

RESEARCH REPORTS

17/99

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**Restructuring Civil Service
in Russian Public Administration**

MINISTRY OF FINANCE
Public Management Department
HELSINKI 1999

Foreword

A better knowledge of the public administration and civil service systems of transition countries like Russia is essential for co-operation with those countries. Administrative sciences and practical knowledge can enhance the understanding of the public administration and culture of transition countries, which is relevant for successful consultancy and training projects dealing with public administration reform and civil service. In this area, the Finnish Ministry of Finance has previously supported spreading of this knowledge by financing the training of both Finnish and Russian civil servants as well as other development projects. This has also been one element in ministerial co-operation between Finland and its neighbouring areas.

This report deals with Cadre politics - i.e. general policy on the structure of the civil service - and upgrading qualifications in the Russian Civil Service. The report is an outcome of co-operation between Finnish and Russian professors and experts on public administration and it was initiated after a seminar arranged in Moscow at the end of 1997. The report is written by Dr. Timo Aarrevaara of the University of Tampere and contributed by the Russian Professors G.S. Prosenko, A.M. Kurennoy, A.N. Averin, G.S. Prazdnov, V.I. Matirko from the Academy of National Economy (ANH) Under the Government of the Russian Federation and Professor V.Y. Afanasiev of the State University of Public Administration (GUU).

The report was commissioned and financed by the Working Party to Co-ordinate Support for Public Administration Reform in the Neighbouring Areas of Finland. The Public Management Department of the Finnish Ministry of Finance chaired the Working Party. The preparation of the report has been co-ordinated by the Finnish Institute of Public Management (HAUS). Therefore I wish to give special acknowledgement to Ms. Anneli Temmes, Director of the Institute and co-ordinator of the work.

I hope the publication could be used as background material for further analysis, consultancy and training projects and in daily co-operation with Finland and Russia as well as a basic information package for both Finnish and Russian public administration units and civil servants having connections and co-operation with their Russian counterparts.

The views expressed in the report are those of the author and the contributors.

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Acknowledgements

There has recently been a great deal of research on the administrations of the new independent states (NIS). This research has directed its attention on the one hand to descriptions of the macro level and, on the other, to the economic perspective. Even in the early 1990s there was a widespread impression that it was possible to transfer the best principles of Western administrations to these NISs. The main aim of this transition policy was the stabilisation of society and the economy, the liberalisation of economic structures, privatisation and a major restructuring of society. In Russia the macro-level social reforms have proved more difficult to implement than was originally supposed. It is not an issue of the capabilities of individual parties to bring about the necessary changes. The course of transition policy has not been set by one authority; it is rather the sum of many factors. The themes of administrative transition addressed in this publication are primarily connected with the stabilisation of society through the creation of a cadre of experts to oversee what needs to be done. On the other hand, the transition is part of social restructuring, for the implementation of which the highest civil servants of the State are responsible.

The present publication owes its existence to co-operation over several years between The Finnish Institute of Public Management and The Academy of National Economy under the Government of the Russian Federation. The content of the publication is based on discussions, lectures and written material resulting from this co-operation. The aim of this report is to bring an overview on cadre politics and civil servants in Russian public administration. The text is written with contributions from Academy professors and researchers from the Academy of National Economy under the Government of the Russian Federation (ANH) and the State University of Public Administration (GUU). The report is written with contributions from Professors G.S. Protsenko (concerning the civil service and modern developments), A.M. Kurennoy (legislative power and the judicial system), V.I. Matirko (principles of civil service and cadre politics), G.S. Prazdnov (standards in the civil service), A.N. Averin (the system of upgrading qualifications) and V.Ya. Afanasiev (GUU, the functions of executive power). Each and all of them gave me fruitful discussions and ample data and text to evaluate and translate.

I was also advised by knowledgeable and competent Finnish researchers Professors Pertti Ahonen (University of Tampere), Ari Salminen (University of Vaasa) and Markku Temmes (University of Helsinki). As a supervisory committee they read a draft of this report and gave their constructive criticism. Director Anneli Temmes participated in all stages of this work and made every effort to ensure its success. Sirpa

Pääsky and Virve Kauppinen of the Finnish Institute of Public Management also offered much-needed support throughout the process of writing this report. Professor Mikhail Nelip, course secretary Anu Pakkanen and Olga Nenonen, Lic. Phil., helped to solve many language problems. I specially want to thank Consul John W Guy, OBE, of the British Consulate General for advice concerning the categories of posts in the Russian civil service. The translation into English was carried out in co-operation with Ms Virginia Mattila, M.A., translator who corrected the text and also provided a lot of comments and invaluable advice included in the text. Besides, I would like to thank Ms. Hope Castren, Ms Leena Lehto, M.Sc. for correcting and harmonizing the text. However, the author takes all responsibility for any errors occurring.

The report was financed by the Finnish Ministry of Finance. I am grateful to Counsellor Ms. Eija-Leena Linkola and Senior Adviser Mr. Juhani Korhonen from the Public Management Department for comments and the opportunity to present this information as a publication of the Ministry of Finance.

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1 The Civil Service - A State's Most Significant Resource

Russian administration is an interesting subject, but also an extensive one. The present publication is restricted to the perspective of the central administration, which we examine in the light of its principal actors, the civil servants of the Russian Federation. In order to render our subject more easily comprehensible, we present some historical detail, which is intended to demonstrate the continuity of the Russian tradition. However, we also show that administration has something characteristically universal. Russia applies the same principles of good government, such as respect for her citizens, division of power, using documented legislation as a basis for administrative measures, progressiveness and citizens' participation. As elsewhere in Europe, the system in Russia can be assessed through the organs of the democratic system, the executive authorities, and through the functions of market economy. If none of these dominates there are good prospects for the development of a federalist system. In the history of Russia the balance of power wielded by actors in society has been an exception.

Russia is frequently compared to one's own country and culture in the rest of Europe. Such a perspective inhibits the understanding of the structures of Russian administration and the mode of operation. Many things may be called by the same name, but have different meanings. For example, 'department' in French administrative cultures refers both to a ministry and a division thereof; in the Russian context this is always a division.

In Western countries the permanent personnel of the State are referred to as 'civil servants'. In Russia the emphasis is on the functions of the officials as servants of the State, and are thus assumed to adhere to modes of behaviour in keeping with their positions. Thus the name applied to a Russian permanently in the service is primarily *cadre* (Rus. *kadry*). In the Russian *cadre* system, the powers of an official are connected not only to the formal position defined by where he or she serves; there is also the effect of the position of the individual appointed to that post, his personal title and even possible decorations. This phenomenon, which is characteristic of a low-context culture context, is frequently difficult for the representative of a high-context culture to understand. An individual within the *cadre* has obligations inherent to his position both at work, in family life and when off duty (see. Ohotskiy 1998, 16-17). Thus the *cadre* has more obligations than civil servants have, for which reason the term *cadre* is used to refer to the personnel of the Russian State.

There is a widespread view in Russia on the need to dismantle the centralised system. So far this has been written in the Constitution. A federalist system has been built up in Russia, which, however, also bears features and solutions which emphasise the significance of the regions. Russia has features of the district model typical in Europe, such as the responsibility for the production of basic services for society resting with the regional level, cities and the city districts. At the beginning of the 1990s it was essential to set up a federalist system and to invest its sectors with strong rights in order to ensure national security and unity.

Russian society is not systematically compared to Western Europe in this study, but it is compared in terms of Comparative or Development Administration (see e.g. Salminen 1999, 24-25). Guy Hollis and Karin Plokker (1995, 84-87), in their turn, have classified administrative models at national level, areas, districts and municipalities as elements of administration, and present five basic models which differ from one another in terms of hierarchical subordination. These are the centralised model, the federal model, the area model, the district model and the municipality model. The centralised model is a simplified description of the administration in the former Soviet Union and starting point for present reforms. During the Soviet era, the power was centralised within the central national bodies of governance, and the administration served it on a number of lower hierarchical levels.

In the federal model, too, the national bodies are responsible for the country's strategic decisions in the fields of economy, foreign policy, defence and education, but some legislative power has been delegated to local divisions of the country, and the municipalities have a central role in the production of services for the citizens. The area model closely resembles the federal model, the difference being mainly that many of the services provided by municipalities in the federal model are here produced by districts. This model includes certain simple structures of decision-making, a fact which erases many sharp boundaries between the tasks of civil servants versus politicians. The district model rests on the idea of *unitary authorities*, aiming at simple decision-making, reduced costs and simplified distribution of the service. The municipality model is used in countries where essential decisions are made at both national and municipal levels. These countries have strong local and national democratic bodies. Thus, the role of the regions is mainly to execute the decisions.

In Eastern Europe, the transition away from the centralised model brought more power to the other levels of administration. However, it has not been possible to apply the municipal model, because municipal institutions have hardly any traditions in the former socialist countries. The area and district models, too, would have implied an

unfamilarly weak central power. In the former Soviet Union, legislation is based on clear vertical subordination, giving national level bodies a strong role. In Russia, the federal model faces weak administrative ties between the national and local levels. After the end of the Soviet era the administrative system has been developing towards something close to the district model. Large cities and rural districts are, in fact, in charge of citizen services (see e.g. Aarrevaara 1998, 33-34).

In the administrative transition it is indispensable to change two principles, namely democratic centralism and dualistic subordination. During Soviet rule, administration was based on the principle of democratic centralism. This meant that any decision taken at the local level could be revoked by a superior authority and that the minority had to follow the will of the majority. The system guaranteed the Communist Party of the USSR total control over executive decisions (Piskotin 1993, 73-74). During the Soviet era, the idea was that there would be an inherent connection between the country's supreme leadership, local initiative and the responsibility of each State authority to fulfil its duties. The system was guaranteed by the ruling position of the CPSU. The scientific basis of democratic centralism was provided by Friedrich Engel's postulate that the State should be fortified by means of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In practice, the principles of democratic centralism worked only one way - downwards. And the administrative organs - the executive committee and its departments - were generally able to control the work of representative institutions, *the soviets* (see Hill 1980, 75-76). Democratic centralism was inherent in the Soviet socialist system, which aimed at combining centralized policy-making with democratic implementation (Aarrevaara 1998, 62-63). According to Berglund and Dellenbrandt (1994, 25), democratic centralism was based on such components as the election of all party authorities, decision-making by majority rule, responsibility and accountability, the submission of the minority to the will of the majority and the obedience of the subordinate echelons to their respective superiors. Some principles of democratic centralism are still, in practice, applied in administration.

According to the principle of dualistic subordination, elected and executive authorities are distinguished on the basis of their competence. The purpose of the dualistic subordination system is, in principle, to ensure that the interests of the central government become known to all levels of administration (see e.g. Hahn 1988, 88-89).

These principles are to be replaced with good governance, which entails popular sovereignty, the separation of powers within a constitutional framework, the rule of law and representation and participation of citizens. These principles have enjoyed widespread support, but they are also decidedly universal. In practice achieving the objectives of good governance is to a great extent dependent on the angle from which

we contemplate administration. The most important means at the disposal of the State is to exert influence through the civil service.

The position of the civil service is different in at least five different frameworks. Thus the practical solutions we opt for depend on which framework we adopt. If we contemplate administration as professional public activities we are bound to pay special attention to the leaders of the State organs and other official persons. Thus, administration is directed through structural means and the focus is on the proactive means of accomplishing this: setting up the tasks, organising the implementation and administrative policy is what we are concerned with. Thus, the direction of administration appears as a problem of co-ordination with the definition of responsibilities and control the focal issues, likewise the creation of the necessary stimuli. The functions of administration rest on such factors as planning, implementation, management, information, control and support. These are what are needed to ensure the formation of the cadre, the definition of responsibilities and the discipline which is indispensable for the functioning of the system (see Appendix 1).

Another way to contemplate the administration of Russia and her civil service is to consider it as a legal institution. In this case the focus is on the legislative, executive and judicial organs. In addition to these, there is also the Department of Cadre Politics under the President of the Russian Federation to direct the actions of civil servants. Control and monitoring are a particularly prominent and traditional means of directing Russian administration.

The contemplation of administration as a social institution also emphasises the importance of the legislative and executive organisations. In this case, the mission of these institutions is to ensure the civil service the necessary resources (the resource supplement of the civil service) and material incentives for civil servants. Without an official organisation there can be no unofficial working community which forms a part of the social institution. The main guarantors of the civil servants' working community are education, training, legal protection and security. Tasks involving economic and social security are especially the province of the civil service. Efficient handling of these questions demands the competence of the civil servants to solve issues pertaining to citizens' interests, rights and liberties.

