

APPENDIX 3A, Attachment 1
Chapter 3, Handbook 3 (TM 3:43)

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 <u>1</u>		DOCUMENT CODE <u>3</u>			
COUNTRY/ENTITY <u>Ethiopia</u>		3. PROJECT NUMBER <u>663-0007</u>		5. PROJECT TITLE (maximum 40 characters) <u>Ethiopia Democracy and Governance Support</u>					
4. BUREAU/OFFICE <u>USAID/Ethiopia</u>		<u>663</u>							
6. PROJECT ASSISTANCE COMPLETION DATE (PACD) <u>03</u> <u>31</u> <u>98</u>		7. ESTIMATED DATE OF OBLIGATION (Under "B" below, enter 1, 2, 3, or 4) A. Initial FY <u>92</u> B. Quarter <u>3</u> C. Final FY <u>96</u>							
8. COSTS (\$000 OR EQUIVALENT \$1 =)									
A. FUNDING SOURCE		FIRST FY <u>92</u>			LIFE OF PROJECT				
		B. FX	C. L/C	D. Total	E. FX	F. L/C	G. Total		
AID Appropriated Total									
(Grant)		(1,800)	(700)	(2,500)	(8,301)	(2,699)	(11,000)		
(Loan)		()	()	()	()	()	()		
Other									
U.S.									
Host Country									
Other Donor(s)									
TOTALS									
9. SCHEDULE OF AID FUNDING (\$000)									
A. APPRO- PRIATION PURPOSE	B. PRIMARY CODE	C. PRIMARY TECH. CODE		D. OBLIGATIONS 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) DFA	67	0	0	5,000	-0-	6,000	-0-	11,000	-0-
(2)									
(3)									
(4)									
TOTALS				5,000	-0-	6,000	-0-	11,000	-0-
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)									

To provide assistance in defining policy options, rules and procedures, and in strengthening select institutions, both governmental and non-governmental, that support Ethiopia's democratic transition.

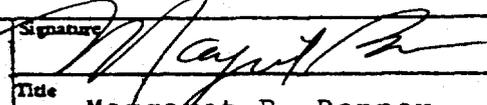
14. SCHEDULED EVALUATIONS				15. SOURCE/ORIGIN OF GOODS AND SERVICES			
Interim	MM	YY	MM	YY	Final	MM	YY
	07	95	07	96		07	97
				<input type="checkbox"/> 000 <input type="checkbox"/> 941 <input type="checkbox"/> Local <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Other (Specify) <u>935</u>			

16. AMENDMENTS/NATURE OF CHANGE PROPOSED (This is page 1 of a _____ page PP Amendment.)

A 2½-year PACD extension, with an additional \$6 million in financing is justified in this Project Paper Amendment.

Methods of implementation and financing have been approved by Mission Controller. The project will be incrementally obligated, with \$2.8 million planned for FY94 obligation.

for Carl L. Lewis

17. APPROVED BY	Signature 	Date Signed	18. DATE DOCUMENT RECEIVED IN AID/W, OR FOR AID/W DOCUMENTS, DATE OF DISTRIBUTION
	Title Margaret P. Bonner Mission Director USAID/Ethiopia	MM DD YY 019 22 94	MM DD YY

ACTION MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR, USAID/ETHIOPIA

FROM: PRM, Carla Barbiero

SUBJECT: Ethiopia Democracy/Governance Support Project (663-0007) Amendment

DATE: September 22, 1994.

ACTION: Your approval is required for: (1) the attached Project Paper (PP) amendment to the Ethiopia Democracy/Governance (D/G) Support Project; and (2) the attached Project Authorization Amendment Number 1 which increases total planned life-of-project (LOP) funding in Development Fund for Africa resources from \$5.0 million to \$11.0 million and extends the Project Activity Completion Date (PACD) from September 27, 1995 to March 31, 1998.

BACKGROUND: On May 16, 1992 USAID authorized the three-year, \$5 million Ethiopia Democracy and Governance (D/G) Support Project. The activity was intended to provide assistance to the TGE in understanding and adopting democratic policies and practices, and to public and private institutions which could play roles in this transition. The Project is targeted to support: (1) the organization and implementation of open national and regional elections; (2) the drafting of a new constitution; (3) judicial reform for the protection of human rights and the institutionalization of the rule of law; (4) the promotion of an independent and responsible media; (5) the development of increased capacity for regional self-government.

In the two years since its inception, the Project has been most active in the electoral, constitutional, and judicial/human rights areas. An evaluation issued in May, 1994 concluded that: the need for transition assistance would extend well beyond the advent of a new, elected administration; the Project is capable of delivering this assistance; and the Project should be amended, with the introduction of new activities, an extended term, and added funding.

