THE CAUCASUS INSTITUTE FOR PEACE, DEMOCRACY AND DEVELOPMENT (CIPDD)

Annual report

2003

MISSION STATEMENT

We live in a society that suffers from insecurity, poverty, and is uncertain about its future. It wants sustainable peace, prosperity, and freedom. We believe that these goals can only be achieved through respect for individual freedom and dignity, development of vibrant and diverse civil society, competitive and transparent business sector, effective accountable private and public institutions based on the rule of law. It is crucial for us to be a unified political nation but at the same time respect and preserve cultural diversity that is part of our historical heritage. We support Georgia's integration into European and Euro-Atlantic institutions as strategic goals of our society, and we consider close cooperation between countries of the South Caucasus and Black Sea area to be critically important for our development.

In order to achieve these goals, the Georgian society needs coherent political strategies, honest and qualified assessment of its achievements and weaknesses, and broad and informed policy around these strategies and assessments. debate People representing different parts of society should be involved in this debate. We need high quality democracy in which people know how to reach consensus and how to agree to disagree. This is where we see our contribution. We produce knowledge on our society, we develop vision on how it should become better, and we bring people together to discuss ways of our development.

GENERAL INFORMATION

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The Caucasus Institute for Peace, Democracy and Development (CIPDD) was founded in August 1992 in Tbilisi, Georgia. It is a non-governmental and not-for-profit organisation. CIPDD is not linked to any political party. On 6 November 1998 CIPDD renewed its registration in the Ministry of Justice of Georgia as a foundation (registration number 28/12).

CIPDD is a public policy think-tank. There are two large areas in which it is active: democratic transformation and institution building, and creating foundations for sustainable peace and security. CIPDD has several focal areas in which its expertise is stronger: these are issues of ethnic and religious minorities, local governance, civil society development, civil diplomacy and confidence-building, civil-military relations and security sector reforms.

CIPDD is mainly active in Georgia. However, it is also involved in cooperative projects in the South Caucasus and Black Sea–Balkans area. CIPDD often works in partnerships and coalitions with other civil society organisations, Georgian or foreign. On the other hand, CIPDD often cooperates with Georgian government and international organisations.

CIPDD conducts policy research, issues publications, and organises conferences, workshops and roundtable discussions. CIPDD also caries out training exercises in areas of its expertise.

Apart from promoting its own policy recommendations, CIPDD is involved in advocacy efforts for human rights and democracy causes. For this end, CIPDD usually gets involved in coalitions of like-minded organisations and individuals.

The Institute's work is supervised and managed by the executive board (7 members). Permanent administrative staff includes five people headed by the executive director. Ghia Nodia is the chairman of the board, Avtandil Jokhadze - the executive director.

CIPDD BOARD

In 2003, the CIPDD board included:

Emil Adelkhanov-Steinberg (deputy chairman)

David Darchiashvili

Avtandil Jokhadze

David Losaberidze

Irakli Mchedlishvili

Mikheil Mirziashvili

Ghia Nodia (chairman)

CIPDD FINANCES

Activities of CIPDD depend on donor support, as well as professionalism, enthusiasm and commitment of its staff, partners and friends. Only insignificant part of its finances comes from other sources, such as selling CIPDD publications (most of these publications are distributed for free).

In 2003, the budget of CIPDD was equivalent of 226 000 US dollars.

CIPDD DONORS

The following donors and partner organisations supported CIPDD activities during 2003:

Austrian government, through Austrian Study Centre for Peace and Conflict Resolution (ASPR)

Cordaid

Eurasia foundation

European Commission, directly and through Institute for War and Peace Reporting (IWPR, London, UK)

German Technical Cooperation (GTZ)

Latvian government, through Latvian Institute for International Affairs

National Endowment for Democracy (NED)

NATO Office for Information and Press

Open Society Institute East-East Program, through OSGF

OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities

Open Society-Georgia Foundation (OSGF)

UNESCO

USAID (through Save the Children)

CIPDD PARTNER ORGANIZATIONS

These are the organisations with which CIPDD was involved in implementing joint projects during 2003

Alternative, Tbilisi, Georgia

Association of Investigative Journalists of Armenia (Yerevan, Armenia)

Austrian Study Centre for Peace and Conflict Resolution (ASPR), Stadtschleining, Austria

