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UNITED STATES INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION AGENCY
AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
Washington, D. C. 20523

LAC REGIONAL

PROJECT PAPER

HUMAN RIGHTS INITIATIVES -
CARTER CENTER

AID/LAC/P-891

PROJECT NUMBER: 598-0591

UNCLASSIFIED

AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECT DATA SHEET	1. TRANSACTION CODE <input type="checkbox"/> A = Add <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> C = Change <input type="checkbox"/> D = Delete	Amendment Number 	DOCUMENT CODE 3
2. COUNTRY/ENTITY LAC Regional	3. PROJECT NUMBER 598-0591		
4. BUREAU/OFFICE LAC/DI <input type="checkbox"/> 05 <input type="checkbox"/>	5. PROJECT TITLE (maximum 40 characters) <input type="checkbox"/> Human Rights Initiatives - Carter Center		
6. PROJECT ASSISTANCE COMPLETION DATE (PACD) MM DD YY 09 30 96	7. ESTIMATED DATE OF OBLIGATION (Under 'B' below, enter 1, 2, 3, or 4) A. Initial FY <input type="checkbox"/> 9 <input type="checkbox"/> 4 B. Quarter <input type="checkbox"/> 4 <input type="checkbox"/> C. Final FY <input type="checkbox"/> 9 <input type="checkbox"/> 4		

8. COSTS (\$000 OR EQUIVALENT \$1 =)						
A. FUNDING SOURCE	FIRST FY			LIFE OF PROJECT		
	B. FX	C. L/C	D. TOTAL	E. FX	F. L/C	G. TOTAL
AID Appropriated Total						
(Grant)	(900)	(900)	()	(33,577)	()	(33,577)
(Loan)	()	()	()	()	()	()
Other U.S. 1.						
2.						
Host Country						
Other Donor(s)						
TOTALS	900	900		33,577		33,577

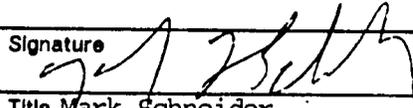
9. SCHEDULE OF AID FUNDING (\$000)									
A. APPROPRIATION	B. PRIMARY PURPOSE CODE	C. PRIMARY TECH CODE		D. OBLIGATION TO DATE		E. AMOUNT APPROVED THIS ACTION		F. LIFE OF PROJECT	
		1 Grant	2 Loan	1. Grant	2. Loan	1. Grant	2. Loan	1. Grant	2. Loan
(1) ESF				8,576		475		17,229	
(2) DA				16,309				16,348	
(3)									
(4)									
TOTALS				24,885		475		33,577	

10. SECONDARY TECHNICAL CODES (maximum 6 codes of 3 positions each)	11. SECONDARY PURPOSE CODE
12. SPECIAL CONCERNS CODES (maximum 7 codes of 4 positions each)	
A. Code	
B. Amount	

13. PROJECT PURPOSE (maximum 480 characters)
 The purpose of the project is to support selected regional initiatives aimed at expanding political and civil liberties throughout the LAC region.

14. SCHEDULED EVALUATIONS Interim MM YY MM YY Final MM YY 06 96	15. SOURCE/ORIGIN OF GOODS AND SERVICES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 000 <input type="checkbox"/> 941 <input type="checkbox"/> Local <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)
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16. AMENDMENTS/NATURE OF CHANGE PROPOSED (This is page 1 of a ___ page PP Amendment.)
 This amendment is to provide funding to the Carter Center to reinforce democracy in the Americas.

17. APPROVED BY	Signature 	18. DATE DOCUMENT RECEIVED IN AID/W, OR FOR AID/W DOCUMENTS, DATE OF DISTRIBUTION MM DD YY
	Title Mark Schneider, Assistant Administrator, LAC	

PROJECT AUTHORIZATION

Name of Country: LAC Regional
Name of Project: Human Rights Initiatives:
Carter Center
Number of Project: 598-0591
(Sub-project 598-0591.CC)

1. Pursuant to Section 531 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, I hereby authorize the Human Rights Initiatives: Carter Center Project for the Latin America and the Caribbean Region involving planned obligations of not to exceed \$475,000 in grant funds over a two year period from the date of authorization, subject to the availability of funds in accordance with the USAID OYB process, to help in financing the foreign exchange and local currency costs for the project. This brings the total amount authorized under the LAC Regional Human Rights Initiatives Project to \$33,475,000. The planned life of the project is two years from the date of initial obligation.

2. The purpose of the project is to assist the Carter Center develop the capacity to mediate electoral problems and contribute to the expansion and consolidation of democracy in the Americas. Funds are provided for core support (personnel, consultants, communications, travel, etc.) and a small amount for specific short-term consultancies on political issues and policy aspects of problems which would pave the way for larger efforts in consolidating democracy.

3. The Agreement(s) which may be negotiated and executed by the officer to whom such authority is delegated in accordance with USAID regulations and Delegations of Authority shall be subject to the following essential terms and covenants and major conditions as USAID may deem appropriate:

a. Source and Origin of Commodities, Nationality of Services: Commodities and services financed by USAID under the project shall have their source, origin and nationality the United States, except as USAID may otherwise agree in writing. Local procurement, in accordance with the Agency's Buy America policy, is permitted.



U.S. AGENCY FOR
INTERNATIONAL
DEVELOPMENT

INFORMATION MEMORANDUM FOR THE ASSISTANT ADMINISTRATOR, LAC

FROM: LAC/DR, Eric Zallman *EZ*

SUBJECT: LAC Regional - Human Rights Initiatives (598-0591):
Proposal from the Carter Center of Emory University

On April 13, 1994, a review of an unsolicited proposal from the Carter Center of Emory University was held. Offices represented at the review included LAC/DR, LAC/DI, LAC/CAR, LAC/SAM, LAC/DPP and G/R&D/UC. The Latin American and Caribbean Program (LACP) of the Carter Center works as a policy outreach and research center and as the secretariat of the Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government, an informal association of 21 current and former leaders from the western hemisphere who share a commitment to peace and democracy.

Following on earlier work in the region, the LACP/Council plans to sharpen its focus on second-generation projects dealing with the consolidation of democracy and development in the hemisphere. They are especially interested in countries such as Guyana, Haiti, Nicaragua and Panama, where the Council is uniquely positioned to assist due to its previous role in election monitoring. The amount requested by the Carter Center is \$400,142 to cover their activities through February 28, 1996.

The following topics/issues were discussed at the review:

1. Which Bureau should manage the project--Global or LAC? - The LAC Bureau believes that the project should be managed by LAC because of the political sensitivities involved in the kinds of activities the Carter Center undertakes. Although invited to the issues review, PPC was not represented at the meeting. The representative from Global's University Cooperation office did not raise any objection. Therefore, we will proceed with the authorization and obligation of this project with the intent that it managed by LAC.

2. What are the expected impacts and are the proposed interventions extensive enough to have a measurable impact on the problems outlined for the countries included in the proposal?

