

SEMI-ANNUAL REPORT

GRANTEE NAME: International Republican Institute
GRANT/COOPERATIVE AGREEMENT#: CAN-118-A-00-97-00158-00
PERIOD COVERED IN THIS REPORT: January 1 - June 30, 1999

I. PROGRAM GOALS AND PURPOSE

The objective of the International Republican Institute's (IRI) Russia program is to support sustainable development of political institutions essential to democracy. In the past six months, IRI focused its work on two areas to achieve this goal: the preparation of the main pro-reform political movements for the upcoming parliamentary elections and the development of an indigenous base of organizations able to conduct independent political and civic education.

II. OUTPUT/ACTIVITIES

Party Building Program

From January 1 to June 30, 1999, IRI continued to work with pro-reform parties in preparation for the upcoming State Duma elections, scheduled for December 19, 1999. As in the past, IRI conducted training programs with Yabloko and Our Home is Russia. However, IRI also established contact with the right wing coalition, Right Cause, which was experiencing resistance from individual coalition members in the regions to working together. After prodding from IRI staff to work together, IRI successfully held seminars for their membership, primarily that of Russia's Democratic Choice, but Young Russia also was represented. More training programs took place with Yabloko during this six-month period due to continuing internal divisions in Our Home is Russia and Right Cause's weak infrastructure.

Through the Local Party Campaign Academy (LPCA) program, IRI assisted the national party organizations to increase the campaign skills of their local party organizations. Seminar participants included both seasoned campaigners and those activists entering the campaign cycle for the first time. The LPCA conducted programs on campaign planning, strategy, political communications, message development, coalition building and candidate training. For the most part, training was conducted by Russian experts, supplemented by IRI staff.

The LPCA seminars concentrated primarily on the regions where IRI was able to build on the success of the 1997 and 1998 Local Parties Leaders Academy (LPLA) programs, continuing to build sustainable party organizations. Training sessions for Yabloko included activists from Moscow, Moscow Oblast, Tver Oblast, Irkutsk, Barnaul, Novokuznetsk, Kemerovo, Novosibirsk, Gorno-Altaysk, Tomsk, Omsk, Altaysky Krai, Timiryazev, Tyumen, Murmansk, Murmansk Oblast, Arkhangelsk, Vologda, Karelia, Naryan-Mar, Lipetsk, Stari Oskol, Oryol, Bryansk, Riazan, Voronezh, Perm, Perm Oblast, Udmurtiya, Chelyabinsk, Orenburg,

Ekaterinburg, Kirov, Tambov, Tula, St. Petersburg, Novgorod, Republic of Karelia, Komi Republic, Pskov, Smolensk, Belgorod, and Kursk

Our Home is Russia activists who received LPCA training were from Rostov, Dagestan, Stavropol, Krasnodar, Cherkessek, Novocherkessek, Adygeya, Kalmykiya, Nalchik, Bataisk, Omsk, Tomsk, Novosibirsk, the Republic of Khakassiya, Volgograd, Volzhsky, Nizhni Novgorod, Ulianovsk, Saratov, Chuvash Republic, Astrakhan, Cheboksary and Mari El Republic.

Members of the Right Cause coalition that received training were regional leaders from Moscow, Moscow Oblast, Altai Krai, Novosibirsk, Sverdlovsk Oblast, Tomsk, Tyumen, Voronezh, Kemerovo, Riazan Oblast, Yaroslavl, Krasnoyarsk, Vologda, Vladimir Oblast and Kemerovo oblast.

IRI also conducted three Training the Trainers seminars, two for Yabloko (Moscow and St. Petersburg) and one for Right Cause (Novosibirsk). These seminars built on party activists' experience while teaching them how to communicate effectively the knowledge gained in their campaign work to other party members. The program also provided a model for participants' own future training programs.

A cooperative agreement was reached with the Moscow-based New Perspectives Foundation on January 30, 1999, under which New Perspectives was to hold a series of youth political training seminars in various regions of Russia. In this reporting period, New Perspectives held three seminars, in Omsk, Ufa and Tula. The agreement is due to expire July 30, 1999.

Parliamentary Program

There is nothing to report in this period.

NGO Development

During this period IRI continued to support its core group of Russian non-governmental organizations to conduct political and civic education programs and build their infrastructures, including the United Democratic Center in Voronezh, the Nevsky Research Foundation in St. Petersburg, the Perm Center for Electoral Technologies, the Moscow School of Political Studies, and Civic Accord in Rostov-on-Don. In addition to programmatic support, IRI worked on helping these NGOs to streamline their organizational structure, accounting practices, human resources development and fundraising strategies.

All five organizations submitted subgrant proposals in this period, and four were awarded grants for a total amount of \$121,930. The Nevsky Research Foundation submitted a proposal, but a subgrant agreement was signed after this reporting period. However, it did fulfill its

obligations under a previous grant, which ended May 15. Most of the NGOs' programming focused on campaign issues in preparation for the upcoming election, but funds provided by IRI also were used to assist the NGOs' long-term infrastructure development, including the purchase of modern office equipment and furniture, funding staff salaries, and paying office rent.

With IRI oversight, the subgrantees filed their narrative and financial reports properly and on time, kept records of their financial activities, and collected lists of participants and registration and evaluation forms for each of their seminars.