The Project has made progress towards most of its objectives; but misjudgments, political miscalculations, and omissions in the original design have surfaced in half a dozen areas:

1. **Transition Timetable** -- It was expected that the Transitional Government of Ethiopia would be replaced by a new Ethiopian Government in 1994, and the need for the Project would end or diminish at that point. It has become clear that this transition will run a year

or more beyond its originally anticipated date, and the need for the Project will extend into the new administration;

2. **Information Gaps** -- Planning and implementation decisions were made with insufficient information regarding: (a) the complexities of the regionalization process; (b) the interplay between economic growth and democratic evolution; and (c) codes, laws, and the courts;
3. **Project Concept and Focus** -- The Project was initially over-weighted with regard to the Elections component. Activities selected have been largely reactive and discrete rather than proactive and integrated;
4. **Contractor Performance** -- The pool of organizations and individuals active in democracy and governance initiatives was and remains small, and the performances of those utilized to date have been mixed;
5. **Ethiopian Capacity** -- The local NGO community, the legal/judicial community, and the independent media were largely unknown to USAID. They have been found to be small and inexperienced, and development of their capacities will take time;
6. **USAID Management** -- Project management has been hampered by many of the administrative constraints that accompany USAID requirements and Ethiopian processes.

The Problem this Amendment proposes to resolve is that due to these design omissions, none reasonably foreseeable in 1992, the Purpose cannot be achieved by the Project in its present form.

The Mission proposes to amend the Project: (1) extending the PACD by two and one-half years from September 27, 1995 to March 31, 1998; and (2) authorizing the continuation of several ongoing activities, the introduction of several recommended in the evaluation, and providing the flexibility necessary for the project to adapt effectively to changing circumstances and opportunities. These changes are consistent with the Project Goal and Purpose as originally approved. They will require increased funding of an estimated \$6,000,000, bringing the Project total to \$11,000,000 over a five and one-half year period.

DESCRIPTION: The attached PP amendment will allow for focus and intensification of the Mission's D/G Support efforts. The Goal and Purpose of the Amended Project remain unchanged from those originally approved -- Goal: to establish an increasingly stable,

pluralistic and democratic Ethiopia; Purpose: to provide assistance in defining policy options, rules and procedures, and in strengthening select institutions, both governmental and non-governmental, that support Ethiopia's democratic transition. As it has since its inception, the Democracy/Governance Support Project will continue to emphasize the provision of access to comparative experience and expertise to support the development and strengthening of institutions (governmental and non-governmental) critical to the consolidation of democratic and accountable systems of governance. Its primary mode of intervention will thus continue to be the provision of training and technical assistance, although with this Amendment an attempt is made to provide limited quantities of commodities recognized to be essential to the effective functioning of partner institutions.

The Amended Project retains the five original components (Elections, Constitution, Judiciary & Human Rights, Media, and Regionalization), modified somewhat to reflect two years' Project experience and current conditions; and adds a new component "Local Civic Organizations", intended to increase the capacity and effectiveness of local civic organizations and to permit responsiveness to emergent needs. Where relevant the Project intends to place an increasing emphasis on issues of gender and womens political participation.

MANAGEMENT, OBLIGATION ARRANGEMENTS AND EXTENSION BUDGET: Under the proposed amendment and over the remaining LOP, the Ministry of External Economic Cooperation will continue to be the lead coordinating TGE entity for this Project effort. The USAID Mission officer responsible for the overall Project is Stevens Tucker, D/G Advisor.

The additional \$6 million in USAID financing over the amended LOP will be obligated through amendment to the Project Agreement with the TGE. The anticipated obligation schedule for the Project Amendment is as follows: FY 1994, \$2,800,000; FY 1995, \$2,000,000; and FY 1996, \$1,200,000. The overall Project budget summary presented below is solely inclusive of USAID costs over the amended Project period.

Cost and Disbursement Estimates
(U.S. \$ '000)

INPUTS	ORIG. BUDGET	AMDMT.			SUB- TOTALS	CUM. TOTALS
		FY 95	FY 96	FY 97 Thru 3/98		
Tech. Asst. (TA)	2,733	470	540	420	1,430	4,163
Train.	1,147	1,150	445	220	1,815	2,962
Equip./Commo d.		485	340	245	1,070	1,070
NGO Grants		70	70	100	240	240
Other/ Contingency		25	175	175	375	375
USAID Mgmt.	970	300	255	365	920	1,890
Audit/ Eval.	150	0	75	75	150	300
TOTAL	5,000	2,500	1,900	1,600	6,000	11,000

ANALYSES AND OTHER REQUIREMENTS: The Project Paper Amendment contains evaluation data and updated analyses that demonstrate that:

- The project is technically, economically and socially sound, and administratively feasible;
- The technical design and cost estimates are reasonable and adequately planned, thereby satisfying the requirements of Section 611(a) of the Foreign Assistance Act, as amended;
- The timing and funding of Project activities are appropriately scheduled and the implementation plan is realistic and establishes a reasonable timeframe for carrying out the Project; and
- Adequate provision has been made for evaluation and audit.

IEE: The original Initial Environmental Examination (IEE) for the Project requested and obtained a Categorical Exclusion for the Project and due to the unchanged nature of the Project, a continuation of this categorical exclusion has been verbally communicated to the Mission by USAID/W/GC and the Bureau Environmental Officer.

CONGRESSIONAL NOTIFICATION: A Congressional Notification of USAID's intention to provide an additional \$6,000,000 in DFA

grant financing assistance to the TGE expired without objection on 26 August, 1994.

STATUTORY CHECKLIST: The Regional Legal Advisor from REDSO/ESA has indicated that the nature of the amendment to the Project will not require a new statutory checklist or any revisions to the original one.

CONDITIONS AND COVENANTS: There are no additional conditions and covenants.

