



U.S. AGENCY FOR  
INTERNATIONAL  
DEVELOPMENT

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34007  
JUN 10 1992

Mr. Kenneth D. Wollack  
Executive Vice President  
National Democratic Institute for International Affairs  
Suite 503  
1717 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, DC 20036

**SUBJECT: Cooperative Agreement No. CCS-0007-A-00-2019-00**

Dear Mr. Wollack:

Pursuant to the authority contained in the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, the Agency for International Development (hereinafter referred to as "A.I.D." or "Grantor") hereby provides to the National Democratic Institute, (hereinafter referred to as "NDI" or "Recipient") the sum of \$1,600,000 to provide support for its program in the former Soviet Union, as described in the Schedule of this Cooperative Agreement and the Attachment 2, entitled "Program Description."

This Cooperative Agreement is effective and obligation is made as of the date of this Letter and shall apply to expenditures made by the Recipient in furtherance of program objectives from May 15, 1992 and ending May 15, 1993.

This Cooperative Agreement is made to the Recipient on condition that the funds will be administered in accordance with the terms and conditions as set forth in Enclosure 1 entitled "The Schedule," Enclosure 2 entitled "Program Description," and Enclosure 3 entitled "Standard Provisions," which have been agreed to by your organization.

Please sign the original and all enclosed copies of this letter to acknowledge your receipt of the Cooperative Agreement, and return the original and all but one copy to me.

Sincerely,

*Joyce E. Frame*

Joyce E. Frame  
Agreement Officer  
Chief, FA/OP/CC  
Office of Procurement

**Enclosures:**

1. Schedule
2. Program Description
3. Standard Provisions
4. Recipient's Proposal

ACKNOWLEDGED BY: NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE

*Kenneth Wollack*

TYPED (OR PRINTED) NAME: Kenneth Wollack

TITLE: Executive Vice President

DATE: June 24, 1992

**FISCAL DATA**

PIO/T NO.: 110-0007-3-2622910

APPROPRIATION NO.: 72-111/2103

ALLOTMENT NO.: N/A

BUDGET PLAN CODE: QES1-92-32110-KG12 (170-62-110-00-69-21)

THIS OBLIGATION: \$1,600,000

TOTAL OBLIGATION: \$1,600,000

TOTAL ESTIMATED AMOUNT OF GRANT: \$1,600,000

TECHNICAL OFFICE: NISTF/DPI, J. Nandy

LETTER OF CREDIT #: 72-00-1609

TIN: 52-1338892

DUNS NO.: 14-803-6312

DOC #: 0148s

ENCLOSURE 1

SCHEDULE

A. Purpose of Cooperative Agreement

The purpose of this Cooperative Agreement is to provide support for NDI's project in the former Soviet Union. This is more specifically described in Enclosure 2 to this Cooperative Agreement entitled "Program Description," and the Recipient's proposal dated March 27, 1992 and as amended on April 7, 1992. The amended proposal is incorporated in the Cooperative Agreement as Attachment No. 4.

B. Period of Cooperative Agreement

1. The effective date of this Cooperative Agreement is the date of this letter. The expiration date of this Cooperative Agreement is May 15, 1993.

2. In compliance with the terms and conditions of this Cooperative Agreement, funds obligated hereunder shall be used to reimburse the Recipient for allowable program expenditures incurred by the Recipient in pursuit of program objectives for the estimated period from May 15, 1992 through May 15, 1993.

C. Amount of Cooperative Agreement and Payment

1. A.I.D. hereby obligates the amount of \$1,600,000 for purposes of this Cooperative Agreement.

2. Payment shall be made to the Recipient in accordance with procedures set forth in Enclosure 3 - Standard Provision, entitled "Payment - Letter of Credit."

D. Financial Plan

1. The following is the Cooperative Agreement budget, including local cost financing items, if authorized. Revisions to this budget shall be made in accordance with the Standard Provision of this Agreement, entitled "Revision of Grant Budget" (November 1985).

Agreement Budget

<u>Cost Element</u>	<u>Amount</u>
Salaries & Benefits	\$ 508,125
Office Space & Utilities	37,905
Supplies & Equipment	70,000
Communication	28,248
Travel & Per Diem	624,928
Contractual Services	138,500
Other Direct Costs	92,294
Cooperative Agreements	<u>100,000</u>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$1,600,000</b>

Notes to the Budget:

1. The Recipient is allowed 15% flexibility among all cost elements as shown in the budget. The Recipient must obtain written approval from the Agreement Officer to exceed the percentage of flexibility among line items.

2. Pursuant to the Standard Provisions of this Cooperative Agreement entitled "Allowable Costs" and "Revision of Grant Budget," the Recipient shall obtain prior approval from the Agreement Officer for the following: the purchase of "General Purpose Equipment," which is defined as an article of nonexpendable tangible personal property, the use of which is not limited to research, medical, scientific, or other activities (e.g., office equipment and furnishings, air conditioning equipment, reproduction or other equipment, motor vehicles, and automated data processing equipment; having a useful life of more than two years and an acquisition cost of \$500 or more per unit.

2. In furtherance of the foregoing, the Agreement Officer does hereby provide approval for the following purchases of new equipment, which shall not be construed as authorization to exceed the estimated amount or the obligated amount of this Cooperative Agreement, whichever is less.

<u>Item</u>	<u>Quantity</u>
Desktop Computers	3
Laptop Computers	7
Portable Printers	5
Fax Machines	3
Copy Machines	3
Laser Printers	4

3. When the purchase of automated data processing equipment (ADPE) exceeds \$100,000, the Agreement Officer's approval, in conjunction with a review of the proposed equipment by A.I.D./IRM, must be received prior to the purchase of such equipment. ADPE includes computers, printers, word processors, etc., computer systems, software or related services.

4. This Cooperative Agreement includes authorization for local cost financing, provided such financing falls within the legitimate needs of the program description applicable to this Agreement and does not exceed the following limitations:

a. Procurement locally of items of U.S. origin up to a per transaction limit of the local currency equivalent of \$100,000.

b. Procurement locally of items of non-U.S. origin up to a per transaction limit of the local currency equivalent of \$5,000.

c. Commodities and services available only in the local economy (no specific per transaction value applies to this category). This category includes the following items:

a. utilities - including fuel for heating and cooking, waste disposal and trash collection;

b. communications - telephone, telex, fax, postal, and courier services;

c. rental costs for housing and office space;

d. petroleum, oils, and lubricants for operating vehicles and equipment;

e. newspapers, periodicals, and books published in the cooperating country, and

f. other commodities and services (and related expenses) that, by their nature or as a practical matter, can only be acquired, performed, or incurred in the cooperating country.

In cases where local cost procurements are expected to exceed the above limitations, and authorization for such procurement does not already exist in the Cooperative Agreement, the Recipient must obtain approval from the A.I.D. Agreement Officer prior to proceeding with the procurement.

Except as otherwise changed by the above limitations, the conditions of the Optional Standard Provision entitled "Local Cost Financing (November 1988)", apply, including paragraphs (b), (c), (d), (e), and (f).

## E. Reporting

### 1. Quarterly Program Progress Reports

The Recipient shall submit two (2) copies of quarterly implementation progress reports to the A.I.D. Project Officer as well as one (1) copy each to A.I.D. Mission Representatives in Russia, Ukraine, and Kazakhstan. The Project Officer will provide an outline for the progress report which at a minimum will include the following information: (1) cumulative expenditures for the reporting period and for the entire agreement through the report date, (2) summary description of activities over the reporting period, (3) progress toward achieving program purpose and objectives (i.e. a summary of the impact of program activities over the reporting period), (4) description of implementation methodology, (5) issues and problems, (6) status of actions scheduled last reporting period and (7) actions scheduled for next reporting period with designated action agents, in the form of an updated program workplan (8) cumulative expenditures shall be approximates provided in a programmatic format with line items such as: administration, regional program support, political parties, local government, civic organizations, central Asia and other direct costs..

The A.I.D. Project Officer's approval of payment vouchers submitted by the Recipient will be contingent upon the receipt of the quarterly progress reports.

### 2. Final Report

No later than sixty (60) days after the completion date of the Agreement, the Recipient will submit copies of a comprehensive final report to the following offices: two (2) copies of a final report to the A.I.D. Project Officer; one (1) copy to A.I.D./PPC/CDIE/DI, Acquisition, Room 209, SA-18, Washington, DC 20523-1802; and one (1) copy each to the A.I.D. field representatives in Russia, Ukraine, and Kazakhstan. The Project Officer will provide an outline for the final report which at a minimum will include a summary description of program activities and an assessment of the program's impact towards achieving the program purpose and objectives. This report should be sufficiently detailed to substantiate the results as described in the unsolicited proposal submitted by the Recipient. The final report should include a full accounting of expenditures under the Agreement and, if applicable, of reasons why established goals were not met, including any problems or difficulties requiring the attention of the U.S. Government, the host country, or the Recipient.

If applicable, overseas collaborators shall be given fair credit for their participation in the program and an opportunity to review and/or comment on the final report before it is submitted. Publication of activities and results in journals is encouraged. A.I.D. shall be given proper credit for funding and support of the program.

### 3. Special Reports

Events may occur that have significant impact upon the program. In such instances, the Recipient shall inform the Agreement and Project Officers as soon as possible. Examples of such events are:

a. Problems, delays or adverse conditions that will materially affect the ability to attain program objectives, prevent the meeting of time schedules and goals, or preclude the attainment of project work activities by the established time period. This disclosure shall be accompanied by a statement of the action taken, or contemplated, and any assistance needed to resolve the situation.

b. Favorable developments or events that enable time schedules to be met sooner than anticipated or more work activities to be performed than originally projected.

c. If any performance review conducted by the Recipient discloses the need for change in the budget estimates in accordance with the criteria established in the Standard Provision of the Agreement entitled "Revision of Grant Budget," the Recipient shall submit a request for budget revision to the A.I.D. Agreement Officer and Project Officer.

### 4. Financial Reporting

a. Financial reporting requirements shall be in accordance with the the standard provision of this Cooperative Agreement entitled "Payment - Letter of Credit."

b. The original and two copies of all financial reports shall be submitted to The Agency for International Development, Office of Financial Management, FA/FM/CMP/LC, Room 700, SA-2, Washington, DC 20523-0209. In addition, one copy of all financial reports shall be submitted to the Project Officer at the following address:

Jeanne Bourgault, New Independent States Task Force  
Agency for International Development  
NISTF/DPI  
Room 5665, NS  
Washington, DC 20523-0053

## **F. Substantial Involvement**

Substantial involvement is anticipated between A.I.D. and the Recipient during the performance of the Agreement. For the purposes of facilitating this involvement, the Recipient will submit to the designated A.I.D. Project Officer, with information copies sent to the A.I.D. field Representatives in Russia, Ukraine, and Kazakhstan, the following implementation reports for the Project Officer's approval:

### **1. Program Workplan**

Two weeks following the signing of this Cooperative Agreement, the Recipient will submit a work plan for the overall implementation of this activity. This workplan will include specific objectives for each program component, and a strategy for measuring the impact of program activities towards meeting those objectives. The activities planned in the first six-months of implementation should be specified at the highest level of detail possible, including tentative dates and locations of activities, etc. This workplan will be approved by the Project Officer prior to the initiation of any activities funded under this cooperative agreement (unless otherwise agreed to in writing). This workplan will be updated on a quarterly basis and included as a component of the quarterly reports (see Section E. Reporting in the Agreement).

### **2. Approval of Field Representatives**

Prior to final confirmation of each field representative by the Recipient, the candidate's resume will be sent to the Project Officer for review and concurrence.

### **3. Central Asia Evaluations and Consultations**

For activities in Central Asia, the Recipient will submit to the A.I.D. Project Officer the results of the consultation and evaluation mission to the region. The report should address how the findings of this consultative mission provides a strategy for the planned Central Asian seminars. The report will be accompanied with a detailed description of the agendas for the follow-on seminars for Project Officer approval prior to their initiation.

### 5. Travel

At least two weeks prior to any travel under the Agreement, the Recipient shall have received the written consent of the A.I.D. Project Officer. At least one week prior to international travel, the Recipient shall notify the A.I.D. Representative in each country. (For more details see the Standard Provision entitled "Air Travel and Transportation.")

### 6. Publications

Participants under this Agreement are encouraged to publish articles and/or books regarding the results of their activities under this Agreement. The Recipient shall take reasonable measures to ensure that any such publications include notice that A.I.D. funds were used to support these activities. (For more details see the Standard Provision entitled "Publications.")

### 7. Election Monitoring

The Recipient may submit proposals for discreet election monitoring activities, to be reviewed on a case-by-case basis. Election monitoring may be considered for all of the states of the former Soviet Union, but will be approved in accordance with U.S. Government foreign policy objectives. Depending on individual country needs and project resource availabilities, election monitoring activities may include: pre-election assessment missions, international delegations to monitor election week, post-election assessment missions and publication of monitoring results, and training and technical assistance to domestic monitoring groups.

No immediate funding will be made available for election monitoring, and proposals from the recipient for election monitoring assistance will be reviewed by the A.I.D. Project Officer on a case-by-case basis. Election monitoring activities may only be initiated following A.I.D.'s review and approval of a specific proposal and following an amendment to this cooperative agreement specifying the approved level of effort and funding level. All election monitoring activities will be funded on an actual cost basis, and therefore any unused funds will not be reprogrammed.

### G. Indirect Cost Rate

It is the recipient's normal accounting practice to direct charge all fringe benefits and overhead expenses to each of its projects/programs. As a result, an overhead rate will not be used in this project.

**H. Title to Property**

Title to property purchased by the Recipient under this Cooperative Agreement shall be vested in the Recipient. Accordingly, the Standard Provision entitled "Title To and Care of Property (Grantee Title)" applies. Disposition of property shall be in accordance with said Standard Provision.

**I. Authorized Geographic Code**

1. The total value of procurement of goods and services to be procured under this Cooperative Agreement is not expected to exceed \$250,000.

2. The authorized geographic code for procurement of goods and services under this Agreement is 935 in accordance with the following order of precedence:

1. The United States (A.I.D. Geographic Code 000)
2. The Cooperating Country
3. "Selected Free World" countries (A.I.D. Geographic Code 941), and
4. "Special Free World" countries (A.I.D. Geographic Code 935).

3. Requests for deviations to this requirement must include a full justification to be submitted to the Project Officer indicated in section E.