During this period, IRI conducted the following training and NGO programs:

Local Party Campaign Academy

Programs conducted in cooperation with Yabloko, Our Home is Russia and Right Cause Political Education Divisions

Moscow/Moscow Oblast (March 20-21, April 10, April 17-18, June 24-26)

Irkutsk (January 30-31)

Volgograd (February 13-14, June 8-11)

Kemerovo (February 20-21)

Murmansk (March 13-14)

Rostov (March 30-31)

Lipetsk (April 3-4)

Novosibirsk (May 14-16)

Perm (May 15-16)

Tomsk (May 20-22, June 19-20)

St. Petersburg (May 22-23)

Taganrog (June 5-6)

Training the Trainers

Moscow (March 19)

Novosibirsk (May 14)

St. Petersburg (May 22)

New Perspectives Youth Training

Omsk (March 27-28)

Ufa (April 10-11)

Tula (May 18-19)

NGO Program

Moscow School of Political Studies (February 28-March 4)

Center for Electoral Technologies (April 29, May 22)

United Democratic Center (May 21, 22, and 29, June 12-13)

Program Administration

During this period, IRI maintained an office in Moscow with five program staff. Lee Peterson continued as Russia Resident Program Director, and Chad Kolton as program officer with responsibility for party building programs and the office's finances. Constantine Kilimnik continued as program officer with responsibility for subgrant oversight. Marina Tyazhelkova was promoted to program officer, with responsibility for party building programs. Iliya Turchaninov was hired as program assistant to provide general office and program support. Since IRI recently officially registered in Russia as an official representative office of IRI, Lina Markova was hired as a part-time accountant to handle financial matters resulting from IRI-Moscow's new status.

In the IRI-Washington office, Judy Van Rest continued as Regional Director of CIS programs and Monica Vegas Kladakis as program officer for Russia. Olga Gerasimenko was hired as program assistant for Russia.

A portion of IRI's funding from U.S. AID, totaling \$37,000, continues to be frozen in its Inkombank account in Moscow as a result of the economic crisis. IRI will continue to do everything possible to have those funds released.

III. IRI REGIONAL PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

This section contains a description of IRI's programs for January - June 1999.

Local Party Campaign Academy

MOSCOW/MOSCOW OBLAST

Right Cause Campaign Training Seminar/March 20-21, 1999

This was IRI's first attempt to hold a training seminar for the Right Cause coalition, and it was attended by 17 participants, all from Russia's Democratic Choice (RDC). Members of Russia Forward were invited, but did not attend, demonstrating the difficulty involved in working with a new coalition. This seminar addressed the basics of campaign training, with IRI playing a large role in developing the agenda, organizing the seminar and conducting the training. IRI Resident Director Lee Peterson and IRI Program Officer Chad Kolton gave presentations on coalition building, campaign strategy, and message development. Training was also conducted by Yuri Isaev, director of the Center for Electoral Technologies, and Vyacheslav Makeev and Mikael Schneider, both members of RDC. They gave presentations on constituency research, developing a campaign profile, the role of the regional organization, campaign methods, budgeting, fund-raising, door-to-door campaigning, poll watching and fraud in elections.

Participants were invited based on their previous campaign experience. The intent was to identify individuals to invite to a future "Training the Trainers" seminar. They represented Moscow, Moscow oblast, Altai Krai, Novosibirsk, Sverdlovsk oblast, Tomsk, Tyumen,

Voronezh, Kemerovo, Riazan oblast, Yaroslavl, Krasnoyarsk, Vologda and Vladimir oblast.

Right Cause Campaign Training Seminar/April 10, 1999

The primary goal of this seminar, which was attended by approximately 15 participants from Moscow and Moscow oblast, was to conduct training on door-to-door campaigning. Again, invitations were issued to representatives from Russia Forward, but only Russia's Democratic Choice members attended. Presentations were given by trainers Vyacheslav Makeev and Dmitri Minyukov, both of Russia's Democratic Choice, and IRI Program Officer Chad Kolton.

Mr. Makeev reviewed the purpose of door-to-door campaigning and pointed out the need to target appropriate areas, ways to deal with problems such as personal security or disinterested voters, and goals to set for a door-to-door outing. Mr. Minyukov discussed the advantages of door-to-door campaigning and the ways a candidate and a party can use the information received from door-to-door activities to build and/or strengthen a base of support. Chad Kolton gave a presentation on message development and delivery, and how effective communication is essential for door-to-door efforts. The program concluded with an hour of actual door-to-door work by participants and a post-exercise discussion of what they had learned.

Yabloko Political Communications Seminar/April 17-18, 1999

This seminar brought together two strong Yabloko organizations from the Moscow and Tver Oblasts. It covered campaign planning and campaign strategy, and was attended by 65 participants. Presentations were given by State Duma Deputies Vyacheslav Igrunov and Aleksei Zakharov; Vadim Monin, a candidate from Astrahan; Aleksei Sergeev, Yelena Novosyolova and Boris Novoderzhkin, Yabloko representatives from St. Petersburg; and IRI Resident Director Lee Peterson.

Mr. Igrunov discussed federal campaign organization and planning, while Mr. Zakharov spoke on coordinating local, regional and federal elections. Lee Peterson gave a presentation on campaigning in the United States, United Kingdom and Russia. Other topics include campaign techniques; message and style of a campaign; developing a communications plan and forming a campaign headquarters. Lectures were bolstered by practical exercises on problems that arise in a campaign and ways of dealing with them, communication methods, and campaign planning.

Yabloko Candidate Training Seminar/June 24-26, 1999

The purpose of this seminar was to prepare single mandate candidates for the upcoming State Duma elections. Twelve candidates from Krasnodar, Stavropol, Ivanovo, Nizhny Novgorod, Leningrad Oblast, Kaliningrad, Tver, Bashkotorstan, Smolensk and Bryansk attended. Because many of them were running for the first time, the first half of the program was dedicated to the organization of the Duma and Duma deputies' responsibilities, while the second half of the program consisted of campaign training.