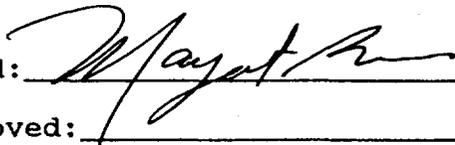
WAIVERS: None. The original authorization provided for a waiver of Section 110 of the Foreign Assistance Action requiring that the TGE contribute at least 25 percent of the project costs for this activity. Per the advice of REDSO/RLA, that waiver remains in full force and unchanged.

MISSION EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE PROJECT REVIEW: The Mission ECPR met on July 29, 1994, and based on the agenda, the following issues were raised and/or resolved. First the ECPR agreed that because this is an amendment to an existing Project, the Project Purpose should remain unchanged from the statement of purpose in the initial Project Paper. Further the ECPR recommended the D/G Office review each component to include, if possible, gender related outputs and identify the necessary inputs and associated indicators of achievement. Regarding the need for a separate component for "Special Projects", the ECPR agreed that the project amendment should introduce an element of flexibility to respond to unforeseen circumstance under each component. It was therefore agreed that a separate component for "Special Projects" with the aim of enabling the project to respond to a changing project environment is unnecessary. The ECPR recommended that any D/G support for regionalization be carefully coordinated with USAID/E's planned programs in basic education and HPN. The ECPR also recommended that instead of employing an institutional contractor to support project management, the possibility of a project manager joining the D/G office should be seriously explored shortly after this amendment is executed. Finally, the ECPR encouraged the D/G design team to consider and include approaches that could further streamline project management, e.g., reduction of TGE clearance requirements. All

the above revisions and/or suggestions have been addressed and incorporated in the final Project Amendment proposed for authorization.

AUTHORITY: As a schedule "A" field post, under Delegation of Authority (DOA) 551, Section 4.A.(2), as the Principal Officer of Mission, you have the authority to amend this project authorization because: (1) the amendment will not result in a total life of project funding of more than \$30 million, (2) the amendment does not present significant policy issues or deviate from the original Project purpose; and (3) the amendment does not require the issuance of any additional waivers which must be authorized at a higher level. Under DOA, 551, Section 4.A.(3), the mission also has authority to extend the PACD.

RECOMMENDATION: That you sign the attached PP facesheet and Project Authorization Amendment, thereby approving and authorizing an increase in life of project funding of \$6.0 million for a new LOP total of \$11 million in DFA grant funds subject to the availability of USAID funding and extending the PACD to March 31, 1998 for the Ethiopia Democracy/Governance Project.

Approved: 

Disapproved: _____

Date: SEPT 22, 1994

Attachments:

- 1) PP Facesheet with PP Supplement
- 2) Project Authorization

Drafted:CRConnolly/:6/6/94:Revised:PRM:LMikael:8/30/94

Clearances:

USAID/E/D/G:LHarvey 4f Date 9/21/94

USAID/E/CONT:CLewis/EPalmer Draft Date 9/14/94

USAID/E/DD:WNorth dr Date 9/21/94

REDSO/RLA:AVance dr Date 8/31/94

PROJECT AUTHORIZATION AMENDMENT NO. 1

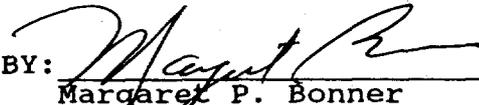
NAME OF COUNTRY: Transitional Government of Ethiopia
NAME OF PROJECT: Ethiopia Democracy/Governance Support Project
PROJECT NUMBER: 663-0007

1. Pursuant to Section 496 and Section 116(e) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, the Ethiopia Democracy/Governance (D/G) Support Project was authorized on May 16, 1992. That authorization is hereby amended as follows.

a. The planned life of project funding is increased by six million United States dollars (\$6,000,000) to a planned total of eleven million United States dollars (\$11,000,000) subject to the availability of funds in accordance with the A.I.D./OYB allotment process.

b. The Project Assistance Completion Date (PACD) is extended to March 31, 1998.

2. Except as amended above, all other provisions of the Project Authorization dated May 16, 1992 remain in full force and effect.

BY: 

Margaret P. Bonner
Mission Director
USAID/Ethiopia

DATE: Sept 22, 1994

Clearances:
PRM: CBarbiero:
CONT: CLewis:
B/G: LHarvey: CH 7/1/94
RLA: AVance: Draft 8/31/94
D/DIR: WNorth:

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 - B. Evaluation Report, May 1994 (official files)
 - C. Draft Amended Project Agreement
 - D. Original Categorical Exclusion - IEE
 - E. Original Section 110 Waiver

USAID/ETHIOPIA
DEMOCRACY/GOVERNANCE SUPPORT PROJECT
(633-0007)

Project Paper Amendment No. 1

September 22, 1994

I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In 1991 Ethiopia emerged from civil war, ending 17 years of rule by the repressive regime of Col. Mengistu Haile Mariam, and the "Transitional Government of Ethiopia" (TGE) which committed itself to democratic principles and processes assumed power. The United States response to this change included the authorization in 1992 of a three-year, US \$5 million USAID "Democracy and Governance Support Project" intended to provide assistance to the TGE in designing and adopting democratic structures, policies and practices, and to public and private institutions which could play roles in this transition. The Project was targeted to support: (1) the organization and implementation of open national and regional elections; (2) the drafting of a new constitution; (3) judicial reform for the protection of human rights and the institutionalization of the rule of law; (4) the promotion of an independent and responsible media; and (5) the development of increased capacity for regional self-government.