The fourth way is to consider administration as an organisational institution. This standpoint emphasises the relationship between the administration of the President, the citizens of the Russian Federation and the civil servants. What is important here is the assessment of the ability of the civil service to carry out the further development of the competence of the civil servants as well as questions of power and control. The main

means of directing are creating the preconditions for leadership and education. The State organisations must be contemplated from some angle, as mere organisational patterns do not tell much about actual functioning. The ability of the organisations to fulfil their functions, seen from this angle, is dependent on many other considerations than the ability of the leaders to take decisions. There cannot be any all-powerful model of organisations, as all organisations are compelled to solve problems of whose existence they cannot be aware in advance. Seen from the perspective of organisational development, what is essential is to develop the abilities of the organisations to make use of different ways of thinking and to acquire the readiness to combine these. It is typical of such perspectives to see the tasks of the organisations as flows of work or processes, making an alternative to the proactive direction perspective, which emphasises judicial properties.

The broad and general education of the civil servants is based on the change in thinking in Russian administration in the 1990s. Alongside the civil servants' normative direction there has emerged the idea of organisational learning, which combines the theories of organisational development, the theories of individual learning and the organisational theories of administrative science. The objective is to develop the ability of the organisation to create its future, and, by sharing the responsibility, to promote the commitment and initiative of every individual. The concept of the learning organisation would appear to combine conceptions of low organisation hierarchy, personnel participation, shared goals, openness and self-evaluation of actions taken. The ends and means of development and work, the working community and the organisation are primarily an enhancement of the skills of the civil servants through systematic education.

The fifth perspective relates to public law, and points to the relationship pertaining between the State and civil service. The focus is notably on the cadres, judicial institutions, and on those institutions which safeguard the interests of civil servants, such as the trade unions. The actions of the civil servants are governed by judicial methods, particularly by regulating issues pertaining to State service. Through these regulations, the rights of the civil servants are ensured, rules for directive methods are built up and preconditions are created for conflict resolution.

All the perspectives mentioned above emphasise the different tasks of the civil service. What they have in common is the position of the civil service as the guarantor of stable development and implementer of the will of the State. It would appear that a politically unaligned State bureaucracy is emerging in Russia, on which the pressures of civil society exert no influence. The issue is that of a conception of state which is an alternative to the pluralistic conception. In the spirit of Hegel, the ethical conception of

state sets as its mission to redress the wrongs in civil society and all that offends the creation of rights of ownership and its preservation. There are also hopes that the civil service will be able to contain the risks of general conflict by preventing the emergence of a class of impoverished people.

In decision-making pertaining to Russian foreign policy, defence, customs and excise and educational standards, the power of the central administration is clear. The problem is specifically that the principles of dualistic subordination and democratic centralism have not been entirely eradicated from the administration. In certain cases the civil servants do not enjoy sovereignty, and there are several civil servants engaged in the same tasks, regionally and functionally. The relations between the administrative levels and the mandate are unclear, which hinders the development of federalism. The position of the President is exceptionally strong, but it not clear who has the right to change the power relations within the administration.

The political-administrative system of Russia is presidentially oriented, but there are also other actors in the central administration with independent functions. In the decision-making process, the organs of the central administration are dependent on each other. For example, legislation requires preparatory work under the government, both chambers of the Federal Council and the approval of the President. The judicial elements - the Constitutional Court, the Supreme Court, the Supreme Arbitration Court and the Procuracy - operate partly independently affecting the ability of the other organs of the central administration to act.

2 General Questions of State Power

2.1 The Administrative Organs

In contrast to the ideological Constitutions of the former USSR and Union Republics, the present Constitution of the Russian Federation differs in that the highest value is a person, his/her rights and freedom (Article 2) and recognition, determination and defence of these rights and freedoms of a human and a citizen is the duty of the State. Questions which define the status of the servants are regulated in about 70 articles of the Constitution. The Constitution of 1993 reflects the qualitative changes in the social policy of the State. The class attitude to different population groups was removed. It is essential that the rights and freedoms of the human being and citizen are recognised not only according to the Constitution, but according to the commonly recognised principles and norms of international law. According to its structure and content, the Constitution of Russia is close to the traditional Constitutions of the developed democratic countries, the majority of which reflect the will to satisfactorily accomplish co-ordination of activity in all branches of the State, and at the same time to set real priorities for every branch, taking into consideration the specifics of the accomplished political traditions and relations on the definite historical stage¹.

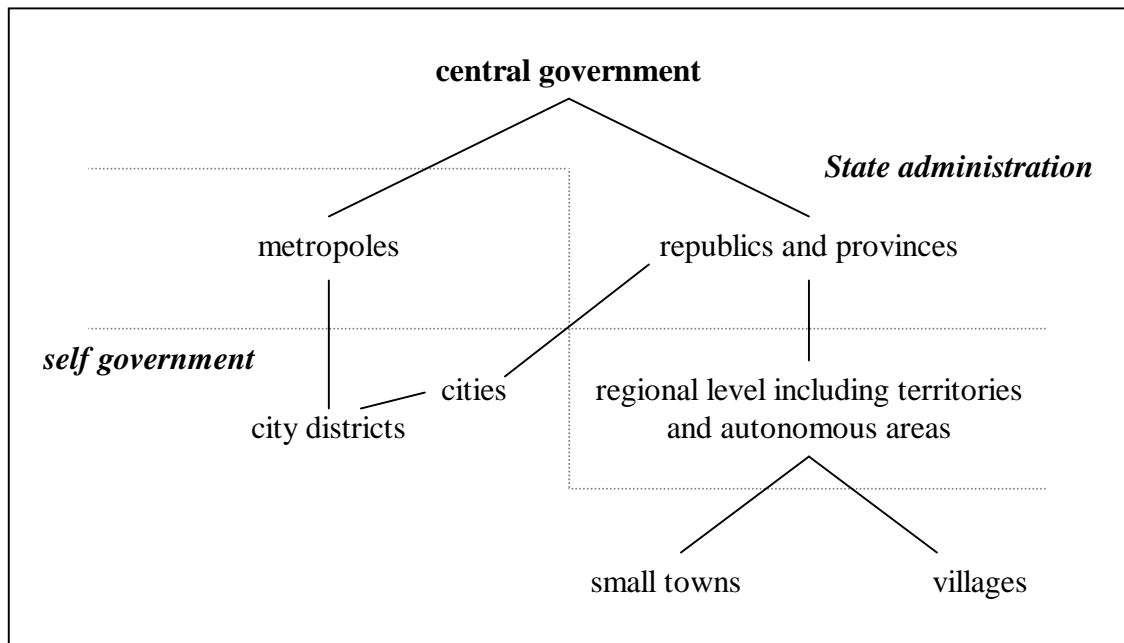
State power in the Russian Federation is realised on the basis of the separation of legislative, executive and judicial powers, which are autonomous. The Russian legal system and Russian society are at a very complex stage of development. Russia tries to realise the principle of separation of powers in practice. Evidently, different branches of power have never been equal in Russia. Every country engages in forming its own system of values and power. It is most important that no branch exert pressure over the others. As the legislation with higher legal power directs the Constitution, it actually regulates social relations and exerts direct force on all the systems of the State power organs. It is especially necessary to underline the positive influence of the Constitution in strengthening the stability of institutions of power. However, there exists the "distance of great size" in attaining the appropriate aspects of the powerful structures to suit the demands of the time. State power at the level of the Federation is wielded by the President of the Russian Federation, the Federal Council (State Federation and State Duma), the government and the courts of the Russian Federation. Thus, the President of the Russian Federation is the head of the State. He is the guarantor of the Constitution of human rights together with the freedom of the

¹ The basic elements of Russian public administration are introduced in the book 'Venäjä - yhteiskunta ja hallinto' (Russia - Society and Administration) published by the Finnish Institute of Public Management.

citizen. The Constitution confirms the legal status of the President.

The State power in the Russian Federation is composed of its component parts, *subjects*. The Constitution confirms the rights and freedom of all of these, all the subjects of the Federation being equal. The problem of the difference between the subjects in the actions and duties of the organs of the state powers of the federation as well as the organs of the state power of its subjects, is treated in the Constitution. Chapter three of the Russian Constitution defines the subjects and requires their obedience to the Russian Federation, the subjects for common administrative direction and its objects, and the duties of the subjects of the Federation.

Figure 1: The levels of administration in the Russian Federation.



Local self-government is recognised and guaranteed in the Russian Federation. It is autonomous within the limits of its rights or duties. The organs of local self-government are not part of the system of State power organs. However, the process of nation-state building is not yet complete. One of the other problems that should be evaluated is the fact that there does not exist a concrete border between the duties of the Federal Council and the President in the field of issuing normative acts. The result of this is general confusion and conflicts.

Some peculiarities of the Russian Constitution are based on the fact that Russia is a Federation consisting of 89 regional organs of different levels, subjects. These include 21 republics, 49 provinces (*oblast*), 2 metropolises (Moscow and St. Petersburg), 6 territories (*kraj*), 10 autonomous areas (*okrug*) and the Jewish Autonomous Region. On these rests the federal system with the mission of setting the various administrative organs on a permanent basis. The rights of the subjects are particularly extensive. This system has been built up in Russia for the specific reason that solutions of centralised and decentralised administration have been felt to be of crucial importance with a view to holding the State together while building up the system. In this sense Russian federalism is a principle without practice, so that the chief problems of society cannot be solved by recourse to the Constitution. On the other hand, taking a historical perspective, federalistic states have become tighter and more regulated over long periods of time (see e.g. Blondel 1995, 235). In this sense the principle of federalism is indeed being realised in Russia in as far as there are two legislative levels.

The development of administration focuses on the effectiveness and appropriateness of the state organs. Restructuring public administration in Russia is a necessity. The key methods for carrying out these goals are organisation research, the creation of modern information networks and the re-organisation of training, continuing training and the upgrading of the qualifications of the cadre (source: ANH 1999). So far new expensive administrative structures are built. For example, in 1996 the 17th federal ministry was formed for the cabinet of ministries. More federal ministries were formed under Jevgeni A. Primakov's cabinet, which was criticised because of its unsuccessful economic policy. Structural reforms in executive organs are the necessity for a successful economic policy in Russia. More effective public administration, the elimination of corruption, restructuring of the fiscal system and more effective taxation are part of the campaign led by the new Prime Minister, Sergei V. Stepashin and his cabinet of ministers since May 1999. The Russian Government plans to use the region's experience and regional economic programs more effectively. The European Union also attaches importance to efficient and responsible regional and local administration in economic and social development. According to the common strategy of the European Union regarding Russia, relations between central, regional and local authorities are an essential factor in the future Russian Federation (EU 150/99). As a political gesture S. V. Stepashin's government (1998) formed an Economic Council, which is composed of economists and regional executives. The aim of the Russian Government is to anticipate economic trends and plan how to deal with them. Any Russian Government's goal is to develop planning, and the aim is to avoid emergency discussions every year, for example, on paying holiday wages to the public sector employees. Stepashin promised the Duma to pay off all back wages to public sector workers and to weed out corruption. Restructuring Russian public

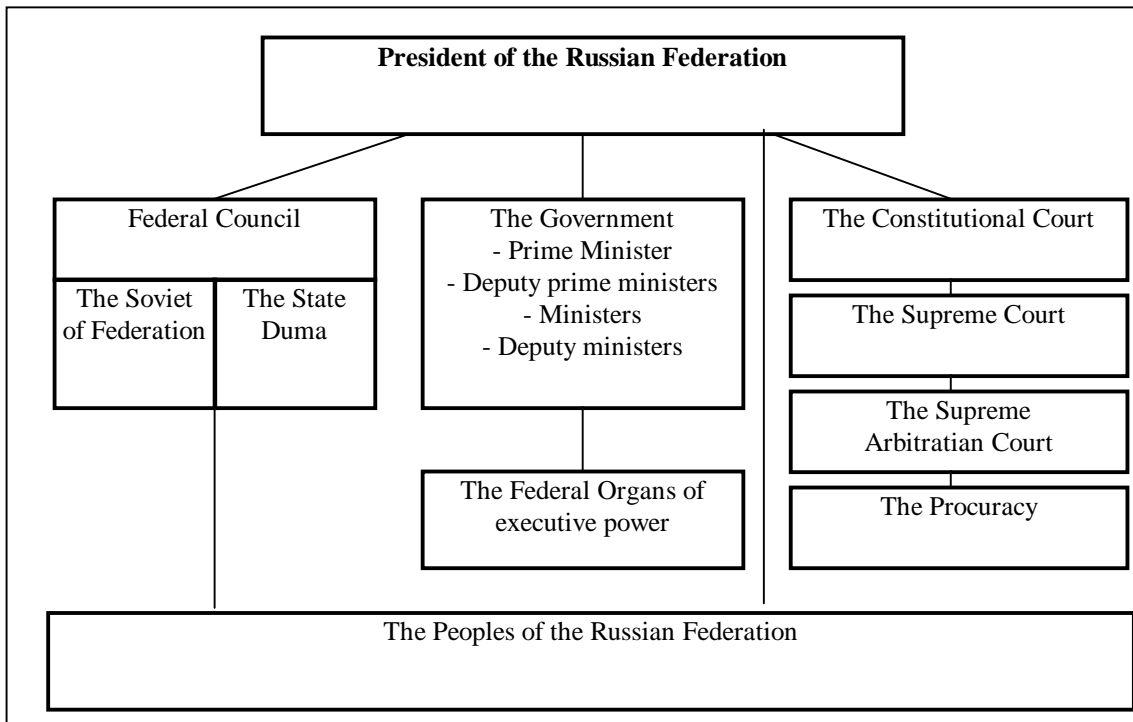
administration is a necessity for Vladimir Putin's government (1999), too. However, a reform policy is also a question of individual evaluation and individual ethics and is one reason for recurring training programs for each civil servant. Training is also included in career-planning and should be considered an incentive as well as monetary remuneration.