**I. Special Provisions**

1. The following Additional Standard Provisions as shown in Enclosure 3 are NOT applicable to this Agreement:

Payment - Periodic Advance  
Payment - Cost Reimbursement  
Patent Rights  
Negotiated Indirect Cost Rates - Predetermined  
Participant Training  
Voluntary Population Planning  
Protection of the Individual as a Research Subject  
Care of Laboratory Animals  
Government Furnished Excess Personal Property  
Title To and Care of Property (U.S. Government Title)  
Title To and Care of Property (Cooperating Country Title)  
Cost Sharing (Matching)

All other provisions not listed above are applicable to the performance of the program under this Agreement.

2. The following are alterations to the Mandatory and Additional Standard Provisions as listed below:

Mandatory Standard Provisions

"Notices" - For the purpose of notices delivered to the Agreement Officer, the following addresses shall be used:

(a) Regular U.S. Postal Service

Agreement Officer's Name  
Agency for International Development  
FA/OP/CC/N  
Office of Procurement  
Room 1519, SA-14  
Washington, DC 20523-1415

(b) By Courier/Express Mail Only

Agreement Officer's Name  
Agency for International Development  
FA/OP/CC/N  
Office of Procurement  
1100 Wilson Boulevard  
15th Floor Reception Area  
Arlington, Virginia 22209

3. The following nine-digit zip codes are applicable in lieu of the five-digit zip codes shown in the corresponding standard provisions:

Mandatory Standard Provisions

Notices 20523-0051

Additional Standard Provisions

Ocean Shipment of Goods 20523-1419  
Procurement of Goods and Services 20523-1414  
Payment - Letter of Credit 20523-0209  
(In addition to the zip code change, the organizational symbol for A.I.D.'s Office of Financial Management has also changed as shown in section E.)  
Negotiated Indirect Cost Rates  
- Provisional 20523-0060  
(second address in the provision) 20523-1417

**4. Recipient Proposal and Order of Precedence**

The Recipient's proposal entitled "Proposals To The U.S. Agency for International Development For 1992 Programs in The Former Soviet Union," submitted March 27, 1992, and as amended on April 7, 1992 is hereby incorporated as Attachment No. 4 to this Agreement. In the case of a conflict between the proposal and this Agreement, the following shall be the Order of Precedence:

1. Mandatory and Additional Standard Provisions
2. The Cover Letter and Schedule
3. The Program Description
4. The Recipient's Proposal

END OF THE SCHEDULE - ENCLOSURE 1

Enclosure 2

PROGRAM DESCRIPTION

**A. Purpose**

The purpose of this program between A.I.D. and the NDI is to support NDI's project for (1) strengthening political parties and parliamentary fractions; (2) local government reform; and (3) development of civic groups in the New Independent States (NIS) of the former Soviet Union. These activities will be implemented primarily in Russia, Ukraine, and the five states of Central Asia.

**B. Program Description**

The National Democratic Institute (NDI) will provide assistance in the following three areas: (1) political party development (including party organization, role in elections, role in parliament, and role in strengthening civil society) in Russia, Ukraine and Central Asia, through in-country seminars and intensive consultations; (2) training in civic organizations in Russia, Ukraine and Central Asia working in such areas as voter education, citizen responsibility, and responsible governance; (3) a local government program of technical assistance and management training in Russia and Ukraine, building on a two-year NDI investment in that area. NDI will implement its program through a resident advisor in Russia, Ukraine and Uzbekistan; and (4) election monitoring may be considered for other states of the former Soviet Union, but will be reviewed with the A.I.D. Project Office on a case-by-case basis.

**C. Program Implementation**

In support of program activities, NDI will:

- 1) Recruit, engage, and support two-long term representatives each in Moscow and Kiev and one in Tashkent to coordinate and implement activities in their country or region. In addition, NDI will recruit, engage and support a part-time (four month) representative in Moscow to assist in launching the program in the region.
- 2) Provide logistical support for program activities including travel and lodging arrangements, interpreters, delivery of commodities, and clerical and administrative support.
- 3) Provide program participants with briefing materials for training seminars and intensive consultations, as well as arrange itineraries for program delegates.

4) Evaluate the program to measure the impact of activities towards achieving the program purpose and specific objectives.

5) Perform other duties as necessary to implement the activities described in the attached proposal.

END OF PROGRAM DESCRIPTION

148

**PROPOSALS**  
**TO**  
**THE U.S. AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT**  
**FOR 1992 PROGRAMS**  
**THE FORMER SOVIET UNION**

**Submitted by**  
**The National Democratic Institute**  
**for International Affairs**

**March 27, 1992**

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

### PART ONE: INTRODUCTION

I.	SUMMARY	1
II.	ASSESSMENT OF REQUIREMENTS FOR POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE	3
III.	NDI's PREVIOUS PROGRAM ACTIVITIES IN THE REGION	8
A.	The Former Soviet Union	8
	Local Government Reform	9
B.	The Russian Federation	10
	i. Local Government Reform	10
	ii. Strengthening Political Parties	11
C.	Ukraine	13
	Local Government Reform & Electoral Consultation	13
D.	East and Central Europe	15

### PART TWO: PROPOSAL ONE PROGRAM ACTIVITIES: \$2,000,000.00

I.	THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION	17
A.	Field Representatives	17
B.	Strengthening Political Parties and Parliamentary Fractions	18
C.	Local Government Reform	21
D.	Development of Civic Groups	23
II	UKRAINE	25
A.	Field Representatives	25
B.	Strengthening Political Parties and Parliamentary Fractions	26
C.	Local Government Reform	27
D.	Development of Civic Groups	27
III	CENTRAL ASIA	29
A.	Field Representatives	29
B.	Strengthening Democratic Political and Civic Groups	30
IV	NDI PROGRAM TARGETS, EVALUATION & STAFFING	34

**PART ONE:**

**INTRODUCTION &  
ASSESSMENT OF REQUIREMENTS  
FOR POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE**

## 1. SUMMARY

During 1992, the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) proposes to expand its political development programs -- initiated in the summer of 1990 -- in the states of the former Soviet Union. In a one year program, NDI will respond promptly to the requests of leaders of political parties and movements, democratic city and regional governments, parliaments, executives and citizens groups that are struggling to survive and endure in this extraordinary period of severe economic hardship and political transformation. Despite the uncertain future of the Commonwealth of Independent States, political development assistance is increasingly relevant if its individual members are to continue down the road to more stable, pluralist political systems.

In most member states today, the democratic reformers remain weak, inexperienced and, frequently, divided. The struggle between the reformers and ultranationalists, neocommunists, and proponents of politicized ethnicity and religion is intensifying. Democratic development projects should help reformers to develop strategies to cope with the current economic and political crises, addressing the need to strengthen newly-evolving pluralist political institutions and processes.

Building on the Institute's previous experience in the Soviet Union and elsewhere in Eastern and Central Europe, NDI proposes to conduct programs in the Russian Federation, in Ukraine, and, regionally, in the states of Central Asia. The Institute will also initiate the development of a program to strengthen inter-state communication and provide models of inter-state dialogue and cooperation among all interested member states of the CIS. The programs will address three critical elements of the democratic reform process in the successor states: 1) political parties and parliamentary fractions; 2) local government reform; and 3) civic education.

First, NDI will conduct a series of training seminars and intensive consultations designed to encourage a multi-party system by strengthening the nascent political parties and parliamentary fractions in the Russian Federation, Ukraine and Central Asia. These projects, which will be devised differently to suit the political conditions in each state, will generally concentrate on four major issues: 1) the organization of political parties; 2) the role of political parties in elections; 3) the role of political parties in parliament; and 4) the role of political parties in strengthening civil society.

Second, in the Russian Federation and Ukraine, NDI intends to strengthen the prospects for local democracy by building upon its local government reform program, which has been ongoing since mid-1990. The program has provided technical assistance and

imparted democratic management skills to nearly 600 local leaders from the Russian Federation, Ukraine, Moldova, Armenia, Belarus, and the Baltic states. It will continue to focus on the vital role played by local governments in the process of transformation from a centralized, totalitarian state to a decentralized, democratic society. Any transition to a more democratic society will require the strengthening of democratic processes at the grassroots level and the diffusion of power away from the previous Communist Party-directed rigid central command structure. The program is intended to increase the practical knowledge of officials and develop mechanisms for successful democratic local government reform and information sharing among local communities.

Third, in the Russian Federation, Ukraine, and the Central Asian states of Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Tadjikistan, and Turkmenistan, NDI will undertake programs of civic education. Similar to NDI's work with the Center for Democratic Studies in Paraguay, Participo in Chile, NAMFREL in the Phillipines, the Bulgarian Association for Free Elections and Civil Rights (BAFECR), the Pro Democracy Association in Romania, and the Budapest-based organization Democracy After Communism (DAC), the Institute will provide training for emerging or pre-existing civic organizations. The purpose will be to enable them to master the tactics and strategy of building task-oriented public service institutions. Such civic groups could serve to draw those citizens into the public sphere who may currently hold strong anti-party views, train young, non-partisan reformers, prepare domestic election monitoring programs, disseminate information on the rights and responsibilities of the citizen in a democratic society, encourage participation in elections and public affairs, and promote responsible government at all levels.

Fourth, NDI will begin development of a project which would provide all interested CIS member states with various models of regional organizations, with the aim of promoting greater inter-state and even intra-state communication and dialogue -- regardless of whether a CIS member state seeks to remain within the CIS or to enter or devise other regional groupings. In other parts of the world, multilateral, regional groupings have often proven successful in reducing some sources of inter-state tension, and in providing fora for the deliberation on issues of mutual interest and concern. In 1992, NDI would commission research papers on models of inter-state cooperation and their viability in the present Eurasian political context, and consult with selected regional groups such as the European Parliament, the Organization of American States, the Nordic Council, and the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation to learn more about the procedures and practices of these organizations and explore the possibilities of co-sponsorship. Finally, the Institute would undertake a seminar in Brussels for representatives of each member state using trainers from a

variety of regional organizations.

NDI will ensure the comprehensiveness and continuity of its program work by establishing field representation in Moscow, Kiev, and Tashkent. The Institute will place two persons in each of these cities, from where they will be expected to coordinate and implement NDI activities in their country or region. One representative in each city will serve as a local coordinator for NDI programs and a liaison to political party leaders, parliamentarians, local government officials, and executives. The second representative will provide regular training for the local political parties, movements, and civic groups. In Moscow, a third, part-time (4 month) representative with highly specialized experience with the new democratic reformers will be employed to help launch NDI's programming in the region.

NDI will also seek to bring representatives from the Russian Federation, Ukraine, and Central Asia to the United States, as well as to NDI programs throughout the world, for further training in election observation, the strengthening and organization of political parties and civic education groups. These representatives will then serve as trainers for their colleagues upon their return and will be integrated into NDI's programs in the former Soviet Union.

In addition, since the inception of its programming, NDI has translated numerous documents into Russian and distributed them to participants in its programs. These materials have included codes of ethics, conflict of interest laws, budgeting procedures, and documents on executive-legislative relations. In 1992, NDI is also preparing comprehensive manuals on election monitoring and political party development. These will be translated and widely disseminated throughout the former Soviet Union.

## **II. ASSESSMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE**

At present, the survival of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) as it was formulated in the Minsk and Alma-Ata agreements of December 1991 is by no means assured. Major uncertainties about the political, economic and military cohesion of the CIS and even of its member states are likely to endure in the foreseeable future. What is certain, however, is that the future political orientation of the successor states of the former Soviet Union will be crucial not only to their peoples, but also to regional and world order. Thus, it is vital that the reformers in the successor states be assisted in undertaking the difficult transition to more democratic political and social structures, and free markets. Such assistance can be provided through sustained technical assistance programs.

The case for the importance of political reform to economic reconstruction in the successor states of the former Soviet Union is not argued as frequently as is the case for the primacy of economic stabilization. The latter argument is most often heard inside the successor states, while in the West many leading analysts continue to conflate the concept of democracy with the concept of a free market. While marketization can lead to the development of a class capable of defending its interests, a policy for democratic development is not the same thing as a policy in support of economic reform. Though the challenge of the reformers is unprecedented in its scale and complexity, they may have to act simultaneously on two fronts -- economic and political -- if they aim to develop a democratic polity. If the sole focus is on nurturing political institutions and the people starve, then democracy is certain to lose its legitimacy. If the sole focus is on economic reform, however, and the fledgling political institutions are not nurtured, then the new reformers could begin to look very much like the old authoritarians.

In a country where the ideological glue of 70 years has been washed away, it is important to build legitimacy for government leaders and institutions. Economic dislocation such as hyperinflation and unemployment, both of which threaten the successor states, can easily endanger democratic reforms and erode the stability of the regimes in power. Yet, the reformers could try to build legitimacy through a popular consensus and responsive public institutions to help them survive the long and difficult period of economic distress that lies ahead. They need to develop a political consensus among the various groups in the population in order to implement and enforce radical economic reform.

Strong political parties and legislatures can provide an important buffer as the new administrations enact reform. Such political institutions can help diffuse the criticism that can be more easily directed at an individual leader. To survive the economic crisis, the reformers will now have to pay some attention to developing their fledgling democratic institutions and to developing broad political coalitions.

The economic situation will continue to remain bleak. And, in the post-coup period, there has developed an increased reliance on contradictory decrees and ordinances -- to the "war of laws" has been added a "war of decrees"; a move to strengthen executive powers at the expense of legislative reform, the development of constitutions, and mediating institutions (i.e., an independent judiciary).

Some reformers insist that an "iron hand",- or *zheleznaya ruka*, rather than political institution-building, is temporarily necessary during this period of acute economic crisis. And some Moscow intellectuals are arguing that between totalitarianism and

democracy, a period of authoritarian rule is required to promote economic reform. The hazard of this authoritarian experiment, of course, lies in the fact that it is difficult to restrain. Unlike traditional democracies, whose leaders have also resorted on occasion to the extraordinary use of executive powers, in the successor states there are no working democratic institutions or processes as yet with which to rein in such powers.

The dilemmas of democratic development in the successor states are of a far greater magnitude than elsewhere in the new non-communist world. Like the states of Eastern and Central Europe, many of the new states have embarked upon an experiment which aims to promote economic transformation and political reform simultaneously. This experiment is being undertaken on the carcass of a deep-rooted communist system, under extraordinary conditions of economic collapse brought about by a corrupt centralized political leadership and stagnant command economy.