The proposal is not clear as to whether the activities to be carried out are part of a larger LACP/Council program and whether

the brief consultancies are sufficient to achieve impact on the problems being addressed. It was clarified that basically what the Carter Center is asking for is support for their core costs (personnel, consultants, communications, travel, etc) and a small amount for specific short-term consultancies on political issues and policy aspects of problems which would then pave the way for larger efforts in consolidating democracy to be funded by other organizations. Impact of the proposed activities in the proposal, which is meant to be illustrative and may change as opportunities arise over the course of the two year grant, cannot be easily measured. The Carter Center plays the role of facilitator or mediator which leads to possible "deals" to resolve political problems. They do report on what they are doing in their regular reports and often the results are widely reported in newspapers.

It was agreed we would not ask the Carter Center to provide more information on the proposed impact of their program. We would ask them, however, to clarify the true intent of the grant, i.e. to provide core support and a small amount of funds for short-term consultancies. The specific activities listed in the proposal would be for illustrative purposes and are meant to cover the entire period of the grant. Annual workplans will be submitted for USAID approval which propose specific activities. Finally, due to particular sensitivities relating to possible work in Mexico, the grant will contain a provision requiring the Carter Center to submit a letter proposal and request permission before initiating any activities relating to election observation in Mexico.

3. What is the basis for a non-competitive award to the Carter Center?

LAC/DI will prepare a memo for the Contracting Officer's approval which justifies a non-competitive award to the Carter Center based on the fact that this is an unsolicited proposal and because of the unique nature of the assistance to be provided.

Clarifications:

1. Budget - The Carter Center will be requested to add a column to their budget showing funds to be contributed by them and other donors for the program described in their proposal.

2. Audit and Evaluation - Funds will be included in the authorization of the grant for USAID to use for audit and evaluation purposes.

3. Mission Comments - Although requested to do so, Missions have not yet provided comments/feedback regarding the proposal. LAC/DI will follow-up. Authorization will not be requested unless positive responses are received.

4. Travel - Prior to authorization, clarification will be sought of USAID's policy regarding first class air travel for current and/or former heads of states.

Clearances:

LAC/DI:KSchofield (Draft)

LAC/DI:JMendelson (Draft)

G/R&D/UC:JOWeis (Draft)

LAC/DPP:ERupprecht ER Date 4-22-94

LAC/DR:OCarduner OC Date 4-29-94

cc:

STATE/ARA:AValenzuela, RFelder

Draft:SBugg:U:\DRPUB\PSS\CCMEMO.SB

THE
CARTER CENTER
OF EMORY UNIVERSITY



June 3, 1994

Kenneth Schofield
Department of State
U.S. Agency for International Development
320 21st Street, N.W. Room 3253
Washington, D.C. 20523

Dear Mr. Schofield:

As per recent conversations between Dr. Johanna Mendelson Forman, Susan Bugg and Dr. David Carroll, I enclose a revised budget and proposal text for the "Proposal to Reinforce Democracy in the Americas," originally submitted on June 29, 1993 by the Latin American and Caribbean Program (LACP) of the Carter Center of Emory University for support to the Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government.

As requested, the revised budget includes additional columns which indicate the received and/or anticipated amount of funding from other donors and institutional funding from the Carter Center of Emory University to support the activities of the Council and the LACP. The budget figures relating to the request for USAID funding are unchanged from those submitted with our previous letter of March 24. Small changes were made to the text of the grant proposal and to the budget narrative, as requested by Dr. Mendelson and Ms. Bugg.

Please note that the text of the grant proposal sent on March 24 includes a preliminary work plan for 1994-1995 activities. LACP staff would, of course, be prepared to submit an annual work plan for 1995-1996 Council activities, as well as any other documentation you may require.

If you or your associates have any questions, do not hesitate to call me at (404) 420-5115, or Drs. Jennifer McCoy or David Carroll in our Latin American and Caribbean Program at (404) 420-5175.

Sincerely,

Pamela A. Wuichet
Director of Development

enclosures

cc: Mark Schneider
Johanna Mendelson Forman

Revised: March 24, 1994 and June 3, 1994

**A Proposal To Reinforce Democracy in the Americas For
The Council of Freely-Elected Heads of Government**

The Carter Center of Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia

Executive Summary

Since November 1986 when the first conference at the Carter Center of Emory University was held on "Reinforcing Democracy in the Americas," the Latin American and Caribbean Program has systematically developed its capacity to mediate electoral problems and contribute to the expansion and consolidation of democracy in the Americas. At that first conference, the Council of Freely-Elected Heads of Government was established with President Carter as its Chairman and the Carter Center as its headquarters. Today, the Council has twenty-three members, and it has effectively monitored the electoral process in Panama, Nicaragua, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Suriname, Mexico, Guyana, the United States, and Paraguay. In some cases, the Council has collaborated directly with institutions, notably the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, the United Nations, and the Organization of American States; in other cases, it has acted on its own.

Because the Council includes leaders from throughout the hemisphere and because of its success and credibility, it is often asked to play a role in political crises in the Americas, particularly in those countries it has already worked. For example, the full spectrum of leaders in Nicaragua, Haiti, and Guyana have repeatedly called on the Council and the Carter Center to mediate disputes and ensure that the first steps toward democratization taken by each country will not be the last steps. The ability of the Council, its Chairman President Carter, or its staff to respond quickly to such requests, however, is constrained by the lack of institutional support for the Council. This proposal requests such support - specifically, \$400,000 over two years. Such funding would provide the time and staff necessary to respond to crises in countries in which the Council has already worked and to develop projects where new opportunities arise.

The support requested in this proposal will enable the Council/Carter Center to move forward in implementing initiatives it is planning in Guyana, Nicaragua, Haiti, and possibly Panama. In addition, the Council/Carter Center would be prepared to respond to urgent requests for its assistance from other countries in the region.

The Council/Carter Center also has an ongoing program of activities in Mexico, which is in the midst of a potentially important democratic transition. The Council/Carter Center has built important relationships with Mexican observer groups and party leaders, and intends to continue to develop a program to analyze and monitor the electoral process which will culminate in elections on August 21, 1994. Although the Council/Carter Center is not at this time using USAID funds for its activities in Mexico, it may in the future request the use of USAID resources to support a program of activities described in this proposal.

A Proposal To Reinforce Democracy in the Americas For

**The Council of Freely-Elected Heads of Government
Carter Center of Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia**

I. Introduction

Latin America is in the midst of a profound political and economic transformation. A democratic revolution has swept across the continent, and at the same time, the new democratic governments of the Americas have turned away from state-led economies toward market-oriented ones and have restructured their economies through privatization, better fiscal management, and trade liberalization.

The goals of democratic consolidation and economic recovery remain elusive, however, as Latin Americans continue to struggle with the severe challenges of drugs, debt, human rights, guerrilla insurgencies, restive militaries, and the cynicism of a population weary of decades of sacrifice and shattered hopes. The strengthening and consolidation of these democracies is one of the most pressing issues for our hemisphere. Success depends not only on the individual nations of Latin America, but also on the cooperation of the United States, international organizations, and non-governmental organizations.