Training for the first portion of the program was conducted by State Duma Deputies Grigory Yavlinsky, Anatoliy Golov, Boris Misnik, Sergei Ivanenko, Tatyana Yarygina, and Duma Legislative Assistant Valeriy Goryachev. Mr. Yavlinsky spoke about federal party and faction organization, Anatoliy Golov discussed the committee and factions meeting process, and

Valeriy Goryachev addressed the legislative process. Trainers also discussed the intricacies of the new election law and the implications it will have on the 1999 Duma campaign. The campaign training portion of the program, which included development of a campaign plan, communications and message development, were covered by IRI Resident Director Lee Peterson, IRI Program Officer Marina Tyazhelkova, Executive Director of Vermont Republicans James Dwinell, and Maksim Yevdokimov, a representative from Irkutsk Yabloko. Each session involved related practical exercises, such as creating a campaign plan and a message. Additionally, a video training exercise was conducted for the candidates to work on their public speaking skills.

IRKUTSK

Yabloko Campaign Organization and Planning Seminar/January 29-31, 1999

This seminar brought leaders of Yabloko regional organizations together for training in advanced techniques of campaign organization. It was attended by 32 Yabloko activists from various regions of Eastern Siberia, such as Irkutsk, Angarsk and Zhelesnogorsk (Irkutsk Oblast), Chita, Ulan-Ude, Krasnoyarsk, and Blagoveshchensk.

Mikhail Yemelyanov, a State Duma deputy from Rostov, Alexei Sergeev, Yabloko campaign organizer from St Petersburg, and Klara Romasko, federal Yabloko regional coordinator from Moscow, were trainers. They addressed campaign organization, labor division within a campaign headquarters and Yabloko internal communications in an election year. Other topics included district research, party list development, lessons from the December 1998 St. Petersburg Legislative Assembly campaign, and voter targeting. Participants took advantage of practical exercises to discuss and develop campaign plans and tactics for the future.

VOLGOGRAD

Yabloko Political Campaigning Seminar/February 13-14, 1999

This seminar was held at the request of the federal Yabloko organization and was attended by 42 participants representing Volgograd, Penza, Kalmykia, Astrakhan, Stavropol and Saratov regional Yabloko organizations. Among the participants were State Duma deputies, managers of oblast level election campaigns, and rank-and-file campaign workers. The seminar's primary goal was to provide a venue for participants to share thoughts, opinions and experiences on planning and organizing election campaigns in regions of southern Russia.

Training was conducted by Yabloko State Duma Deputies Alexei Zakharov and Igor Lukashev, Astrakhan oblast Yabloko leader Vadim Monin, the editor of "Astrakhanets" newspaper, Alexander Sakhnov, and Yabloko's press secretary from Astrakhan, Alexander Gandiev. Topics included a discussion of the pre-election situation, Yabloko's prospects, and an analysis of Yabloko's past election strategies. Trainers also addressed the work of pollwatchers and campaign workers, strategic planning for an election campaign, district research and polling, and the role of a regional party's press operation. Participants were then given the opportunity to give presentations on their activities and their work with mass media in their regions.

Our Home is Russia Campaign Training Seminar/June 8-11, 1999

This seminar was held at the request of the NDR Federal Executive Council with the assistance of NDR member Oksana Kocherenko. It was attended by 40 participants, representing Volgograd, Volzhsky, Nizhni Novgorod, Ulianovsk, Saratov, Chuvash Republic, Astrakhan, Cheboksary, Mari El Republic. Most of the participants had previously participated in election campaigns with various pro-reform parties and movements. Trainers included Igor Titov of the NDR National Executive Council and director of the Center for Electoral Technologies; Vladimir Ovchintsev, chairman of the Council of the Volgograd regional NDR organization; Lev Vedenin, chairman of the executive committee of the Volgograd regional NDR organization; Sergei Ilyin, deputy chairman of the Volgograd branch of Sberbank; and Sergei Vovchenko, a political consultant.

The participants were familiarized with the political situation in Volgograd oblast and the level of cooperation among NDR organizations in the region prior to elections; they also discussed the role of NDR in the political sphere and opportunities for cooperation and coalition-building with other parties and movements. Other issues addressed at the seminar were: working with mass media, new trends in election technologies and their implementation in Russian regions, district analysis, evaluation of candidates and parties, development of campaign strategy and campaign planning, organizing a campaign headquarters, management of an election campaign, and development of a candidate's image, message and agenda. The seminar included practical exercises on developing campaign plans, structuring a headquarters, effective presentation skills, and communicating with voters.

KEMEROVO

Yabloko Campaign Training Seminar/February 20-21, 1999

The goal of this seminar was to give an overview of campaign planning and campaign strategy. It was attended by 29 participants from Barnaul, Novokuznetsk, Kemerovo, Novosibirsk, Gorno-Altai, Tomsk and Tyumen. All of the participants expected to be directly involved in the upcoming State Duma elections. There were five speakers at the seminar: two Duma deputies, Nikolay Travkin and Mikhail Yemelyanov, and three representatives sent by Yabloko central headquarters, Aleksandr Kyne, Aleksei Sergeev and Ilya Kudryavtsev. The topics covered included: party building, grassroots development, techniques for running a campaign in a single mandate district, polling tactics and ways to use the information obtained, message development, polling day practices and organizing a pollwatcher operation. The seminar concluded with a planning session during which participants developed campaign plans that accounted for the demographic data on the region.

MURMANSK

Yabloko Campaign Strategy and Planning Seminar/March 13-14, 1999

This seminar's goal was to train campaign activists from northwest Russia in campaign strategy techniques and planning. It was attended by 29 participants from Murmansk and Murmansk Oblast, Arkhangelsk, Vologda, Karelia, and Naryan-Mar. Several of them were

potential candidates for key posts in the upcoming Duma elections.