Committeee to protect Journalists in Azerbaijan (RUH), Baku, Azerbaijan

Centre for Change and Conflict Management Partners-Georgia, Tbilisi, Georgia

Centre for Strategic Reforms and Development of Georgia, Tbilisi, Georgia

Centre for Journalism in Extreme Situations, Moscow, Russia

Civil Society Institute, Tbilisi, Georgia

Committee to Protect Journalists in Azerbaijan (RUH), Baku, Azerbaijan

Institute for Development and Social Initiatives (IDIS-Viitorul), Moldova

Institute for Regional and International Studies (IRIS), Sofia, Bulgaria

Institute for War and Peace Reporting (IWPR), London, UK

International Centre for Not-for-Profit Law, Tbilisi, Georgia

Latvian Institute for International Affairs (LIIA), Riga, Latvia

Saferworld, London, UK

Save the Children

UNESCO International Centre for Human sciences, Byblos, Lebanon

Union of Azerbaijani Women of Georgia, Marneuli, Georgia

The Union of Intercultural Cooperation in Kvemo Kartli Region - Bridge (Most), Gardabani, Georgia

United Nations Association, Tbilisi, Georgia

CIPDD ACTIVITIES DURING 2003

General political developments in Georgia and CIPDD role

2003 was a landmark year for Georgia's democratic development. Georgian society considered the magnitude of fraud during November 2003 parliamentary elections unacceptable and responded by mass protest actions that culminated in the resignation of President Shevardnadze. This event, usually called «Revolution of roses», demonstrated weak institutional foundations of democracy in Georgia, but also showed that the Georgian public would not reconcile with rampant corruption and backsliding into autocracy. Peaceful character of the regime change and popularity of young leaders who came to power as a result of the revolution contributed to an atmosphere of hope and optimism – and created extremely high expectations, which the new government may find difficult to meet.

While the "Revolution of Roses" was generally unexpected, it had become much earlier that November 2003 elections would be a critical juncture for Georgia and could lead to deep political crisis unless conditions for free and fair elections were created. A group of Georgian civil society organisations that focus on promotion of democracy - with CIPDD being one of then - tried to use its resources for influencing political processes in the right direction. Namely, in November 2002 seven leading NGOs, including CIPDD, created a Democracy Coalition that was supposed to provide authoritative assessment of democratic developments in Georgia and lobby for best solutions of most urgent problems. During December 2002 – February 2003 the Democracy Coalition was involved in intense dialogue with the Georgian government on ways to ensure higher quality of democratic process. By March, its members ceased cooperation with the government, as it became clear the latter lacked political will for creation fair conditions for political competition. After this Democracy Coalition ceased to exist due to disagreements between its members: part of them wanted to keep distance from political processes and maintain position of neutral arbiter, while others chose to express active opposition to the incumbent government. CIPDD as an institution did not play an active role in the protest campaign, but its members continued to be involved in ongoing processes. CIPDD chairman, Ghia Nodia joined a group of Georgian civic activists who twice, in June and September visited Washington (in June this group also visited Brussels and Strasbourg) in order to increase awareness of international community on importance of coming elections in Georgia and pending political crisis there. International attention towards Georgian elections from the international organisations and the US administration was indeed unusually high: it is hard for any specific actor to take credit for this level of attention, but there is ground to believe that activism of the Georgian civil society was one of the factors.

During the year, leading members of CIPDD like Ghia Nodia and David Darchiashvili frequently appeared on Georgian TV to comment on Georgian political processes thus contributing to formation of public opinion towards them. They were also frequently used as sources of comments on Georgian events in the international media.

In the days of November protests, CIPDD was active in policy debates on the strategy of civil society under the circumstances, and initiated new round of debates on what the role of civil society under the new circumstances should be. While not all

civil society actors supported the revolution (and there was no full consensus among CIPDD members on this issue), large majority of Georgian civic activists joined the protest movement but tried to contribute as much as possible to keeping it organised and non-violent.

Against this critical political background, CIPDD continued its work on its specific programs. During 2003, the priority was given to such areas as research on general conditions of Georgian democracy, policy research and confidence building measures with regards to ethnic minority issues, civic development, and regional cooperation.