President Jimmy Carter's personal prestige throughout the continent and his close relationship with several Latin American leaders place him in a unique position to encourage peaceful solutions to conflict and to ensure the consolidation and survival of democracies in the region. Together with the Council of Freely-Elected Heads of Government, a coalition of democratic leaders from throughout the hemisphere, President Carter has responded to requests for crisis intervention and mediation, organized election-monitoring missions, and developed proposals for wider hemispheric cooperation and development.

II. The Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government

Since its inception in 1986, the Latin American and Caribbean Program (LACP) of the Carter Center of Emory University has worked toward three goals: promote democracy in the Americas, facilitate multilateral efforts to resolve regional conflicts, and advance hemispheric cooperation and development. The program works as a policy outreach and research center and as the secretariat of the Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government, an informal association of 21 current and former leaders from the western hemisphere who share a commitment to peace and democracy. Dr. Robert Pastor, a Professor of Political Science at Emory University and former National Security Advisor for Latin American Affairs in the Carter Administration, directs the LACP and serves as the Executive Secretary of the Council. Dr. Jennifer McCoy is the LACP's Senior Research Associate, and Dr. David Carroll is the

Associate Director.

The idea for the Council grew out of a conference organized by the LACP on "Reinforcing Democracy in the Americas" held in November 1986 at the newly-built Carter Center. Internationally-known scholars on democratization wrote policy-oriented papers on what could be done to reinforce democracy, and twelve former and current leaders, led by Presidents Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford and Argentine President Raul Alfonsin, discussed the proposals. From this meeting came a book, Democracy in the Americas, and a number of concrete proposals on how to extend democracy in the hemisphere. One of the ideas was the creation of the Council of Freely-Elected Heads of Government.

The original members of the Council were Jimmy Carter, Gerald Ford, Raul Alfonsin of Argentina, the late Errol Barrow of Barbados, Vinicio Cerezo of Guatemala, Nicolás Ardito Barletta of Panama, Fernando Belaunde of Peru, Rafael Caldera of Venezuela, Osvaldo Hurtado of Ecuador, the late Daniel Oduber of Costa Rica, George Price of Belize, and Pierre Trudeau. Subsequently, Michael Manley, Edward Seaga, and P.J. Patterson of Jamaica, Carlos Andrés Pérez of Venezuela, Erskine Sandiford of Barbados, Oscar Arias and Rodrigo Carazo of Costa Rica, Alfonso Lopez Michelson of Colombia, John Compton of St. Lucia, Luis Alberto Lacalle and Julio Maria Sanguinetti of Uruguay, Joseph Clark of Canada, and Jean-Bertrand Aristide of Haiti have joined the Council.

III. Activities of the Council

Under President Carter's leadership, the Council has been able to place itself into critical and delicate situations to play a unique and extremely important role that no other institution or group could fill. In order to focus attention on those pressing issues most amenable to its influence, the Council has convened periodic high-level consultations of the most important leaders in the hemisphere. In the field, the Council has intervened in crisis situations to mediate the resolution conflicts in the region, and has organized election-monitoring initiatives in a number of countries undergoing critical "transitional" elections.

Council Consultations. In March 1989, the Council convened a group of top policy-makers at the Carter Center to discuss pressing hemispheric problems at the "Consultation on a Hemispheric Agenda." The gathering was made possible by President Carter's working relationship with President George Bush and Secretary of State James Baker III, and personal relationships with such Latin American leaders as Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez and Jamaican Prime Minister Michael Manley. The consultation provided Latin American leaders with their first opportunity to discuss debt strategy and security issues in Central America in a private, multilateral forum with the U.S. Secretary of State. This opened the door for further cooperation between U.S. and Latin American

leaders to develop solutions for the hemisphere's problems. The participants also discussed whether the Council should become involved in monitoring the elections in Panama, and they agreed to do so, after sending a preliminary mission to assess the electoral process.

Crisis Response. The Council's credibility to mediate crises has proven important in elections and also after them. In the spring of 1987, for example, President Carter and other Council members issued strong statements of support to the government of Argentina when it was challenged from the military, and in December 1990 the Council supported Bolivia to resolve the first constitutional crisis of the restored democracy.

Haiti. More recently, President Carter has been actively supporting the OAS, the UN, and other regional actors to reverse the September 1991 coup in Haiti and restore President Jean-Bertrand Aristide to his constitutional office. Since the coup, President Carter and LACP/Council staff have worked behind the scenes along with Council members President Carlos Andres Perez of Venezuela and former Prime Minister Michael Manley of Jamaica, to assist in the negotiating process aimed at reinstating President Aristide. President Carter and LACP/staff have maintained contact with the U.N. special envoy, former Argentine Foreign Minister, Dante Caputo, and with President Clinton's special advisor on Haiti, Lawrence Pezullo, and have indicated that they are prepared to assist in mediating a solution to the country's political crisis.

Election-Monitoring and Democratic Consolidation. Perhaps the most important contribution of President Carter and the Council in recent years has been their work in election monitoring to aid countries in the transition to democracy. In all of the election monitoring cases, President Carter and the Council have been invited by both the government and the opposition to serve as official election observers in order to ensure that the elections are seen as honest and accepted as legitimate by all participants, as well as by the international community. After the successful completion of key transitional elections, the Council has offered to assist, if invited, the longer term process of consolidating democracy. The list of the Council's election-monitoring and democratic consolidation achievements is impressive:

Panama. Because of President Carter's role in achieving the Panama Canal treaties, the Council chose to take a significant role in encouraging the restoration of democracy in Panama. Despite his initial resistance, General Noriega was persuaded by Dr. Pastor to accept the Council's sending an international bipartisan delegation chaired by Presidents Carter and Ford to monitor the elections in December 1990. When Noriega altered the election results, President Carter denounced it in a widely-covered press conference. Upon returning to the U.S., Carter and members of the delegation

briefed President Bush and members of the Administration. Carter also sent personal messages to all of the heads of government of Latin America as well as to the OAS, which later condemned the election fraud and organized a mediating team to attempt to resolve the crisis.

Nicaragua. Based on the credibility gained from the Panamanian elections and on Carter's reputation as a leader of integrity and fairness, the Council was invited by then President Daniel Ortega, the Union of National Opposition (UNO), and the Supreme Electoral Council to observe the entire electoral process in Nicaragua.

Between September 1989 and April 1990, President Carter personally made five trips to Nicaragua, along with members of the Council or their representatives. Carter's personal prestige and status as a private individual enabled him to mediate problems at the highest level in Nicaragua in a way that was difficult for the intergovernmental organizations fielding large observer missions. On each trip, Carter helped resolve key issues that kept the elections on track, such as the return of Miskito Indian rebels, campaign violence, and the release of funds donated by the U.S. Congress. On several occasions, Carter briefed President Bush and members of the Administration about the state of the electoral process.