Unlike Eastern and Central Europe, however, the Russian Federation was the core of an empire that is now disintegrating. Apart from the case of Turkey (the former heart of the Ottoman Empire) which has developed a functioning - albeit flawed - democracy, the world has had little experience of imperial cores that aspire to democracy. All the successor states are suffering the aftershock of imperial disintegration, and, after decades of suppression, ethnic and religious concepts of political and social organization are resurfacing. The reform movement in the Russian Federation is under attack by both neocommunists and ultranationalists, and is itself increasingly divided today over the central question of the state's future political identity: will Russia remain an intact federation belonging to a loose association of states, or will it be a democratic empire, "once more exercising strong central authority over its neighboring states? Will it use force to prevent the self-determination of its constituent republics, autonomous regions and okrugs?

There are numerous challenges to democratic development in the successor states. Some of them may be found elsewhere in the world, but some are peculiar to them. This is the territory on which the Communist state was born and "perfected". The ideology and the organizations spawned to uphold and promote it have existed for more than 70 years, leaving generations without any familiarity with alternative concepts, ideas, or political languages. And the Russian Federation has a long history, too, of Slavic nationalism. Indeed, the communist model was conceived partly as a Western secular, authoritarian alternative to the nineteenth century Slavophiles. The Central Asian states as well as some autonomous regions in the Russian Federation are witnessing the emergence of Islam-based political movements and organizations. In addition, there is a longstanding authoritarian political tradition, religious and secular, rural and urban, monarchist and communist, which stresses that workable politics

is possible only through the appointment rather than the election of competent administrators.

Given the generations who have no memory of property, individual rights or the right to dissent, the lack of historical experience with open institutions, and the lack of a "civil society", there is good reason to be concerned about the ability of the new generation of reformers to nurture the kind of society and the kinds of institutions conducive to a more tolerant, pluralist and inclusive political order. A democratic system requires not only legitimate leaders but legitimate institutions, not only personal freedom, but accepted, organized procedures for solving problems and resolving disputes. For a democratic society to develop, the current stress on strengthening executive power, which is so evident, will have to be balanced by an emphasis on strengthening freely elected legislatures and new judicial institutions. A policy for democratic development requires, too, the establishment and recognition of the fact that democratic government is not weak government, and that, ipso facto, democracy and efficiency are not mutually exclusive in a time of economic crisis. In fact, without strong political institutions and the establishment of new political rules, significant, long-term economic reform will be difficult.

There are a number of requirements for the development of more pluralist political systems in the region. Some of them are to be found in all the successor states, while some are region- or state-specific. The appropriate sequence and timing for each requirement to be fulfilled may differ, depending on political conditions, from state to state. The main issues of democratic development include:

2 The development of a strong system of political parties with organization, clear party programs, increased membership and an understanding of the role of parties in democratic societies. As currently configured the new political parties are largely personality-based, weak and disorganized, hindered both by inexperience and by a lingering but strong "anti-partyism" - a mistrust of all political parties among the populace in reaction to their years of negative experience with the Communist Party. Further, as goals such as the defeat of the Communist Party in the Russian Federation or the successful drive for independence in Ukraine have been achieved, the political movements which led the charge are fragmenting. A debate has developed between advocates of political parties and those who believe that only broad democratic movements can function effectively in the current situation. One lesson from the recent Eastern European experience would be to avoid the atomization of political parties similar to that which occurred in Poland, where recent elections gave parliamentary seats to 27 parties. This could further weaken already struggling legislative bodies.

• Despite obvious problems of high cost and voter apathy, elections will have to be held for legislative bodies throughout the successor states, as well as for executives not yet directly elected, in order to proceed with the democratic restructuring of political institutions. Elections could have several beneficial effects: 1) they are crucial to legitimate and empower legislative bodies. At various levels of government, these bodies are now accused of being less legitimate because they were elected in only a quasi-democratic fashion several years ago. This argument is frequently used by Mayors Sobchak and Popov, in St. Petersburg and Moscow, respectively, to support their claims of a democratic mandate for stronger executive authority to deal with the current crises. Likewise, in Ukraine, two-thirds of the current Ukrainian parliament elected in March 1990, is composed of post-Communists. While the democratic opposition has been effective in encouraging the emergence of an independent Ukraine, new elections would allow them to consolidate their legitimacy in the Parliament; 2) they would provide an opportunity to slim down the size of legislative bodies (in Moscow, the Moscow City Council numbers 450, while in St. Petersburg there are approximately 350 deputies). The size of these bodies prevents efficient resolution of issues and gives the argument for a stronger executive in the face of weak legislatures further credence; 3) while the current parliaments were generally elected on a nonparty basis, new elections would stimulate further political consolidation among political parties and promote a genuine multi-party system.

• One of the key aspects of democratization in this formerly totalitarian state (where power has been highly vertically structured), is the support of decentralized, efficient and politically responsive local governments. Until now, local governments were mere shells, responsive principally to higher Communist Party authorities. Reform in the successor states will succeed to the extent that it spreads its roots deeply, that is, to the local level, and widely, that is, to the smaller cities, towns and districts across the vast Eurasian land mass. Since local reformers are so widely dispersed, grappling with reform issues in isolation from one another, it is important to expand the sharing of democratic management expertise among them, and to strengthen the institutional relationships between reform-minded local groups outside the major cities. If the democrats are seen as unable to perform at the local level, the populace may transfer its dissatisfaction with local democracy to democracy as a whole.

• The "top-down" approach of the Communist system in the Soviet Union attempted to destroy civic culture and it nearly succeed. It produced a population that is highly passive and without understanding of the concepts of choice, or of meaningful participation in public life. There is little understanding of how citizens can participate in government to change their lives

and those of their neighbors. And, on the part of the government, there is little knowledge of, or even concern for, the need to stimulate the citizenry to participate in the public sphere. The encouragement of a civic culture" is a prerequisite for a successful transition to an enduring democratic society. Developing a strong civic culture means promoting an understanding of citizenship. It means creating an appropriate relationship between the responsibilities of the state to the citizen, and the responsibilities of individual citizens to the state, and to each other. The development of a civic culture requires both grassroots work by civic organizations to increase understanding of citizen's rights, responsibilities, and opportunities, and for high-level politicians to stimulate political parties, parliaments, and executives to communicate, consult, and enhance citizen confidence that their participation is needed- Efforts from all levels of society are necessary to produce full-scale participatory democracy.

- Executive-legislative conflicts at the national, regional and municipal level must be resolved as soon as possible. The crux of the debate over executive-legislative relations is that the old legislatures are weak, less-than-legitimate, and in need of reform while the new executive structures led by the reformers are also weak- Both branches of government contain many members of the old guard. The reformers in the executive argue that their new structures need to be strengthened. due both to their inchoate nature and the dire nature of the crisis confronting them. Supporters of legislative authority claim the same necessity. In fact, a simultaneous strengthening of powers is required- If these issues are not resolved, the temptation to rule continuously by decree as a means of enacting radical political and economic reform may prove to be too great to be resisted -- and when numerous executive agencies resort to issuing large numbers of contradictory decrees, political and economic chaos are likely to result.

- The adoption of a new constitution in each successor state to replace the Soviet constitutions and the morass of conflicting laws that have sought to amend them is a particularly complex and pressing task for the Russian Federation. This will provide a necessary legal framework for all further reforms, determine governmental structures, and, in the Russian Federation, address the critical issue of federalism. In addition, institutions need to be developed for conflict resolution and problem solving. Vital mediating institutions such as an independent judiciary must be established to resolve the inevitable conflicts which are arising during the period of transformation.

- Ethnic and religious tensions and the dilemma posed by increasingly popular extreme nationalist movements are a threat to the peace of the successor states and to their territorial integrity, most noticeably to the vast Russian Federation. These

issues take different forms in different states. In the Russian Federation, nationalist sentiment in the autonomous regions and republics -- such as has already been expressed in Chechen-Ingush and, more importantly, in Tatarstan -- will have to be addressed if further splintering is to be prevented. The Russian nationalism of populist demagogues such as Vladimir Zhirinovskiy (who received eight percent of the votes in the presidential election of 1991) threatens to destroy not only the Russian Federation but the CIS as well with calls for a return to the glorious days of the Russian Empire. The linkage of far-right nationalists such as Zhirinovskiy with far left hard-line Communists could be a real threat in this time of instability and dissatisfaction within the Russian Federation, especially if they are given a facade of legitimacy by more "mainstream" nationalist politicians such as Viktor Aksyuchits and Alexander Rutskoi, who also bemoan the loss of the territories of the former Soviet Union, and are particularly opposed to any breakup of the Russian Federation itself. Also, there is growing anti-Russian sentiment throughout the former Soviet republics, from Ukraine to Central Asia. Increased attacks on ethnic Russians outside of the Russian Federation would likely provoke a response from Russia. The responsible treatment of ethnic and religious minorities in Ukraine, the Central Asian states, and elsewhere will be a key indicator of the positive prospects for democratization in those areas.

In Central Asia, against a backdrop of largely poor and feudal societies, there exists a volatile mix of multi-ethnic populations, burgeoning Muslim and nationalist movements, reactionary Communists, and small democratic reform initiatives. Turkey and Iran, as well as Pakistan, Afghanistan and India, are vying for influence in the Central Asian states. While Turkey provides Central Asia's leaders with a more secular model of Muslim government, Iran proposes a government based upon religion. Many of the peoples of the region are of Turkish descent, and some radical politicians have advocated the reestablishment of a unified Turkestan. Predominantly Persian Tadjikistan, however, shies away from such pan-Turkic nationalism, while there is general concern about the growing desire on the part of the 20 million strong Uzbek people to dominate the region.

Ukraine, meanwhile, must contend with the separatist politics of ethnic Russians in the Crimea and the Donbass region, as well as ethnic Hungarians in Transcarpathia which, until 1945, was a part of Hungary and Czechoslovakia. In Moldova, ethnic Russians and Turks have each attempted to break away from the ethnic Romanian majority, and violence has become a daily occurrence in the Russian-dominated "Dneister Republic". Armenia and Azerbaijan continue to do bloody battle over Nagorno-Karabakh in a conflict that threatens to pull in a wider number of combatants such as Turkey and the Central Asian states. If

institutions and processes are not developed to help ameliorate some of these issues of ethnic and religious politics, they threaten to destabilize the entire Eurasian land mass.

### **III. NDI'S PREVIOUS PROGRAM ACTIVITIES IN THE REGION**

#### **A. The Former Soviet Union**

Since 1990, NDI has worked in the former Soviet Union to support the efforts of reformers who are attempting to make a transition to a democratic society during a period of severe turmoil, both economic and political. NDI's programs have sought to address ways in which democratic government might be promoted while economic reforms are being undertaken, and to show that democracy and efficiency are not contradictory; that pluralism and stability are compatible.

During that time, NDI's seminars and consultations have reached an audience of nearly 600 reformers from the Russian Federation, Ukraine, Moldova, Armenia, Belarus, and the Baltic states. NDI has enlisted the considerable expertise of 40 international trainers from a dozen countries who have cumulatively devoted almost 400 days of their time on a *pro bono* basis to assisting the democratic transition in the former Soviet Union.

NDI has also brought representatives from the former Soviet Union to its democratic development programs throughout the world, including an election monitoring mission in Bulgaria, a seminar on ethnic relations in Yugoslavia, a seminar held in Venezuela on promoting a democratic transition in Cuba, and a meeting of young political activists from throughout Europe sponsored by the Budapest-based Democracy After Communism (DAC) Foundation.

It is this network of contacts, both within the former Soviet Union and internationally, which NDI will draw on to expand the already considerable base of experience in working in the former Soviet Union.

#### **Local Government Reform**

In December 1990, NDI sponsored its first training seminars in the former Soviet Union, "Democratic Governance and City Politics." Approximately 75 mayors and city council members from over 30 cities in the Russian republic, and the Ukraine participated in the seminars. The Moscow City Soviet and the Russian parliament's Committee in the Work of the Soviet and the Development of Self-Government served as co-sponsors. NDI Chairman Walter F. Mondale led the multi-partisan international delegation which included 13 elected officials and local government experts from the United States, Great Britain, the

Netherlands, Germany, Poland, and Sweden. The seminar provided a basis for answering questions on the powers, roles, responsibilities, and functions of democratic local governments.

One of the concrete outcomes of the seminar was the formation of the Union of Russian Cities, an organization comprised of 86 Russian cities with populations of over 80,000 people. Dedicated to the coordination of city activities and information sharing, the local governments represented in the Union of Russian Cities also proved a useful vehicle for resistance to the August coup attempt by the Communist hard-liners. In addition, many of the concepts discussed at the seminar were helpful to the Russian parliament's Committee on the Work of the Soviets and the Development of Self-Government in drafting a local government reform act.

In May 1991, NDI sponsored its second local government initiative in the former Soviet Union. It consisted of two technical training workshops "Democratic Governance and Municipal Finance" held in Moscow and St. Petersburg (the former Leningrad). Over 85 city council members from 11 cities in Russia, six cities in Ukraine, Belarus, and Moldova participated in the Moscow seminars, co-hosted by Sergei Stankevich and the Moscow City Council. Approximately 50 city council members from St. Petersburg, and from Lithuania and Latvia participated in the St. Petersburg seminars which were co-hosted by Mayor Anatoly Sobchak and the St. Petersburg City Council. Twelve budget and finance experts, and elected officials from the United States, Great Britain, the Netherlands, Sweden, Germany, and Poland composed the international delegation. NDI translated and disseminated numerous local government and budget and finance materials which the participants found extremely useful, noting their comments on their seminar evaluations.

The December and May seminars resulted in modifications in the budget process in the Moscow City Council. Based on the seminars, two new documents were written and adopted. The first was the "Rules of Compiling and Accepting the Budget in Moscow, which served as the first step in establishing a system of balance between the city council and the mayor of Moscow. The second document explained the importance, establishment, and activity of a Control Chamber. The seminar also contributed to independent initiatives among NDI's trainers and participants. For example, NDI facilitated an international exchange of teams and technical expertise between the Washington Metropolitan Airports Authority and its counterparts in the city of Moscow.