Although IRI-Moscow conducted close oversight, the Murmansk Yabloko chapter played the primary role in developing the agenda and directing the seminar. Trainers included: Igor Lebedev, chair of the Murmansk organization and deputy chair of the Oblast Duma; Natalya Vvedenskaya, deputy chair of the regional organization and former Oblast Duma member; State Duma Deputy Boris Misnik; Aleksey Sergeev, assistant to St. Petersburg State Duma Deputy Anatoly Golov; Aleksander Chazhengin, chair of the Yabloko Karelian chapter and deputy chair of the lower chamber of the Karelian legislature; and IRI Resident Director Lee Peterson.

The agenda closely combined theory and practice. Presentations were made on topics such as coordinating activities between the federal and regional campaign headquarters; voter targeting; campaign strategy development; message development; campaign structure; volunteer activities; developing a time line; district analysis and pollwatching. Participants did practical exercises related to the presentations, as well as exercises on door-to-door campaigning, writing candidate speeches, phone polling, direct mail, and advertising.

ROSTOV-ON-DON

Our Home is Russia (NDR) Campaign Training Seminar/March 30-31, 1999

This was the third in the series of campaign training seminars for NDR in preparation for the State Duma elections. A total of 23 participants attended the program, representing Rostov, Dagestan, Stavropol, Krasnodar, Cherkessek, Novocherkesek, Adygeya, Kalmykia, Nalchik and Bataisk. Oleg Kudinov, the primary trainer, combined practical exercises and lectures on various aspects of campaigning, including regional demographics and voter identification, strategy development for a single seat race vs. running on the party list, organizational aspects of the campaign headquarters, communications, coalition building, tactical planning, and mass media. IRI Resident Director Lee Peterson gave a presentation on message development and coalition building.

LIPETSK

Yabloko Political Communication Seminar/April 3-4, 1999

This seminar focused on the communications aspect of political campaigns and was attended by 32 participants, representing Lipetsk, Stari Oskol, Oryol, Briansk, Riazan, Voronezh, Tambov, Tula, Belgorod, and Kursk. The trainers were State Duma Deputy Alexei Zakharov, two national Yabloko staff, Elena Novozhilova and Olga Nikonova, and IRI Program Officer Chad Kolton.

The agenda included presentations on Yabloko's prospects for the December election, its strategies in past State Duma elections, and challenges faced by the national campaign. Participants also discussed how to develop a message, prepare a campaign communications plan, structure a headquarters and work efficiently during a campaign. Practical exercises on communication through door-to-door campaigning, preparing communication plans, and general constituency outreach were also included.

NOVOSIBIRSK

Right Cause Campaign Training Seminar/May 15-16, 1999

This seminar was organized by the Russia's Democratic Choice National Executive Council in coordination with IRI. It was attended by 35 participants, representing Novosibirsk, Tomsk, Sverdlovsk, Tyumen oblast, Krasnoyarsk krai, Altai krai, Kemerovo oblast, and Novosibirsk oblast. Representatives of the parties in the Right Cause coalition (Russia Forward, Social Democratic Party, New Force, Young Russia, etc) were invited. Due to strained relations among the parties in the region, however, most of the attendees represented Russia's Democratic Choice. One participant represented Our Home is Russia and another represented the Young Russia movement.

The agenda included such issues as analysis of the district, coalition building, door-to-door campaigning, communication, voter targeting, message development, and development of a campaign financial and communication plans. Presentations were followed by practical exercises on developing a campaign plan that included a communications and finances plan, determining a target group, votes needed to win a campaign, and message development. Training was conducted by Vyacheslav Makeev, representing Russia's Democratic Choice National Executive Council, IRI Resident Director Lee Peterson and IRI Program Officer Monica Kladakis.

PERM

Yabloko Campaign Communications Seminar/May 15-16, 1999

This communications seminar focused on the differences between single seat campaigns vs. party list campaigns. Trainers included Mikhail Yemelyanov, a Yabloko Duma deputy from Rostov; Sergey Kolesnik, campaign manager from Chelaybinsk and deputy chair of the Chelyabinsk regional organization; Aleksey Sergeev, assistant to St. Petersburg State Duma Deputy Anatoly Golov; and IRI Program Officers Marina Tyazhelkova and Chad Kolton. Mr. Yemelyanov gave a presentation on party list communications and conducted a practical exercise on political communications methods and approaches. Mr. Kolesnik spoke on door-to-door campaigning and guided the practical exercises. Presentations were also made on single seat communication methods, door-to-door campaigning, how to counter dirty campaign tricks, and message development. Practical exercises were conducted on developing communication plans and door-to-door campaigning.

Thirty-five participants attended from Perm and Perm oblast, Udmuttiya, Chelyabinsk, Orenburg, Ekaterinburg, and Kirov. The group consisted of campaign managers, potential candidates and other high-level campaign activists.

TOMSK

Our Home is Russia Interregional Seminar on Campaign Technologies/May 20-22, 1999

This was a highly-interactive program that addressed the fundamental techniques of campaigns. NDR trainer Oleg Kudinov described to the 34 participants from Omsk, Tomsk

Novosibirsk, Altai Krai and Kemerovo each step of a campaign, including campaign planning, setting up a campaign headquarters, candidate debates, communications, and message and image development. The group divided into four "campaigns," each tasked with preparing statements about its "candidate" and answering critiques or questions from other campaigns. Additionally candidates engaged in a mock debate and were evaluated by other participants. At the end of the seminar, the participants voted to "elect" a winner, and the candidates were asked to decide among themselves who had done the best work.