Immediately after the February 25 elections, President Carter helped to fashion the elements of a transition agreement which permitted the concerns of both the outgoing and incoming governments to be addressed in the first critical hours after the election, and which contributed to a smooth transfer of power on April 25, 1990.

In the three years since the 1990 elections, President Carter and the Council have remained ready to assist Nicaragua in consolidating democracy and building an economic recovery. In March 1991, after two preparatory trips by staff, and after a briefing by IMF and World Bank representatives, President Carter traveled to Nicaragua to consult with government, business, and labor leaders about the economic stabilization plan announced by the government. During the trip, Carter proposed possible means of addressing the concerns of each group. Subsequently, the government negotiated an accord with the labor unions which avoided violent strikes while providing some relief for the poor from the economic hardships of the plan. Since 1991, President Carter and the Council have continued to monitor events in Nicaragua, and has remained in contact with leaders from all sides.

Dominican Republic. In May 1990, President Carter and Prime Minister George Price accepted the invitation of the Central Electoral Board to lead a delegation of the Council with representatives of the National Democratic Institute of

International Affairs (NDI) to observe the elections. The results of that election were contested, but members of the Council consulted with the Electoral Board and the major candidates to facilitate a resolution of complaints.

Haiti. In July 1990, President Carter travelled to Haiti with a Council delegation in an exploratory mission to discuss forthcoming elections with government officials, business leaders, Haitian military officials and diplomatic representatives in Haiti. After being assured that military leaders would support the electoral process, and after the United Nations agreed to provide military observers to help ensure a secure voting climate, the Council accepted an invitation to monitor the elections in a joint project with NDI. The successful elections of December 1990 demonstrated the overwhelming desire of the Haitian people to exercise their right, many for the first time, to choose their own leaders. President Carter returned to Haiti for the inauguration of Father Aristide in February 1991 and to help ensure a smooth transition to civilian rule.

As noted above, President Carter and the Council continue to monitor events in Haiti very closely in the wake of the coup which overthrew President Aristide in September 1991, and stand ready to assist the OAS and UN to facilitate a resolution of the crisis.

Suriname. In April 1991, Council Vice Chairman Prime Minister George Price of Belize and Dr. Pastor visited Suriname to discuss possible roles for the Council in assisting the democratic transition process in that country. The Council team determined that an election-monitoring project for the May 1991 elections would not be necessary, because the OAS was effectively fulfilling that task. However, two Carter Center staff, Dr. Jennifer McCoy and Mr. Dennis King, joined the OAS election-monitoring mission as representatives of the Council.

In response to concerns raised by a number of key leaders in Suriname about the future role of the military in the post-election phase, the LACP/Council has maintained contact with Surinamese leaders, the U.S. Administration, the OAS, Prime Minister Lubbers of the Netherlands, and others in the region, about a possible future role for the Council to facilitate the transition to and consolidation of democracy.

Guyana. The Council's most extensive election-monitoring project was in Guyana in 1990-1992. President Carter first travelled to Guyana with Dr. Pastor in October 1990 after having been invited by the government and major opposition parties to observe the elections originally expected soon. Although enjoying democratic traditions since before its independence from Britain in 1966, Guyanese politics since that time had been fraught with suspicion, distrust, and allegations of widespread electoral fraud.

During the fall of 1990 and spring of 1991, President Carter and the Council helped mediate compromise agreements between President Hoyte and the opposition leaders which permitted crucial reforms in the electoral procedures and enhanced the prospects for an honest election. The major reforms included a new house-to-house registration of voters for the creation of a new voters list, an agreement to implement a preliminary counting of ballots at the polling places on election day, and the expansion and reconstitution of an independent Elections Commission empowered to oversee the entire electoral process. The new Elections Commission completed a revamped list in September 1991, but the list was rejected by the coalition of opposition parties. A Council delegation which visited Guyana in October 1991 determined that the new voters list was significantly flawed and could not be corrected in time for the scheduled December 1991 election date. Due in large part to the Council's report, the elections were postponed and a new voters list was compiled in the spring of 1992, and elections were finally called for October 1992. The Council's 63-person delegation was the primary monitoring team for the elections, the first in Guyana since 1964 which all sides accepted as free and fair.

Paraguay. In May 1993, President Carter and Council member former Costa Rican President Rodrigo Carazo joined a delegation organized by the National Democratic Institute (NDI) and co-chaired by Canadian Senator Al Graham, to monitor elections that offered Paraguayans the first opportunity in history to complete peacefully two consecutive democratic presidential elections. In 1989, General Andres Rodriguez was elected president of Paraguay, shortly after Rodriguez had overthrown dictator Alfredo Stroessner. As president, Rodriguez promised to end his term with free elections and a civilian government.

President Carter and the Council were initially reluctant to get involved in the Paraguayan election because of the very short lead time. A key lesson of previous Council experiences has been that it is vitally important to prepare long in advance in order to play a positive role. An exception was made, however, for a number of reasons, most importantly the urgent and unprecedented joint request made to President Carter from the three principle candidates in the election, general concerns about the electoral process and the role of the military, and the fact that NDI personnel had a long-standing involvement in Paraguay. The 31-member joint Council/NDI delegation found that while there were some irregularities in the process, they were not significant enough to affect the outcome of the election, which was won by Juan Carlos Wasmosy of the ruling Colorado Party, who won by an 8 percent margin with 40 percent of the vote.

Contributions of the Council. Each of the countries in which President Carter and the Council have served as election monitors posed a special problem which they helped to resolve. In Panama,

President Carter played a determining role as he denounced the election vote fraud, leading to widespread Latin American condemnation of Noriega's rule. In Nicaragua, a country with an experience of manipulated elections, the trust both sides placed in President Carter enabled the Council, working alongside the UN and the OAS, to provide the reassurances needed for the opposition to participate in the process. At the same time, President Carter's presence focused international attention and guaranteed the conduct of a free election by a government desiring international legitimacy. In Haiti and Paraguay, the prestige and presence of President Carter and the Council helped to assure a secure environment for the people to vote in pivotal transitional elections. In the Dominican Republic and Guyana, two countries with a democratic tradition, the Council played a key role in fashioning compromises agreements about the electoral rules of the game in a context in which the opposition lacked faith in the government's intent to hold honest elections.

The election monitoring experiences of President Carter and the Council, especially in Nicaragua and Guyana, have led to the development and implementation of a new model of election-observing which emphasizes the importance of evaluating the integrity of the voter registration, the fairness of the campaign, the accuracy of the vote count, and the respect of the outcome. The model combines a continual on-the-ground presence with periodic high-level visits in which specific disputes may be mediated or facilitated by the observers. This is a significant improvement over the model implicit in most other election monitoring projects, which rely on a single observer team visit on election day, and which can result in a distorted evaluation of the overall fairness of the election.

IV. Future Council Activities

In the next several years, the LACP and the Council plan to sharpen their focus on second-generation projects dealing with the consolidation of democracy and development in the hemisphere, including current or potential initiatives in Guyana, Nicaragua, Haiti, and possibly Panama. In addition, although outside the scope of this funding proposal as currently constructed, the LACP/Council also plans to continue work on its ongoing projects related to the process of democratization in Mexico.

