ties between Swedish and Russian cities. Examples like these could be one of the sources of verification.

Better understanding of ongoing processes in Russian regions by EU member states can be linked to bilateral ties between various regions in the EU and Russia. The number of partnerships may indicate an understanding between partners. Here, the *Russia on Russia* magazine could also provide useful information; the number of recipients of this magazine could imply development of understanding within the EU about Russia.

3. Networking between MSPS alumni; and

4. Membership of Alumni Association doubled.

Alumni Association records would provide information on both the attendance of the formal meetings and payment of membership fees. This data would provide information on the formal membership of the Alumni Association. Evaluators observed very strong networking develop during the seminar and are of opinion that the Alumni Association is an effort to formalise the existing ties. More active alumni participation in providing and collecting data on new initiatives by alumni, follow-up in individual career moves and local networking initiatives would contribute to a clearer statement on success.

Suggested examples for developing indicators

Considering the overall goals of the School and the results it can present for evaluating its success in achieving these goals, we see three areas that should be covered by indicators:

- **Dissemination of knowledge,**
- **Understanding of values**
- **Creation of strong networks**



The School's seminars, publications, website and other activities each contribute to these three areas. We therefore suggest indicators for each of these activities. The indicators the School included in the current proposal can be found in *italics*.

Theme	Indicators	Means of verification
Dissemination of knowledge		
Publications	Number of publications distributed across Russia and availability to the public	Annual report, distribution lists, webmaster reports
	High quality of publications	Feedback from readers, references to MSPS publications in media and other sources
Website	Number of visitors to www.msps.ru	Webmaster reports
	Number of downloads of publications from the website	Webmaster reports
	Discussion topics on website forums, number of topics and number of entries in each forum	Website forum page, communication on topics, suggestions by the participants
Seminars	Number of planned and implemented seminars and other MSPS educational events	Annual report, website links to list of seminars, reports on seminars
	Number of participants and graduates	Annual report
	Feedback from participants on knowledge acquired	Annual report, questionnaires, interview reports of MSPS staff with participants
	<i>Better understanding of ongoing processes in Russian regions by EU member states</i>	Bilateral ties between various regions in EU and Russia – number of partnerships may imply that partners understand each other <i>Russia on Russia</i> magazine
Understanding of values		
Seminars	Quality of discussion during the seminars	Seminar reports, feedback from experts
Website	Discussion topics on website forums, number of topics and number of entries in each forum	Website forum page, communication on topics, suggestions by the participants

Multiplying effect	Number of MSPS participants and experts used in other regional activities	Annual report of MSPS, reports/publications of other regional activities
	Number of other initiatives set up by MSPS participants	Annual report, website links to other regional initiatives, alumni links
	MSPS participants initiate public discussions on relevant regional policy and legal documents	Local media, MSPS website forums
Networks		
Macro politics level	Federal Duma members remain active in the School	Annual report, lists of MSPS experts
	Links between the EU and Russian regions established through participants	Alumni database on activities, MSPS website
	Links with similar schools of politics	Website, annual report
Regional politics	Alumni network: <i>number of members and paid memberships</i>	Annual report, alumni database, Alumni activity reports, website
	Number of alumni activities across political, NGO, media and business sectors	Annual report, website links to Alumni regional activities.
	School support given to NGO members	Annual report, lists of participants, list of members of Alumni Association

Final comments

The evaluators suggest rethinking the indicators for the next programme application. The indicators and ways to measure the extent to which they have been achieved are not clearly formulated, although measuring tools can be found in numerous places throughout the grant application. The School should devise a combination of qualitative and quantitative tools to measure its success level. Existing databases, Alumni Association activities and networks should be used to collect the relevant data. We believe improvement of administrative and institutional structures will help devise better indicators and tools to measure success. In turn, a serious effort to develop good indicators and tools will contribute to ongoing management reforms.