NDI has worked profitably with other American and European organizations in the area of municipal reform including ICMA, the National League of Cities, the U.S. Conference of Mayors, Sister Cities International, the Government Finance Officers' Association and Harvard University's project on Strengthening

**Democratic Institutions.** NDI has arranged round-table informational meetings for these and other organizations working on local government reform and exchanges, provided orientation briefings for visitors to the U.S. and for American trainers going to the former Soviet Union.

NDI's local government program has worked intensively not only with city level officials but with those at the republic (or national) and former union level who are responsible for local government legislation. NDI maintains frequent contact with the Russian parliamentary committees on local government reform which enable it to contribute to the ongoing formulation of new legislation on local governments. Some leaders of the Russian parliament's Committee on the Work of Soviets and the Development of Self-Government are also active members in political parties and movements. Hence NDI's training in local government reform has reached beyond the city level and has provided the Institute with a foundation for developing programs with party leaders, organizers and parliamentarians.

In sum, NDI's local government program has provided local officials with a variety of international models of democratic local government. It has initiated the creation of a new organization, the Union of Russian Cities, and has promoted the objective of increasing communication and coordination between newly-elected local officials across Russia and in Ukraine and other new states as well as from different levels of government. As the new democratic city officials are directly criticized by citizens for their inexperience and inability to manage their municipalities, NDI's program has been timely in promoting a practical understanding of democratic governance and municipal management.

## **B. The Russian Federation**

### **1. Local Government Reform**

The seminars led to several requests for further, more specialized training in local government and finance issues. In response to these requests NDI sent Zev Yaroslavsky, Chairman of the Los Angeles City Council Budget and Finance Committee, to conduct the first in a series of intensive local government consultations. From October 5-18, Councilman Yaroslavsky conducted consultations with the Budget and Finance Committees and the Committees on Self-Government of the St. Petersburg and Moscow city councils, and the Russian parliament's Committee on the Work of the Soviets and the Development of Self Governance. He also led a two-day consultation with approximately 20 budget and finance officers from throughout Russia selected by the Union of Russian Cities.

One of the outcomes of this consultation was a week-long visit organized for four Moscow City Council members to Los Angeles to study budgeting and finance procedures in a democratically governed city. Also, based on the consultations, the Moscow and St. Petersburg City Councils are seeking to involve the legislative branch in budgetary decision making process in a manner analogous to the models of Los Angeles and other Western city councils.

From December 8-13, NDI, in conjunction with the Union of Russian Cities, conducted its second local government consultation. Glenn Cowan, an NDI advisor and Stewart Palilonis, a New Jersey-based municipal housing specialist traveled to the city of Samara, a military-industrial city on the Volga river, which until several months earlier was a "closed city." The experts conducted training programs for 200 deputies from the Samara Oblast, City and Raion Councils on issues of privatization of local housing and commerce, local tax policy, and budget and finance administration.

NDI is currently planning its third local government consultation in the Russian Federation. In mid-April, two NDI experts will travel to Moscow and Ekaterinburg (formerly Sverdlovsk), a military-industrial city in the Ural Mountains. One expert will consult with the Mossoviet and the Ekaterinburg City and Oblast Soviets on budget and finance issues. The second expert will be an organizational specialist who will consult with the Union of Russian Cities and a new association of cities in the Urals region to improve their organizational structure and increase their functional capabilities.

The Union of Russian Cities is a non-governmental organization of cities and their regions. The organization aims to promote the establishment of favorable conditions of the socio-economic development of cities, to coordinate their activities, to spread useful national and international experiences, and to help solve common problems of cities. In addition, the Union has a consultative status with the Russian parliament. NDI has conducted two local government consultations in conjunction with the Union and is impressed by their commitment and hard work. NDI has also helped establish linkages between the Union and U.S. and European local government organizations, thus contributing to further exchanges. (The International City Management Association (ICMA), for example, is now planning a trip for a group of city managers to travel to Russia. The delegation will be hosted by the Union of Russian Cities.)

#### **ii. Strengthening Political Parties**

From December 13-15, 1991, NDI organized the third in a series of training seminars in Moscow entitled "Democratic

**Governance in a Time of Crisis.** The seminars were convened at the request of Russian politicians and parliamentarians who are attempting to build democratic institutions but are under increasing pressure to suspend political reforms during a period of severe economic dislocation. NDI Chairman Walter F. Mondale led the twelve-member international delegation which consisted of experts from Britain, Bulgaria, Chile, the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, Germany, Hungary, Poland and the United States.

The 100 Russian participants included the leaders and activists of a dozen political parties and movements (including Democratic Russia, the Movement for Democratic Reforms, the Democratic Party of Russia, the Christian Democratic Party of Russia, the Social Democratic Party, and the Republican Party), representatives of parliamentary fractions and President Yeltsin's executive staff, and local elected officials. The seminar attracted participants from 20 cities.

The participants heard presentations by Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Labor Alexander Shokhin; St. Petersburg Mayor Anatoly Sobchak; Oleg Rumyantsev, Secretary of the Constitutional Commission; and Vladimir Bokser, a leading organizer of the Democratic Russia movement. The Russian participants were particularly interested in the recent experiences of their Eastern European colleagues, and extensively questioned the delegates on the economic transition process in Poland and on the political transition of the parties and movements in Hungary and Czechoslovakia. NDI received numerous requests for follow-on programs with municipalities, the political parties and movements, and the Russian Federation parliament and executive.

Although NDI's program has, until this conference, focussed on local government reform, the quality and number of the participants at the December 1991 parties seminar demonstrate that NDI has developed strong contacts with the leaders and organizers of Russia's democratic parties. As one international participant put it, "NDI is clearly viewed as a sincere friend and supporter, and is widely trusted by the Russians, a fact which enables it to play a key role in the thorny field of political advice and assistance."

The international experts shared practical information on the political, economic and judicial methods used by established and emerging democracies to address salient national and municipal concerns. They addressed executive-legislative relations, the division of powers, judicial issues and constitution-writing, ~~democratic strategies for addressing economic crises,~~ and the role of political parties and movements during transitions to democracy.

In the workshop on executive-legislative relations, there was considerable interest in the views of NDI's Chilean trainer, who serves as the Minister of the Presidency, on the "Pinochet model", which many in the Russian Federation have pointed to as an example of how authoritarian rule can help overcome an economic crisis. Some Russian participants argued that political reforms should be postponed or subordinated to the need for swift action to overhaul the economy, and that only a strong hand, unfettered by legislative debating societies, could effect the necessary changes.

In the workshop on political strategies for economic decision-making, participants were particularly interested in the Polish stabilization plan and NDI's Polish expert emphasized the similarities between the Polish and Russian situations. Participants asked numerous questions, such as who gained and who suffered from the stabilization plan, what went wrong, what is the role of foreign capital, and what is the role of political parties in economic reform. Participants were also interested in the issue of privatization, and the relationship between state and local enterprises. As in other workshops, they asked for concrete advice as well as more written materials.

In the workshop on the role of political parties and movements during a transition period, the trainers outlined the political processes as they occurred in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and elsewhere in Eastern Europe. Russian participants rated this workshop as extremely pertinent and were interested to learn more about both the positive and negative aspects of the transition period in East and Central Europe.

The workshops served to crystallize the democratic development needs of the Russian delegates and NDI received numerous requests for further, specialized assistance. For example: the Christian Democratic Union requested party building consultations; the Department of Governmental Services requested a joint program of technical education for local government leaders; the Social Democratic Party requested a seminar dealing with the issue of how to bring government, labor, and business together in a time of economic crisis; the Chairman of the Council of Fractions in the Russian Parliament requested a seminar for the eight parliamentary fractions which would focus on organization and procedures for party and coalition-building; and the Union of Russian Cities asked for assistance on how to effectively organize and run a local government league. In addition, NDI received requests for seminars and consultations examining party structures in Russia, the role of parties in elections, mass media and ethnic conflict.

An ancillary outcome of the program was that representatives of different parties, many of which had a hostile relationships with one another, were forced to discuss a variety of issues with

one another. Later, at the closing plenary, participants remarked that the conference had allowed them to engage in civil discussions with members of other parties.

### **C. Ukraine**

#### **Local Government Reform & Electoral Consultations**

NDI has initiated and maintained contacts with reform-minded local government leaders in Ukraine. Council members from a number of cities in Ukraine participated in the Institute's December 1990 and May 1991 programs. The cities of Kiev, Dneprodzerzhinsk, Rovno, and Odessa sent participants to the December seminars. In attendance at the May seminars were representatives from Dnepropetrovsk, Ivano-Frankovsk, Kharkov, Kiev, and Odessa. As a result of these seminars NDI has received requests from its Ukrainian contacts to hold similar programs in Ukraine.

In October 1991, NDI sent Zev Yaroslavsky, the Chairman of Los Angeles City Council's Budget and Finance Committee to Kiev for one day of intensive discussions with members of the Kiev Budget and Finance Committee who had attended NDI's May seminar.

During November 11-15, 1991, at the request of the National Endowment for Democracy, NDI sent Jack Walsh, a Boston-based political expert to attend an elections seminar and consult with Ukrainian political parties as they prepared for the December 1 presidential elections. Walsh helped organize and participated in a conference on free and fair elections in Ukraine sponsored by the Ukrainian Foundation for Independent Political Research, a political institute supported by NEED. Over 70 Ukrainian participants from 16 political parties participated in the proceedings which were designed to prepare the parties for the December 1 presidential elections. Based on his consultations after the conference, Walsh returned from the Ukraine with strong recommendations that NDI implement an active political development program in Ukraine.

NDI conducted its first local government consultations in Ukraine from February 28 to March 7, 1992. Don Benninghoven, Executive Director of the League of California Cities, conducted training sessions in the cities of Kiev and Donetsk in cooperation with the Association of Democratic Ukrainian Councils. Zev Yaroslavsky held consultations in Kiev with local government leaders from throughout Ukraine. Councilman Yaroslavsky also held informational meetings with many leaders and organizers of Ukraine's political parties and movements. The meetings will help NDI determine the focus of NDI's future programs.

Yaroslavsky's consultations in Kiev included approximately 20 key officials of the executive committees from cities in Ukraine, including the areas of Western Ukraine and the Crimea. The group discussed the budget process, taxation policies, privatization and the relationship between the executive and legislative bodies. The political party meetings, which coincided with a congress of RUKH (the Ukrainian democratic umbrella group), demonstrated that an NDI program could be very useful to the development of Ukraine's multi-party system. The general consensus is that a program to assist the parties in organizational issues would be most beneficial at this time. A comprehensive analysis of the content and outcomes of the meetings was prepared by Yaroslavsky.

Concurrently, Benninghoven conducted two sets of consultations. The first took place in the eastern Ukrainian coal-mining city of Donetsk, and the second in Kiev. The Donetsk sessions included a total of approximately 30 members of the Donetsk city, raion and oblast councils and the local press. The Kiev consultation was comprised of 20 city council members from Kiev and surrounding cities. In both cities the discussions addressed the structure and functions of municipal leagues, the importance of maintaining constant communication among cities and issues of local self-government.

The consultations were well received. Local officials found the local budget and finance documents that were translated into Russian by NDI and distributed to all participants extremely beneficial.

NDI has learned several important lessons through our work. In order to effectively conduct democratic development programs in the former Soviet Union, NDI has done the following:

- 1) emphasized the international dimension of the effort and selected trainers with regard to the specific conditions prevailing in the country. While the US and West European trainers are extremely valuable for their experience with established democratic political structures and organizational skills, of equal relevance are the experiences of reformers who are undertaking political transitions in Eastern and Central Europe, in Spain and Portugal -- even from as far away as Chile. Increasingly Russians and Ukrainians who were initially skeptical of our experts from Poland, are most eager to hear from them today.
- 2) ensured that the programs reach beyond the capital cities into the provinces; and distinguish the situation in the cities from the rest of the country;
- 3) translated documents that can be widely disseminated and that are highly valued;

- 4) anticipated the pitfalls of miscommunication. When there exists no mental conception even of many of the terms we use or the processes we recommend, trainers must carefully define terminology;
- 5) supplemented any material support with training. Without technical assistance in organizational skills, equipment or funding is likely not to be utilized as effectively;
- 6) recognized the value of a sustained, continuous on-the ground staff presence.

#### D. Eastern and Central Europe

While the course of the political transition from communism and dictatorship has differed in each of the countries in which NDI has worked, the new leaders frequently face many similar problems as they struggle to formulate a democratic dispensation. This has been the case particularly in the new democracies of Central and Eastern Europe where NDI has conducted a series of election-related, party building, and parliamentary and civic education programs.

NDI's programs in Eastern and Central Europe have utilized funds from the National Endowment for Democracy and from the Agency for International Development through SEED I and SEED II legislation. These programs have included election monitoring missions in Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Romania; political party building programs in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, and on a region-wide basis for all the countries; parliamentary training in Bulgaria, Hungary, and Poland; and the development of civic education organizations in Albania, Bulgaria, Poland, and Romania.

By undertaking these programs, NDI has substantially increased its institutional knowledge and practical experience, learning a great deal about the problems and conflicts which must be faced by post-communist societies. While there are important differences in the political situation of Central and Eastern Europe and that which prevails in the former Soviet Union much of the knowledge and experience gained by NDI in Central and Eastern Europe is applicable to the former Soviet Union.

Throughout Eastern and Central Europe, NDI brought not only American and Western European trainers, but others who, under difficult circumstances, have organized successfully to promote and sustain democratic systems. For example, in working with the Pro Democracy organization in Romania. NDI's network of trainers has included leaders of similar civic groups in Chile (Participa), the Philippines (NAMFREL), Bulgaria (BAFECE), Paraguay (CED), Nicaragua (via Civica), and Zambia (ZIMT) The experiences and expertise of these individuals and groups were

extremely relevant to the Romanians, particularly during the early stages of the organizational development. Pro Democracy leaders have today joined the ranks of trainers and are working with newly formed election monitoring and civic groups in Albania and Francophone Africa.

An excellent vehicle for transferring democratic development skills to the former Soviet Union today, is the use of Eastern European trainers, who have already participated in NDI programs, and to whom participants from the former Soviet Union have been particularly receptive during NDI workshops. The value of their experiences was evident most recently during NDI's December 1991 seminar in Moscow, during which the Russian participants expressed a strong interest in the NDI trainers from Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary. Since 1990, NDI has included such experts in its Moscow and St. Petersburg-based programs.

Through its programs, NDI has developed strong working relationships with a wide range of political party, civic and local leaders, election administrators and parliamentarians throughout the world. Given the expertise it has developed in the field of democratic development, NDI is well positioned to provide technical assistance to strengthen democratic institutions and processes in the territories of the former Soviet Union.