This proposal requests funds for core support (personnel, consultants, communications, travel, etc.) and a small amount for specific short-term consultancies on political issues and policy aspects of problems which would pave the way for larger efforts in consolidating democracy to be funded in part by other organizations. The activities described in the following sections are meant to be illustrative of the projects that we anticipate implementing during the two year period of the grant.

A. Second Generation Consolidation Projects

While the holding of free and fair competitive elections marks an important milestone in a country's transition to democracy, the building of a genuinely democratic system is a broader and longer term process, extending well beyond elections. In order to assist countries undergoing this process, a major focus of the LACP/Council is on the complex set of problems related to the consolidation of democracy in those countries where transitional elections have successfully occurred.

The LACP/Council plans in this area include policy-outreach and research on issues such as the establishment of lasting electoral reforms, improving avenues of communication among political actors, promoting human rights, sustainable development policies, regional economic cooperation and trade, economic reform and adjustment, and the harmonization of civil-military relations. The LACP/Council will explore a range of opportunities for Council involvement in these areas, and will draw on the expertise of other Carter Center programs where appropriate. We are especially interested in countries such as Guyana, Haiti, Nicaragua, and Panama, where the Council is uniquely positioned to assist due its previous role in monitoring elections.

Where possible, the LACP/Council initiatives will be designed to strengthen or complement the inter-American system of the OAS, so that the organization can be more effective in preserving democracy in the hemisphere, but other alternatives could also be explored among Council members.

1. Consolidating Guyana's democracy. As a follow-up to the 1992 Guyana elections, LACP personnel are working with a Carter Center-wide Guyana Task Force co-chaired by Ambassador-in-Residence, Marion Creekmore and Dr. Robert Pastor to develop an integrative set of programs to assist the emerging democracy in Guyana. The Guyana Task Force is in many ways a pilot project which Carter Center personnel hope to replicate in other countries in which the Center is involved. The Task Force's most important work is centered on the Global Development Initiative, through which Carter Center staff and consultants are working the Government of Guyana, the international donor community, and Guyanese society, to evolve a comprehensive development strategy.

Working through the Guyana Task Force, the LACP is implementing a two-track post-election project for the Council for which funding has already been secured. The first track concentrates on providing assistance to Guyanese efforts to develop recommendations for long-term electoral reforms aimed at the creation of a permanent independent Elections Commission and an integrated national registration system. A parallel second track is to monitor progress toward the holding of local and municipal

elections scheduled for the Summer of 1994.

Proposed activities. If the recommendations for electoral reform are widely supported across the political spectrum, the LACP/Council is considering a follow-up project to assist Guyana in implementing these recommendations. Working with Caribbean election officials, led by the former Chief Electoral Officer in Barbados, Mr. Dennis Smith, and with electoral and technical consultants, the LACP/Council plans to assist Guyanese in developing specific legislative proposals, and in preparing strategies for the adoption and implementation of the reforms. The proposed timeline of activities starting in 1994 would require funding for:

Summer - Fall 1994:

- Consultancy fees for 3 electoral/technical experts for 8 days each.
- Communications costs (telephone/fax, copying, and postage) and supplies costs.
- Publication costs for printing a project report.
- Foreign travel for the consultants and 1 LACP staff.

2. Promoting reconciliation and development in Nicaragua. The 1990 elections in Nicaragua were an important turning point in that country's political history. Competing factions which had been at war for years finally agreed to resolve their differences at the ballot box. Since the elections, President Carter and the Council have offered their assistance on a number of occasions, and will continue to do so. As noted earlier, President Carter, Dr. Pastor, and LACP staff made a series of trips to Nicaragua in Spring 1991 to help mediate a social pact acceptable to all sides which allowed inflation to be brought under control and the costs of adjustment to be spread more evenly.

In the last year, President Carter and LACP/Council staff have met with representatives of the Chamorro government and with Sandinista leader Daniel Ortega, at their request, regarding a number of issues in Nicaragua, including unresolved land claims, charges of government corruption, control over the military, and human rights abuses. In response to separate requests from both the Chamorro government and the Sandinista opposition, President Carter helped to persuade the Clinton Administration and key members of Congress to support a release of the \$50 million in U.S. aid to Nicaragua which had been frozen by some in the Congress. Given the tenuous nature of the Nicaragua's fledgling democracy, and the vital importance of national reconciliation, President Carter and the Council have assured all sides of their willingness

to continue to assist in mediating any remaining obstacles to democracy and social peace.

In the last few months, the LACP/Council has intensified its efforts to explore avenues through which to assist Nicaraguans in resolving political disputes, especially those related to land and property claims, and is discussing a joint effort in collaboration with the UNDP to begin assessing the competing claims to land. Seed money for the initial stages of the project has been secured and should allow LACP/Council staff to undertake a series of assessment missions to Nicaragua in Spring and Summer 1994. Depending on the outcome of the assessment missions, President Carter might lead a subsequent high-level Council delegation to mediate possible solutions. Given the deep social and political divisions in Nicaragua, we anticipate that the LACP/Council project is likely to require a sustained effort and that additional funds will be required.

Proposed activities. Assuming that the initial phases of the assessment missions are successful in creating a useful mediating role for the Council, the LACP/Council plans to remain engaged in efforts to facilitate lasting solutions to the various political and social conflicts. If this is the case, the following timeline of activities suggest the funding that would be required to continue the program:

Summer/Fall 1994 - Spring 1995:

- Consultancy fees for 2 land tenure experts for 10 days each.
- Communications costs (telephone/fax, copying, and postage) and supplies costs.
- Publication costs for printing a project report.
- Foreign travel for the consultants, LACP staff, and 2 Council members, plus domestic travel for 1 LACP staff to Washington to consult with other NGOs and USAID.

3. Restoring Democracy to Haiti. President Carter and the Council have a special interest in Haiti due to the role played by the Council in monitoring the historic elections won by President Aristide in December 1990. Since the 1991 coup against Aristide, President Carter has made clear that he is willing to consider a larger role for himself and/or the Council, should the key parties decide to seek his involvement, either in the negotiating process itself or in critical implementation phases of any agreement to restore President Aristide.

Over the last two years, President Carter and the Council have

remained engaged with President Aristide, Caribbean leaders, and leaders in the OAS and UN to discuss the situation in Haiti. An important meeting took place in December 1992 at the Carter Center, when Council member former Jamaican Prime Minister Michael Manley and U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali came to Atlanta and met with President Carter, LACP staff, and representatives of the Clinton transition team to discuss possible options to promote international efforts to mediate President Aristide's return. President Carter and Prime Minister Manley maintain an active interest in the situation in Haiti, and have discussed the issue at length during Prime Minister Manley's tenure as Visiting Professor and Senior Statesman at Emory University and the Carter Center, in Atlanta in March 1994.