In two years since its inception the Project has been most active in the electoral, constitutional, and judicial/human rights areas. A formal Evaluation issued in May, 1994 concluded that: the need for transition assistance would extend well beyond the advent of a new, elected administration, and that the Project is capable of delivering this assistance. It was suggested that the Project be amended, with the introduction of an additional area of activity, an extended term, and additional funding.

The Project has made progress towards most of its objectives but, during the almost two years since authorization, changes in the Project environment and deficiencies in the original design have surfaced in half a dozen areas:

1. **Transition Timetable** -- it was expected that the TGE would be replaced by a new Ethiopian Government in 1994, and the need for the Project would end at that point. It has become clear that this transition will run a year or more beyond its originally anticipated date, and the need for the Project will extend into the new administration;
2. **Information Gaps** -- Planning and implementation decisions were required and made with insufficient information regarding: (a) the complexities of the regionalization process; (b) the interplay between economic growth and democratic evolution; and (c) codes, laws, and the courts;
3. **Project Concept and Focus** -- The Project was over-weighted with regard to the Elections component, but the Project's overall concept has been diffuse, and activities selected have been more reactive and discrete

than proactive and integrated;

4. **Contractor Performance** -- The pool of organizations and individuals active in democracy and governance initiatives is small, and the performances of those utilized here have been mixed;
5. **Ethiopian Capacity** -- The local NGO community, the legal/judicial community, and the independent media were largely unknown to USAID. They have been found to be small and inexperienced, and their development will take time;
6. **USAID Management** -- Project management has been hampered by many of the administrative constraints that accompany USAID requirements and Ethiopian processes.

The Problem this Amendment proposes to resolve is that due to these design flaws, none reasonably foreseeable in 1992, the Project Purpose, stated as: "To provide assistance in defining policy options, rules and procedures, and in strengthening select institutions, both governmental and non-governmental, that support Ethiopia's democratic transition," cannot be achieved by the Project in its present form with presently available resources.

To deal with the above developments, the Mission proposes to amend the Project, extending the Project term (PACD) by two and one-half years from September 27, 1995 to March 31, 1998; authorizing the continuation of several ongoing activities, the introduction of new activities recommended by the Evaluation, and providing the flexibility necessary for the project to adapt effectively to changing circumstances and opportunities. These changes are consistent with the Project Goal and Purpose as originally approved. They will require increased funding of an estimated US \$6,000,000, bringing the Project total to US \$11,000,000 over a five and one-half year period.

II. BACKGROUND

A. 1991: Rationale for Project

In May 1991, forces of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) overthrew the repressive government of Col. Mengistu Haile Mariam, promising political and ethnic reconciliation, economic liberalism, protection of human rights and democratic governance. A July 1991 National Conference attended by most major political groups adopted a Transitional Charter to establish the basis for governance during the transitional period and established a Transitional Government of Ethiopia (TGE). The Charter, upon which the legal status of the TGE rests, set forth guidelines for the drafting of a new constitution, the holding of democratic elections within a limited period, ensuring basic human rights, and establishing a system of regional decentralization. Meles Zenawi, leader of the EPRDF, was named President.

The TGE recognized that economic and political stability would be linked to the adoption of democratic principles of governance. It agreed to an internationally monitored referendum on Eritrea's status; it scheduled local and regional elections for 1992; it established a basis for a new judicial structure; and it planned the drafting of a Constitution after the 1992 elections.

During this period discussions were held between the TGE and the US concerning support of TGE efforts to draft a constitution, hold regional elections, reform the judiciary, promote human rights, support the emergence of an independent media, decentralize power to regions and districts, and encourage the emergence of democratically oriented civic organizations. In October, 1991, AID/W and REDSO/ESA conducted an on-site assessment of assistance options. A Concept Paper was approved in AID/W with an instruction to USAID/E to proceed with a Project Paper and field authorization because of the political circumstances surrounding the proposal. The result was the authorization on May 16, 1992, of the "Ethiopia Democracy/Governance Support Project", the object of which was:

"...the establishment of an increasingly stable, pluralistic and democratic Ethiopia within a 24 to 30 month transition period (by providing assistance in) defining policy options, rules and procedures, and in strengthening select institutions, governmental and non-governmental, that can support Ethiopia's democratic transition."

B. 1992-1994: Project Performance

The Project has funded activities in five discrete areas since its approval in 1992. These are election support, Constitution development, judicial reform and human rights, media independence, and regionalization. Civil society/NGOs has emerged gradually as

an area of project involvement, and management of the Project was also funded by USAID.

1. Election Support

Election support provided under the Project has included the provision of technical and administrative support and election-related commodities to the National Election Commission (NEC), now the National Elections Board of Ethiopia (NEBE). Inter alia, the Project has funded advisory support to strengthen NEC administrative capacity; provision of vehicles, communication equipment, computers, ballot boxes, consumable supplies, and other electoral materials; support for efforts by the NEC and other civic associations to inform the public of the procedures of the election process and the rights and duties of voters; facilitation of debate among competing candidates and their parties; polling at the grassroots level to reveal voters' concerns; and support for election monitoring by local interests (representatives of competing parties, church organizations, non-governmental development and relief groups, and academic or other professional bodies) and international aid agencies and embassies.