2.2 Legislative Powers

According to the Constitution of 1993, the representative and legislative organ is the Federal Council, the Parliament of the Russian Federation. It consists of two chambers: the *Soviet* of the Federation and the State Duma. In the Soviet of the Federation there are two kinds of representatives from every subject of the Federation - those who represent administrative organs and those who are elected. The State Duma consists of 450 members elected by the citizens of the Russian Federation for a term of four years according to the Federal law, half being elected on mandate, and the other half according to the political parties or movement lists. The first State Duma was elected in December 1993, the second in December 1995. The electoral legislation imposes a 5 % limit for the political parties and movements. In 1995 only four blocks broke the 5 % limit. These were the Communist Party of the Russian Federation (chairman Zyuganov), the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia (Zhirinovsky), Our Home is Russia (Chernomyrdin) and Yabloko (Yavlinsky).

However, the position of the executive power is strong. The Constitution names the organs and persons which have the right of legislative initiative. They are the President of the Russian Federation, the Soviet of the Federation, the members of the Federal Council, the members of the State Duma, the Government of the Russian Federation, the legislative organs of the subjects of the Russian Federation, the Constitutional Court, the Supreme Court and the Supreme Court of Arbitration of the Russian Federation in questions regarding its competence.

Figure 2: Organs of the Russian Central Administration.



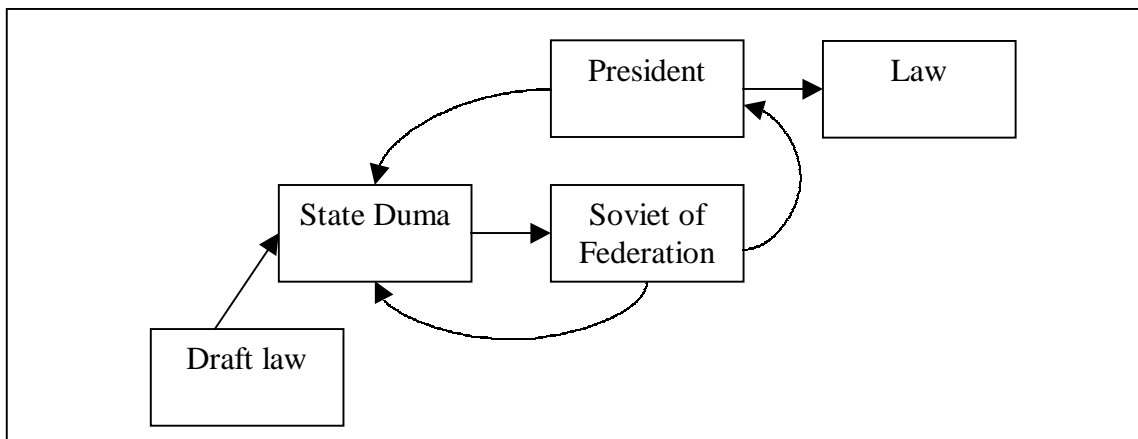
Federal laws are passed by the State Duma by simple majority vote. Then, in five days, the law goes to the Soviet of the Federation, i.e. to the upper chamber. The Federal law is approved by the Soviet Federation if more than half of all the members vote for it or if the law is not seen by the Chamber within 14 days. If a Federal law is not approved by the Soviet of the Federation, it goes next to the State Duma. If 2/3 of the total number of members of the State Duma approve the law, it is considered to be passed. Then the Federal law goes to the President to be approved and signed within 14 days. If the President does not sign it in 14 days, it means that he is opposed to it and the State Duma and the Soviet of Federation should consider this law again. If in their next discussion the law is approved by a majority of 2/3 of the members of both chambers, the President should sign it within seven days.

If a Federal Constitutional law is discussed, the approval of 3/4 of the members of the Soviet Federation and 2/3 of the members of the State Duma is required. Any Federal Constitutional law should be signed by the President within 14 days. The State Duma can be dismissed by the President of the Russian Federation under conditions stipulated by

the Constitution of the Russian Federation. When the President dismisses the State Duma, he gives the date of the election, taking into consideration that a new State Duma should convene not later than four months from the time of dismissal. This is a passive issue of presidential power.

The Constitution stipulates that judicial power is realized only by the courts by means of constitutional, civil, administrative and criminal branches of judicial power. The judicial system of the Russian Federation is laid down by the Constitution and Federal Constitutional Law. The formation of extraordinary courts is strictly forbidden.

Figure 3: The adoption of laws in the Russian Federation.



In 1997 a law on the judicial system in the Russian Federation was passed. It was crucial to implement the law in order to establish independent courts in the Russian Federation. Obviously, the real status of the judicial power does not reflect its mission. Political aspects still dominate all the branches of the State including the judiciary. The separate court system is not a reality in the Russian Federation. The main reason is probably that the state does not have enough financial resources to create the necessary infrastructure for independent courts. Wages are quite low and not always paid on time. There is some level of optimism that the reform of the judicial branch will take place in the near future. The main tasks of the judicial reform in the Russian Federation include establishing the judicial power as an autonomous powerful force independent in its activity from legislative and especially from executive power.

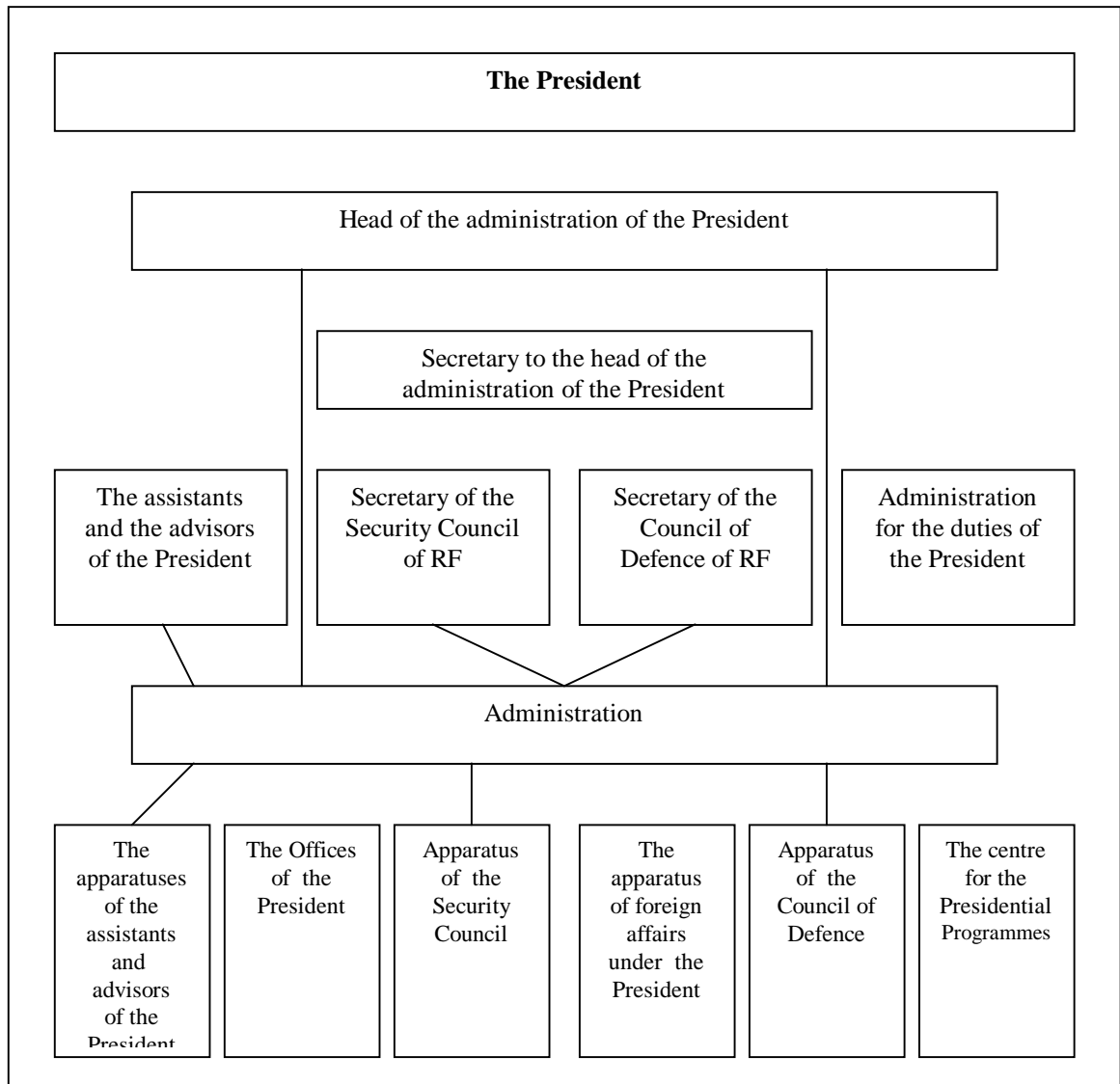
In the project for a common strategy of a European Union partnership with the Russian Federation, the expressed vision is a stable, democratic and prosperous Russia (see EU 150/99). According to this document, the establishment of efficient, transparent public institutions in Russia required confidence and wider adherence to democratic guidelines and the operation of the rule of law. The document stresses the strengthening of institutions in terms of efficiency and responsibility. All branches of society should be given support and respect for the tasks carried out and indeed human freedom according to the judicial principles of the Constitutional rights of the citizens. This includes all repressive organs as well as the transparency of all information about the actions of the repressive and judicial organs.

2.3 Executive Power

The federal organs of executive power are ministries, services of State committees, commissions and other federal organs of executive power. The executive power of the Russian Federation realises the governmental structures. The government is an autonomous organ, which has executive authority in spite of the fact that it comes under the head of State, the President. This is based on the President's right to appoint the Prime Minister and the cabinet. The President also appoints the heads of the offices subordinated to him. In general, there are three levels of executive power, which have definitive autonomy and independent spheres of competence. The status of the President makes him a key element in the State power of Russia. The President is not only head of State but also the guarantor of the Constitution and citizens' rights in the Russian Federation. Article 80 regulates the real status of the President.

The executive branch consists of the federal organs of executive power, the organs of the executive power of the subjects of the Russian Federation and the organs of local executive power. The peculiarity of the modern development of executive power in Russia is the outstanding role of the President of Russian Federation in the political system and the mechanism of State decision-making. Article 14 of the Constitution gives the President great authority in domestic and foreign affairs. In his legal status, the President is head of State and at the same time he has great power, enabling him to realize the executive functions together with the government of the Russian Federation. Very often such dualism causes duplication of the functions between the government of the Russian Federation and the presidential administration of the Russian Federation.

Figure 4: Presidential Administration of the Russian Federation
 (Original: Ohotskiy and Ignatov 1998, 182).



Control over the State apparatus enables the President to use strong administrative apparatus and methods at federal level. The President appoints people to the highest posts in the administration and the judicial system and also dismisses them. In the system of the Russian Federation, the President governs the State and the government implements his policy. His main methods are normative and individual orders (*ukazy*).

The normative orders have a State character. In practice this means a strong legislative role for the President without any obligation to consult legislative organs. Another form of Presidential tools are acts (*akty*), which concern all the territory of the Russian Federation seven days after notice of the acts has been given.

The administration of the President of the Russian Federation is a State organ, which helps and assists the President to implement his core functions, for which reasons it is obvious that the presidential administration is a powerful organ. Thus, it cannot implement decisions like a ministry. The most important units in the presidential administration are the main legal department, main directive department, the department of cadre politics, the territorial department and the security council. The main legal department evaluates the legal acts and documents which are signed by the President of the Russian Federation. According to the recommendations of the main legal department, the President can, for example, delay any law which counteracts the Constitution or other laws of the Russian Federation.

The law on the Russian Federation adopted in 1997 regulates the activities of the Government. The Government of the Russian Federation can, within the limits of its authority, implement the Constitution, federal laws, presidential orders and international treaties of the Russian Federation. It also realises the systematic direction of the organs of executive power and works out measures on disciplinary actions against the law. The Prime Minister has extensive competence in all important administrative questions including the direction of cadre politics.