Yabloko Campaign Communications Seminar/June 19-20, 1999

This seminar was designed for Yabloko's Siberian organizations and focused on campaign communications in Russia. Most of the 20 participants, representing Tomsk, Omsk, Novosibirsk, Altaysky Krai, and Irkutsk, had some campaign experience and initial campaign training. A participant from Novosibirsk was a city дума deputy.

Maksim Yevdokimov, chair for the Yabloko campaign in Irkutsk Oblast and chair of the Irkutsk Oblast Yabloko Youth organization, and Oleg Pletnyov, the new Yabloko Tomsk chairman and editor of one of the largest newspapers in Tomsk, *Tomskaya Nedelya*, were the program's trainers. Their presentations addressed media relations and outdoor advertising, communications for party list and single-seat candidates, door-to-door strategies, how to counter "dirty" campaign technologies, and message development. Practical exercises covered voter identification and targeting, identifying the strengths and weaknesses of a candidate and his opponent, and developing a campaign message for party list and single-seat districts. The seminar concluded with one group practicing a mock press conference and the other conducting a session with a psychologist on communication skills.

ST. PETERSBURG

Yabloko Political Communications Seminar/May 22-23, 1999

This was the third seminar conducted for the federal Yabloko organization in the Northwest region of Russia. Thirty-five participants, including two Duma deputies and two City Legislative Assembly deputies, attended, representing St. Petersburg, Murmansk, Novgorod, Republic of Karelia, Komi Republic, Pskov and Smolensk. Presentations were given by St. Petersburg Deputies Mikhail Amosov and Vitaly Kalinin; State Duma Deputies Anatoly Golov and Alexander Shishlov; two party list candidates, A. Visnetsky of St. Petersburg and Vadim Monin of Astrakhan; Yelena Novosyolova, Yabloko's staff specialist in interpersonal communications and psychology; and IRI Resident Director Lee Peterson.

The program was dedicated to developing campaign and communications plans for the two types of campaigns that will be conducted by the organizations, single mandate and party list campaigns. The program combined theoretical presentations and practical exercises. Participants were familiarized with various types of campaigning techniques, methods of communicating as a party list and single-seat candidate, door-to-door campaigning, message development, inter-personal communications and defusing confrontational situations.

TAGANROG

Yabloko Campaign Communications Seminar/June 5-6, 1999

This seminar followed the same agenda as the programs in St. Petersburg and Perm, focusing on the differences in communications strategy for a single-seat campaign vs. a party list campaign. The 40 participants at the seminar represented Rostov-on-Don, Taganrog, Azov, Novocherkassk, Millerovo, Belgorod, Stary Oskol, and Voronezh. Yabloko trainers Vitaly Kalinin, St. Petersburg Legislative Assembly deputy, and Aleksandr Moroz, chair of the Rostov Yabloko regional organization, were responsible for the theoretical part of the seminar, while Galina Lukhterhandt, director of the Yabloko Training Center, conducted most of the practical exercises. IRI Program Officer Chad Kolton gave a presentation on message development, and IRI Program Officer Marina Tyazhelkova conducted an exercise on message development for specific regions. The seminar ended with a mock press conference.

Training the Trainers

YABLOKO

Moscow/March 19, 1999

This program was the first in this year's cycle of the "Training the Trainers" program, which is designed to help political parties build a cadre of in-house trainers. Training was conducted by IRI staff and included a mix of theory and practical exercises. IRI Resident Director Lee Peterson led the training, giving presentations on adult learning, developing a program, methods of organizing the agenda, and building a budget for a program. Chad Kolton spoke on effective presentation skills and arranging the content of one's presentation. During the group exercise sessions, participants practiced creating a budget, designing their own training program, and delivering a 7-minute training fragment, which was later reviewed and critiqued by trainers and participants. A group discussion helped the participants process the information they had received.

The program was attended by 15 representatives of Yabloko from various regions of Russia, including St. Petersburg, Chelyabinsk, Krasnodar, Moscow, Tambov, Belgorod, Yaroslavl, Perm, Altaisky krai, Voronezh, and Moscow Oblast. All of them have been actively involved in politics for the last few years and have attended a number of IRI programs in the past.

Strelina/St. Petersburg Oblast/May 22, 1999

This advanced program was the second and final "Training the Trainers" program for Yabloko. During a one-day intensive seminar IRI Resident Director Lee Peterson and Yelena Novosyolova, who is Yabloko's staff specialist in interpersonal communications and psychology, gave presentations on various methods of organizing an agenda and a training session, as well as interpersonal communication skills and presentation skills. The practical part of the program allowed the participants to design a training program on one of the following issues: candidate

training, campaign strategy and organization, political communications, research, surveying and polling, or activist training. A communications exercise allowed the participants to polish their training styles with regard to content selection, presentation, and timing.

The program was attended by 15 Yabloko representatives from various regions of Russia, including St. Petersburg, Irkutsk, Altai, Penza, Astrakhan, Murmansk, Tomsk, Rostov, Krasnodar Krai, and Tver. Most of them had served previously as IRI trainers, attended a number of IRI programs in the past and have extensive political experience.

RIGHT CAUSE

Novosibirsk/May 14, 1999

This seminar was devised for those who had taken part in the two previous campaign training seminars in Moscow. It was attended by nine Russia's Democratic Choice activists from Novosibirsk, Berdsk and Krasnoyarsk. Training was conducted by IRI Resident Director Lee Peterson and IRI Program Officer Monica Kladakis. Mr. Peterson covered the components of effective training program and the basics of adult learning, followed by a practical exercise on designing a training program. Ms. Kladakis spoke on effective presentation skills. Participants were then asked to develop a 10-minute speech on a campaign-related topic and deliver it on camera. The presentation was analyzed and critiqued by the participants and the trainers.