Research and Assessment of Democratic Development in Georgia

As more than 10 years has passed since Georgia's independence and breakdown of the communist regime, it is time to take stock of political and economic transformations that occurred during these years. The Georgian government and the public considered - or at least formally recognised - that democracy and market economy were to be end results of these transformations. Western countries have invested considerable political, financial and intellectual resources in assisting Georgia in this direction. However, both the Georgian public and the international community do not think that Georgia was successful in achieving these goals. Deepseated discontent towards the ways the country is developing constituted important background factor that led to November 2003 regime change. However, it is also obvious that just replacing old leaders with the new ones, even young and reformminded, is not sufficient for making social and political transformations successful. Coherent strategies are needed, that are based on critical evaluation of the experience of the last decade. Moreover, the process of evaluation should not be restricted to a narrow circle of democracy experts, but rather implicate broader public discussion. The necessity of such evaluations is broadly recognised in many other countries that struggle to modernise their political systems, and is often known under the name of "democracy audit".

In 2003, CIPDD was involved in several efforts in this direction. Most important of them was initiated in 2002 and concluded in 2003 by the International IDEA (Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance), an international organisation in support of democracy based in Stockholm, Sweden. This project provided for a comprehensive evaluation of the Georgian democratic developments since independence and represented the first attempt of this kind. It also involved a series of public discussion around the country. Results of this work were published in 2003 in the form of 12 booklets and a separate comprehensive summary. In all cases, assessments of the current condition were accompanied by strategic policy recommendations. Although CIPDD was not a formal institutional partner in this undertaking, its fellows played important role in the project: Ghia Nodia, the CIPDD chairman, was the lead writer (that is, contributed several chapters and edited the whole text), while other leading fellows, David Darchiashvili and David Losaberidze, contributed several key chapters. In 2004, International IDEA plans to make CIPDD an institutional partner for the work on constitutional dialogue in Georgia.

A project that CIPDD started in 2003 in a partnership with the Institute for Regional and International Studies (Bulgaria) and Institute for Development and Social Initiatives (Moldova) had an aim of conducting a comparative "democracy audit" in three countries: Georgia, Bulgaria and Moldova. Here methodology was different: research was focused on specific comparable units of government in the three countries. On the Georgian side, the Georgian parliament and the city of Rustavi were selected as target institutions. The project team studied their internal policies, rules, and practices. The institutions were assessed in terms of transparency, accountability, representation, engagement with civil society, organisational development, and functional effectiveness. The project will be completed in 2004.

CIPDD started a large survey on public attitudes to culture and democracy in Georgia, conducted in cooperation with UNESCO International Centre for Human Sciences in Byblos, Lebanon. A similar study had already been conducted in 1997 and led to publication of a book, *Lurching to Democracy. From agnostic tolerance to pious Jacobinism: Societal change and people's reactions*, co-authored by a German sociologist, Theo Hanf, and Ghia Nodia. The new research aims to measure changes in public perceptions in the six years that passed since the first research. Preparatory work was conducted in the end of 2003, while the fieldwork was scheduled for early 2004.

Ethnic and religious minority rights and civic integration

Georgia is a historically multiethnic and multiconfessional country. This constitutes important part of its social and cultural capital, but it can also become a challenge in the course of democratic development. In Georgia's recent history, ethnic nationalism has lead to violent conflicts in Abkhazia and South Ossetia in early 1990s. While relations between major Georgian religious groups, such as Christians and Muslims, never lead to tensions, in early 2000s unpunished religious violence towards socalled "non-traditional" denominations like Jehovah Witnesses, the Baptist-Evangelical Church and other relatively small religious groups has become a major human rights problem.

In the last years, work aimed at integration of ethnic and religious minority communities in Georgia and protection of their rights has become a major priority in CIPDD work. As in other areas, CIPDD work is based on research, but it is far from being limited to it. In 2003, CIPDD continued to coordinate the effort of OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities to monitor developments in Samtskhe-Javakheti region in Georgia with regards to conflict indicators. This work helps OSCE HCNM to develop its assistance programs in the region. CIPDD also conducted indepth research of situation in Gardabani and Marneuli districts in Kvemo Kartli. This research, based on empirical qualitative and quantitative methods, was focused on conditions of Azerbaijani ethnic minority in Georgia and its co-existence with other ethnic groups such as Georgians and Armenians. It also produced policy recommendations for the Georgian government, donor organisations and Georgian civil society actors. The project was implemented in cooperation with two other Georgian organisations, Bridge (Most) and Union of Azerbaijani women in Georgia, and it was commissioned by GTZ, the German government development agency that is active in Kvemo Kartli region. Findings will be used by GTZ to design its programs, but GTZ also plans to make the report available to public. For CIPDD, apart from increasing its basis of knowledge on ethnic minority issues in Georgia, this experience was especially valuable because it allowed developing effective working relationship with both GTZ and local civic society groups active in Kvemo Kartli region.