The leader of the apparatus of the government has the rank of minister, but is a minister without portfolio. In 1998 there were 11 departments and 6 administrative units, which function according to the responsibilities of their branches. The heads of departments have a double role: political and administrative. The double role is confirmed by the appointment of the President on the proposal of the chairman of the government. Every minister has several deputies.

2.4 The Role of the State

In Russia there is a debate on the role of the State in a market economy, which is closely connected with the definitions of decentralisation, federalism and also connected with the possibilities and effectiveness of the actions of the government and different State institutions. After the courts of the centralised system of government, expectations of and confidence in the organisational and political functions of the market increased. Moreover, in a transition economy it is irrelevant to make choices

between market and State as they both should play a strong role in society.

No doubt, a weak state with a low level economy has difficulties in accomplishing the main tasks mentioned to help the development process of society. The main issue in the politics of development of the State is the ability of the government and its structures of State control to develop and improve these aspects. It is very important to underline the problem of the "right" position of the State. Its real role will be defined on the basis of important factors such as changes in economic and social development, national peculiarities and traditions, together with some other issues. The most widespread opinion seems to be that the significance of the State in the development of economic life is inadequate, its role being extremely limited and, moreover, ineffective.

There is a necessity to create a legal basis for the protection of citizens from the influence of State bureaucratic structures. Bureaucracy, in the terms of Max Weber, means a factor that balances various interests in society. A bureaucracy working in a predictable way would, in Weber's opinion, be better for the interests of the masses than a constantly changing corps of officials with great powers to solve matters *in casu*. When the authorities' actions are based on the law, the citizens have the opportunity of assessing independently when and what kind of measures they undertake with the authorities (see Aarrevaara 1998, Temmes 1987).

Citizens must be protected from threats such as corruption in connection with the bureaucratisation of the State apparatus. Otherwise, one could say that this state has definitive limitations in its activity differentiating from other organisational forms in society. The experience of the planning model of economics up to the 1970's showed that heavily centralised functions of the State allow no opportunity to use investments for a long period of time. Another radical alternative was the conception of so-called market socialism.

However, at the beginning of the 1990's the most popular idea was that the main obstacle for effective economic development was the State, and the conception of market domination and the minimisation of the functions of the State, whose only objective must be to co-ordinate actions in situations where the market does not function. This point of view was implemented in the conception of the economic and political development formulated by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF). This structural adjustment package meant for transition countries is known as the Washington Consensus (see e.g. Lavigne 1995, 154). The main idea is the principle that the main task of the government is macro-economic stabilisation, including the liberalisation of trade and privatisation. This consensus was used during the transition

from planned to market economy, and was based on ideas on the stabilisation of society, liberalisation of the markets, privatisation of economic structures and restructuring of administration. The course of policy was not set by one authority, but rather as the sum of many.

However, there were negative results for two reasons. Firstly, the government of Russian Federation did not strictly follow the recommendations of the Washington Consensus. Secondly, this policy was too general in character. It did not take into consideration the peculiarities of each country, and psychological and historical factors. The conclusion is that the role and the significance of the State in the realisation of the tasks of the transition period is extremely important. First of all, the State should identify the problems with priority as it is also practically important to solve the main task of improving the competence of State institutions. The financial sector plays a special role.

The experience in Russia among the other countries shows how important harmonious relations between central and local authorities are in creating and sustaining market confidence. Russia has been moving towards a rule-based system of inter-governmental fiscal relations since 1994, while fixed rules were established for dividing taxes among different tiers of government. However, Russia was liberalised politically while the fiscal structure remained inflexible (World development report 1999/2000, 33, 123).

The main conclusions which should be drawn on the basis of an analysis of the experience of the many countries involved will show that the period of the relaxation of the Washington Consensus is over. The criterion is that the minimisation of the role of the State should be changed into the criterion of "how much" State is necessary for the realisation of its main functions to develop effective market structures. In the case of Russia it will be clearly impossible to create a market economy without the State.

The negative factor in Russia in the process of transition was the very low level of the ability of the State institutions and structures. Moreover, the ability of the State structures should be formed on new principles. This demands totally new specialists in the sphere of State government. Such specialists should have a modern economic education and understand the new tasks of the State institutions. They should have an opportunity to realise the new progressive ideas in the structures of State government and in State institutions. In practice, the strengthening of the State ability and the restoration of credibility of State structures should begin with the reform of State control with a clear understanding of the tasks which should be accomplished by the social structures. These tasks should be realised only by specialists with a high level of

competence who can achieve high profits and who can evaluate the consequences of their decisions. All this demands the creation of the necessary verified data of a definitive and developed vertical structure of State government that takes into consideration the peculiarities of the federalism of the Russian Federation and prescribes distinct functions and tasks for the regional and local levels.

2.5 The Legacy of Russian Civil Service

Russia has many historical trends in the development of the State government. In the Russian historical development the State and State government always played an autonomous and sometimes a decisive role. The Russian State has been greatly influenced by the reformative activity of Peter I, Alexander II, Nicholas I and the Pre-October status of state government under Nicholas II.

The Peter I system of administrative reforms was, without doubt, progressive and had a great role in strengthening all functions in the State. The operative control was many-faced and the original Russian empire became what it was under Peter I. The creative aim of Peter I was to achieve some most important changes aimed at a special regime of the regular State where the power of the monarchy realises the functions of State government with the help of advanced legislative activity. And the will of the monarch was the main driving force for progress.

The whole great territory of the Russian empire was sub-divided first into eight and then into ten provinces (*gubernii*) and the provinces were sub-divided into regions. This ended the influence of *zemstvo* institutions. Peter I's legislation covered all the levels of society including the regulation of industry, the support of its priorities, the regulation of trade, the status of social groups and the activity of State apparatus and bureaucracy. A great number of people were mobilised for different governmental jobs. The system of taxation was changed. Peter I constantly took care of the modernisation of administration to rationalise or modernise Russia and to make it more European he formed a new ruling class: the bureaucracy.

The reforms of Peter I certainly rationalised the government, because every collegium (there were 11) had a general competence conferred by the State. Foreign affairs was the highest administrative collegium and finance questions came under the competence of the following three central institutions: the economic collegium (*kamer-kollegiya*), the office of State (*shtat-kontor-kollegiya*) and the revision collegium (*revizion-kollegiya*). Peter I's reforms touched the activities of the Duma, the system of courts was changed and in Peter's reign the status of the church was changed, too. In the

1720's the statute on the activities of the State collegiums, offices and institutions was given. It regulated the content, competence, functions and order of the activity of the institutions, the organisation and conducting of office work. Every collegium based on the general principles produced documents according to its competence. The rationalisation of the new civil service hierarchy, which abolished the traditional limitation of localities, the merging of functions and the priority of the aristocracy was reflected in the Table of Ranks of 1722, which was the last stage of the administrative reforms of Peter I.

The *boyars* in Russia opposed Peter's autocracy. In 1722, in order to consolidate his position, the Emperor created a civil service system with 14 ranks. This kind of system was common in 17th and 18th-century European state administration. The advisors of Peter I were usually not of noble birth and Peter the Great granted them rank. There was titled nobility - i.e. princes (*velikii kniaz*), dukes (*kniaz*), counts (*graf*) and barons (*baron*) - and even a large nobility without titles. However, the Russian rank system (*tabel o rangah vysokih chinov*) never totally replaced the system of hereditary merit (*mestnitsestvo as placement*), and thus, the titles of the rank system were neither noble nor hereditary. Only a lineage of civil service spanning over generations would normally pave the way to a higher rank (see e.g. Tiihonen 1994).

Post-Caterinian Russia divided into two parts: dvorieanne-run (*dvorianske*) and bureaucratic (*chinovnye*) (Pipes 1995, 137). When filling an office, the function of the rank was to prove that a person had competence comparable to that of a person today holding a university degree. This system favoured the Russian nobility when filling posts. There was a non-titled nobility (*blagarodnie*) corresponding to ranks from XIV to IX and titled nobility corresponding ranks from VIII to I. The titled nobility consisted of the higher nobility (*vysokoblagorodnie*), aristocracy (*vysokorodnie*), excellency (*prevoshoditelsvo*) and "profound" excellency (*vysokoprevoshoditelsvo*). However, mostly a descendant of a nobleman would be appointed to a higher military office.

Figure 5: Rank table of civil servants in 1722 and examples of corresponding ranks
(Bizjukov 1998, 112-113).

Class	Corresponding ranks						
	Noble ranks	Civil ranks	Military ranks	Navy ranks	Court ranks	Education	Ranks in church hierarchy
I		State Chancellor	General field admiral	General admiral	Ober-kamerherr		Metropolitan
II			Artillery general	Admiral			Archbishop
III		Privy councillor			Ober-sheik		Bishop
IV		Real state advisor	Major general	Rear admiral			Archimandrite
V		State advisor		Captain I rank			Igumen
VI		Collegium advisor	Colonel	Captain II rank	Kamer-fuhrer		
VII				Lieutenant-commander			
VIII	Titled nobility I-VIII	Collegial assessor	Major			Doctor	
IX	Non-titled nobility IX-XIV	Title advisor	Cavalry captain	Lieutenant	Hof-fuhrer	Magister	Diakon
X		Collegium secretary				Candidate	
XI		Shipbuilder secretary					
XII		Governor secretary	Poruchik (Cavallier)	Warrant officer	Tabel-dekker	Real student	
XIII		Senate secretary	Podporuchik				
XIV		Collegial registrar	Kornet				

Military ranks - mostly manned by noblemen - were esteemed higher than the corresponding civil ranks (*chin*). The court and the navy also had rankings of their own. As an example, a collegium advisor was of the same level as a colonel (rank 6) and a real advisor of the State was equal to a major-general (rank 4). The rank system formed the discretionary hierarchy around the Emperor.

The main changes in the system of State administration and civil service took place during the rule of Nicholas I. The bureaucratic model of governing of Nicholas I existed to all intents and purposes practically up to the revolution in 1917. During the reign of Nicholas I the reform of the system of government was conducted by issuing a full collection of the laws of the Russian Empire (45 volumes), including the period 1649-1825. One should note the basic document of that time: the statute on the civil service of 1832 regulated the organisation of the civil service. Later on only additions were inserted. In 1834 the order of ranks in the civil service was defined. In 1846 the inspectorate of the civil office was created under the first department of the Empire Office. This department was responsible for monitoring the exact implementation of the existing normative acts which regulated the conduct of the civil service.

Alexander II initiated his reforms in 1861 by a manifesto and the abolition of serfdom. The manifesto included 19 normative acts. It elaborated the statute on the province and legal districts of jurisdiction (*uezd*) and the *zemskie* institutions. The reform of the organs of local self-government (*zemskaja reforma*) was conducted according to this. Under Nicholas II there was an attempt to reform the new model of the State and its social economic organisation in order to successfully harmonise the traditional monarchical community model of Russian society with the development of capitalism in the country. But that attempt proved unsuccessful.

On 17th October 1905 the Czar's manifesto on the modernisation of State order was issued. According to this, the State Duma was formed as a legislative institution. The State Council became the upper chamber and had the right to veto the Duma's decisions. In other words it became a balancing factor. In practice, Russia was not yet a Constitutional monarchy. In 1906 a new edition of the collection of the main laws was issued, where the Czar had the right to dismiss the State Duma and the State Council became the sole ruler in State and social life. The autocratic monarchy was in practice based on the landlords and aristocrats and lost credit in liberal-industrial circles. The historical experience of the civil service in Russia before 1917, the practice of creating a unique system of organs of the civil service adopted in that period, the normative acts on the organisation and the functioning of the civil service deserve special attention today. The unique system of the institution of the civil service, which covered the central State, provincial and regional levels, was formed in Russia from the 18th to the 20th centuries. The civil service (*corpus*) was recognised as a public legal institution, which was responsible for the implementation of State politics on a high professional level. The communist *nomenklatura* carried out the same functions as the rank system. The position (*posad*) in the *nomenklatura* followed the post in the office or factory. This promotion list system became the new system of ranks in Russia in the 1990's.

The great challenge for foreigners attempting cooperation with the Russian administration is to rise above the ethnocentric perspective of comparing the Russian administration to one's own. What is required for fruitful, long-term cooperation is a knowledge of modes of behaviour, interaction and etiquette. Administrators accustomed to western low-context culture seek to support their cooperation through facts and written authorisations. But Russia operates within a high-context culture rich in gestures and images which the newcomer is assumed to comprehend (on low-context and high-context cultures see e.g. Salo-Lee et. al. 1998, 36-37).