**PART TWO:**

**PROPOSAL ONE**

**Program Activities**

**In**

**The Russian Federation  
Ukraine  
Central Asia**

**\$2,000,000.00**

## **THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION**

During 1992, NDI proposes to focus on political party building, continued municipal government reform, and the promotion of a democratic political culture. A key component of the program will be the placement of two full-time and one part-time field representative on the ground in Moscow to strengthen NDI's operating capabilities and provide continuous training to the Institute's local counterparts.

These NDI representatives will provide a constant liaison to the political parties and movements, parliamentary fractions, officials in the executive arm of government, civic leaders, local government officials, and other key democratic reformers. In addition, these representatives will be specialists who will be able to continue working with the political parties and other democratic reformers during the period between larger NDI programs to reinforce the lessons learned during the seminars and consultations. They will be able to assess the continued impact of NDI's work, thereby further refining the process.

As a second important component of its programs, NDI intends to continue to translate and disseminate relevant documents on political parties, civic education and municipal government in the Russian Federation. During its previous seminars and consultations, NDI has distributed relevant documents translated into Russian to the participants. The Russian participants have been particularly receptive to this initiative and continue regularly to request translated materials. NDI's field representatives will also be responsible for disseminating translated materials and for collecting requests for information and forwarding them to NDI.

### **A. Field Representatives**

The Institute will place two full time and one part-time field representatives in Moscow. One representative will have the primary responsibility for facilitating and coordinating requests for information, materials and assistance from parties, parliamentary committees, and local councils. This representative will serve as a liaison with NDI for local government officials, parliamentarians, political party leaders, and civic organizers. As the in-country organizer of NDI programs in the Russian Federation, the representative will develop and implement programs by: determining timetables, goals, and agendas for NDI seminars, workshops and consultations, and identifying participants from the Russian Federation to participate in other NDI programs as well as to take part in the visits of international experts to the former Soviet Union.

The second representative will be an organizational expert, who will provide consultations to Russia's political parties and travel to Ukraine or the states of Central Asia for other NDI consultations and seminars. The representative will work with political parties and civic organizations on a daily basis to determine their needs and provide advice and direction in developing a communications strategy, building an organizational network, budgeting and financing, leadership and skills training, and coalition building.

NDI will also employ a third field representative one-half time for four months. This individual will be an expert in the developing political parties and the transition situation in the former Soviet Union and will serve to launch NDI's field staff, consolidate the links between NDI and Russian organizations, and aid in the development and implementation of NDI's programs in the former Soviet Union.

The representatives will also perform many ancillary functions. In an uncertain and changing political environment, they will keep NDI abreast of important political developments and serve to demonstrate NDI's ongoing commitment to democratization in the former Soviet Union. In addition, the representatives will be responsible for developing, distributing, and evaluating questionnaires which the Institute will prepare prior to each major program. These questionnaires will enable NDI to further determine the most urgent needs of the political parties, movements, and fractions, and tailor consultations accordingly.

The field representatives will provide periodic reports to NDI. These reports will assess the current political situation, review the NDI representatives' activities in the Russian Federation, assess NDI programs and activities, including the contents and impact of these programs, and discuss the development of future programs and activities as they are affected by the current political situation.

#### **g. Strengthening political Parties and Parliamentary Fractions**

To assist the development of the political movements, the nascent political parties in the Russian Federation, and the parliamentary fractions, NDI intends to implement two sets of intensive consultations and one follow-on consultation that will address:

- i. the organization, structure and ethics of democratic political parties;
- ii. the role of parties in parliament; and
- iii. the role of parties in elections.

In NDI's political party and parliamentary fraction training program, NDI's goals are to:

- i. professionalize political parties with regard to successful planning, organization and communication;
- ii. strengthen the capacity of political parties and parliamentary fractions to develop institutions and mechanisms for adequate debate and the implementation of public policy; and
- iii. promote the sharing of information and transition literature among the Russian Federation's democratic political parties and parliamentary fractions.

This program emerges from NDI's December 1991 seminars for political parties, movements, parliamentary fractions and executive agencies on Democratic Governance in a Time of Crisis. At this seminar, too, NDI received numerous requests for specific, follow-on training in the basic elements of political party organization and activities in democratic societies from political party activists and parliamentarians.

For each of the two sets of intensive consultations, ND will bring together in Moscow nine international parliamentary and political party experts (NDI's Moscow-based expert and eight others, drawn from its international network of trainers) to share their expertise with their Russian counterparts. ND will draw upon the expertise of individuals from across the political spectrum in the established democracies of Western Europe and the United States, as well as from the emerging democracies in Eastern and Central Europe and elsewhere, which have faced many of the same issues of party development and movement politics during their own political transitions.

Consistent with NDI's multi-partisan philosophy of inclusive democratic development, a broad spectrum of democratic parties and movements including Democratic Russia, the Social Democratic Party, the Democratic Party, the Republican Party, the Constitutional Democratic Parties, the Party of Free Labor, the Liberal-Conservative Union, the Christian Democratic Union, and others will be invited to participate in the NDI program. In order to disseminate this information more widely beyond the major urban centers, the parties will be asked to invite party representatives from across the Russian Federation who will be brought to Moscow for the seminars. The political parties will also be asked to invite selected associates from the parliamentary fractions to join the individual consultations.

The first set of consultations will begin in Moscow. Here, during three days of individual consultations with the political parties, the trainers will divide into three teams and work with

the parties intensively on the following issues:

- Party organization, structure and management;
- Constituency building and services;
- Message development and media relations;
- Role of political parties and coalitions in the legislature;
- Development of a staff of experts in the party caucuses; and
- Mechanics of drafting and implementing legislation.

The consultations will be tailored to the needs of each party as assessed through a questionnaire prepared by NDI and completed by party leaders prior to the implementation of the program. During the consultations each group will be asked to prepare plans of action or programs for their respective political parties or fractions.

Immediately following the Moscow consultations, the international experts will once again divide into teams. Three trainers with parliamentary expertise will remain in Moscow to conduct a two-day joint consultation with the parliamentary fractions on the issues outlined above. Fraction members who might have participated in the party consultations will also be invited to attend this consultation.

The remaining six experts will divide into two teams and travel to two regional centers in the Russian Federation. Since political parties are frequently less differentiated outside Moscow, and are less familiar with NDI's programs, the teams will work for two days on the above-mentioned issues using the format of joint seminars, rather than that of individual party consultations.

Later in the year, NDI intends to implement a second set of consultations, modeled closely upon the first, which will address the role of political parties in the electoral process. These consultations will anticipate future multi-party, parliamentary elections. The topics which NDI's eight international experts would address include:

- Strategic planning and resource assessment;
- Media relations;
- Candidate recruitment and training;
- Voter contact and education;
- Public opinion polling and survey analysis; and
- Election administration and monitoring.

Similar to the first set of consultations, NDI would assess the precise needs of the individual parties, movements, and fractions prior to the consultations by distributing questionnaires through the Institute's on-ground representatives, who will also be able themselves to assess the current and particular needs of each group. This will again enable NDI to

tailor the program to ensure the most efficient use of resources.

In preparing both consultations and selecting appropriate regional centers in which to work, NDI will cooperate with reformers such as Sergei Stankevich, President Yeltsin's State Councillor for Public Organizations and Domestic Political Affairs, who is responsible for the developing political parties and movements and other social organizations in the Russian Federation. Mr. Stankevich has been appointed by President Yeltsin to establish and chair the Russian Socio-Political Center in Moscow, funded by the Russian Federation, in which all major political parties and public organizations have been offered the use of office space.

The goals of the center include:

- providing organizational, informational, and consultative support in the form of conferences, meetings, political consultations and discussions for parties, movements and organizations;
- providing professional preparation of leaders of parties and socio-political movements; and
- researching the socio-political development of the Russian Federation, public policy, and youth organizations.

NDI expects that its Moscow office will be located in this building, providing NDI with close and immediate access to the groups with which the Institute will work most frequently.

At the end of the program year, NDI will implement a follow-on consultation and evaluation mission to assess the impact of the program and to evaluate the needs for the next stage of political party development. In addition to the Moscow-based organizational specialist, one political party expert from the United States, accompanied by one NDI staff member will travel to Moscow for a week-long consultation with the political parties, movements, and fractions to respond to specific requests for further training and to determine the effect of the program and develop a plan for future action.

In order to develop a small but effective group of Russian trainers, NDI will bring four Russians selected by the Institute in conjunction with its Russian colleagues and field representatives, to the United States for a two week program of training in political party and Congressional procedures and institutions. The program participants will be from among the key leaders and organizers of political parties and parliamentary fractions. They will be expected to convey their experiences to their Russian colleagues in programs structured by NDI's field representatives. NDI will also bring individuals from the Russian Federation to participate as observers in the Institute's programs in other countries, especially election observation

missions, voter education programs, and programs in the development of civic organizations.

Finally, in order to properly develop and structure its training programs to suit the specific conditions prevailing in the Russian Federation, NDI will commission a series of research papers from INDEM, a Moscow-based socio-political research center with which NDI has worked closely since the inception of the Institute's programming, as well as from other Moscow-based scholars, to assess and evaluate the state of development of political culture in the Russian Federation. Such papers will examine:

- The development of the political parties;
- The evolution and positions of the parliamentary fractions; and
- The existence of civic groups as well as of popular attitudes towards and participation in the process of democratic transition.

These papers will be available in Russian and English and will be disseminated in the Russian Federation as well as in the United States and Europe.

#### C. Local Government Reform

In the Russian Federation, NDI proposes to expand its local government program into cities and towns throughout the country, and to strengthen inter-regional groups -- such as the Union of Russian Cities -- the development of which are likely to be important to the dissemination of information, institution building and political decentralization.

In the local government consultations, NDI's objectives are to:

- i. strengthen local leagues by expanding their network of contacts and improving their capacity to transmit technical expertise to provincial cities; and
- ii. further strengthen the practical capabilities of elected council members in the political and economic management of their cities.

NDI proposes to conduct four local government mini-consultations in 1992. During the first consultation, two NDI local government trainers -- drawn from its expanding network of international elected officials and city administrators -- will conduct intensive consultations for two weeks in St. Petersburg and a city chosen by NDI and a Russian co-sponsor. In St. Petersburg, the experts will meet with the members of the St. Petersburg City Council as well as the executive committees. The

experts will address structures of local government, the division of powers between levels of government, executive-legislative relations, privatization issues, and budgeting issues.

Modeled on the above consultation but tailored to respond also to the needs of the particular city or of the time, the second, third and fourth consultations will take place in cities selected jointly by NDI and the Union of Russian Cities, or another Russian co-sponsor for seven days.

As in past programs, NDI will continue to translate and disseminate relevant materials such as a code of ethics, conflict of interest laws, budgeting procedures, and documents on executive-legislative relations to the Russian participants.

NDI's partners will be organizations that seek to strengthen communication and coordination among reformers in cities across the Russian Federation who are daily struggling in isolation with the task of democratic restructuring. NDI will seek to identify and strengthen the organizational and functional capabilities of these newly emerging groups.

In addition to the program of consultations, NDI will send two specialists on the formation and expansion of municipal leagues to advise such groups and to assist the groups' organizers to improve the efficiency and structure of these organizations and strengthen their ability to disseminate international expertise and materials. NDI will also provide one or more of these groups with grants for start-up costs and infrastructure support.

One such group may be the Union of Russian Cities, an organization of cities in the Russian Federation of more than 80,000 inhabitants that was established as a result of NDI's December 1990 seminar on local governance.

Another local association through which NDI might conduct its local government program, would be the State Service Staff Training Department, an organization of ten regional training centers for the preparation of new administrative executives to fill staff positions throughout the Russian Federation. The Department comes under the supervision of Deputy Prime Minister Gennady Burbulis. Much of the resistance to the reforms of the Russian Federation government comes from former Communist bureaucrats entrenched in the local bureaucracies as a result of a lack of trained officials to replace them. Cooperation with this organization may provide NDI with a pre-established network that will allow NDI to further disseminate information on democratic local governance and assist in the preparation of the next generation of Russian administrators who can begin to replace these bureaucrats. St. Petersburg and Ekaterinburg are the likely cities in which such joint projects might be

undertaken.

One of NDI's Moscow-based representatives will coordinate programs with the local government experts and will remain in contact with the NDI offices. The NDI representative will be responsible for maintaining continual contact with local government officials, and with NDI, in order to forward and respond to additional requests for local governance materials.

#### **D. Development of Civic Groups**

To assist the development of a pluralist political culture in the Russian Federation, NDI proposes a two-part program to provide training and infrastructure support to nascent civic organizations that would conduct national civic education campaigns. Generally, such associations promote public awareness of issues critical to the democratic transition, conduct voter education programs to encourage voter participation and awareness of election processes, promote civic participation in public affairs to encourage responsible and effective government, or serve as watch-dog groups to monitor human rights violations and educate citizens as to their rights.

By undertaking efforts to foster a pluralist civic culture, NDI intends to:

- i. create and strengthen nonpartisan civic organizations that would conduct national civic campaigns to support a democratic civic culture and the intermediary institutions that preserve democracy and to heighten citizen's awareness of their rights and responsibilities in a democratic society; and
- ii. develop organizations that could play a positive role in a pre-election period and in monitoring elections to increase voter participation and confidence in the electoral process.

Today, a key issue in the Russian Federation is the issue of the future territorial and political identity of the Federation itself. Numerous autonomous republics and regions are threatening the cohesion of the new country. The draft Russian constitution is a vital component of the process of resolving the dilemma of Russia's political future. The adoption of a new, democratic constitution will be a crucial step in the transition process in the Russian Federation, providing a legal framework for all further reforms, both economic and political.

Thus, NDI would help to support democratic political culture through the dissemination of information and debate across the Russian Federation about the constitutional process. Oleg Rumyantsev, Secretary of the Constitutional Commission of the Russian Federation has proposed a Constitutional Center that aims

to promote the ideas of constitutionalism on governmental and public levels throughout the Russian Federation. The Center would promote the conditions that will allow the implementation of the new constitution and of a rule of law state through lectures, articles, workshops, seminars, text books, and the development of supporting organizations across the Russian Federation.

Until such time as the Center is formally established, ND would provide a grant to its founders to meet the costs of setting up regional forums, printing articles, and conducting workshops on constitutionalism, a rule of law state, and political reforms across the Russian Federation.