CIPDD cooperated with the Georgian government in developing ethnic minority policy. In the spring 2003, the Committed on Civic Integration of the Georgian Parliament publicised a draft Civic Integration Concept that outlined guidelines for ethnic policies in Georgia. However, representatives of ethnic minority communities were dissatisfied that they were ignored when the concept was created and discussed in Parliament. On March 12th 2003, CIPDD, in cooperation with the Public Movement Multinational Georgia, organised a large public discussion on the Civic Integration Concept, in which some 50 people participated, most of them representatives of ethnic minority communities. Major ideas of the Concept were debated and important critical remarks voiced by the participants. Inclusion of ethnic minority representatives in the debate was the main achievement of this discussion.

Unfortunately, in the following months pending parliamentary elections almost fully monopolised attention of both government and civil society actors and there was no constructive follow-up on the development of ethnic policies. Immediately after the November regime change CIPDD had to undertake some emergency actions in this sphere. Major ethnic minority communities in Georgia, such as Azeris and Armenians concentrated in Kvemo Kartli and Samtskhe-Javakheti regions in Georgia, for the most part do not speak Georgian and are poorly informed about political developments in Georgia, in particular, about opposition political parties. As a result of this, government change in Tbilisi came as a shock to them and raised deep concerns. Georgian government propaganda - the only source of information to which they were exposed - presented the opposition as ethno-nationalist force hostile to ethnic minorities, therefore their unexpected rise to power naturally raised anxieties in minority areas and created threat of turmoil there. In several days after President Shevardnadze's resignation, CIPDD, in cooperation with its local partners, organised a large meeting in Marneuli where representatives of the victorious government were present, and a smaller meeting in Tbilisi between minority community leaders and Mikheil Saakashvili, the leader of the "Revolution of Roses" who later was elected the president of Georgia. Both meetings were widely publicised by the Georgian media and contributed to reduction of tensions.

In 2003, CIPDD published a small book, *Ethnic diversity and civic integration in Georgia: one society, many ethnicities,* that summarised the state of public debate on these issues in Georgia. It presents different views on key issues of ethnic policies and is aimed at raising awareness in the Georgian society on relevant issues. The book was published in three languages (Georgian, Russian, and English).

During 2002-2003, CIPDD, together with several other like-minded civic groups and individuals, was involved in numerous discussions that aimed at defining adequate strategies that would help overcome the tide of religious violence in Georgia. These efforts also included dialogue (public or not) with high-level officials aimed at influencing the government policy, and raising awareness on the issue within Georgia and internationally. This work, as well as pressure of the international community, resulted in some symbolic gestures of the government (such as President Shevardnadze attending ecumenical service in Baptist-Evangelical church in spring 2003) and relative reduction of the tide of religious violence in 2003, but it did not bring any systemic change. The change of government will probably curb outright religious violence and reduce human rights aspect of the problem. But there

are still structural problems of religious prejudice and finding proper formula for relations between the state, the mainstream Orthodox Church widely considered to be the major institution representing Georgian identity, and religious minority communities.

In the end of 2003, CIPDD, in cooperation with International Centre for Conflicts and Negotiations, started a large three-year long project aimed at improving environment for religious pluralism in Georgia. The project among other things, plans to create curriculum of religious tolerance education and applying it towards key target groups, cooperating with the Ministry of Education on changes in school curricula that would be positive for acceptance of religious pluralism, research on problems and concerns of religious communities, monitoring government policies on issues of religion and problems of religious minority communities.