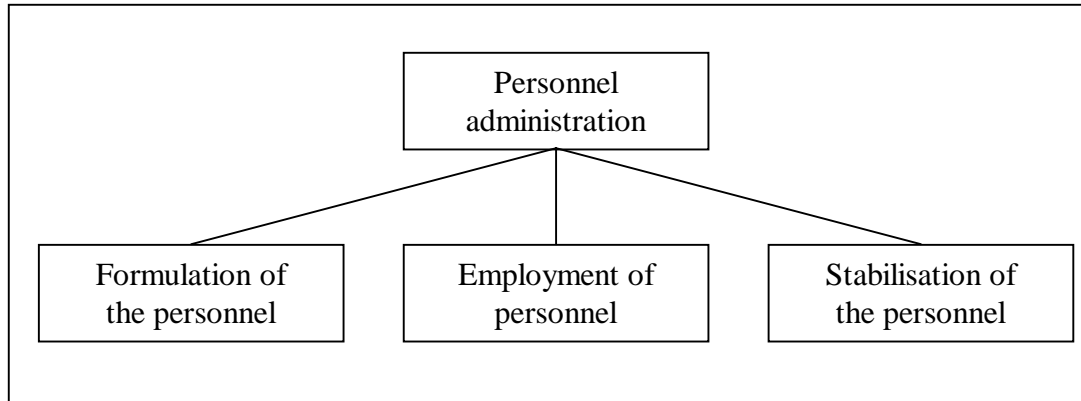
3 The Table of Ranks as an Indicator of the Administrative Structures

3.1 The Cadre and Personnel Administration

In a democratic society the State is the main form of the consolidation of all human, national, social and professional values and the interests of its citizens. The State performs its tasks through the civil service, which is a complex legal and social institution, functioning through the implementation by the people, their professional activity in realising the competence of the State organs and State ranks. The civil service has a very important humanitarian mission and many functions and duties. In the conditions of market economy, civil servants in all branches of State power oversee the effectiveness of the functioning of the state apparatus and safeguard the constitutional guarantees of Russian citizens.

In a situation of conflict between different political parties, groups and movements, it is necessary to have an independent civil service to reflect the interests of the whole society and the state. At the same time it tries to justly evaluate the interests of the different social groups and parties. To fulfil such a responsible task, only a high professional state apparatus can balance the different interests in society. There are two connected sides of one question. First of all, the State should guarantee successful functioning of the civil service, on the other hand, it entrusts the realisation of the State government to highly professional civil servants. According to Ohotskiy, Lukjanenko and Sulemov (1998, 363), there are three functions of personnel administration. Firstly, the formulation of the personnel includes the prognoses and defining of administrative needs, planning, attracting, allocating and recruitment of the personnel, and the termination of their employment contracts and their competitive selection. Secondly, the employment of the personnel includes the professional and qualitative and official promotion of the civil servants in terms of their administrative career, creating the permanent cadre and the improvement of the moral-psychological climate in the work communities. Thirdly, the function of personnel administration is the stabilisation of the personnel, which includes appraising the qualifications of the civil servants as well as ways of promotion and the number of those promoted. It also includes ascertaining the potential of the civil servants, training, continuing education and upgrading the qualifications of the civil servants.

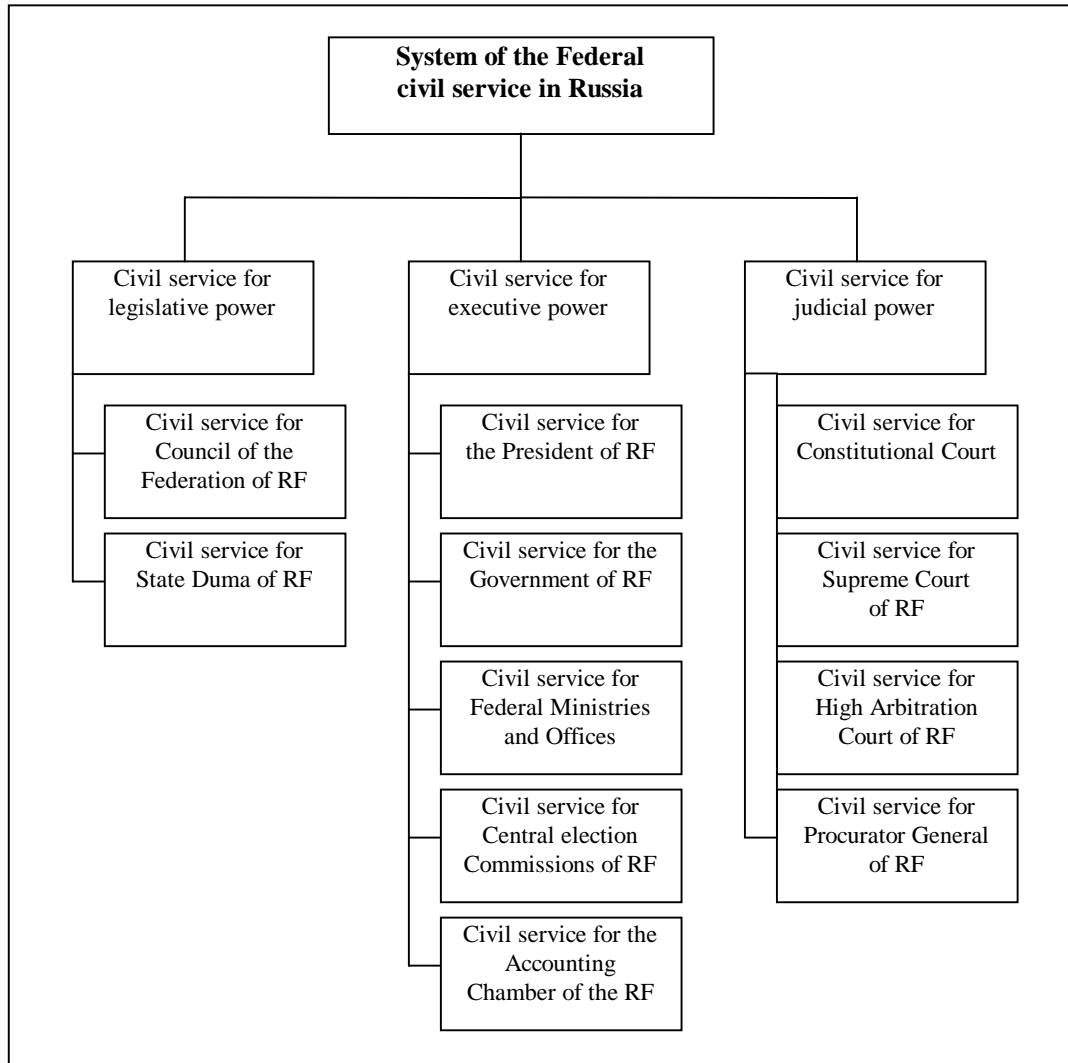
Figure 6: Fields of personnel administration in the Russian Federation.



Nowadays there is a tendency to raise the demands for the qualifications of the personnel of the organs of State government. For example, it has become normal to demand a high professional scientific qualification of representatives of the upper echelons of State personnel. In many European countries there have long been laws regulating questions of the civil service. This legislation reflects the main directions of the State cadre politics to the organs of legislative and executive power. Such legislation can provide the progressive forms and methods of controlling the personnel in all the structures of the State.

The Russian Federation has a State organ which works out the strategy in the field of creating and forming the organisational structures of the State apparatus including cadre politics, prepares the main laws and normative documents, implements the system of the work of civil servants and evaluates the effectiveness of the activeness of the separate state structures. Necessary bureaucratic factors are also the realisation of the reform of the system of State organs, and the co-ordination of research work on the problems of the functioning development of the civil service including the control of the personnel.

Figure 7: The system of the federal civil service
 (Original: Ohotskiy and Ignatov 1998, 224).



In the Russian Federation a major role is played by the Federal Law on the civil service of the Russian Federation. According to this law civil service is a professional activity for the accomplishment of the duties of the State organs. According to the principle of separation of duties and the character of the State organisation, the civil service includes activities that are realised in the apparatus of the organs of the representative and judicial power, in the organs of executive power and also in the other State organs that realise functions on behalf of the State.

Table 1: Total number of civil servants of the Russian Federation
(Source: Statisticheskii bulletin No 1 (40) 1998).

Total number	Federal level	Subjects of RF	Total
Legislative power	3 900	7 200	11 100
Executive power	442 500	542 000	984 500
Judicial administration and Procuracy	111 500	-	111 500
Other State organs	700	1 100	1 800
Civil servants of the State organs and local self-government (1)	558 600	550 300	1 108 900
Total			2 217 800

1) Without the MGA of the RF, Ministry of Defence and other repressive organs

Implementing a new model of civil service has become an important goal for the state. Because of the geopolitical situation, Russia should have a model of civil service which corresponds to the nature of Russia. Global trends and ideas should reach Russia, but the Russian civil service could exist only on the basis of Russian political culture. All the organs and units of the Russian civil service can be based only on the functional structure of the federal State of Russia. The Russian civil service should be an effective legal institution and simultaneously an instrument of the President, the Federal Council and the government and judicial structures. At the same time, it must open the way for the protection of civil rights on the road to the social progress of Russian society.

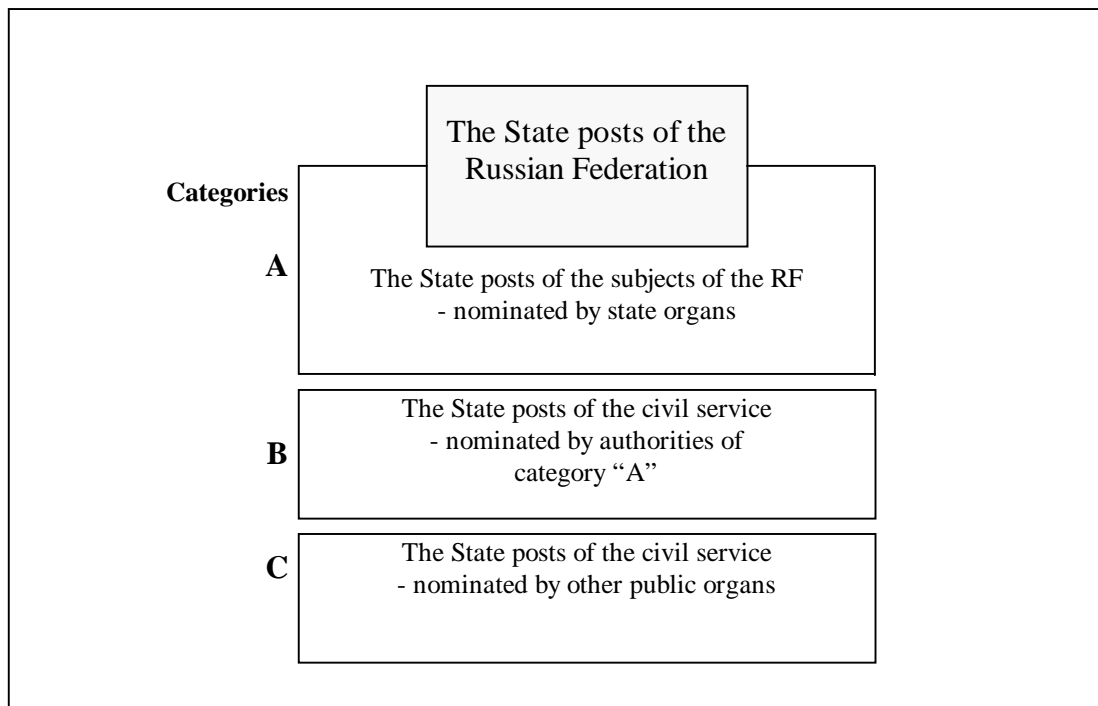
3.2 The Distinction between Political and Career Posts

It is recognized that Federal authorities work in the State organs, institutions and offices on the basis of contracts and civil legal agreements. The civil service of the Russian Federation includes: 1) the federal civil service and 2) the civil service of the subjects of the Russian Federation. The State servants who belong to this system of the federal civil service carry out their duties towards the objectives which are within the competence of the federal organs of the State power of the Russian Federation,

and likewise the other civil servants who carry out their duties on behalf of the Russian Federation towards objectives which are under the common control of the federal organs of the State power of the Russian Federation and the organs of the State power of the subjects of the Russian Federation.

Civil servants in permanent posts are divided into Categories A, B and C. In category 'A' holders of the posts are directly nominated by the federal State organs or through elections. In category 'B' the civil servants are nominated by the institutions of category 'A' and those for which they substitute. In category the 'C' civil servants are nominated by other than federal State organs, i.e. organs of the subjects of the Russian Federation. These civil servants, who are recognized as the civil service of the subjects of the Russian Federation carry out their duties towards objectives under the control of the State power of the subjects of the Russian Federation as are also those civil servants carrying out their duties on behalf of the subjects of the Russian Federation.

Figure 8: The system of posts
(Ohotskiy and Ignatov 1998, 112).