Proposed activities. The LACP will continue to monitor events in Haiti and to provide staff assistance for any efforts of President Carter and the Council. Assuming there is a role for President Carter and the Council to play, funding is likely to be required to initiate the following timeline of activities:

Fall 1994 - Spring 1995:

- Consultancy fees for one political consultant for 5 days.
- Communications costs (telephone/fax, copying, and postage) and supplies costs.
- Publication costs for printing a project report.
- Foreign travel for a consultant, LACP staff, and a Council member.

4. Other LACP/Council Consolidation Initiatives. In addition to the planned initiatives in Guyana, Nicaragua, and Haiti, the LACP/Council hopes to be able to respond to other requests for various types of assistance in support of democratic consolidation, including mediation, technical assistance, and election-monitoring. One such possible request could concern Panama (see below). In order to strengthen the Council's capacity for such response, core funding support is requested for the LACP staff, LACP staff and Council travel (both foreign and domestic), consultants, and other related costs (i.e., communication expenses, publication costs, supplies, and meeting costs). A separate budget page (with corresponding budget narrative) for LACP core support is attached.

Supporting democratic consolidation in Panama. With elections due in Panama in early May 1994, Panamanians face an important challenge to the consolidation of their democratic political system. Recent polls indicate that 47% of Panamanians fear that violence will occur and/or that the elections will not be fair. The electoral situation is complicated by the extreme political

fragmentation of Panamanian society, evidenced by the fact that 18 different political parties are currently plan to participate.

Following the elections, Panama will be confronted with a number of important policy questions, including the future arrangements for the defense of the Panama Canal after the year 2000, and the role of Panamanian military. The LACP has conducted initial background research on these issues, and is exploring the possibility of implementing initiatives related to either the observation of the May 1994 elections, and/or policy questions regarding the canal. If a Council initiative is comes to fruition, the LACP will develop a timeline of activities.

B. Other LACP/Council Initiatives: Mexico

The LACP/Council project on Mexico, which is currently funded by non-USAID funds, was initiated in 1991 and has been an important part of the LACP program's work in recent years. The project focuses primarily on the process of democratization in Mexico, and is also keenly alert to the impact of the North American Trade Agreement (NAFTA) on this process. Political liberalization in Mexico, while important in its own right, takes on added importance in the context of North American integration. As the United States and Mexico move toward closer ties, the nature of the political regime in Mexico becomes increasingly important. The overall goal of the LACP/Council project is to facilitate Mexico's transition to a genuinely democratic regime. At the same time, the LACP/Council hopes to contribute to the debate on NAFTA and to propose ideas for the future integration of North America and the Western Hemisphere.

Background: the LACP/Council and democratization in Mexico. Mexico's next presidential elections, which are due in August 1994, will either be an opportunity for genuine democracy to take root in that country or, more likely, another election in which the opposition parties and a plurality of the Mexican people believe it was rigged. Over the last two years, the LACP/Council has developed an important dialogue with key leaders in Mexico, including President Carlos Salinas de Gortari, leaders of the PRI, the PAN, and the PRD regarding a possible role for the Council to assist in the process of democratization.

At the same time, LACP/Council staff have intensified contacts with the leaders of a number of Mexican civic monitoring groups. In February 1992, Dr. Julio Faesler, the President of the Consejo para la Democracia (Council for Democracy), discussed NAFTA's implications for Mexico's political liberalization during a seminar on the NAFTA held at the Carter Center. In April 1992, LACP Assistant Director David Carroll travelled to Mexico City at the invitation of Dr. Faesler to participate in a "Forum on Electoral Processes" organized by the Consejo para la Democracia." The forum brought together leaders of all the major political parties and

civic groups to discuss problems in the electoral process blocking more genuine democracy.

An especially significant step was taken in July 1992, when the LACP/Council was invited by a coalition of Mexican civic monitoring groups to send a team to witness their observation of the elections for Governor in the states of Michoacan and Chihuahua, and to offer advise on the techniques of election monitoring. The Mexican government was fully appraised of our activities and privately expressed their support. Several months later, in October 1992, leaders of two of the major Mexican election observer groups, Miguel Basañez of ACUDE, and Julio Faesler of the Consejo para la Democracia, joined the LACP/Council election observation mission in Guyana. Like the 1990 Council/NDI Haitian election monitoring delegation, which included Dr. Sergio Aguayo, President of the Mexican Academy of Human Rights, the Council's Guyana delegation included prominent Mexican civic leaders in order to provide Mexicans working to promote greater democratization in Mexico with an opportunity to collaborate on an international election observing project.

These experiences of working with the Mexican observers were immensely rewarding for all sides. To further strengthen this relationship, the LACP/Council decided to invite representatives of the Mexican observer groups and of the three major Mexican political parties to the Carter Center to participate in a Council project to observe the November 1992 U.S. Presidential elections. Two of the three main Mexican political parties sent representatives, as did the three largest civic monitoring groups. On the eve of the election, the Mexicans joined Council members for a day-long conference on the U.S. elections and election monitoring led by former President Carter and former Prime Minister Trudeau. The following day, the Mexicans observed polling in six counties in Georgia: three in the metro-Atlanta area, and three in the southern part of the state around Plains.

After the 1992 U.S. elections, LACP/Council staff have maintained regular contacts with a range of Mexican leaders and with the U.S. Ambassador to Mexico. In February 1993, a LACP/Council representative travelled to Mexico City and met with President Carlos Salinas and other leaders to discuss issues related to NAFTA and the Mexican electoral process. After a preliminary meeting between the LACP/Council and Ricardo Pascoe of the PRD in April, PRD presidential candidate Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas and Ricardo Pascoe visited the Carter Center on May 4, 1993 and met with President Carter, and LACP/Council staff to discuss a range of issues including the 1994 presidential elections.

In late May 1993, LACP/Council representatives returned to Mexico to meet with the President, leaders of all the political parties, and the observer groups. The LACP/Council concluded that efforts to reach a consensus among the parties on electoral reforms

were unlikely to succeed, but none of the parties were willing to contemplate **at that time** inviting international interlocutors to help mediate the disputes.

Nonetheless, LACP/Council staff concluded that all parties wanted the Council to continuing playing an indirect and low-profile role and that the Council might very well be encouraged to play a more important role in the future.

Given this interest, the LACP/Council sent a four person delegation to Mexico in September 1993 to analyze the debates among the political parties and the resulting legislative and constitutional changes to the electoral law. The delegation concluded that while positive electoral reforms were achieved, taken as a whole the reforms fall short of establishing a foundation that would give all parties and all the people of Mexico confidence that a genuinely free and fair election would occur in August 1994. An extensive report based on the trip was produced by The Carter Center and widely distributed in Mexico and the U.S., in Spanish and English.

Mexico: current LACP/Council plans. In light of the importance attributed to our past activities, and the Council's unique ability to influence events in Mexico, the LACP/Council intends to remain engaged in Mexico throughout the 1994 electoral process, and to work with Mexican civic groups, political parties, and others, to monitor and analyze the electoral process, and to assist in resolving the most important electoral issues.