Civil society and media development

As one of the leading Georgian civil society organisations, CIPDD considers development of civil society as a whole to be a major direction of its activities. Since late 2002, CIPDD, in cooperation with several other Georgian organisations that constitute a "Civil Ring" coalition, and Save the Children, an international NGO, is actively involved in a three-year-long Citizens' Advocate! project. The aim of the project is to increase capacity of Georgia's civic organisations to advocate citizens' rights. CIPDD conducted four discussions of civil society activists on key issues of the Georgian civil society, such as norms of conduct of Civil Society Organisations, their relations with political actors, relations with broad public, the role of the civil society organisations in the new situation created after the "Revolution of roses". In each of these discussions, from 20 to 50 people participated, mainly representing leading civil society organisations in Georgia. These discussions became a major forum for discussion for problems of the "third sector" in Georgia. It contributed to developing common visions and strategies within Georgia's NGO community, and engendered several initiatives within the sector: namely, a working group was created for the draft a "code of conduct" for non-governmental organisations in Georgia, further meetings on development joint strategies on particular issues of public importance, etc. Four booklets were published as a result of discussions so that their content and results became accessible to the wider circle of Georgian NGOs.

Within the CAP project, CIPDD also created a donor database that was made available to any civil society organisation in Georgia.

CIPDD continued its programs aimed at media development in Georgia. In late 2003, in cooperation with Institute for War and Peace Reporting (IWPR), a respected media organisation based in London, it launched a three-year project aimed at increasing capacity of regional press-media in Georgia. This continues CIPDD cooperation with IWPR that started in mid-1990s with a series of training sessions for journalists and a program of support for investigative reporting in Georgia. IWPR will play the leading role in the project and closely work with six newspapers in different regions in Georgia. CIPDD will contribute to the success of the project through research and monitoring of the media situation in Georgian regions, and monitor the impact of the project as cooperation with specific media outlets within the project framework develops.

CIPDD also was involved in two projects that provided for development of regional cooperation between journalists of different countries: in the one case, this was about cooperation between journalists of three countries of the South Caucasus, in the second case – between Georgian and Russian journalists. The main objective of the both projects was confidence building on the regional basis through creation of the joint information space, therefore these projects will be discussed in the next section. However, through providing opportunities for cooperation with journalists from neighbouring countries, these projects also contributed to enhancing capacity and professionalism of Georgian journalists.

Conflict resolution, confidence-building and regional security

Working on issues of peace and security in Georgia and the region continued to be one of priority areas CIPDD. This included work on the "frozen" secessionist conflicts in Georgia – in particular, the Abkhazian conflict, and cooperation and confidence building in the regional format.

While CIPDD did not have an institutional project specifically targeted to tackle issues of the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict, its experts such as David Darchiashvili, Marina Elbakidze, Mikheil Mirziashvili, and Mamuka Kuparadze were actively involved in several effort of dialogue and public diplomacy, in particular organised by Conciliation Resources (London, UK), University of Irvine (USA) and Berghof Foundation (Germany). Marina Elbakidze also conducted several training sessions for persons internally displaced as a result of the Abkhazian conflict and residing in different parts of Georgia.

CIPDD reprinted eight volumes of proceedings of the Georgian-Abkhaz dialogue, the series of meetings facilitated during several years by the University of Irvine. These books were published in Russian – the working language of the dialogue. CIPDD had published these volumes before, but because the demand for them was rather high, Open Society Georgia Foundation supported printing additional copies of the whole series.

Ghia Nodia and David Darchiashvili participated in an informal group that was involved in drafting plan for resolution of the conflict in Abkhazia, to be possibly used by the Georgian government.

CIPDD continued its cooperation on peace building in the South Caucasus region with Austrian Study Centre for Peace and Conflict Resolution (ASPR). In November 2003, a two-week dialogue-workshop was held in Gudauri (Georgia). This followed up on a similar workshop that took place in Gudauri in May 2002. The second Gudauri meeting was preceded by a weeklong expert seminar in Stadtschlaining, Austria aimed at developing methodology for the November workshop. A group of about 30 people – mainly politicians and NGO-leaders from three countries of the South Caucasus as well as unrecognised entities participated in both Gudauri meetings, though there were several new faces on the second seminar. The workshops exposed influential local actors to modern methods of conflict resolution, and it contributed to transforming relationships between participants of the workshop. In November seminar, for instance, three working groups were created to develop specific recommendations for different aspects of conflict resolution. Disagreements between participants were far from being

overcome, but the meeting was a step towards enhancing capacity for cooperation between the parties.

