

PD-ABF-262
15A 80895



U.S. AGENCY FOR
INTERNATIONAL
DEVELOPMENT

ACTION MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR, REGIONAL MISSION FOR EUROPE

FROM: EUR/DR, C. Ross Anthony *Don Anthony 12/12/92*
EUR/RME, Robert Nachtrieb

SUBJECT: Political and Social Process Project (180-0021)
Request for Amendment to the Project Authorization
Amendment #3

ISSUE: You are requested to approve Amendment #3 to the Political and Social Process Project (180-0021) to broaden the scope of activities to be undertaken under the project. More specifically, your authorization is required to revise the description of activities in the original authorization memorandum under "Election-Related Assistance" to include assistance to strengthen the political process more generally, not only within the direct context of elections. The Life-of-Project (LOP) funding for the project is \$28 million, and the Project Assistance Completion Date (PACD) is March 22, 1996.

BACKGROUND: The consolidation of the Political and Social Process Project was authorized on May 6, 1992. That authorization described the following activities as components of the Political and Social Process Project: 1) Educational Reform; 2) Civic Education and Minority Issues; 3) Books for Democracy; 4) Election-Related Assistance; 5) Citizens' Networks; and 6) Trade Unions. We would like to now broaden the scope of activities under "4) Election-Related Assistance" to enable us to undertake activities in support of the political process, beyond the context of elections.

DISCUSSION: As it is now written, the scope of activities under "4) Election-Related Assistance," includes the following:

- a) election monitoring to allow independent, international election observer teams to monitor elections in Eastern European countries if conditions support such observation;
- b) development of electoral institutions by establishing independent election commissions, drafting new election statutes, and developing general mechanisms to ensure free, open, and fair multi-party elections; and,
- c) providing development assistance to political parties and non-governmental

organizations through which citizens can effectively express their views and interests.

We propose to change "Election-Related Assistance" to "Political Process and Civil Society." We also propose to add the following to the activities listed above: "d) assistance more generally to strengthen the democratic process including, but not limited to, support for the intellectual, attitudinal, emotional and institutional foundations of a democratic civil society." The institutions of a democracy, like free and fair elections, are necessary but insufficient to create a truly democratic society. People need to think and act democratically in all areas of their lives, not just at the ballot box. Formalistic democracy would not survive the social and economic challenges of the future without such foundations. Form without substantial content was the hallmark of the Communist period. The transformation of Central and Eastern Europe to true democracy will require substantial changes of attitude as well as behavior at all levels and in all areas of society from parliament down to local civic organizations. As in component 2) of the Project, "Civic Education and Minority Issues," this component will also include civic education, but in this component civic education would be provided more generally, beyond the context of minority issues.

Moreover, the nature of our assistance to political parties has also evolved. After free and fair elections have been held, our direct assistance to political parties becomes more problematic. Previously welcome assistance can become -- or be seen to become -- unwarranted and unacceptable interference in the internal political affairs of another country. However, even at this stage, the institutionalization of democracy in its broadest sense may still require substantial assistance, including assistance to political parties but now within the context of their work in parliament.

Finally, while we have up until now focused our attention on organizations like political parties, we might turn our attention to specific individuals and to participant training in general. For example, in some of the former republics of Yugoslavia we might begin by providing exchange programs for promising young political leaders, and when conditions are appropriate, undertake the broader assistance to democratic political parties of the kind already provided in such places as Bulgaria and Romania. Such exchange programs have been suggested by the Office of the Special Advisor for Eastern European Assistance to the Deputy Secretary of State.

IMPLEMENTING DETAILS:

(a) Congressional Notification (CN)

The substance of the activities authorized under this project has not changed with regard to notification requirements and as such,

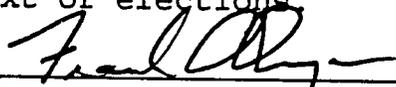
an additional CN to reflect the authorization amendment is not necessary.

(b) All Other Implementing Details

All other implementing details (Host Country Duties/Taxes, Initial Environmental Examination, Grant/Contract Solicitation Procedures, Source/Origin/Nationality, Evaluation, Audit, Reports, Monitoring) remain unchanged.

AUTHORITY: Chapter 1, Part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, Title II of the Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Act, 1991, and the Continuing Appropriations Legislation for FY 1992. Additionally, under delegation of authorities to the Director, Regional Mission for Europe, signed by the Assistant Administrator, Bureau for Europe and Near East, on September 11, 1991, providing the authority to approve authorizations for projects with life-of-project funding not exceeding \$100 million.

RECOMMENDATION: That by your signature below, you approve this amendment to the Authorization of the Political and Social Process Project (180-0021), revising the description of activities under "Election-Related Assistance" to include assistance to strengthen the political process more generally, not only that which is limited to within the direct context of elections.

Approved: 
Disapproved: _____
Date: 12-23-92

~~Attachments:~~

- ~~Tab A - Original Project Authorization~~
- ~~Tab B - Amendment #1 Adding Minority Training Program~~
- ~~Tab C - Amendment #2 Combining 180-0017 with 180-0021~~

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL PROCESS PROJECT (180-0021)
 AMENDMENT #3

Clearances:

State/D/EEA:JMenzie's (draft)	Date	<u>10/2/92</u>	
GC/EUR:HMorris (draft)	Date	<u>9/29/92</u>	
EUR/RME/ECA:POrr (draft)	Date	<u>9/30/92</u>	GR for
EUR/RME/FM:DLarson (draft)	Date	<u>10/1/92</u>	
EUR/RME/PD:GGeorge (draft)	Date	<u>9/29/92</u>	
<i>for</i> EUR/RME:JMorgan <i>De Klabi</i>	Date	<u>12/22/92</u>	
OP/OS/EE:DMiller (draft)	Date	<u>9/30/92</u>	
EUR/DR/ENV:RGreenberg (draft)	Date	<u>10/1/92</u>	AP for
<i>for</i> EUR/DR/DPI:GHyman <i>Jusan Kosinski</i>	Date	<u>12/21/92</u>	

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