We have developed a complete program of activities for monitoring and assessing the electoral process in Mexico which we plan to implement. At this time we are not using USAID funds for any of these activities in Mexico. However, we may in the future request the use of USAID resources for a program of activities in Mexico, as described below.

The LACP/Council's program is designed to build on the work completed by the September 1993 delegation. The LACP will continue its involvement in the electoral process, and as appropriate, work with Mexican NGOs and the political parties. Specifically, we plan to monitor and analyze: a) the implementation of the January 27, 1994 agreement between the PRI, PAN and PRD to further reform the electoral process; b) the results of the March 1994 political negotiations and electoral reforms to be discussed in the Special Session of Congress convened on March 22; c) decisions and actions of the Federal Electoral Institute (IFE) and the special IFE Commissions to oversee party finance, media access, and voter registration; d) voter registration and credential distribution; e) audits of the registration list and correction process; and f) party finance and media access; g) recruitment and training efforts of party pollwatchers; h) preparations for quick counts conducted by Mexican NGOs and political parties.

Consultants have already been contacted in both Mexico and the U.S. to carry out the analysis, plus additional consultants have been identified for specific elements of the project (see Personnel). The consultants bring expertise in the areas of Mexican politics, transitional elections, and statistical methods of registration audits and quick counts.

Two field trips are planned during the campaign period and one trip during the election itself. Each trip will include Council members or their representatives, expert consultants and Carter Center staff for a 5-6 day stay resulting in interim reports to be distributed in Mexico and the United States. The first trip, tentatively scheduled for April, will analyze the January 1994 electoral agreement and subsequent negotiations on reforming the electoral process; assess the adequacy of the procedures in place to correct the voters list; determine the status of the distribution of credentials; and assess the preparations of the NGOs, political parties, and IFE to conduct audits of the preliminary voter registration list (to be posted April 1). The team will then analyze and report on the various audits conducted by the Mexican actors.

The second field trip, planned for June, will assess the fairness of the campaign and preparations for party pollwatchers and quick counts. On fairness, the team will focus on two key issues raised in the September electoral reforms: media access and campaign financing. The team will evaluate the efforts of IFE as well as the opposition parties to regulate, facilitate, and monitor access to the media and fairness in news coverage of political candidates. In addition, the team will evaluate the methods and capacity of the new Commission on Party Financing to monitor party revenues and expenditures.

The team will further assess the preparations and capacity of the political parties to recruit, train, and place party representatives (pollwatchers) at each polling site on election day. Pollwatchers are an integral part of the election-monitoring effort in their role of monitoring the election-day procedures and vote count at the precinct level, and recording any complaints about those procedures. Political parties and domestic observer groups plan to conduct parallel vote tabulations (quick counts) which provide both a means of verifying the official election results, and a rapid projection of those results on election night. The team will determine the preparations and capacity of each group to conduct such quick counts, which have proven critical to deterring fraud and violence in other transitional elections in the region.

Finally, the Council will consider sending a small team to witness the August 1994 elections. The purpose of the small team will probably not be to observe the election in the formal sense, nor to give an evaluation of the election (which would require a

large delegation with extensive coverage of the country). Our group would make this point clearly upon arrival. Instead, the purpose will likely be to witness the election, and consult with the political parties and Mexican NGOs. It is premature to say how it will report its views.

V. Outreach, Debriefing, and Dissemination of Findings

In all of their activities the LACP and Council seek to promote public awareness and knowledge of hemispheric issues through seminars, conferences, and publications. As the Council's Secretariat, the LACP promotes communication and understanding among hemispheric leaders, and periodically convenes high-level conferences of regional leaders, such as the 1986 Democracy Consultation and the 1989 Hemispheric Agenda Consultation. In order to disseminate the results of such conferences, LACP staff produce books and occasional papers which are then widely circulated to influence the public policy debate.

President Carter and the LACP/Council staff also regularly debrief the U.S. government on their activities involving the Council. For example, after both the Panamanian and Nicaraguan elections, President Carter and Dr. Pastor travelled to Washington, D.C. to debrief Secretary of State James Baker and President George Bush on those elections. In addition, Dr. Pastor has often been called to testify before U.S. Congressional committees regarding U.S. policy in Latin America and the Caribbean. In addition, Dr. Pastor and LACP staff regularly contact the leadership of the State Department's Inter-American Affairs division, to brief them of the Council's actions and on other issues in which the Council is involved.

In February 1993, President Carter and Dr. Pastor met with Secretary of State Warren Christopher, Deputy Secretary Clifton Wharton Jr., Undersecretary Tim Wirth, and other Administration officials to discuss the work of the Carter Center and the Council. Since then, President Carter and the LACP/Council staff have maintained contact with President Clinton, Secretary Christopher, National Security Advisor Anthony Lake, and other officials at State and the NSC.

As was done for previous elections-monitoring projects, President Carter and the Council, working through the LACP staff, have recently completed reports on the missions to observe the 1992 U.S. Presidential elections, and the 1990-1992 electoral process in Guyana. Both reports have been widely distributed to interested persons, institutions and governments. Reports of any future activities of the Council regarding democratic transitions, the consolidation of democracy, and hemispheric cooperation will, of course, also be written and similarly distributed.

VI. Proposed Budget

This proposal is in support of a request for a grant of \$400,000 over two years, to be used to cover costs of supporting and staffing the activities of President Carter and the LACP/Council in Latin America and the Caribbean. A detailed budget is attached for reference.

LATIN AMERICAN AND CARIBBEAN PROGRAM (LACP)
 CARTER CENTER OF EMORY UNIVERSITY
 COUNCIL OF FREELY ELECTED HEADS OF GOVERNMENT
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Revised
 budget

TOTAL REQUEST: LACP CORE AND ACTIVITIES	1994-1995 REQUEST	1995-1996 REQUEST	TOTAL REQUEST	1994-95 OTHER SOURCES	1995-96 OTHER SOURCES	TOTAL OTHER SOURCES
PERSONNEL						
LACP Associate Director	24,700	26,182	50,882	13,300	14,098	27,398
LACP Program Coordinator	16,250	17,225	33,475	8,750	9,275	18,025
Administrative Assistant	15,600	16,536	32,136	8,400	8,904	17,304
Fringe Benefits	14,138	15,585	29,723	7,613	8,069	15,682
CONSULTANTS						
Consulting	18,630	2,000	20,630	32,130	38,153	70,283
LACP Senior Res. Associate	21,632	21,632	43,264	28,460	13,645	42,105
COMMUNICATIONS						
Telephone/fax	2,040	480	2,520	12,183	9,099	21,282
Copying	1,560	480	2,040	3,780	2,668	6,448
Postage/courier	840	240	1,080	8,060	6,196	14,256
PUBLICATION COSTS						
	4,000	0	4,000	0	0	0
SUPPLIES						
	1,620	600	2,220	7,083	4,906	11,989
COUNCIL MISSION COSTS						
LACP/Council Foreign Travel	43,526	17,120	60,646	39,582	0	39,582
LACP Staff Domestic Travel	1,800	900	2,700	1,800	0	1,800
MEETING COSTS						
	500	0	500	5,500	0	5,500
=====						
DIRECT COST TOTAL	166,836	118,980	285,816	176,640	115,013	291,653
=====						
INDIRECT COSTS @ 40%	66,734	47,592	114,326	70,656	46,005	116,661
=====						
TOTAL COSTS	\$233,570	\$166,572	\$400,142	\$247,296	\$161,018	\$408,315

* This travel includes first class airfares for current or/and former heads of state.