As a result of all this, it was expected that the NEC would establish organizational and logistical requirements for local/regional and national elections; the NEC would design and implement a fair and professional local/regional/national electoral system; and the knowledge of rural and urban voters about elections, voter rights and duties, and political concerns would be enhanced.

In early 1992 the TGE called for the election of national, regional, and wereda council members, in order to (1) provide regional and local governments with a popular mandate, and sanction the replacement of non-elected administrators designated by the TGE; (2) facilitate the resolution of conflict among contending ethnic groups; and (3) demonstrate the commitment of the TGE to democratic pluralism. For a variety of reasons analyzed in detail elsewhere, the June 21, 1992 elections encountered formidable challenges, and fell far short of TGE and international community objectives: competition, for the most part, did not occur; administrative and logistical shortcomings impaired the electoral process; unresolved ethnic and political disputes contributed to a climate of fear and intimidation in some areas; and the voting exercise did not educate a majority of the population regarding the nature of genuine, multiparty elections.

Since then steps have been taken to begin to address a number of these problems. Laws essential to the establishment

of a democratic electoral system have been enacted. These include a Proclamation on the registration of political parties, a Proclamation providing an electoral law for the country, and Regulations defining procedures for election administration. After some delay, a newly constituted National Elections Board (NEBE) was appointed to replace the NEC, and began work in earnest in early 1994 to prepare for the June 5 Constituent Assembly elections. The technical administration of these elections was vastly superior to 1992, although still quite imperfect, and problems of a more discrete political nature remain, so that much of the opposition did not participate.

The Project is currently working in the electoral area with three U.S. NGOs and, through them, two local NGOs. Efforts are concentrated in two areas: stimulating increased public awareness via civic education, and providing technical assistance intended to increase the technical and administrative capacity of NEBE. The International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) is providing commodity assistance to the NEBE and TA in logistics and administration. The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) is developing a partnership with a local NGO (the Ethiopian Congress for Democracy/ABUGIDA) working in civic education. The Carter Center at Emory University (CCEU) is working with the Inter-Africa Group (IAG) to stimulate discussions and debate related to the drafting of the constitution and other issues.

2. Constitutional Development

Project activities in the area of constitutional development were principally directed toward enhancing the effectiveness of the Constitutional Commission (CC) through the provision of technical assistance and to ensuring that debate on major issues is open and informed. The CC was established by Proclamation in August 1992, and began its work in March 1993. It was charged with

"[drafting]... in conformity with the spirit of the Charter, a Constitution in accordance with which the new democratic Ethiopia shall be established and administered; upon approval by the Council of Representatives to present the Draft Constitution for public discussion; to prepare the final Draft so gathered and, upon approval by the Council of Representatives (and) in accordance with the public opinion of representatives, to submit same to the Constituent Assembly."

In support of the Commission's work the Project, working through the Carter Center and the InterAfrica Group (IAG),

provided consultants in legal drafting and in the development of constitutional models, in tax policy and revenue/budgeting issues common to different patterns of decentralized government, and in the experience of the alternative models of federalism (e.g., India, Nigeria, Switzerland, the United States, and the Federal Republic of Germany); in the organization of public input into the constitutional drafting and revision process; in the separation of powers and jurisdiction over different areas of public policy; and in issues of revenue generation and allocation that arise under different types of decentralization.

Much of this support was provided during the course of a highly successful May 1993 "Symposium on the Making of the New Ethiopian Constitution" organized by the InterAfrica Group. With support from the Project, IAG has also worked to encourage local and regional debate on constitutional issues, and to support efforts to disseminate information and provide debate coverage nationwide in local languages, through radio, video, and print. During this process the D/G Project provided useful support to the CC as it sought to establish the legal framework for the transition to a Government of Ethiopia.

Results expected were: completion of a draft Constitution by the CC; national and local debate by public, media, and Constituent Assembly; and revision and official approval. The Commission submitted a draft Constitution to the Council of Representatives in April, 1994. It was approved in May, and is to be submitted to the Constituent Assembly elected in June.

3. Judicial Reform and Human Rights

This activity included support for the Ministry of Justice's (MOJ) proposed project "Human Rights and the Rule of Law in Ethiopia"; symposia on human rights monitoring and restructuring of the judicial system; training of lawyers and judges; workshops and seminars for senior government officials and political party representatives on governance and human rights; mass media programs to promote the rule of law; curriculum development, and workshops oriented to women and community leaders on issues related to human rights and laws affecting women; and definition of the steps required to advance human rights and a credible independent judiciary. It also intended to stimulate linkages between the MOJ and other Ministries, regional, and local authorities; use faculty members of Addis Ababa University's Law School to carry out the above activities; and establish collaborative relationships with and among independent human rights organizations, academic institutions, private attorneys and other interested individuals seeking to promote the above

objectives.

Results expected were: the establishment of collaborative relationships between Ethiopian and outside human rights organizations, and between such organizations and Ministries charged with promoting the rule of law; and public debate on human rights, and plan to continue and expand public debate focused on the rule of law and human rights.