Category A is comprised of the President, the Prime Minister, the other ministers, members of the Federal Council and administrative heads at federal level. Category B consists of those who could be substitutes for those in Category A. They represent positions set up by State organs in order to implement the decisions of Category A. Officials in Category B are temporary and change depending on political power relations. Officials in Category C are permanent and 'not so close to the political kitchen' (*'dalshe otstoyat ot politicheskoy kuhni'*, see Ohotskiy and Ignatov 1998, 111). They are relatively independent civil servants on whom political events have no direct effect. Category C is comprised of the permanent State cadre.

The main tasks of the civil service encompass the practical implementation of the Constitution and other laws of the State. The tasks of the civil servants include the forming of the social-political and State-legal bases by which to accomplish the real connections of the State with the population. There are plenty of challenges for the constant modernisation of the activity of the servants of the State administration due to the scientific organisation of the State control of labour using the modern achievements of science and information technology, as even the democratisation of the State apparatus is creating the conditions for *glasnost* or transparency, by initiating the elimination of bureaucratism, protectionism, corruption and other negative aspects of its activities.

In the work collectives of State organs civil servants are also generally responsible for the creation of organisational and psychological microclimates which will help to develop the best working features and form rational service relationships. They should also work to create an appropriately functioning system for the preparative cadres of the State apparatus, the creation of conditions for progress of the functionaries in their administrative workplaces. The work of the civil servants also includes the definition of the order of the transfer, evaluation and stimulation of the responsibility of the servants working in the State apparatus. During the 1990's, the tasks and functions of the State government have increased, the number of workers in the State apparatus concentrates, as a rule, on the level of regional organs and also on local self-government organs.

The adoption of the federal law on the basis of the civil service transfers the civil service into the legal field. It allows the construction of the State apparatus on a practically new basis and improves the effectiveness of its functions. There are some new normative acts that are helping the formation of the civil service. The great problem is to find common ground for the interaction of State and municipal services. Another feature of the civil service is that they exist both on the federal level and on the level of the subjects of the federation. Just now only half of the subjects of the

Russian Federation have adopted this statute of the civil service. However, a peculiarity of Russia is, that its civil service should be unique because of the necessity to preserve the sovereignty of Russia. The factors which influence the civil service are national consolidation, stabilisation of civil society and the modernisation of the organisational culture.

3.3 The Basis of the New Rank System in the Russian Federation

The personnel administration of civil servants is realised through a system of organisational, legal, economic and ethical methods. Schematically, one should see it as the unity of the three components which compose it. Firstly, the subject of the work of the civil service, secondly, the process or technology and thirdly, the complexity of the methods of work adopted. The basic elements of the mechanism of the cadre politics of the State service are the aims of the cadre work, the criteria of evaluation, selection, development through ethical influence and development of the skills of State service.

What are the characteristic features of the mechanisms of the organisation of cadre work? Firstly, all aspects of democratisation in the selection, training and development of the cadres which are on a scientific level and an understanding the problems and high professionalism. The plan to renew the reserve of the cadres which includes selection control and studying and giving the civil servants assistance during the period of adaptation. Also, the complete elimination of the formal nomenclature attitude, and using, first of all, a competitive method of promotion for the civil servants. Transparency is essential in personnel administration, but it is something new in the post-nomenclature of the Russian civil service. The presidential order of January 1996 ("*O kvalifikatsionnyh trebovaniyah po gosudarstvennym dolzhnostyam federalnoj gosudarstvennoj sluzhby*", 30.1.1996, No 123) explicated the rules of promotion in State organs as seen in Figure 9. The organisation of continuing education on the basis of active self-education with a wide network of training, continuing training and upgrading of the qualifications of the State servants is essential.

Figure 9: General basis for promotions in the Russian civil service.
(Ohotskiy and Ignatov 1998, 469).

Groups of the posts Demands	Higher <i>Vyshie</i>	Principal <i>Glavnye</i>	Chief <i>Vedustchih</i>	Senior <i>Starshie</i>	Junior <i>Mladshie</i>
Length of State service	Generally not less than two years at principal level	Not less than two years at chief level	Not less than two years at senior level	Not defined	Not defined
Length of experience in the specialization	Minimum five years	Minimum three years	Minimum three years	Minimum three years	Not defined

The greater the importance of studies is regarding a certain position, the more important is the evaluation of State servants, likewise the actual qualification of the State servants vis à vis their tasks, the level of professional qualification and professionalism. Using the norms of effectiveness of cadre work is an important criterion in the evaluation of public administration workers.

There are some negative factors which influence the effectiveness of the forming of a modern State apparatus, the conflict being between the administrative system and the democratic form of self-government, the contradiction between autocracy and collectivism in the making of decisions. Since the economic crisis started in August 1998 there has been a great lack of trust among the population in the effectiveness of implementation of public administration. The civil servants know the needs and demands of the people, but someone should pay for the services. There is no tradition of customer-orientation in Russia. The main difficulties in the functioning of the reform of the State apparatus are that there is too much hierarchy and too many judicial and social norms. Only in the field of economics and administration is there a weak tendency towards deregulation.

The process of forming the contingent of the modern civil service has its peculiarities. Firstly, the civil service apparatus is subordinated to a high administration. Secondly, it depends on the concrete stage of the development of control. Thirdly, the choice of

cadre politics should be based on the Russian Constitution and normative acts. The cadre politics is directed by the state administrative structure and personnel (see Appendix 2). The elements are human resources, the formation of the State direction and forming private structures. Cadre politics varies between these branches. It is important to take into consideration the real demographic situation, the evaluation status of the cadres, the employment of the population and the direction system of the personnel.

The executive power has a separate structure on the federal, regional and local levels which includes 65 federal ministries and 87 subjects of the Russian Federation. However, nowadays the State civil service and cadre politics are in a situation of deep crisis. In recent years the situation has worsened, and there is a tendency for qualified civil servants to leave their posts; they are more often willing to work in private structures. Another negative tendency is that the cadre is getting older year by year. Table 2 shows the age distribution in 1997.

Table 2: Distribution of permanent civil servants according to age
(Source: ANH / Matirko 1999).

	Up to 29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60 and older	In all
Higher	0	3 600	45 800	41 000	9 600	100 000
Principal	0	7 800	33 500	44 900	13 800	100 000
Chief	700	7 900	33 700	42 300	15 400	100 000
Senior	3 500	13 500	34 400	39 000	9 600	100 000
Junior	22 500	18 500	29 900	24 200	4 500	99 600
Total	26 700	51 300	177 300	191 400	52 900	499 600

Many factors show that there is a great lack of professionalism among the civil servants. Only 1/5 has an education corresponding to their posts, and only 1/4 of the new State civil servants has work experience in the State structures. Taking into consideration the principle of the separation of powers and the specific activities of the executive branch, there is a need for a new conception of State cadre politics.

In many transition countries, the proportion of women among the higher civil servants is very low. Their number and level of education stand in no relation to their employment patterns or position in society. In Russia, there are very few women in principal or higher posts. In the Russian public administration, women occupy 55.9 % of jobs, but only 2.4 % of those in higher posts are women. The number of 'pink-collar' workers among women is far higher than in the higher levels of civil service posts. Promoting equal opportunities for men and women is a goal for the future. However, the proportion of women among the employees is increasing in all levels of posts except in the more political category 'B' as seen in Table 3.

Table 3: Share of civil servants in the Russian Federation in categories B and C by gender

(Source: The Academy of National Economy under the Government of the Russian Federation 1999).

	1995	1995	1997	1997
	men (%)	women (%)	men (%)	women (%)
Civil servants	46.3	53.7	44.1	55.9
Category B	73.3	26.7	81.2	18.8
Category C				
Higher	98.8	1.2	97.6	2.4
Principal	96.5	3.5	94.0	6.0
Chief	84.4	15.6	80.8	19.2
Senior	56.0	44.0	52.9	47.1
Junior	21.6	78.4	20.1	79.9

Even in times of economic austerity there is a permanent civil service taking care of its duties in Russia. Economic regulation is the most important means at the disposal of the State. When this does not work, the importance of the executive civil servants is emphasised. The essential functions must be accomplished regardless of how this can be financed. In such a situation, a competent civil service can promote the accomplishment of objectives through confidence and reciprocity. Civil servants are therefore motivated through other factors than salary. There is systematic education to support civil servants' self-development and professional competence. The civil

service constitutes a cadre in the sense that professional careers are not related to political clout but to expertise and sustained career development. Political appointments have a system of their own which we do not address in the present publication.

3.4 Classifying the Civil Servants

In the 1990s a new system of ranks has been developed which directs the further development of civil servants' competencies and defines the principles for promotion. As in the era of Peter I, it was necessary to offer civil servants titles to indicate the existence of delineated tasks in the absence of clear State structures. This represents an attempt by the Head of State to secure the commitment and obedience of civil servants. The objective is that recruitment to the system of ranks be made at an early age and that retirement should be at the age of 60, or at 65 in the cases of the most senior posts. Enhancement of personal competence is reflected in the system of ranks as promotion. Moreover, the enhancement of competence is also seen in the principles for remuneration. Official posts are divided into five classes to which it is intended to open promotion prospects through continuing education. In practice this system does not yet function to the intended extent. However, the education for top management is efficient.

The Russian civil service can be defined through five different characteristics. First, the post may be located within the legislative, executive or judicial institutions. Second, the post may be under the federation, a region or province, or a district, or then under the structures of local government. Third, posts are divided into three *categories*. Category A includes those posts to which appointment is made by the State organs. Category B includes those posts to which appointment is made by the institutions of Category A. Category C includes those posts to which appointment is made by the office or institution which has created the post.

Figure 10: Classification of the civil servants
(Ohotskiy and Ignatov 1998, 469).

No	The basis for the classification	The main groups civil servants
1	Branches of the State	The civil servants for 1) legislative, 2) executive 3) judicial powers
2	Level of the State power	The civil servants for the 1) federal, 2) regional, 3) district and 4) local organs
3	Civil service categories	1) substitutes for category 'A' (category 'B'), 2) career servants (category 'C')
4	Categories of posts	The civil servants of higher (5 th), principal (4 th), chief (3 rd), senior (2 nd) and junior (1 st) groups
5	Hierarchy of ranks (three classes in each)	The civil servants of 1) full State advisors 2) State advisors 3) advisors of the RF 4) advisors of the State civil service 5) experts in the civil service

The fourth principle for the division indicates the stage of the civil servant's career. The posts are junior, senior, chief, principal and higher. A junior post can be attained without working experience, while other posts do require working experience. Appointment of individuals to posts at the senior level is possible for career officials without experience of civil service if they have accumulated significant experience in the service of other employers in their own fields. The three top classes require experience both in the individual's own field and of civil service. Promotion is made only after experience has been gained and not less frequently than at three to five-year intervals.

The fifth principle for appointment to posts is connected to the title of the incumbent, and these are conferred on five levels. The lowest level covers experts in the civil service (*referenty gosudarstvennoi sluzby*). The next is that of Advisor of the Civil Service (*sovetniki gosudarstvennoi sluzby*), after which comes the title of Advisor of the Russian Federation (*sovetniki RF*). The second top category is State Advisor (*gosudarstvennye sovetniki RF*), and the highest level is Full State Advisor

(deistvitelnye gosudarstvennye sovetniki RF). The system has certain connections with the system of ranks introduced in 1722 by Peter I. In the time of Peter I, the State institutions were initially weak and rested on the personal attributes of the incumbents. In the early 1990s the institutions of the Russian Federation were maintained on meagre resources, so that the importance of the incumbents exceeded that of the posts. In the early 1990s the system of ranks was the basis for the system of nomenclature, so that it was possible to build the structure of the State on it. The disadvantage of the system is co-ordination problems in the function of administration, venal characters, inability to change and difficulty in making development reach the entire administration.

4 The Training System of the Civil Service

4.1 Educational Institutions and Standards

The Russian system of education is a complexity of connected elements. There are educational programmes, educational standards, the educational institutions, the organs of the control of education and institutions and organisations to ensure compliance therewith. The educational programs define the content of education and the State educational standards specify the structure of the educational programs. The educational programmes have different forms and many stages, each having a definitive micro system within the overall system of education. The concrete forms of the education programmes are the main and complete professional programs, among which there are programmes for higher and secondary professional education. The average professional education serves for the instruction of specialists of the middle level in the educational institutions of the secondary special schools.

Training, continuing training and upgrading of qualifications are realised in special secondary institution as well as in the institutions for higher education, the special educational institutions and the special educational institutions for overall special training. The definition of training is understood to have different meanings in the order (*ukaz*) of the President of the Russian Federation of 2 September 1997, No. 983 regarding the "Complete methods for the training of State servants" including the professional continuing education, upgrading of qualifications and training abroad. Another meaning of this word is that training is understood as the preparation of specialists in the institutions of special training. These two meanings are not mutually exclusive. 'Training' will be used in both senses in this study.