NDI would also enter into a cooperative agreement with political leaders in St. Petersburg seeking to establish a center for political parties and movements, civic groups and local officials. The purpose of the center would be to disseminate information on the practical dimensions and strategies for democratization through public forums, the distribution of materials and workshops. Such a center would be used by NDI's field representatives as the site for their training activities.

Using its field representatives and research memoranda prepared by Russian counterparts to identify promising participants, NDI will also gather together groups of established and new civic activists in the Russian Federation. The Institute will conduct a two-day seminar in a major center such as Moscow or St. Petersburg, immediately followed by another two-day seminar in a major regional center. During these seminars, seven international civic leaders and experts, many of whom have successfully engineered national civic campaigns in their own countries (e.g. Bulgaria, Chile, Romania, and the Philippines), will provide technical advice to civic activists in the Russian Federation on issues such as:

- Organization and recruitment;
- Preparation and distribution of civic and voter education materials; and
- The monitoring of governmental activities and electoral processes.

Further, NDI's Moscow-based organizational expert will provide continuous training and advice on issues relating to the day-to-day organization, structure, and function of these groups as they begin to establish themselves.

As in its program in strengthening political parties, NDI will invite civic leaders from the Russian Federation to its other programs in Central and Eastern Europe and elsewhere to gain exposure to civic organizations and movements around the world, and experience first-hand their methodologies, strategies and lessons.

## **II. UKRAINE**

In Ukraine, NDI intends to strengthen political parties and movements and parliamentarians fractions, support the creation of a civic organization, and promote local government reform. A key component of the program will be the placement of two, full-time, field representatives in Kiev.

NDI's Kiev-based representatives will perform duties similar to those in the Russian Federation, providing continuous training and advice on issues of organization, structure, and function to political parties and movements, parliamentarians, local officials, and civic groups. The NDI representatives will also assist in the initial identification of promising groups or individuals to receive NDI's technical assistance.

### **A. Field Representatives**

NDI would seek to place two full-time representatives in Kiev. These individuals would have the same responsibilities and perform the same functions as the NDI Moscow-based representatives, including: continuous organizational assistance to developing political parties and movements and civic organizations; developing, implementing, and evaluating NDI programs in Ukraine; serving as a constant liaison between NDI and civic leaders, leaders of political parties and movements, parliamentary leaders, local government officials, and representatives of the executive; development and evaluation of questionnaires prior to NDI programs that would seek to define the specific needs of the groups with which NDI would work; and participation in NDI programs in Ukraine and throughout the former Soviet Union, including the Russian Federation and the states of Central Asia.

To assist the field representatives and capitalize on the momentum created in the period immediately following a major seminar program, NDI will bring an additional expert in grassroots and political organization to Ukraine for two weeks following its major seminars on political party or civic education. This expert will provide additional direction and assistance to the program participants and work to maximize the impact of the skills and information provided through the NDI seminars. Often, in the weeks immediately following a seminar, valuable time can be lost implementing the skills and lessons just learned due to uncertainty or a lack of direction by the program participants. Direct follow-up interaction and advice can insure that the program goals are met and the program impact maximized.

In addition, the representatives will prepare weekly reports. These reports will assess and evaluate NDI's programs in Ukraine, discussing the contents and outcomes of these programs

and discuss the development of future programming in the context of the current political situation. The reports will be widely disseminated both in Ukrainian and in English.

## **B. Strengthening Political Parties and Parliamentary Fractions**

With few exceptions, the Ukrainian political parties are disorganized and uncertain of their proper roles in society. The political environment is extremely hostile to their development; in fact, many parties are already experiencing a decline in membership. In future elections, however, democratic political parties will likely organize themselves to oppose post-communist parties. NDI is in a position to provide timely political party training to such parties and movements.

NDI's political party training program in Ukraine will seek to:

- i. professionalize Ukrainian political parties with respect to successful planning and organization; and
- ii. enhance parties as effective instruments of democratic political participation and promote a competitive political environment.

NDI proposes to conduct seminars and consultations to strengthen political parties and movements and parliamentary fractions. Its first program will be a seminar on key political and economic issues related to the transition process such as:

- 2 The organization and role of parties during transitions and in democracies;
- 2 The organization and role of political parties in parliaments;
- 2 The role of ethnic minorities and majorities in democracies; and
- 2 Political decision-making structures and processes for economic reform.

NDI will bring eight leading international experts, in addition to its Kiev-based experts, to conduct a three-day seminar using interactive workshop sessions in Kiev. The seminar will bring together the leaders and activists of Ukraine's political parties and movements as well as parliamentarians, to learn from the experiences of their American, Western and Eastern European counterparts. Consistent with NDI's emphasis on disseminating information beyond the major urban centers, the Ukrainian participants will consist of party representatives not only from Kiev, but also from across Ukraine.

The experts will remain in Kiev for three days for follow-on consultations with the individual parties. Toward the end of the

consultations, each party will draft a written plan of action detailing how the party will utilize the suggestions given by the international trainers.

After evaluating the results of the seminar, the Institute will conduct a second, week-long series of individual consultations in Kiev as well as Donetsk and one other regional center, using three teams of two international experts each, i.e. a total of six international experts. These consultations will follow the basic scheme outlined for the political party consultations in the Russian Federation.

The third part of NDI's program in strengthening Ukrainian political parties and parliamentary fractions will take place at the end of the year-long program. One expert, in addition to NDI's Kiev-based organizational expert, will travel to Ukraine for one week to conduct a series of intensive follow-on consultations with individual parties, focussing on issues of specific concern to each party, as well as to evaluate the impact of the initial seminar and consultations.

In order to develop a small but effective group of Ukrainian trainers, NDI will bring three Ukrainians selected by the Institute in conjunction with its Ukrainian colleagues and field representatives, to the United States for a two week program of training in political party and Congressional procedures and institutions. The program participants will be from among the key leaders and organizers of political parties and parliamentary fractions. They will be expected to convey their experiences to their Ukrainian colleagues in programs structured by NDI's field representatives- NDI will also bring individuals from Ukraine to participate as observers in the Institute's programs in other countries, especially election observation missions, voter education programs, and programs in the development of civic organizations.

### **C. Local Government Reform**

NDI intends to implement four local government reform mini-consultations in Ukraine, expanding its network of contacts and disseminating information to a widening number of cities and towns across the country. Working with the Association of Democratic Councils of Ukraine. and other local co-sponsors, NDI will send four teams comprised of two local government trainers from the United States and Western Europe to Kiev and one other Ukrainian city for a period of two weeks.

As in the Russian Federation, the international trainers will discuss structures of local government, the division of powers between levels of government, executive-legislative relations, and privatization and budgeting issues.

One of NDI's Kiev-based representatives will coordinate programs with the local government experts and will remain in contact with the NDI offices. The NDI representative will be responsible for maintaining continual contact with local government officials, and with NDI, in order to forward and respond to additional requests for local governance materials.

#### **D. Development of Civic Groups**

As in the Russian Federation, to foster the development of a democratic political culture in Ukraine. NDI proposes a program to provide training and infrastructure support to nascent civic organizations that would conduct national civic education campaigns. Generally, such associations promote public awareness of issues critical to the democratic transition, conduct voter education programs to encourage voter participation in, and awareness of, election processes, monitor electoral processes, or promote civic participation in public affairs to encourage responsible and effective government.

By undertaking efforts to develop a pluralist civic culture, NDI intends to:

- i. create and strengthen nonpartisan civic leadership and organizations that would conduct national civic campaigns to rebuild democratic civic cultures and the intermediary institutions that preserve democracy and to heighten citizens awareness of their rights and responsibilities in a democratic society; and
- ii. generate practical programs or develop organizations that could play a positive role in a preelection period and in monitoring elections to increase voter participation and confidence in the electoral process.

Since new, multi-party elections will have to take place before the democratic transition is secured, an emphasis could be placed on the development of an organization to prepare domestic election monitors and stimulate public consciousness of, and participation in, the electoral process.

Using its field representatives and research memoranda commissioned by a Ukrainian political research group to identify promising participants, NDI will also gather together groups of established and new civic activists in Ukraine. The Institute will conduct a two-day seminar in a major center such as Kiev, followed by another two-day seminar in a major regional center whose political interests and perspectives may be distinct from those of the groups represented in Kiev. During this time, seven international civic leaders and experts, many of whom have successfully engineered national civic campaigns in their own countries (e.g. Bulgaria, Chile, Romania, and the Philippines),

will provide technical advice to civic activists in Ukraine on issues such as:

- Administration and recruitment;
- Preparation and distribution of civic and voter education materials; and
- Monitoring of governmental activities and electoral processes.

As a core group of civic organizers emerges from the seminars and follow-up work by NDI's local representatives, the Institute would enter into a cooperative agreement with the newly formed groups to meet initial costs for office equipment, office rent and similar start-up needs. It will also provide regular and continuous training by NDI's local organizer. This part of the program would be modeled on NDI's support for such groups as the Bulgarian Association for Fair Elections and Civil Rights, the Center for Democratic Studies in Paraguay, and Pro Democracy in Romania.

As in its program on strengthening political parties and parliamentary fractions, NDI will invite civic leaders from Ukraine to its other programs in Central and Eastern Europe to gain exposure to civic organizations and movements around the world, and experience first-hand their methodologies, strategies and lessons.

### III. CENTRAL ASIA

In Central Asia, the Institute proposes a four-part program to assist the development of a viable democratic political culture throughout the region by promoting the growth of democratic political parties, and of an understanding of democratic values and the role of a citizen in a democratic society. Once again, two field representatives will provide a crucial link in developing and implementing NDI programs and serve to demonstrate NDI's continued commitment to democratic reform in the region.

#### A. Field Representatives

NDI proposes to place two permanent representatives in Tashkent, Uzbekistan. These individuals would be specialists in grass-roots organizing and the political situation in the region. They would work closely with nascent political organizations and civic groups in Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tadjikistan, and Turkmenistan on the development of their organization and structure, as well as of their functional capabilities. The representatives would travel regularly to each of the five states to identify and assist these groups. The representatives would also be responsible for developing and implementing NDI's programs in the area, specifically by evaluating the specific

needs of new organizations and identifying individual democratic reformers throughout the region who would benefit most from NDI's training.

In addition, as in the Russian Federation and Ukraine, the representatives would serve as a liaison between NDI and democratic reformers in Central Asia and would demonstrate NDI's continued commitment to the process of democratic transition in the region.

As in Ukraine, NDI will bring an additional expert in grassroots and political organization to Central Asia for two weeks following its major seminars on political party or civic education to assist the field representatives and capitalize on the momentum created by a seminar. This expert will provide additional direction and assistance to the program participants and work to maximize the impact of the skills and information provided through the NDI seminars. Often, in the weeks immediately following a seminar, valuable time can be lost implementing the skills and lessons just learned due to uncertainty or a lack of direction by the program participants. Direct follow-up interaction and advice can insure that the program goals are met and the program impact maximized.

The representatives will also prepare weekly reports which will assess and evaluate NDI's programs in Central Asia, discuss the contents and outcomes of these programs, and structure the development of future programming in the context of the current political situation. The reports will be widely disseminated in Central Asia and the U.S.

#### **B. Strengthening Democratic Political and Civic Groups**

NDI will initiate its programs in the region by sending a seven-member technical mission to the states of Central Asia. The delegation will consist of one political party expert, one civic education specialist, one journalist, and three members of the Institute's staff. The international participants will be drawn from among the following areas: the U.S., Western Europe, Turkey, Bulgaria and Pakistan.

Through the implementation of programs in Central Asia, NDI intends to:

- i. foster contact between Central Asia and experts from the U.S. and Eastern and Western Europe, as well as with those representatives from countries such as Turkey, Pakistan, Bulgaria and Bangladesh who can serve as examples of modernist Muslims;
- ii. expose the leaders and activists of new democratic groups to basic principles of democracy with regard to the development

of political parties; and

- iii. prepare Central Asian participants to serve as regional trainers as well as points of contact for future NDI program work in the area.

The NDI team will conduct mini-consultations on the basic tenets of political party organization and civic institutions. In addition, the team will assess the prospects for follow-on democratic development programs in each of the five Central Asian states in order to fully develop NDI's program in the region.

The NDI mission will spend two days in Kazakhstan, two days in Uzbekistan and two days in Kyrgyzstan. The team will then divide into two groups and travel to conduct similar meetings in the states of Turkmenistan and Tadjikistan.

Following the consultation and evaluation mission, NDI will hold a three-day seminar in Tashkent, Uzbekistan. The Institute will bring trainers from the U.S., Western Europe, Turkey, Philippines, Bulgaria, Bangladesh and Pakistan, as well as NDI's field organizers, to work with democratic reformers from all five states on the development and role of civic organizations in a democratic society. The agenda of the seminar would consist of two parts, and include:

- The different kinds of civic groups which can strengthen democratic development in the region, e.g. associations of journalists, environmental groups, grass-roots election-oriented groups, human rights groups;
- The organization and structure of civic groups;
- Recruiting and message development;
- The role of the citizen in a democratic society; and, in part two of the program,
- Minority-majority relations in democratic polities; and
- The relationship between religion and politics in democratic societies.

A second NDI seminar will address the role and development of political parties in democratic polities and in fostering a pluralist political culture. As in the first seminar, NDI would seek to utilize the experience of a wide variety of international trainers, including those from the U.S., Western Europe, as well as Pakistan, Bulgaria, Turkey, Bangladesh, or India. The seminar would discuss fundamental issues including:

- The role of political parties in democratic development and democratic transitions;
- The role of political parties in civic education;
- The organization and structure of political parties;
- Message development; and
- Media Relations.

In order to develop a small but effective group of Central Asian trainers, NDI will bring one representative from each of the Central Asian states to the United States for a two week program of training in political party and Congressional procedures and institutions. The program participants will be selected from among the key leaders and organizers of political parties and parliamentary fractions by the Institute in conjunction with its Central Asian colleagues and field representatives. They will be expected to convey their experiences to their Central Asian colleagues in programs structured by NDI's field representatives. NDI will also bring individuals from Central Asia to participate as observers in the Institute's programs in other countries, especially election observation missions, voter education programs, and programs in the development of civic organizations.