Movement towards rule of law and an independent judiciary began with a 1992 Proclamation to establish an independent Judicial administration. This was followed by a Proclamation establishing an Office of the Central Attorney General and a Judicial Administration Commission which would select and support judges administratively, and a Proclamation establishing Supreme, High, and First Instance courts independent of the Ministry of Justice. On the personnel side, many central, regional and wereda judges were removed who were formerly members of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia (WPE), and for reasons relating to allegations of extra-legal actions and corruption. To replace them the Ministry of Justice appointed a commission to select 600 people to act as judges within the regional system. Many of these have no legal background. Training in the philosophy of an independent judiciary, the principles of the rule of law, established court proceedings and regulations, as well as the laws and codes of Ethiopia is needed.

Another major activity under this Project component was the provision of technical assistance to the Office of the Special Prosecutor (SPO), charged with investigating crimes committed by officials of the former regime. The SPO and USAID hope to see these cases prosecuted according to accepted international standards and in accordance with Ethiopian law. This is a massive and complex undertaking, and one which may constitute the most extensive human rights trials since Nurenberg. This is not an insignificant task since an estimated 1,200 former government officials remain in detention on suspicion of past human rights violations. SPO prosecutors still must decide whom to prosecute and on what evidence. These decisions are overdue, and the Government is under increasing pressure from the international community and human rights groups to file cases against those to be charged and release those who will not.

As part of this Project, the CCEU has provided long-term legal expertise to the SPO and worked with computer specialists to develop a relational data base that can organize the documents containing references to official involvement in regard to people deprived of their legal rights or executed through extra-judicial actions. Other Project-administered 116e funding has provided the services of

forensic experts to uncover evidence of human rights abuses related to SPO prosecutions and to train medical and anthropology students at Addis Ababa University in this task.

An unsolicited proposal by the International Human Rights Law Group (IHRLG) was funded through Mercy Corps International (MCI) to review the status of judicial reform, the legal profession including legal training, the civic organizations involved in the promotion of human rights. The terms of reference for this study were to: (1) review the present state of judicial and legal affairs in Ethiopia; (2) analyze recent laws governing judicial administration, jurisdiction of the courts, and the Law School's curriculum; and (3) give USAID a better idea of where problems existed in the judicial and legal system so it could use its resources more effectively. The Program Description specifically stated:

"USAID/Ethiopia has gained concurrence from the Ministry of Justice on the project and will maintain close contact with them throughout, acting as liaison between MCI and MOJ wherever necessary ... [the IHRLG] will submit a draft of their document to the USAID/Ethiopia Project Officer for review prior to their leaving the country.... The report will be ... officially submitted to USAID/Ethiopia."

The product was intended to be shared with the TGE and other donors. Unfortunately, the utility of the resultant report was negated by the apparent anti-TGE biases of the principal author, and the IHRLG's decision to circulate the draft to the Ministry of Justice and other TGE officials without editing and without review by the D/G Advisor or discussion with government officials. As a result the senior TGE officials who might have benefitted from an impartial overview of the judiciary and its emerging problems are unable to acknowledge or use the report, and IHRLG may no longer be welcome in Ethiopia.

4. Media Independence

This activity was aimed at addressing the policy and legal changes required to convert the state media monopoly into a genuine public corporation; the logistical requirements of an independent media; the concept of a "media trust" to solicit financial support (foreign exchange) for the purchase of printing equipment, newsprint, and other imports required for publication of newspapers and magazines; media programming to meet the needs of linguistically and culturally diverse regions; and seminars and workshops involving officials of the Ministry of Information (MOI), members of the Media Committee of the Council, collaborating NGOs, and journalist associations, to provide training and build

consensus on policy and action for promoting viable public and private media.

The end-of-project status indicators were: the degree to which training workshops and the attachment of Ethiopian journalists to outside media organizations raised journalist standards and expertise; and the degree to which the media symposium contributed to the strengthening of a public corporation approach to the management of state media, the creation of a policy environment (including legal policies and requirements) that encourages the emergence and tolerance of private media, and indigenous initiatives aimed at surmounting shortages of paper, newsprint and equipment.

Specific activities were to include:

- a symposium defining policy/institutional requirements for transforming state media into public corporation, establishing independent media, and launching an independent media trust;
- journalist training workshops to enhance the quality of reporting and promote greater objectivity; and
- attachments of Ethiopian journalists to U.S. media organizations to provide exposure to professional standards of reporting.

A variety of significant and fundamental changes in the media environment have occurred since the Project was designed. A press law proclaimed in October 1992 provided a legal outline for the rights and responsibilities of a free press. Since approval of this law, 173 new private papers and periodicals have been registered with the government, but only about 30 private weekly newspapers and 13 magazines have continued publication. Relations between the TGE and emerging private publications have been strained. Reacting to what it has interpreted as seditious and misleading reporting, the TGE has periodically arrested and tried journalists, mainly from the private side but also including several government journalists. Although the government claims to be only enforcing the law, the arrests are widely viewed as harassment of political opposition and the private press. Despite this, it is estimated that 3-5 new press organs start each week. Many new publications fail and disappear quickly, in part because they lack the financial base and publishing experience required to establish themselves in a competitive market. Others allegedly fail due to official pressures.