New Perspectives Youth Training

Omsk/March 27-28

This seminar was attended by 49 participants from Tomsk, Omsk, Novosibirsk and Barnaul, representing the Republican Party, New Force and Young Russia movements, Russia Forward and Russia's Democratic Choice, as well as a number of local NGOs. The seminar covered campaign strategy development, the structure of a campaign headquarters, image development, working with mass media and organizing press conferences, coalition building, the history and development of liberalism in Russia, and an analysis of existing electoral systems. The participants engaged in a number of practical exercises led by Novosibirsk-based trainers, including video coaching.

Ufa/April 10-11

During this two-day seminar, participants discussed youth involvement in politics and their participation in election campaigns, the role of mass media, the internal development of youth organizations and their relationship with the government. The goal of the seminar was to develop a model of activities of youth organizations and a model of their communication with the public. The seminar included presentations on the role of civic society, Russia's electoral system, and state youth politics. It was attended by 46 participants, representing the Union of Democratic Youth of Tatarstan, the Association of Students' Organization, the New Force and Honor and Motherland movements, and governmental bodies and NGOs of Tatarstan.

Tula/May 18-19

This seminar was attended by 39 participants, representing a variety of youth NGOs, political parties and movements, educational establishments and governmental bodies. The seminar covered the legal aspects of youth participation in elections, the experience of youth in American politics, working with young voters, the basics of campaign organization, how to organize a press-conference, and get-out-the-vote techniques. Group exercises included preparing a declaration on behalf of youth organizations directed to political parties and preparing a group press conference.

IV. IRI-SPONSORED NGO PROGRAMS

Moscow School of Political Studies

Date: February 28-March 4, 1999

Place: Novosibirsk

This conference was the second regional seminar in the School's "Federalism, Regional Policy and Self-Government" program. Participants included over 80 members of regional legislatures, city councillors, government executives, entrepreneurs, journalists and political party activists from the West and South Siberia, Altai krai and the Russian Far East. Over 25 Russian and international experts, among whom were senior officials from the Council of Europe, European members of parliament and ambassadors, executives from international organizations and well-known academicians, contributed to the program as trainers and/or speakers. The seminar focused on regional development within the Russian federation and the international experience of federalism and self-government. Among other topics covered were relations between Russia and western countries, the development of political processes and democratic institutions in Russia, and the role of media in elections and in shaping public opinion.

Center for Electoral Technologies

Date: April 29, 1999

Place: Perm

This seminar was attended by 52 representatives of political parties, NGOs and local self-government bodies from Perm, Berezni and Solikamsk. Its purpose was to define the political interests of NGOs prior to the upcoming elections to the State Duma. Topics included the role played by NGOs in election campaigns and political processes, defining priorities in NGO activities both in general and during elections, the availability of information and analytical support for NGO activities, working with mass media and with candidates and coalition building.

Date: May 22, 1999

Place: Perm

This seminar was attended by 162 participants and focused on working with mass media during elections. Among the speakers invited to the seminar were the vice-governor of Perm

oblast, State and oblast Duma deputies, representatives of the Perm TV and radio stations and major newspapers, press secretaries of governmental bodies and major businesses, political parties and movements, and well-known journalists. During the seminar, CET organized an exhibit of Perm's regional mass media, so that the participants could find out more about them and their work. The exhibit was visited by over 250 people throughout the day.

United Democratic Center

Date: May 21, 1999

Place: Ertil, Voronezh oblast

This seminar was attended by 28 participants, primarily campaign workers but also representatives of NGOs and local election commissions, and was devoted to the results of the recent elections in an oblast Duma district. It covered the campaigns of the major candidates to the vacant Oblast Duma seat in Ternovski district, coalition building, the role of election commissions, and their implementation of the new Federal Law "On Basic Guarantees of the Electoral Rights of Citizens." The purpose of the seminar was to analyze the performance of campaign teams and candidates, and to draw lessons for the future. Participants also discussed amendments to the Voronezh oblast election law proposed by the UDC and developments in the political and economic situation in Voronezh oblast and in Russia as a whole. Participants also took part in a role playing exercise in which campaign teams had to handle conflict situations with hardline Communist members of the district election commission.

Date: May 22, 1999

Place: Semiluki, Voronezh oblast

This seminar was attended by 29 participants, among whom were members of the regional branch of UDC, Our Home is Russia, the Republican Party, the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia, and Russia Forward. The goal of the seminar was to develop a strategy for raion level pro-reform organizations to work together during the upcoming election campaign, including establishing principles for consolidating democratic forces and identifying which local candidates have the best chance of winning and rallying in support of them. Other issues discussed at the seminar were ways to work with voters, the role of public organizations in civic advocacy, and the new law "On Elections of Deputies to the State Duma."

Date: May 29, 1999

Place: Lipetsk

This seminar was attended by over 40 participants representing Russia's Democratic Choice, Democratic Russia, and over 15 local NGOs and civic organizations that are part of the "Vzaimodeistvie" (Interaction) political and humanitarian center. The seminar agenda included discussion of the results of the 1996-1999 elections in Russia and in Lipetsk oblast and the results of the recent election for mayor of Lipetsk; how political parties, professional and public associations, government and business structures influence the results of elections; violations registered at the recent local elections and ways of fraud prevention; strategic planning for the election campaign to the State Duma; coalition building; and interaction among democratic

candidates. The participants discussed and received advice regarding their participation in the upcoming Duma elections, as well as develop common points of interest for coalition building.