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LACP CORE SUPPORT	1994-95 REQUEST	1995-96 REQUEST	TOTAL REQUEST	1994-95 OTHER SOURCES	1995-96 OTHER SOURCES	TOTAL OTHER SOURCES
PERSONNEL						
LACP Associate Director	24,700	26,182	50,882	4,180	14,098	18,278
LACP Program Coordinator	16,250	17,225	33,475	2,750	9,275	12,025
Administrative Assistant	15,600	16,536	32,136	2,640	8,904	11,544
Fringe Benefits	14,138	15,585	29,723	2,393	8,069	10,462
CONSULTANTS						
Consulting	7,750	2,000	9,750	10,880	38,153	49,033
LACP Senior Res. Associate	8,320	21,632	29,952	23,629	13,645	37,274
COMMUNICATIONS						
Telephone/fax	240	480	720	8,797	9,099	17,896
Copying	240	480	720	2,730	2,668	5,398
Postage/courier	120	240	360	5,952	6,196	12,148
PUBLICATION COSTS						
	1,000	0	1,000	0	0	0
SUPPLIES						
	300	600	900	4,894	4,906	9,800
COUNCIL MISSION COSTS						
LACP/Council Foreign Travel *	9,575	17,120	26,695	0	0	0
LACP Staff Domestic Travel	900	900	1,800	0	0	0
MEETING COSTS						
	500	0	500	0	0	0
=====						
DIRECT COST TOTAL	99,633	118,980	218,613	68,844	115,013	183,857
=====						
INDIRECT COSTS @ 40%	39,853	47,592	87,445	27,538	46,005	73,543
=====						
TOTAL COSTS	\$139,486	\$166,572	306,058	\$96,382	\$161,018	\$257,400

* This travel includes first class airfares for current or/and former heads of state.

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PROPOSED GUYANA ACTIVITIES	1994-1995 REQUEST	1995-1996 REQUEST	TOTAL REQUEST	1994-95 OTHER SOURCES	1995-96 OTHER SOURCES	TOTAL OTHER SOURCES
PERSONNEL						
LACP Associate Director	0	0	0	0	0	0
LACP Program Coordinator	0	0	0	0	0	0
Administrative Assistant	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fringe Benefits	0	0	0	0	0	0
CONSULTANTS						
Consulting	2,880	0	2,880	1,000	0	1,000
LACP Senior Res. Associate	3,328	0	3,328	1,500	0	1,500
COMMUNICATIONS						
Telephone/fax	900	0	900	500	0	500
Copying	600	0	600	300	0	300
Postage/courier	300	0	300	100	0	100
PUBLICATION COSTS						
	1,000	0	1,000	0	0	0
SUPPLIES						
	900	0	900	500	0	500
COUNCIL MISSION COSTS						
LACP/Council Foreign Travel	14,016	0	14,016	5,256	0	5,256
LACP Staff Domestic Travel	0	0	0	0	0	0
MEETING COSTS						
	0	0	0	0	0	0
=====						
DIRECT COST TOTAL	23,924	0	23,924	9,156	0	9,156
INDIRECT COSTS @ 40%						
	9,570	0	9,570	3,662	0	3,662
=====						
TOTAL COSTS	\$33,494	0	\$33,494	\$12,818	0	\$12,818

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PROPOSED NICARAGUA ACTIVITIES	1994-1995 REQUEST	1995-1996 REQUEST	TOTAL REQUEST	1994-95 OTHER SOURCES	1995-96 OTHER SOURCES	TOTAL OTHER SOURCES
PERSONNEL						
LACP Associate Director	0	0	0	9,120	0	9,120
LACP Program Coordinator	0	0	0	6,000	0	6,000
Administrative Assistant	0	0	0	5,760	0	5,760
Fringe Benefits	0	0	0	5,220	0	5,220
CONSULTANTS						
Consulting	6,400	0	6,400	19,250	0	19,250
LACP Senior Res. Associate	6,656	0	6,656	1,331	0	1,331
COMMUNICATIONS						
Telephone/fax	600	0	600	2,686	0	2,686
Copying	480	0	480	600	0	600
Postage/courier	300	0	300	1,908	0	1,908
PUBLICATION COSTS						
	1,000	0	1,000	0	0	0
SUPPLIES						
	300	0	300	1,589	0	1,589
COUNCIL MISSION COSTS						
LACP/Council Foreign Travel *	11,375	0	11,375	28,581	0	28,581
LACP Staff Domestic Travel	900	0	900	1,800	0	1,800
MEETING COSTS						
	0	0	0	5,500	0	5,500
=====						
DIRECT COST TOTAL	28,011	0	28,011	89,345	0	89,345
=====						
INDIRECT COSTS @ 40%	11,204	0	11,204	35,738	0	35,738
=====						
TOTAL COSTS	\$39,215	0	\$39,215	\$125,083	0	\$125,083

* This travel includes first class airfares for current or/and former heads of state.

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PROPOSED HAITI ACTIVITIES	1994-1995 REQUEST	1995-1996 REQUEST	TOTAL REQUEST	1994-95 OTHER SOURCES	1995-96 OTHER SOURCES	TOTAL OTHER SOURCES
PERSONNEL						
LACP Associate Director	0	0	0	0	0	0
LACP Program Coordinator	0	0	0	0	0	0
Administrative Assistant	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fringe Benefits	0	0	0	0	0	0
CONSULTANTS						
Consulting	1,600	0	1,600	1,000	0	1,000
LACP Senior Res. Associate	3,328	0	3,328	2,000	0	2,000
COMMUNICATIONS						
Telephone/fax	300	0	300	200	0	200
Copying	240	0	240	150	0	150
Postage/courier	120	0	120	100	0	100
PUBLICATION COSTS						
	1,000	0	1,000	0	0	0
SUPPLIES						
	120	0	120	100	0	100
COUNCIL MISSION COSTS						
LACP/Council Foreign Travel *	8,560	0	8,560	5,745	0	5,745
LACP Staff Domestic Travel	0	0	0	0	0	0
MEETING COSTS						
	0	0	0	0	0	0
=====						
DIRECT COST TOTAL	15,268	0	15,268	9,295	0	9,295
=====						
INDIRECT COSTS @ 40%	6,107	0	6,107	3,718	0	3,718
=====						
TOTAL COSTS	\$21,375	0	\$21,375	\$13,013	0	\$13,013

* This travel includes first class airfares for current or/and former heads of state.