In addition there are now three separate press associations. The first D/G Advisor spent considerable time advising private and state media leaders on the organization

of an independent journalist association. Despite his efforts and those of others, the so-called "private press" set up their own association entitled Ethiopian Free Press Journalists' Association (EFPJA) in March 1993. Most EFPJA members are journalists in the private media who were formerly employed by the Ministry of Information under the PMAC-PDRG. The EFPJA remains closed to government journalists. With a view toward more open membership policies which would include all journalists, both public and private, a separate association, the Ethiopian Journalists Association (EJA), was formed in July 1993. According to its President, the EJA's membership of 400 represents 90% of all journalists in Ethiopia. Despite this intention, however, only 15-20 members are drawn from the private sector and the EJA remains largely an association of government journalists. A third association, also called the Ethiopian Journalists Association was established under the Dergue, and is still in existence.

In summary, although there is now a new press law, the environment in the media sector remains chaotic and uncertain. The unified and independently governed journalists' association upon which many of the Project's activities hinged has not materialized. Few journalists have any formal training, and many of those who do received their training in Eastern Europe. Further, there is no code of journalistic ethics nor a system of peer review to judge journalistic performance outside the criminal justice system. The private press remains largely sensationalist and focused on a few issues such as ethnicity and regionalism. Finally, the transformation of the government media into an autonomous public media has lagged significantly behind initial expectations.

This environment has had a clear impact on Project implementation and consequently the media work actually undertaken has been more limited in scale and differs substantially in content from that foreseen in the Project Paper. Activities under this component did not begin until March 1993, with a short-term consultant study to assess the present business and legal environment of the Ethiopian media industry, and to begin a series of discussions in support of a nascent press association and in advocacy of a more free press in Ethiopia. This was followed by a contract to carry out a series of activities over a one-year period to strengthen the independent news media in Ethiopia.

Under this contract, J.E.Austin Associates and local collaborators carried out reader and media surveys, and a survey of the legal environment for the media, edited by the Dean of the Addis Ababa University (AAU) Law School. Final versions of these were recently received by the Mission and distributed. Resources for a media library, originally

planned to be located at the journalists' association, have been procured but remain inaccessible to working journalists. USAID and Center for Foreign Journalists (CFJ) ideas about a Press and Training Center are on hold.

In general, it appears that there has been little progress in the media area as a result of donor-funded interventions, and none of the broad sectoral objectives outlined in the PP have been met, although the project has contributed to the financing and organization of several successful journalists training workshops in conjunction with other donors including the British Council, USIS, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, and SIDA.

5. Regionalization

This activity was intended to: assist the newly appointed regional and wereda councils to formulate rules of procedure and operation; strengthen planning and budgetary skills of civil servants at regional and zonal levels; and formulate a further project that would, on the basis of identified constraints, assist the TGE in clarification of jurisdictional relationship, strengthening of legislative processes, and building the capacity of civil servants to better serve the newly empowered regions, zones, and weredas. Outputs expected were: drafts of initial rules of procedures for the newly elected regional and local councils; and counsellors trained in legislative procedures and capable of carrying out the administrative and policy-making functions assigned to regional and wereda councils by the decentralization reform.

However, because a variety of assumptions relating to the process of regionalization have proven flawed or overly optimistic, the Project has to date funded no activities under this component. Donor activity in this area has been limited by the fact that the structures and functions of regional and municipal governments remain in a state of flux and have not yet been clearly analyzed. Project staff and Mission management felt that insufficient data existed on the character and progress of the regionalization exercise to allow effective programming. Indeed, the only aid agency providing any assistance for the TGE's decentralization reform is the UNDP, which has been primarily involved in a long-term needs assessment.

Recognizing that the TGE's decentralization reforms were more complex and less well understood than initially thought, the Mission chose not to duplicate ongoing efforts by UNDP to address these issues, and deferred on interventions in this area, pending the outcomes of the UNDP analysis, the Constitutional drafting process, and USAID's own decisions

regarding regional focus. Certain aspects of the regionalization component have begun to be addressed via other Project elements. A judicial training program for justices of the regional courts is presently in the planning stage, for example.

6. Civil Society and NGOs

Strengthening of the various kinds of nongovernment organizations which have political or socio-political avocations is not cited as a substantive area of focus in the PP. It became apparent however that this was an area of great need in which limited programming could have a significant long term impact.

Comparative analysis of democratization processes in a variety of countries suggests that the emergence of a strong and vibrant civil society constitutes one critical element of successful transitions. Elsewhere in Africa the liberalization of the political environment engendered a flowering of NGOs and civic action and interest groups. Such activity has been modest in Ethiopia, with the establishment of maybe a dozen NGO players in the democratic transition. These NGOs remain organizationally weak, top heavy, and have for the most part not taken the leadership and advocacy roles expected in the policy debate surrounding the transition. To a limited extent they have begun to define an agenda in civic and human rights education, election monitoring and policy analysis. In the absence of an expanded pool of active and effective civic NGOs, much needed programs of this sort will remain in short supply.

Within the structure of the project, civic associations and certain nongovernmental organizations (human rights associations, civic action-oriented NGOs) have been used as implementing agents where possible. In addition, three 116(e) grants are being implemented with local NGOs, and one local NGO grant action is in process. The Project is currently supporting several local NGOs. For example, under the elections component, NDI has focused on civic education, and in carrying out its activities has developed a strong partnership with a local NGO, The Ethiopian Congress for Democracy, known more widely as ABUGIDA. ABUGIDA was established in June 1991 to promote grassroots education in democratic governance and human rights, and is not affiliated with any political party. It's programs typically center on civic education, human rights and humanitarian law education, democratic leadership, policy training, and development. Relatively small inputs of NDI staff time and Project resources have had a marked effect on ABUGIDA's effectiveness as a partner.