Date: June 12-13, 1999

Place: Kurchatov, Kursk oblast

This seminar was organized with direct assistance from the local Yabloko chapter and the campaign teams of two mayoral candidates - Ivan Karpov and Yuri Kosarev. Topics included identification of local issues, campaign organization, working with mass media, and public opinion research. Additionally, the seminar addressed the prevention of fraud, working with local election commissions, pollwatching, and the new law "On elections of Deputies to the State Duma." The seminar was attended by 32 participants, primarily Yabloko and Republican Party representatives, and featured three role playing exercises: "Roundtable on TV," "Meeting with the voters" and "Pollwatching on election day."

The mayoral election was held on July 4, 1999, and was won by the incumbent. Ivan Karpov withdrew his candidacy in favor of Yuri Kosarev, but the latter lost by 420 votes. Mr. Kosarev contested the results of the vote, and claimed in an interview to the local newspaper that if it were not for the UDC seminar, which trained his campaign team on ways to conduct stronger public oversight of the elections and the work of the election commissions, there would have been a much larger percentage of fraud.

Nevsky Research Foundation

Under the first part of its grant, which began November 1, the Foundation conducted a total of 40 seminars for pollwatchers and party activists in preparation for the December elections to the St. Petersburg Legislative Assembly. The second part of its grant called for an analysis of the results of the 1996 presidential and St. Petersburg gubernatorial elections, which the Foundation worked on during this reporting period. The purpose of the analysis is to assist parties and candidates to take into account the political preferences of voters, which can help in choosing a district in which to run, evaluating the prospects of voter turnout and targeting priority districts.

The Foundation analyzed the results of the vote in the 30 local electoral districts of St. Petersburg by collecting and categorizing the results of the vote by precinct. It compared the results of the vote in the 1995 State Duma election and the 1996 presidential and gubernatorial elections, analyzing the nature of the changes that occurred during this period. The Foundation also analyzed the voting dynamic in the second round of the presidential and gubernatorial campaigns in St. Petersburg. Additionally, the Foundation produced political maps of the results of the presidential and gubernatorial elections. This information is invaluable because precinct data is archived and closed to the public immediately following an election.

The election analysis was made available to the public on May 25, 1999, at an event that was attended by representatives of the major political parties and movements (Our Home is Russia, Yabloko, Fatherland, Russia's Democratic Choice, the Yuri Boldyrev block), representatives of the city and oblast administration, journalists and political experts. The event was followed by a press conference and was widely covered by the local and national press.

V. INPUTS/FINANCIAL REPORT

See attached.

VI. IMPACT/ASSESSMENT

IRI continues to see significant progress toward meeting the goals detailed in its three-year grant with USAID.

1) Regional and local chapters of national political parties are organizationally stronger and more coordinated, more active and effective in cultivating relationships in their communities, and politically more responsive to their constituents.

Nearly all of the training seminars conducted during this reporting period involved regional and local party leaders. These programs were held in the Moscow oblast, Irkutsk, Volgograd, Kemerovo, Murmansk, Rostov, Lipetsk, Novosibirsk, Perm, Tomsk, St. Petersburg, Taganrog, and Volgograd. Over 700 political activists attended IRI programming during this period.

The Murmansk organization has proven to be one of Yabloko's strongest and most capable of conducting training programs independently. The Yabloko LPCA training seminar that took place on March 13-14 in Murmansk was almost entirely developed and conducted by the local Yabloko organization. This was the only time that the national Yabloko organization gave a regional organization the authority to set the agenda. As a result of its success, the agenda used in Murmansk was imposed nationally for training seminars.

Yabloko has also demonstrated that it has the ability to create a comprehensive program that can be used in various parts of the country to create a uniform approach to training. The communications seminar conducted in Taganrog on June 5-6 followed the agenda developed and practiced at two previous programs in St. Petersburg and Perm. The only change made to the way this program was run was allotting more time for practical exercises. At the same time, Yabloko adapted the practical exercises to make them applicable to the situation in each region..

A.) Regional parties maintain efforts to build and strengthen grassroots organizations at the end of election campaign cycles.

The LPCA seminars were a good example of the national and regional party organizations working together. Since this is an election year, federal Yabloko played a large role in LPCA seminars, but still included many of its local political leaders in the regions. These included Yabloko politicians from Irkutsk, Volgograd, Kemerovo, Murmansk, Murmansk Oblast, Lipetsk, Perm, Perm oblast, St. Petersburg, Strelna, Taganrog, Tomsk, Rostov-on-Don, Azov, Novochoerkassk, Millerovo, Belgorod, Stary Oskol, Voronezh, Novgorod, Karelia, Komi Republic, Pskov, Smolensk, Omsk, Novosibirsk, Altai Krai, Udmurtiya, Chelyabinsk, Orenburg, Ekaterinburg, Kirov, Oryol, Bryansk, Riazan, Tambov, Tula, Kursk, Arkhangelsk,

Vologda, Naryan-Mar, Barnaul, Novokuznetsk, Novosibirsk, Gorno-Altai, Tyumen, Penza, Kalmykia, Astrakhan, Stavropol, Saratov, Angarsk and Zhelesnogorsk (Irkutsk Oblast), Chita, Ulan-Ude, Krasnoyarsk, Blagoveshchensk, Krasnodar, Ivanovo, Nizhny Novgorod, Leningrad Oblast, Kaliningrad, Tver, Bashkortostan, and Smolensk.

Three LPCA seminars were held for Our Home is Russia during this period, and all of them took place in the regions. Our Home brought together regional and local leaders from Rostov, Dagestan, Stavropol, Krasnodar, Cherkessk, Novocherkessk, Adygeya, Kalmykia, Nalchik, Bataisk, Volgograd, Volzhsky, Nizhny Novgorod, Ulianovsk, Saratov, Chuvash Republic, Astrakhan, Cheboksary, Mari El Republic, Omsk, Tomsk Novosibirsk, Altai Krai and Kemerovo.