In another regional South Caucasian project, CIPDD together with Committeee to Protect Journalists in Azerbaijan RUH (Azerbaijan) and Association of Investigative Journalists of Armenia, worked to create common information space in the South Caucasus. For that end, the partner organisations set up a joint web-site (address: www.caucasusjournalists.org) which is as a tool for networking, cooperation and gathering and exchanging information for journalists in the three countries of the South Caucasus. About 145 journalists and 22 publishers became members of South Caucasus Network through this project. The network provided specific services to participating journalists: for instance, it arranged online interviews with important public figures that answered questions to journalists from all three countries. 19 on-line interviews and 4 forums have been arranged, 8 issues of a monthly analytical online magazine *South Caucasus*.

Unrelenting tensions between Georgia and Russia constitute another challenge to the regional peace. Saferworld, the British organisation, arranged two conferences in Moscow and Tbilisi on Russian-Georgian relations, in which politicians and experts participated. CIPDD was key partner of Saferworld on the Georgian side, and co-hosted the conference in Tbilisi. These conferences contributed to better understanding of mutual positions and concerns, though it was still too early to achieve common understanding of problems.

In 2003 CIPDD and its Russian partner, Centre for Journalism in Extreme Situations, launched a joint Russian-Georgian web-site (address: www.pankisi.info) that aims to compensate for insufficient information and distorted image of "the other" in the media of the two countries. The idea to set up such a web-site was born during a meeting of the journalists of two countries co-organised by the same partner organisations in 2002. The web-site has become an important information resource for experts, journalists and the interested public.

Achieving peace and security depends not only on good understanding between political actors and societies, but also on coherent policies of national governments. Since 1996, CIPDD has been involved in working with the Georgian security experts' community and the Georgian government on formulating guidelines of the Georgian security policy and producing a relevant public policy document such as National Security Concept. While unwillingness of the Georgian government to clearly formulate its priorities in the security sphere has hampered adoption of such a fundamental policy document, series of debates around its different versions has contributed to enhancing quality of public policy discussion in Georgia and increased capacity of the Georgian security community. Since Georgia made a formal announcement about its wish to join NATO in September 2002, new momentum was created for drafting such a document. In January 2003 CIPDD, in cooperation with Latvian Institute for International Affairs, International Security Advisory Board and the National Security Council of Georgia, organised a two-day workshop on National Security Concept of Georgia. The aim of the conference was to assess draft of the National Security Concept prepared by the Georgian government, and share experience of the Baltic States in drafting similar policy documents. Georgian government officials and independent experts, as well as experts from the Baltic states, USA and western European countries participated. The main result of the conference was agreement on a new scheme of the document that was considerably different from the initially proposed draft. Later, a new working group was created by the government that drafted a new version of the concept based on the agreed scheme.

Georgia's strategy of joining NATO is supported by all major political forces within Georgia. However, this support is not paralleled by adequate knowledge on the transatlantic alliance, and attitudes of NATO towards the South Caucasus and Georgia's ambition to join the alliance. To feel that gap, CIPDD translated into Russian and published dissertation of young Belgian scholar, Frederik Coene, *NATO and South Caucasus*. The book was distributed in the three countries of the Caucasus.

Cooperation with the Georgian government on specific issues

Tense political situation and deteriorated relations between the authorities and large part of the NGO community made 2003 not the best year for constructive cooperation between the government and the civil society organisations. However, while attempts to work with the government on election issues proved ineffectual, CIPDD or its particular experts had record of more constructive cooperation with government on specific issues. Some instances of this cooperation, such as discussing policy concepts on national securities and ethnic minority integration, were discussed above. Apart from this, CIPDD experts were often included into different commissions and working groups that were created by the Georgian government for developing policies and draft legislation. For instance, David Losaberidze was one of the leading members of government-created commission that prepared a package of six draft laws on local governance in Georgia. Since 2003 David Losaberidze also represents Georgia in the expert group of the Council of Europe Regional Assembly. David Darchiashvili and Zurab Sparsiashvili cooperated with the Ministry of Health and Social Security on developing legislative base for creating an alternative non-military service in Georgia.

CIPDD PUBLICATIONS DURING 2003

Vaclav Havel, Power of the powerless, in Georgian

Frederik Coene, Nato and the South Caucasus, in Russian

Ghia Nodia, Ed., *One society, Many Ethnicities: Ethnic diversity and civic integration in Georgia,* in Georgian, Russian and English

Code of Conduct of the Third Sector, Discussion proceedings

Information spaces and information strategy of the third sector, Discussion proceedings

Public image of the third sector, Discussion proceedings

The third sector and the political parties, Discussion proceedings