Higher professional education defines the training and continuing education of specialists at higher level. This education can be achieved in the higher educational institutions, which are universities and academies. The following stages of higher education exist: the Bachelor's degree, specialist and Master's degree. The distinction between these degrees is that the university offers the educational programmes in high and post-graduate professional education according to a wider spectrum of specialities which differ from those offered by the academies. Universities also undertake basic scientific research in a wide range of sciences.

Academies fulfil tasks for specific spheres of scientific and pedagogical activity, and institutes fulfil equivalent tasks for a certain field of professional activity. In contrast to the institute the university and the academy are the leading scientific and

methodological centres in the fields of their activities.

The purpose of the future of professional training is to upgrade the professional knowledge of specialists. The scope of training includes the modernisation of working conditions and preparation for the realisation of new administrative functions. The concrete types of complete professional education are future training, professional continuing education and the upgrading of all qualifications as well as special courses. All professional education and training for the civil service is carried out by educational institutions for higher, secondary and professional education. Taking into consideration the modernisation of professional knowledge, skills and practices of the State services or their preparation for new types of professional activity necessitates a structural change in the organs of state control and thus changes in the qualifications for State ranks (Ivanov 1998, 80). Civil service ranks are only one of the ranks in State service. The qualifications of the group indicate the position of the incumbent of the post in the administrative hierarchy, and the tier is divided into three categories describing professional competence. The level (1, 2 or 3) signifies the benefits or incentives for a civil servant. The key to reaching a higher level is education, continuing training and the length of service as a civil servant.

The educational institutions for overall professional education realising such programmes are the academies, instituted for upgrading qualifications, courses, schools, the centres for qualification upgrading and the training centre for the employment service. The academy for overall professional education is one of the leading scientific methodological centres for specific fields of skills. Training the cadres with higher qualifications involves fundamental and pragmatic scientific research to provide consultative, methodological and analytical support for the other educational institutions for upgrading one's qualifications.

An institute for upgrading of qualifications realises its mission and the professional continuing education of specialists works through scientific research and consultative and methodological support. The institutes for upgrading qualifications are regional and branch centres for upgrading qualifications and the professional continuing education of the specialists includes the scientific centres for the professional education training and upgrading of the qualifications of persons who are retired from the armed forces of the Russian Federation. There are courses, schools and scientific centres to train redundant workers from factories and organisations to become experts with a view to providing them with up-to-date knowledge and practical skills for their new professional activities (*Sbornik normativno-pravovyh i metodicheskikh dokumentov v sfere dopolnitelnogo professionalnogo obrazovanya* 1998, 167-171).

Figure 11: Educational standards in the civil service.

Qualifications of the groups	Groups of State posts in the civil service	Educational Standard
Full State advisor of the RF	higher – 5 th group	higher education
State advisor of the RF	principal – 4 th group	higher education
The advisor of RF	chief – 3 rd group	higher education
Advisor of the civil service	senior – 2 nd group	higher education
Expert of the civil service	junior – 1 st group	secondary education

The secondary educational institutions and institutes of higher education take care of the preparation of specialists of the secondary level (bachelor), the diploma specialist of the higher level and masters who, after graduation, can be recruited for State and municipal service. The specialists of the secondary level may attain the junior or lower State ranks, if they have secondary special education specialising in State service or equivalent education. For the principal and chief State positions (*starshih, vedustchih, glavnyh i vysshih gosudarstvennyh dolzhnosty*), one should have a higher professional education. Especially for higher and principal State positions one should have higher professional education with specialisation in public administration or equivalent. For principal State positions (ranks) one should have high professional education with specialisation in administrative science or education equal to the complete high professional education with specialization in State service.

The system of higher educational institutions for training for the State and municipal service consists of the educational institutions or higher professional education, specialising in public or local administration. In 1997 there were 74 institutions of higher education offering teaching in administrative science, specialising in State and municipal administration. Specialist training was available in 64 of these institutions. Of these institutes 52 are owned by the State and the rest are owned by foundations, or are completely private. The total number of students was 21 000. Only 17 State educational institutions of higher professional education had graduates specialising in administrative science. They produced 2100 graduates including 1300 who were full-time students (*Podgotovka, perepodgotovka i povyshenie kvalifikatsii*

gosudarstvennyh sluschastsih 1998, 209).

The higher educational institutions which train the specialists in administrative science for the State and local governments also offer continuing education and upgrading of qualifications in the civil service. A total of 30 State educational offices or institutions offer professional continuing education and upgrading of qualifications for the civil service (Ivanov 1998, 70).

A distinction should be made between continuing education and professional continuing education. For example, in the typical statute the name of an educational institution of the further professional training (or upgrading of qualifications) of specialists it is noted that the aim of the continuing education of specialists is to equip them for the new speciality or qualification on the basis of existing high and secondary professional education. Continuing education is considered to be secondary high and secondary professional education (*Sbornik normativno-pravovyh i metodicheskikh dokumentov v sfere dopolnitelnogo professionalnogo obrazovanya 1998, 170).*

The aim is to acquire complete knowledge and skills through educational programs in separate branches of science and technologies (ibid., 169). The upgrading of a qualification is to update students' knowledge, and is realised by the order of the President (no. 983/97). This is found in the normative act of the government of the Russian Federation of 13th September 1994 no. 1047 on the organisation of continuing education and upgrading of the qualifications of the federal organs of executive power. It means that every person in State service in executive power should undertake continuing training once in five years. If the civil servant is in the position of vice-head of a department s/he should participate in continuing education once every three years.

The capacity of the State education institutions training civil servants can supply the continuing education for upgrading qualifications to a maximum of 50,000 civil servants every year (*Podgotovka, perepodgotovka i povyshenie kvalifikatsii gosudarstvennyh sluschastsih 1998, 206).* An outstanding role in the system of such educational institutions is played by the Russian Academy for Public Administration under the President of the Russian Federation, founded in 1994 as a federal higher educational scientific institution. The Academy realises the functions of a leading, scientific, methodological and analytical centre in the sphere of State service. There are subsidiaries, such as the Academy of State on Municipal Administration (Moscow) and nine regional academies of State civil service.

4.2 Professional Training Programmes

One of the higher educational institutions is the Academy of National Economy (ANH). It is a State educational and scientific institution offering programmes in post-graduate and complete professional training.

Its main activities are:

- training, continuing education and upgrading of the qualifications of the civil servants for the federal organs and the subjects of the Russian Federation
- the civil servants of the local organs of self-government
- the civil servants in the reserve for transfer to the higher State positions.

The Financial Academy forms a very important part of the education system of civil servants training civil servants for the financial and economic departments of the federal organs of executive power, the organs of the State power of the subjects of the Russian Federation in the spheres of finance, credit, assessment, audit and international economic relations. A very important part of the civil servants' educational system is the State University of Public Administration (GUU). It includes an institute for public administration.

Only 1700 State servants and civil servants for local self-government graduated from these educational structures between January 1996 and October 1997. The system of the Federal organs of executive power contains a branch (*otraslevye*) for the education of civil servants. For example, State universities, higher educational institutes train civil servants in economics, management, public administration and law. Another part of the system is the academy of budget and treasury under the Ministry of Finance of the Russian Federation, which trains specialists in budgeting, budget processes, the treasury, financial control, taxes, financial markets and auditing. All Russian State tax academies, the Academy of Tax Police of the Federal Service of the Russian Federation, all Russian Academies for foreign trade under the Ministry of Trade of the Russian Federation, the Russian Academy of Law under the Ministry of Justice of the Russian Federation, the Russian Customs Academy under the State Customs Committee of the Russian Federation and the Diplomatic Academy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation offer training, continuing education and upgrading of the qualifications of civil servants for their respective branches.

The professional training, upgrading of qualifications and the sending of the State servants abroad for training take place on the orders of the President of the Russian Federation on further measures for the training of civil servants. Professional

continuing education is for state servants who are appointed to federal State chief positions for the first time. This excludes lawyers and the deputies of the heads of department and those working for the first year in the positions mentioned. The upgrading of qualifications should be realised for State civil servants who are in the chief positions, not lower than head of department. According to the President's order, the civil servants who are not more than 40 years old and who simultaneously work for the federal service should be sent abroad for training. Those who are discharged from the military and who are not more than 35 years old should also be sent abroad for training. This goal should be seen from the point of view of strengthening the rule of law and public institutions. Developing training programmes for prospective politicians and civil servants is one of the areas of cooperation between the European Union and the Russian Federation (EU 150/99, II/1).

The administration of the President of the Russian Federation and the apparatus of the government of the Russian Federation annually work out a concrete plan for training State servants on the basis of the proposal of the organs of State power and the subjects of the Russian Federation. According to these plans all training of civil servants is prepared in the Russian Academy of Public Administration under the President of the Russian Federation, its filials and the Academy of National Economy. For example, in 1998/99 it is planned to offer training to 8353 and 8189 civil servants, including programmes of professional training (836 and 887) and programmes for upgrading qualifications (7022 and 6952). This training is financed by the federal budget under the Presidential order of 7 February 1995, (No. 103) on the preparation and implementation of the State plan. The co-ordination of the work and implementation of the plan for training is the Soviet on the cadre politics under the President of the Russian Federation.

The interministerial commission responsible for continuing education and upgrading of qualifications co-ordinates the activities of the federal organs of executive power. The only educational institutions authorised to offer training are defined by the resolution of the government of the Russian Federation. Among these institutions are the Financial Academy after Plekhanov, the Financial Academy under the government of the Russian Federation, the Russian Academy of Foreign Trade, the Moscow Legal Academy and the Interbranch Institution for the upgrading of qualifications. In 1996/97, 4972 peoples undertook training including principal State positions (34), the chief State positions (7552), senior State positions (2165) and junior positions (2021). In 1996 a total of 3275, i.e. 14 % of all the State civil servants of the Federal Branch studied. The plan was to offer training to 6000 civil servants yearly, but in reality this was 1544 (*Podgotovka, perepodgotovka i povyshenie kvalifikatsii gosudarstvennyh sluschastsih 1998*, 208 and 225). The President's order of 23 August 1994 (No. 1722)

"On the Upgrading of Qualifications of the Federal Civil Servants" regulates the training and education in non-state institutions situated in the regions where former civil servants are permanently resident. However, the system of upgrading of qualifications is disjointed, but in a way also responsive.

The resolution of the President of the Russian Federation on complete methods foresees compulsory training for those newly appointed as deputies or heads of department. However, there is no system of training the highest federal State servants. Therefore their training is based on individual programmes. According to the President's order hundreds of servants are being trained abroad. For example, in Finland by the Finnish Institute of Public Management, universities and other Finnish institutes for training and continuing education.

The forms of training are full-time training, evening classes, correspondence courses and distant learning, self-access and external studies. The period for day-time training is on average 4 years for the Bachelor's degree, 5 years for a specialist and 6 years for a master's degree. For continuing education civil servants are guaranteed a studying place for a 3-6 months leave of absence in their civil service. During that time servants receive their salaries and use this time only for studying. For upgrading of qualifications the time for study on full salary is 2-6 weeks.

According to the educational standard training is offered at three levels

- short-term programmes (72-100 hours of teaching)
- middle-term programmes for upgrading qualifications (101-500 hours of teaching)
- professional continuing education (over 500 hours of teaching)
(Sbornik 1998, 352-353)

Long-term training is organised under professional program titles. Civil servants become acquainted with their colleagues from other organs, and they create useful social networks during their studies. The professional training and upgrading of qualifications includes, for example, the following themes:

- civil service of the Russian Federation
- administrative structure and direction
- municipal administration
- economics and social politics
- political science
- sociology and psychology

- world economics
- finance and credit
- international economic relations
- control of State property
- financial control and analysis of investment projects
- information and documentation
- information technology
- military economics and national security.

In 1996, 22.8 % of the civil servants involved studied economics and social policies, 22.3 % information technology, 20.1 % public and municipal administration, 6.8 % personnel administration, 1.8 jurisprudence and 7.2 % other subjects. Training programs in the Academy of National Economics are presented in Appendix 3.

These are the basic requirements for the professional educational programmes:

- correspondence to the profession and position in question
- consequences of the State standards of the high and secondary professional training
- orientation in modern technologies and methods of training
- suitability of the programmes of extra professional training regarding types and terms
- relevance of the content regarding the types of complete professional training (*Podgotovka, perepodgotovka i povyslenie kvalifikatsii gosudarstvennyh sluschastsih 1998, 158*)

Every educational institution autonomously defines the concrete content of the programmes. There are also courses in foreign languages and other short courses. Special courses also exist on the adoption of information technologies in administration and various routines.