The Right Cause coalition worked to involve its regional and local leaders in the three LPCA seminars held in this period. Although two of the three seminars were held in Moscow and Moscow oblast in an attempt to encourage the coalition members to work together, participants represented Moscow, Moscow Oblast, Altai Krai, Novosibirsk, Sverdlovsk, Tomsk, Tyumen, Voronezh, Kemerovo, Riazan oblast, Yaroslavl, Krasnoyarsk, Vologda and Vladimir oblast, Novosibirsk, Altai krai, Kemerovo oblast, and Novosibirsk oblast.

B.) Regional and local political parties and elected officials are more active and deeply integrated in the social and economic affairs of their community.

In Perm, the deputy chairman of Yabloko Party Perm oblast, who is also an oblast Duma deputy, is actively engaged in an outreach program with local businesses. He does this in a variety of ways, including identifying problems and then sponsoring legislation to address them. In the context of this program, Yabloko Perm is trying to recruit businessmen to become candidates to local self-government and oblast legislatures.

C.) Regional and local party organizations and elected officials increase direct constituency outreach and initiate constituency service programs.

Last year, Our Home is Russia experimented with the concept of a "reception room," where Our Home representatives, primarily young people, rented a room in Tomsk and were available to the community to try to help solve problems. The community was very receptive to the idea, and ultimately members of the community, primarily senior citizens, started to volunteer to staff the reception room and to become more active in Our Home activities. Because of its success, Our Home has set up reception rooms throughout several regions.

Yabloko also has made strides in terms of constituency outreach in this period, in particular through its targeting of young people and encouraging them to get involved in politics.

2) Institutionalization of a core group of at least three Russian NGOs able to independently develop, finance, and sustain democracy building programs by the year 2000.

A.) IRI subgrantees successfully conclude Subgrant Agreements entered into with IRI and submit successful proposals for follow on programs.

To date, all the subgrantees have submitted accurate and timely narrative and financial reports supported by evaluation measures. In fact, the United Democratic Center and the Center for Electoral Technologies have started to submit financial reports in English rather than Russian, in full compliance with standard international accounting practices. The Moscow School of Political Studies and the Nevsky Research Foundation began submitting their reports in English last year. The quality of the subgrantees' narrative reporting has also improved, as they are more concise and detailed. The following is a summary of IRI's subgrant activity:

The Moscow School of Political Studies is the Institute's oldest grantee and has received five grants since 1993, including one for a federalism seminar that took place on February 28 - March 4, 1999. A well-known and respected educational institution, it provides training for Russian parliamentarians, regional executives, and future politicians.

IRI has provided four subgrants to the Voronezh United Democratic Center since December 1996. The Center, based in Russia's red-belt region, is bringing political training to pro-reform activists to small towns and raions, thus encouraging anti-communist voters to stay active in politics.

IRI has also given the Perm Center for Electoral Technologies four subgrants since December 1996. CET is one of the major research and training centers in the Perm Oblast, which continues IRI's efforts to train candidates and parties in raions of the oblast.

During this reporting period, the Nevsky Research Foundation continued its work on compiling an analysis of the 1996 gubernatorial and presidential elections under its grant of November 1, 1998. IRI expects to sign a follow-on agreement with the Foundation later this summer. Originally having a close affiliation to the Yabloko movement, the Foundation has become an organization that involves and provides training to activists of Russia's Democratic Choice, the Free Democratic Party, Yabloko, and the Social Democratic Party.

Finally, IRI signed a second grant agreement with Civic Accord, in Rostov-on-Don, during this reporting period. Founded in 1997, Civic Accord is a regional public organization whose goal is to promote civic peace and understanding, and to strengthen democratic institutions and the development of the public sector.

B.) IRI subgrantees have long term strategies for organizational growth and development.

Per IRI's recommendation, during this period all of its subgrantees included in their grant proposals funding for internal organizational development, such as modern office equipment and furniture. They have also been making efforts to establish themselves by developing long-term strategies, reaching out to the media, and identifying funding sources other than IRI.

With IRI's assistance, the Moscow School of Political Studies has started to reevaluate its mission and is developing its long-term strategy. The School has met many of the goals that it originally set, and is looking for ways to fit its activities into the current Russian political environment. Additionally, since sources of international funding for Russia are becoming more and more scarce, the School has recognized the need to intensify its self-promotion and fundraising activities, and has been reaching out to both international and Russian organizations. In this reporting period, the School was supported by a number of organizations other than IRI, including the Council of Europe, TACIS, U.S. AID, European governments, and the Soros Foundation. With this assistance, the School was able to conduct four seminars in Russia (in Pskov, Novosibirsk, and 2 seminars in Golitsino) and two seminars abroad (in Italy and Great Britain).

IRI's subgrantees have also stepped up their public relations activities so that more people will become aware of their activities. United Democratic Center representatives published four articles in the local press and spoke 11 times on local radio and TV channels, commenting on UDC's position on local issues. Part of UDC's grant includes publication of a press digest of political news that is distributed to over 30 political parties, educational establishments and NGOs in Voronezh and other oblasts of the Black Soil region, which also helps to increase UDC's name recognition.

The Center for Electoral Technologies has established good relations with the local mass media, which has resulted in regular local press coverage of CET's seminars. Two television crews attended the May 22 seminar, which received coverage on Rifey TV channel and the city radio. Finally, the Nevsky Research Foundation held a press conference to present its analysis of the 1996 presidential and gubernatorial elections, which was covered by local and national media.