Where possible, given the harsh economic and political conditions in the region, NDI will enter into cooperative agreements with local civic groups in the Central Asian states for the purposes of disseminating information on democratic development through newsletters or related media, and for start-up expenditures and infrastructure support.

Finally, NDI will implement a follow-on evaluation and consultation mission which will respond to specific requests from democratic reformers in the region received during the first two programs and thoroughly assess the program to date. Along with an international expert, the NDI Tashkent-based specialist will travel to each of the five countries in the region in order to prepare a complete report on the program. As in the Russian Federation and Ukraine, NDI will involve Central Asians in programs in the United States and elsewhere.

#### **V. NDI PROGRAM TARGETS, EVALUATION & STAFFING**

NDI's proposed \$2 million program in the former Soviet Union is a coherent and integrated program based on (i) a strategic assessment of the region's democratic development needs, (ii) NDI's previous experience in working in the region, and (iii) the network of reform-minded contacts which the Institute has established in the political parties, local governments and civic organizations. These reformers are a small group whose efforts are mutually reinforcing. Their varied attempts to build new political structures must be strengthened simultaneously to gain the maximum impact for pluralist development. NDI has an established and on-going commitment to members of political parties and city governments in the region as well as a special expertise in developing civic groups in Eastern and Central Europe, Africa, and Latin America.

The Institute's seminars and consultations on grass-roots local government reform, the strengthening of political parties in the main cities and the outlying areas, and on building civic groups will reinforce each other. The multiplier effect of each project will be enhanced by the regular and continuous organizational efforts of NDI's field representatives.

NDI will implement its projects in the Russian Federation, Ukraine and the Central Asian states. Due to limitations on resources and staff, the remaining territories of the former Soviet Union will be excluded for now from the programs -- except in so far as their representatives will participate together in NDI's regional cooperation seminar.

## **PROGRAMS**

### **Strengthening Political Parties**

NDI expects to achieve the targets noted below through consultations and seminars in the Russian Federation, Ukraine, and Central Asia, in addition to the daily work of the Institute's field representatives in Moscow, Kiev, and Tashkent, and the continued translation and dissemination of training documents.

In its political party and parliamentary fraction training programs NDI expects that:

- approximately 300-400 Russian, Ukrainian, and Central Asian political activists will participate in programs which address the structures and concepts of political party development;
- 43 international political experts and practitioners from the United States, Eastern, Central and Western Europe, and South Asia will lead the seminars and consultations.

NDI will maintain continual contact through the Institute's field representatives with the participants to determine the effect of the seminars and consultations on the operations of the parties. Among the criteria which NDI will use to evaluate the development of the political parties will be:

- Are the political parties better organized?
  - Have the parties created internal organizational structures, i.e. officers, committees, etc.?
  - Are meeting schedules and reports institutionalized and adhered to?
- Have the parties developed and implemented strategies for recruiting new members?
  - Has membership increased or declined; why?

- If membership has increased, by what level -- 1 percent - 5 percent?
- Have local branches been organized in all areas and levels where membership is concentrated?
  - Have the parties organized new activities to expand their base?
  - Have the parties implemented local action campaigns?
  - If so, how many and with what outcome?
- Have the parties expanded and refined their party programs and have these programs been printed and widely disseminated?
- Have the parties developed mechanisms for responding to constituent requests?
- Have the parties developed regular written communications as a method of disseminating information and party programs?
- Have the party plans outlined in the consultations been followed?

NDI will evaluate this programming through:

- Evaluation missions conducted by its Washington-based program staff;
- Periodic reports from NDI's field representatives; and
- Soliciting feedback from participating democratic reformers through written evaluations from Russian, Ukrainian, and international participants in the seminars.

Since programming in the Central Asian states will face greater challenges than elsewhere, given the numerous obstacles to democratic development, the above-mentioned target goals may be more difficult to attain. In light of this, however, NDI will assess its programming according to similar criteria and using the same processes outlined above.

#### Local Government Reform

NDI expects that its local government reform programs in the Russian Federation and Ukraine will result in the increased professionalism and strengthened capabilities of groups such as the Union of Russian Cities, the Association of Democratic Councils of Ukraine, and other similar municipal organizations with which the Institute might conduct work. In addition, NDI expects that its municipal government consultations (five in the Russian Federation and four in Ukraine):

- Will expose 500 municipal and regional officials to concrete concepts and techniques which will increase their capacity to govern;
- Utilize the talents of 18 international municipal experts and elected officials from the United States, Western, Eastern and Central Europe and elsewhere.

NDI intends to monitor its local government consultations by:

- Requesting written reports from the participating cities and individuals or the relevant cosponsoring group regarding the impact of NDI training;
- Using NDI's field representatives to assess whether the international expertise enabled local governments to prepare specific documents relating to the issues discussed, such as strengthening the role of elected officials in the budget process; and
- Using NDI's field representatives to assess whether international expertise was made available to a wider number of cities.

Through these methods, NDI will assess whether its co-sponsoring organizations in the Russian Federation have increased their own functional capabilities through their participation in these programs:

- Have they increased their membership?
- Have they developed newsletters or other methods for ensuring that information is disseminated to representatives of all member cities of their organization?
- Have they developed increased contact or independent projects with other international organizations as a result of NDI programs?
- Have they disseminated translated documents throughout the country?

#### Development of Civic Groups

NDI hopes to expose civic organizers in the Russian Federation, Ukraine and Central Asia to the principles of grassroots organization and civic education, and to foster and assist the development of one or more nonpartisan civic organizations in each of these three areas which will conduct campaigns to support the development of a civic culture and play a positive role in monitoring future elections.

Civic organizers from Latin America, Eastern, Central, and Western Europe, South Asia, and the Philippines will conduct training seminars on grassroots organizational skills and concepts. A key addition to these training programs will be the work of NDI's field representatives, who will work with civic organizers and groups on a daily basis to assist them in developing the basic skills required to establish structures of grassroots organization.

Through continual contact with the Institute's field representatives, NDI will assess the initiatives taken by seminar participants in developing civic activities and assess the development and stability of new civic groups. Among the criteria which NDI will use to assess this development will be:

- Have they established full-time staff?
- Has a permanent office been opened?
- Have they been successful in recruiting volunteers and establishing chapters outside the main cities?
  - Have they conducted training workshops for the local chapters?
  - Have they published instructional organizational handbooks for local chapters?
- Have they been able effectively to gather and disseminate information to the population through volunteers and local chapters?
  - Have they encouraged and supported issue-oriented campaigns for local involvement?
  - Have they assisted local chapters in organizing educational community forums?
- Have national and local organizations begun to develop and promote programs of civic education independent of NDI?
  - Have local chapters developed their own agendas for education programs?
- Have they conducted public hearings?
- Have they written articles for publication?
- Have they developed a civic education curriculum for schools?
- In the event of elections, were they successful in implementing voter education projects and recruiting a sufficient number of domestic monitors for the elections?

The Institute aims to evaluate its program in developing civic education groups by:

- preparing written evaluations by NDI's in-house staff;
- requesting periodic reports from its field representatives; and
- requesting written reports or newsletters from local groups and acquiring written materials on activities relating to the promotion of the relevant civic activities and debates.

In the Central Asian states, given the challenges of work in the region, NDI will attempt to foster the development of civic groups through daily interaction between NDI's Tashkent-based field representatives and civic organizers throughout the region, as well as through the use of cooperative agreements and start-up infrastructure grants where possible. If such agreements are undertaken, NDI will evaluate them using the same processes and according to criteria similar to those outlined above.

#### PROGRAM STAFF

In order to ensure the efficient conduct of the \$ million program in the former Soviet Union NDI will employ in Washington and in the field:

- (part-time) the Executive Vice President to oversee the program;
- one full-time senior program officer to supervise, coordinate and implement the programs;
- one program officer to implement programs;
- one program officer who will have the responsibility for the preparation of regular reports examining the outcomes of the consultations and seminars, as well as for evaluating and integrating the reports of the field representatives. This officer will also be responsible acting as the liaison with A.I.D., coordinating the Institute's efforts with the agency.
- four Russian-speaking program assistants and one intern; and
- six NDI field project officers.



# NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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April 7, 1992

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Europe and Near East Bureau  
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Washington, DC 20523-0053

Dear Jane:

Per your request, I am enclosing an addendum to the proposal submitted by the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) to the U.S. Agency for International Development for proposed program work in the former Soviet Union. I have included for review revised copies of the text and budget that include the following changes:

- a new evaluation section which addresses program targets and staffing issues and establishes specific results NDI intends to achieve through its programs, as well as the methods and processes by which the Institute intends to assess these results. This section is integrated into the text on page 34, as well as included as a separate document;

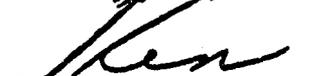
- the addition of one program/administrative officer to prepare reports on NDI program activities in the former Soviet Union on a regular basis and to serve as a liaison with AID;

- on page 33, the number of CIS participants who will travel to Brussels for the regional seminar has been changed from five per country to three per country, with a total of thirty-three, to allow for the additional staff person in the budget; and

- the equipment purchases were increased to allow for the installation of electronic-mail that will facilitate constant immediate communication between the field offices and Washington offices.

I look forward to hearing your response to our proposed programs in the former Soviet Union.

Sincerely yours,

  
Kenneth D. Wollack  
Executive Vice President





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## ADDENDUM TO FSU PROPOSAL NDI'S APPROACH TO INTERNATIONAL ELECTION ASSISTANCE

NDI approaches election-related assistance from several perspectives. There are the needs of government officials and political parties in devising an election system, electoral authorities in administering an election often while facing logistical and communications constraints, political parties in organizing to contest an election, political parties and civic organizations in training pollwatchers, and the international community in ensuring that a credible and effective observation effort is carried out. These needs can best be met with a holistic approach, which is developed depending on the particular circumstances in a given country. Thus, an election-assistance program may vary from a one-time election system assessment to a full-scale, comprehensive assistance program beginning months before an election and continuing through the consolidation period after the election.

The next sections describe the types of assistance possible or likely in a large-scale, comprehensive program; the full range of assistance in one comprehensive program would be appropriate only in circumstances where NDI determines that the situation in a country merits a large amount of resources and is able to find such resources. In other cases, a program will include certain parts of this range of programs. Individual country project design will depend upon the need as perceived by the country's government, political parties, civic groups and NDI, and the exact goals and design of each particular program will depend upon a given country's particular circumstances. Based on its findings and consultations, NDI will recommend an appropriate mix of tasks and activities.

NDI has developed a comprehensive methodology for international election assistance. Some organizations, for example, view election assistance as simply the provision of election commodities and narrowly focused advice to election authorities; NDI's approach, in contrast, incorporates advice on voter education programs conducted by election officials and civic organizations; training programs for election officials, political parties and civic organizations; and a field-tested methodology for monitoring such issues as media fairness, the accuracy of registration rolls and the integrity of the vote count.

Similarly, election observing for many organizations focuses only on election day. NDI, again in contrast, emphasizes the entire electoral process -- before, during and after election day. A typical international monitoring effort conducted by NDI includes:

- one or more multinational pre-election missions to assess the campaign and the election system;
- a large-scale, high-profile international delegation for election week led by one or more prominent international political figures;

- a post-election assessment mission;
- training programs and the provision of technical assistance to domestic monitoring groups; and
- a staff presence in the country to work with local groups and to coordinate the project.

## **I. Pre-Election and Campaign Stages**

### **A. Consultations on Election Codes and Electoral Systems**

#### **1. Analysis of Legal Framework and Procedures**

Transition elections often bring with them a struggle over rules; the election law and system are often a major point of controversy. Opposition political actors often seek to make changes in the governing legal regime, while ruling parties and governments seek to resist such changes. Electoral authorities may seek models or examples from other countries. In such an environment, outside experts can often help to frame the debate and acquaint principle actors in the country with the electoral systems of other, relevant countries.

Accordingly, NDI can organize a delegation of election experts from several countries to visit the country to assess the country's election laws and procedures. Drawing upon its experience and its network of international election experts, the Institute can provide an independent perspective on the proposed election system and the electoral infrastructure in any country moving toward its first competitive elections or holding competitive elections for the first time after a long absence of democratic multi-party competition. The team will typically assess the existing or proposed election law, election regulations, and other relevant laws. Often such a team will make recommendations on reforms to the electoral code and on ways to increase confidence in the fairness of the election process. The presence of outside experts can help to bridge a gap between the competing parties over the rules of the game, thereby helping the country to defuse a political stalemate that might, among other things, cause delays in a transition process.

To conduct such a project, NDI organizes and sends a relatively small international delegation to meet with government and election officials, political party leaders, civic organizers, journalists and others in order to assess the country's political situation and electoral system. The mission examines the major components of the electoral process, including election-related laws, campaign practices, balloting procedures, media access and balance, public information about the mechanics of voting, ballot access, and the system used to guarantee the integrity of the counting, tabulation and announcement of results. Depending on its terms of reference and circumstances in the country, such a delegation may present its preliminary findings before it leaves the country and subsequently issue a detailed report of its assessment.

NDI believes that this multinational team approach is preferable to the dispatch of a single expert for several reasons. An international delegation of experts is often better able to gain the confidence and support of all sides in a country. An international delegation can also bring a variety of perspectives to the assessment, which better enables it to make appropriate, useful recommendations to governmental, political and electoral authorities in the country.

## **2. Election Commissions/Electoral Authorities**

In addition to consulting on the election code and related laws, an NDI-sponsored team can also address the system of electoral administration and assess administrative and material needs. Such a team may or may not be the same as the team that consults on the election laws; often the same team will include experts on the election law and experts on election administration. Technical advisors to election commissions or other electoral authorities can specialize in such areas as telecommunications and computer vote counting systems, as well as in determining the type and scope of material needs and in training electoral officials. Unlike election law advice, which may be provided to political parties and other actors in addition to election authorities, advice on election administration issues will generally be directed toward a country's election commission and other electoral authorities responsible for administering the electoral process. These authorities may be part of the government bureaucracy, or may comprise an autonomous and independent government agency or may be designated on an election-by-election basis by the government of political parties.

Programs directed at election personnel will take various forms depending on the needs of the particular administering authority. They may involve consultations with those involved in administering the elections at the national level or training for officials responsible for subordinate bodies, particularly those responsible for administering polling sites on election day. NDI relies on election officials in countries around the world, who are selected based on their experience in working in a situation similar to that faced by the country preparing for elections.