4.3 Towards a Modern Conception of Cadre Politics

There is a necessity to use the labour resources effectively in Russia. This task depends on the upgrading of the professionalism of the State civil service. In many aspects the cadre politics of modern Russia is connected with the traditions of the former Soviet politics in this sphere. During the Soviet era, the work with the cadres was part of former party politics. However, V.I. Lenin demanded Soviet State servants have a high political and scientific professionalism. A famous slogan of the CPSU describes

the crucial status of the civil service: "The cadre decides everything" ("*Kadry reshayut vse*"). In Soviet history one very negative factor was that Stalin politically repressed the State apparatus in the 1930's and 40's. In the 1960's the narrowing of the initiative of the State servants was a negative factor. During the Brezhnev epoch there was no real renewing at the cadres. But, during the Gorbachev epoch, the interests of the civil servants were really neglected, and the mechanism of rotation of the cadres between the centre and the regions did not function effectively. The transition to market economy needs to solve essentially new tasks. The most important among these is the effective use of the cadre resources. It is necessary to work out a distinct cadre conception of State politics.

The civil servants are now a crucial component of the overall system of public administration. The necessity of carrying out cadre politics and implementing the mechanism of its realisation are the real prerequisites for a more effective realisation of the functions of State direction in the immediate future. That is why we should pay more attention to the real interaction between the State civil servants and the other components of the system of State administration.

A good guarantee of the effectiveness of the concept of cadre politics in concrete historical conditions is its co-ordinated nature, its logical ideas and experience, and at the same time its pursuit of innovative solutions. One of the most important functions of the State in its cadre politics is the selection, structurization and moral influence over civil servants and operations at the appropriate professional level in all these spheres of economics. The problem mentioned is extremely important both for Russia and other developed countries. The competence of State civil servants in State politics is professionalism in its concrete sphere. It is necessary to evaluate more fundamentally the legal documents which were adopted in the sphere of cadre politics and to work out constructive propositions for radical achievement of all the systems of the work with the public service personnel in Russia, first of all in the Federal State apparatus.

The great changes in social and State life which exist now and the transition to a market economy necessitates a new type of civil servant. This means people who can adapt to identifying and solving problems on a complex level, who are capable of understanding the changes. There is still a widespread idea that existed under the previous cadre politics that one cannot influence the transformation of society. It is evident, that one should radically change this world view and attitudes to people and events.

What are the main tasks in forming a modern conception of State cadre politics in Russia? Firstly, we should change the static thinking of State civil servants, which is

oriented in absolutism and repetition of previous experiences. Secondly, one should transform that thinking into something dynamic, capable of transforming scientific ideas into a real programme of radical change in the concrete sphere of public administration. Thirdly, the State civil servants should abandon the old methods of a time when the producer dictated to the consumer. Fourthly, one should teach the State civil service how to consolidate the collective of people in labour conflicts. Fifthly, to ensure a high level of leadership, one should create conditions to motivate State civil servants in high posts. Sixthly, ethical demands should be part of individual everyday existence.

The presidential decisions stress a new cadre politics. According to them, the main aim of the cadre politics is to train the State civil servants of the new generation, which will be based on analytical thinking, to find new ways of making untraditional decisions and of coordinating their qualities with humane methods to influence the people. Such civil servants will be social leaders who are ready to consolidate collective actions and stimulate the activities of their subordinates.

How can one reach these results? First of all, by spreading democracy and transparency. Another way is spreading the competitive method of selecting leaders for State civil service. This will overcome the old administrative methods and solve socio-economic problems. This task is to be an important element in the system of State administration. As we can see, the task of the preparation of the new type of civil service is not only extremely important, but indispensable, demanding constant attention and decisive methods.

5 Conclusions

Russian administration today is much researched, and particularly those aspects where little material has earlier been available. Even though information regarding the Russian administrative structures is changing, it is, nevertheless, possible to comprehend the system and the way in which the civil service is organised. The structure of posts is governed by practice and principles, partly dependent on persons and independent of the organisations. In many matters pertaining to public administration, Russia has reverted to the nomenclature of the nineteenth century although differences in content are frequently the case.

Modern Russia has chosen the federation as her form of government, with a division into State government on the one hand and local self government on the other. Compared to the provinces (*oblasty*), the major conurbations (Moscow and St. Petersburg) enjoy considerable independence, while smaller units are frequently lacking in independence due to inadequate resources. It is characteristic of the system that those elements (*subjekty*) comprising the federation select their civil servants in a distinctly independent manner. However, in practice this means that the position and powers of civil servants depend on the level of the administration organ by which they were appointed. The main bodies of the central administration are the legislative, the executive and the judicial. Each of these has its own civil service and its cadres.

There are currently some 1.1 million administrative officials of State service in the Russian Federation, some half million of these being permanent cadre officials. Training for the civil service in the Russian Federation is mostly arranged in the form of continuing education after graduation, since diplomas are generally geared to expertise in specific fields. Medical practitioners, engineers, teachers and agricultural graduates, for example, perform important administrative functions in their fields, but their basic education does not necessarily support competence in economics or administration. In recent years the independent position of officials has been strengthened and the principles for promotion clarified. Career advancement is more closely linked to continuing education and experience in a specific field. Further education is a basis for promotions and every year every seventh official is engaged in full-time study. The educational institutions, such as the Russian Academy of Civil Service under President of Russian Federation (*RAGS*), the Academy of National Economy under the Government of the Russian Federation (*ANH*) and the State University of Public Administration (*GUU*), are prestigious, and officials studying there retain their benefits, among them entitlement to their salaries.

In the Soviet era matters pertaining to official positions and tasks were only partly public. The present endeavour at openness in modern Russia shows, among other things, that an effort is being made on the President's decision to ensure that civil servants have periods of continuing training abroad. The part played by the European Union in arranging this training has been praiseworthy, but the objectives of the training abroad have not yet been realised to the desired extent.

Recognising the position and powers of a Russian civil servant is an important matter for public administration and economic life in the Member States of the European Union. When the Russian Federation was founded, its administrative units were poorly formed and their powers in many issues were debatable. To this day the remuneration is modest in relation to the burden of responsibility and the level of requirements. Incentives had to be found elsewhere. Russia therefore reinstated the previous system of ranks, by which advancement yields personal benefits and prestige. The rank system has five tiers. First come experts in the civil service (*referenty gosudarstvennoi sluzby*), from which one progresses to Advisor of the Civil Service (*sovetniki gosudarstvennoi sluzby*) and further to Advisor of the Russian Federation (*sovetniki RF*). The uppermost levels are State Advisor of the Russian Federation (*gosudarstvennye sovetniki RF*) and Full State Advisor of the Russian Federation (*deistvitelnye gosudarstvennye sovetniki RF*). The advisor title does not relate sufficiently to professional or educational fitness for any given position. Thus every tier is divided into three categories describing professional competence. This results in 15 classes, which is more than in the Table of Ranks of 1722 in the days of Peter I. In contrast to the 18th Century, women are also eligible for public service in modern Russia. However, there is a preponderance of men in the positions of Category C, except for the most junior posts. Women are also clearly under-represented in Category B, but to a lesser extent than in the permanent positions.

The system of official posts is clear, and also defines the official's position and powers. Information on a Russian official's powers stems from five areas. Three of these enable us to estimate an individual's tasks, powers and position, i.e. one must orientate through 'longitude, latitude and height above sea level'. In addition to a title as in the table of Ranks, officials have their actual positions. They function as junior or senior officials, in managerial positions, as principal or in the highest position in an organisation. In contrast to the rank, the post is closely tied to the tasks. These posts are further divided into temporary and permanent. The powers of an official are also linked to the administrative level at which the appointment was made, these being the Federation, Republic, province, district, territory, autonomous area or region. The officials appointed by the highest State organs enjoy the greatest powers. The power

vested in a post further depends on whether the body making the appointment is legislative, executive or judicial.

The central administration of the State comprises those groups of tasks: the creation of the personnel, the division of labour and the stabilisation of that personnel. The first of these entails forecasting the need for officials, both quantitatively and with regard to specific expertise. The main background consideration is reconnaissance of administrative needs in functions appertaining to the creation of a personnel the establishment of recruitment channels and allocation of resources among the various administrative fields.. The actual selection of personnel also comes under this function.

Acting as an employer entails quality assurance in the civil service. It is also the employer's duty to take decisions on training needs and extends as a part of organisational development. One of the most important functions of the employer is to implement promotions. It may be stated that the prospect of promotion serves as an effective motivation only when the bases for promotion are familiar to all in advance. In the organisation of efficient activity the creation of a permanent civil service and the commitment of a competent personnel to State administration are major prerequisites. This also entails support for the unofficial work community. Because of the high-context culture of Russia, the unofficial work community is a more important factor than it is in Western Europe. The unofficial work community is a social organisation capable in the optimal case of lending support to the official organisation. It stresses the responsibility of its members and bypasses the official power structures. Responsibility, trust and interaction enable lateral contacts as opposed to hierarchical contacts. Reciprocal action in Russia enjoys a long tradition and explains why many public organisations are actually more efficient than economic yardsticks might suggest. It is in the employer's interest to support the unofficial dimensions of the work community. The third task is the regularisation of the personnel, which entails the evaluation of the factors pertaining to knowledge and skills. It is on the basis of these that training programmes are designed for the organisations and for the individuals.

Turnover of personnel is one of the key problems in Russian public administration today. Since the economic crisis of 1998, the problem of paying wages has been much more apparent at all levels of administration. Ensuring the commitment of a competent personnel ensures continuity, which in turn is a prerequisite of efficiency. The crux of the dilemma is that as the personnel improves professionally, their value on the job markets is also high. Organising continuing education is such a way as to ensure that it also supports career advancement and upgrading of the personnel creates long-term objectives, and it is against this background that the opportunity offered to officials to

take part of their continuing education abroad should be contemplated. Nevertheless, training within the offices also merits attention. Centralised continuing education including periods abroad cannot totally compensate traditional organisational development. In the Russian situation, ensuring the commitment of the entire work community to training projects and annexing training to practical task development is an effective and recommendable way to reach large groups of civil servants.

The Russian civil service today is largely professionally competent and motivated to carry out its functions. Inadequate resources must be compensated by innovations and reactive ability. Co-operation with the public administration and enterprises of Member States of the European Union will be facilitated by dealing with those Russian officials whose responsibility the matter in question is.

Appendix 1: *The functions of the organs of the civil service.*
 (Source: ANH 1999, Ohotskiy and Ignatov 1998).

Public activities	Legal institutions	Social institution	Public-legal relationship between the State and civil servants
Implementing the civil service: -planning and forward planning -implementation of decisions -co-ordination -information -control -stimulation To organise apparatus of State organs Ensuring the responsibility and discipline of the apparatus	Implementing the laws Working out of the projects of the laws and other normative acts about the civil service Monitoring of the legislation on State service Disciplinary actions Legal control of the civil servants	Productivity of State social services: -education -training -legal protection -security Realisation of the interests, rights and freedoms of citizens Effective solving of the social tasks of the State Regulation and overcoming the social conflicts Reputation of the social status of the civil servants	Legal and social protection of civil servants Definition of the legal rights for administrative practices Implementation of the legal normative acts that set up the State relationship

Appendix 2: *The scientific and methodological accomplishment of cadre politics*
(Source: ANH 1999).

Training and modernisation are interconnected. In this field of cadre politics the main directions of scientific research are:

- The forming of cadre politics
- Definition of the tasks and principles of cadre politics
- The strategy and the programme of the realisation of cadre politics
- Investment in the personnel of the State administration

The professional qualification structure of State administration

- the system of the positions of the federal and regional State organs
- the organs of local self-government

The description of positions: the main functions and authorities

The analysis and main functions of authorities taking into the consideration the changes in the positions

The definition of the quality requirements for State servants

The optimisation of the State position structures

The professional position: selection and arrangement of the cadres

The definition of the necessity of the personnel categories and specialities

The selection and distribution of the State apparatus

The analysis of the cadre potential

The analysis of turnover of the personnel

The system of the development the personnel

The forming and training of the reserve up to the highest State positions

The planning of the career and service growth

The training, continuing education and upgrading of qualifications of the personnel

The evaluation of the personnel and their activity in the structures

- the evaluation of the candidates for the positions
- the evaluation of the State civil servants in relation to the positions
- the evaluation of the activities and effectiveness vis à vis the structures of administration
- security checking of the State servants
- analysing the use of status of the potentials of State servants with ambitious aims

Appendix 3: Training programmes in the Academy of National Economics
(Akademiya narodnogo hozyajstva pri Pravitelstve Rossijskoj
Federatsii, ANH)

The ANH provides the training of the State civil servants on the following programmes:

- programmes of the professional continuing education in ANH
- the concrete programmes of the professional continuing education in State politics and direction
- State and municipal direction
- State and regional control of finance
- the economics of State finance and control
- State control and law
- finance and law
- national economy and State regulation

The middle term programmes in ANH:

- State politics and state direction
- State and municipality direction
- State and municipality direction of finance
- the economics of State finance and direction

Short term programmes for the upgrading of qualifications in ANH

- the State in the market economy
- social and economic policy of the State
- cadre management in the State civil service
- direction of State finance
- the using of information technologies in the work of the apparatus of the Russian Federation

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