NDI will often help the central authorities in the development of appropriate training materials. These materials describe the election regulations and explain precisely how the balloting and counting processes should be conducted. Often, the materials will be prepared in several languages or dialects.

The Institute also can help the central authorities develop effective civic education programs, which would use the media, posters, pamphlets and other means of communication, to inform prospective voters on their rights and responsibilities and on the procedures for voting. In developing these materials, special emphasis will be placed on the significance of a secret ballot, particularly where individuals are unfamiliar with the practice and intimidation is a potential problem.

Election commissions in developing countries often lack the minimum material resources to conduct elections. NDI, relying on its experience in working in other countries, will advise on choosing electoral procedures that would meet the constraints imposed by budgetary and logistical considerations.

Where appropriate, NDI will procure for the election commission, either directly or through solicitations to donor countries, specific commodities necessary for the conduct of an election. These commodities would include, but not be limited to, ballot paper and ballot boxes, computers and computer software programs, other office equipment, indelible ink and stamps, voter registration forms, cards and lists, and general logistical assistance to help ensure a credible election.

### **3. Voter Registration**

Many election systems require registration of voters before election day, in which case accurate voter rolls are essential to a fair election. Many African countries do not have current censuses, and the registration process can become in effect a census of the voting age population. Thus, NDI may arrange for an expert familiar with voter registration issues to take part in a pre-election mission to consult with electoral authorities. Such an expert might advise authorities on how to design a registration system and might return to supervise the process of voter registration. Similarly, NDI conducts workshops for political parties and civic organizations on organizing techniques for mobilizing voter registration drives.

#### **B. Pre-Election Environment Missions**

##### **1. Analysis of Campaign, Election System and Election Preparations**

The above section describes technical assistance missions that take place in order to offer advice and assistance to electoral authorities or political actors. In addition to such pre-election consultation missions, NDI may also organize a comprehensive observer effort, which begins with one or more multinational missions to assess the campaign environment and election preparations and to give advice to political actors or electoral authorities. A comprehensive international election monitoring project seeks to promote the integrity of the elections, to build public confidence and participation in the electoral process, and to complement and encourage domestic observation efforts. It will also provide the international community with an objective assessment of a given country's electoral process.

Depending on the circumstances in a given country, pre-election missions evaluate the campaign environment, the legal and administrative framework for the elections, the public confidence in the process, election preparations and the ability of competing parties to communicate their messages and organize their campaign operations. Teams consult with a wide range of individuals and organizations within the country, including leaders and candidates from political parties, government and election officials, security forces, journalists and media representatives, and representatives of churches, business and professional groups, trade unions,

civic organizations and student groups. Pre-election missions are scheduled regularly, often every four to six weeks, beginning as early in the process as possible and continuing until well after the election.

Based on the information collected during the pre-election missions and from the on-site monitoring, NDI often prepares a pre-election report and distributes it to the diplomatic community, members of international observer delegations, journalists and other interested persons, both in the country and elsewhere. The Zambia pre-election report, for example, was read and used by international and Zambian journalists, diplomats and Zambian political and civic leaders.

Shortly before its departure from the country, the pre-election monitoring team will typically issue a public statement highlighting areas of concern. Often the team will hold a press conference. In Zambia, for example, the NDI/Carter Center pre-election teams addressed their concerns about potential impediments to a free and open campaign environment, including questions about media fairness, campaign finances and a continuing state of emergency; they expressed concerns about whether all eligible individuals had received a sufficient opportunity to register to vote; and they called for safeguards in the balloting and counting processes, including protection to ensure ballot box security and to protect the secrecy of the ballot.

## **2. Independent Assessment of the Broadcast and Print Media**

In order to assess the fairness of broadcast media coverage during an election campaign, NDI can employ various techniques to evaluate the media. Particularly if media fairness is at issue, as it often is in the period before a transition election, the Institute may conduct an independent review of the television and radio news programs during the weeks leading up to the election. Institute representatives may, for example, monitor the programs and systematically record the order of news stories, the amount of time given to each party's campaign and leaders, and the content of the news stories. Generally, NDI will also systematically monitor election-related coverage in the domestic print media.

### **C. Domestic Election Monitors**

#### **1. Pollwatcher Recruitment and Training**

The presence of observers at polling stations can provide voters with a sense of security and deter more blatant forms of intimidation. Pollwatching tends to make the process more open and transparent, and it allows civic and nongovernmental organizations to play a direct role in the activities on election day. Pollwatchers can help instill confidence in the population about the legitimacy of the process and provide another barrier to electoral abuses.

Pollwatchers must know what to look for and must understand the prescribed election system. An effective network of pollwatchers also requires a systematic method for recording

and reporting problems, irregularities and electoral anomalies. Their factual accounting can sometimes minimize exaggerated accusations of fraud.

Both political parties and nonpartisan domestic groups can monitor the electoral process and field networks of trained pollwatchers on election day. Although international observers act as a type of pollwatchers, they typically do not remain at a given polling station throughout election day. Domestic organizations, in contrast, can often field individuals who can monitor the process at a given polling booth throughout the day. Moreover, unlike international observers, domestic groups are intimately familiar with the country's language, culture and political situation and can potentially mobilize enough people to monitor a large and meaningful number of polling sites.

NDI can help to organize and train nonpartisan civic organizations and political parties to conduct voter and civic education campaigns and to organize election monitoring programs, such as pollwatching and independent counting systems. NDI brings trainees from such countries as Bulgaria, Chile, Zambia and South Asia where similar programs have been successfully organized.

NDI will encourage organizations involved in monitoring the electoral process to ensure that organizers and pollwatchers are well trained and impartial. If appropriate, NDI will help create, support and advise such domestic monitoring groups. Civic organizations can then recruit and train nonpartisan monitors. They will establish communication and transportation networks. And on election day, they will deploy pollwatchers at polling stations throughout the country.

## 2. Voter Education

A typical nonpartisan domestic election monitoring organizations will design and conduct civic education programs to educate the general public about democratic values and human rights and to promote civic participation. In other words, a typical program may seek to educate the public either about certain principles of democracy or about election procedures. Thus, in transition elections, such groups often undertake "how to vote" campaigns in which they seek to educate prospective voters about registration or balloting procedures or such issues as the secrecy of the ballot. Outside experts can advise on both the medium and the message. Such an expert might help the organize prepare posters or newspaper or radio advertisements. Civic groups often seek to encourage voter participation in this way.

NDI has developed several specific tools to use in its voter education programs. For example, NDI has developed a video presentation on the electoral process to use as a part of its voter education programs in Africa and elsewhere. Based on the Institute's election experiences around the world, the video presentation uses photographs and materials from a number of countries to depict the stages of an electoral process, from voter registration to the announcement of results. The presentation is useful for election professionals and political leaders as well as for members of the general public. The presentation has been translated into several languages,

including Zulu. NDI has also developed a mock polling station program and election kits as tools in its Project Vote program. Trainers set up the mock polling station and then guide participants in playing out various roles involved in a given country's established or proposed balloting process.

### **3. Vote Count Verification, Including Parallel Vote Tabulations**

NDI will encourage and train domestic monitoring groups regarding the implementation of effective vote count verifications. These efforts can be in the form of a comprehensive parallel vote tabulation, a parallel vote tabulation based on a random sample or use of statistical analysis to identify anomalies in the vote counting process. In advising local groups on implementing such operations, NDI draws on experts from the United States, Canada, Scandinavia, Chile, South Asia and countries where these programs have been more recently established.

A parallel vote tabulation provides a basis for determining the accuracy of the officially announced results. It can also be used as a "quick count," which could be announced publicly to provide the public with early information regarding the election winners. Such election activities are utilized world wide, including in the U.S., by civic organizations, political parties and the media. Implementation of a parallel vote tabulation also serves as an excellent organizing tool for political parties and civic organizations, providing volunteers with a concrete task to perform during the counting of the ballots.

NDI will train political parties and independent election-monitoring organizations in the conduct of parallel vote tabulations. The Institute will advise on the most appropriate methodology to use, given the circumstances in the country and the particular goals of the operation. For example, if speed in tabulating the results is an objective, then the random sample methodology, which enables observers to project election results within a specified margin of error, might be preferred. On the other hand, if a close contest was expected, then a comprehensive tabulation would be recommended, to ensure that the official results from every polling site could be compared with the results obtained by the domestic monitors.

Other factors that NDI will take into consideration in advising on the methodology for implementing a parallel vote tabulation will include: the number of volunteers available for the operation and the amount of training that can be provided; the availability of accurate demographic and voter registration data; the means of communicating results from polling sites or counting centers to the operation headquarters; the type of computer equipment and data programmers available for use in the operation; and the amount of publicity regarding the operation that is necessary to ensure that its objectives are met.

As an alternative to a parallel vote tabulation, domestic groups can be trained to use a computer software program developed for NDI to analyze election results in a given country. This kind of statistical analysis, which was used by NDI in Pakistan, compares results from previous elections with the results the past. The program developed by NDI consultant Lee

Feldman permits district-by-district comparisons data for current and previous elections with respect to the following factors: voter registration, voter turnout and vote totals received by each candidate and/or party. By evaluating this data, a delegation can identify patterns of behavior, statistical anomalies and internal inconsistencies election being observed. Obviously, this is only a useful tool in countries that have held relatively meaningful elections in the past.

#### **D. Political Parties**

NDI believes that effective political party development is crucial to the success of the electoral process. In this context, it is important to promote broad-based, ideologically oriented political parties, as opposed to regional, ethnic, religious or personality-based parties. At the same time, the Institute recognizes that, in certain circumstances, parties with a seemingly narrow political agenda are necessary for the protection of minority rights or to protect other values. Thus, in conducting training programs for political parties, the Institute will work on a bipartisan, inclusive basis with parties across the democratic spectrum to share skills of organization, communications and constituency contact.

Providing assistance to political parties is particularly important in situations where parties are competing for the first time in elections and lack experience with the management of financial and human resources. Experiences in different political environments have enabled NDI to develop effective methods for transferring information and providing practical advice to participants in political party training programs. The format for these programs may involve large seminars, small workshops on specific subjects, individual consultations or a combination of these approaches. The seminars are designed to provide general information of interest to all participants, workshops are more interactive and devoted to problem solving, and individual consultations are used to develop particular strategies.

A major component of the political party training programs is a focus on organizational matters. Political elites unfamiliar with the competitive traditions of pluralism often do not fully appreciate the need to establish national, regional and local party structures. Effective party communications, however, rely upon integrated structures from the local to the national level, coherent themes and messages reflecting the interests of the voters, and candidates to deliver these party messages. Appropriate organizational structures help translate the concerns of party members into party policy.

Other components of the training programs will sometimes include the development of party themes, communicating messages, use of public opinion surveys and selection of candidates. Political party organizers, pollsters, and communications specialists with experience in established democracies and in transition situations will serve as the trainers for these programs.

A final component of the training programs for political parties will focus on preparing party agents to monitor the campaign, the balloting and counting processes, and, where necessary, to file well-documented reports or complaints to the appropriate authorities. Too

often, political parties depend on international observers or civic organizations to perform these tasks, which are also the responsibility of the parties themselves.

## **II. International Election Observer Delegation**

### **A. Election Week**

NDI will organize large, multinational delegations to observe elections in specific countries, particularly where the presence of such a delegation is necessary to promote voter confidence. Organizing a delegation that is relatively large in size allows for the deployment of international observers to locations throughout the country on election day. It also facilitates a balance of expertise on a delegation among government leaders, election technicians, media experts, parliamentarians, political party leaders, civic leaders, democratic activists and academics, and means that the delegation can be a truly multinational effort, drawing delegates from both established and emerging democratic countries.

The observer delegations will operate according to internationally accepted standards for election observer missions, including those developed in *Guidelines for International Election Observing*, written by Larry Garber, NDI Senior Counsel for Electoral Processes. For each observer delegation, NDI prepares terms of reference which, based on the findings of pre-election missions and on-site monitoring, identify specific issues for the observers to address. The delegation is briefed by NDI staff upon arrival in the country. After the staff briefings, a series of meetings are arranged with political party leaders, election officials, representatives of civic organizations and others.

In some cases, the delegation may be divided into functional teams to assess particular aspects of the process, such as the media (this may involve reviewing tapes of television and radio programs), the election law, the complaints process and the counting process. Each team receives specific terms of reference and prepares a substantive report as part of the process of evaluating the entire election process.

Before the elections, delegates are deployed throughout the country where they conduct pre-elections meetings with the relevant political actors and election officials. On election day, the delegates visit polling sites throughout their assigned region. Using a checklist prepared by the NDI staff, the delegates evaluate specific aspects of the balloting and counting procedures. NDI provides a form on which the delegate summarizes his or her election day observations.

A key component of NDI's observation approach is to work with nonpartisan domestic monitoring groups. As discussed above, where appropriate, the Institute will help organize and train such groups. On election day, the observer delegation will coordinate activities with the domestic groups, relying on them for advice on which polling sites to visit and on what is happening generally in a particular region. In this context, it is important to bear in mind that, with the exception of the extraordinary United Nations undertaking in Namibia, international

observer delegations are not capable of placing delegates in every polling site. Credible and well-trained domestic groups thus are necessary to fill the gaps in the international monitoring effort.

Where appropriate, the observer delegation, again working with domestic monitors, may assume responsibility for implementing a parallel vote tabulation. This was the case in Zambia, where NDI and the Carter Center assumed operational control of the parallel vote tabulation and relied on members of the international observer delegation and domestic monitors to obtain the necessary data from the polling sites.

Following the elections, the delegation will reassemble for a debriefing session. Each of the teams will report on their observations and a statement will be drafted. Usually, a preliminary assessment of the process will be offered within 24 to 48 hours after the polls close.

### **B. Post-Election Monitoring**

NDI continues to monitor the electoral process after the polls close and the preliminary results are announced. This post-election monitoring involves review of complaints about specific aspects of the election process filed with appropriate authorities, additional review of the election results, and whether the procedures for forming a new government are being met. This effort may require placement of a staff person on the ground for several weeks after the election or a post-election visit by a high profile observer team, or both.

NDI will use the information gathered by the observer delegation and during the post-election period to prepare a comprehensive report on the election process. The Institute will assure that the report reflects a consensus of the delegation's views and observations.

The reports published by NDI will serve several purposes: informing the international community regarding the fairness of the election; providing information to scholars regarding the conduct of the elections; and educating individuals in other countries that are seeking to initiate democratic election processes.