C. 1994: Evaluation Findings and Recommendations

1. Findings

Drawing on analyses of the changing Project environment over the past two years; progress to date, and opportunities ahead; and the difficulties of management and oversight of such a wide-ranging, complex, and largely intangible undertaking, the evaluation presents several broad findings, summarized below:

- a. The Project has made steady progress toward most of its objectives and is workable. The anticipated speed of Project activity launching and completion has not been realized, at least in part due to delays in the transition process itself. The strategic and management flexibility inherent in the Project design has proved useful in accommodating these changes but it has been costly in terms of D/G Advisor and Mission management time.
- b. The provision of D/G assistance to the TGE and its eventual successor will be as important over the next few years as it was when the Project began in 1992. This fact has been emphasized in the Mission's 1993 Concept Paper, which makes democracy and governance a strategic objective (SO), by the new USAID policy priorities which emphasize D/G as an objective of US development assistance, and by the Department of State, which makes D/G its first priority in Africa.
- c. The Project goal and purpose remain valid, but Project activities should be modified to reflect current and prospective conditions and opportunities. Based on the present environment and lessons learned during the first 16 months of Project implementation, Project activities should be refocused to streamline the management of its activities, and therefore increase its effectiveness in supporting Ethiopian efforts to promote the rule of law and to foster the emergence of a democratic civil society concerned with and influential in the setting of national policies and priorities.
- d. The D/G Advisor is a valuable resource whose principal role should be substantive rather than managerial. The D/G Advisor should increasingly inform work in the Mission's other program areas, the US Country Team strategy deliberations, and the Donor Governance Groups discussions.
- e. The Project, as currently operating, is too reactive. While the ability to respond to events and changing

circumstances is essential in the D/G field, it is also necessary to be proactive in developing activities in areas which are new and untested and where there are not already individuals and organizations with ideas ready to go. Within the existing project structure, reactive programming has tended to exacerbate the managerial burden of the Mission by requiring Project staff and Mission support staff to design and negotiate contracts and grants for numerous small activities. Flexibility remains highly desirable and must be maintained, but it is possible to design flexible proactive interventions. Such activities should be sought more aggressively.

- f. Given the difficult, constantly changing task environment and the evolving nature of democracy and governance in Ethiopia, as well as the number of activities being undertaken under the Project, greater attention should be given to the development of appropriate monitoring and evaluation indicators and the formulation of specific priorities by the D/G Advisor.
- g. On the substantive side, the Project should give greater emphasis to strengthening the capacity of NGOs and civic associations to facilitate wider knowledge of democratic rules and practices as well as the monitoring and protection of human rights.

2. Recommendations

The principal recommendation flowing from this analysis was that the Project be refocused and extended substantially, with funding added to support the revised program. Among the recommended areas of emphasis were judicial training and capacity building; technical assistance, commodities and additional analytic work in support of emerging structures of regional government; core and project support for civic NGOs; and work with political parties.

In addition, the Evaluation recommended that the D/G Advisor retain direct management of the elections component, extending the grants to NDI and IFES as necessary, and with future monitoring support to be funded through USAID's African Regional Elections Assistance Fund (AREAF) if possible; that the Project fund USIS or a comparable body to organize and carry out media training and related activities based on a work plan worked out with the D/G Advisor; and that the Project consider contracting out administrative functions (i.e., management of sub-contracts and subgrants) in the areas of Constitution/legislature, judiciary/human rights, civic NGO support and regionalization. These recommendations and the analysis upon which they are based have been carefully

reviewed by the Mission in designing the amendment outlined in the sections that follow.

III. AMENDMENT RATIONALE

A. USAID Strategy Today

In June 1993 the Mission published a Concept Paper titled "Back to the Future", which made "increased access to and participation in a conciliatory democratic transition process to a permanent Government of Ethiopia" one of the Mission's four Strategic Objectives (SO).

In support of that objective, the Paper notes:

"The coming months are a critical period in the country's political process ... the decisions made over the next 12-18 months will affect the country for years to come ... despite serious shortcomings in the democratization process, continued engagement in support of the transitional process in Ethiopia remains vital to USAID's program Our strategy is based on the broader assumptions that Ethiopia's prospects for stability, economic growth, and general recovery hinge to an overwhelming degree upon concrete progress in liberalizing Ethiopia's historically authoritarian mode of governance Hence, we must employ a strategy approach that is realistic, incremental, flexible and sustained."

This strategy is linked to several processes that will determine the success or failure of the transition: elections; constitutional revisions; judicial reform and promotion of human rights; creation of an hospitable environment for independent media and professional journalists; and creation of effective regional self-government. In all Project activities, there are two guiding concerns: helping to build the basic institutions of a democracy through the incremental liberalization of a fundamentally authoritarian inheritance; and increasing participation in civil society and the transition process by citizens and civic organizations.

B. Problem Statement

As reported in the Evaluation the Project has made reasonable progress towards most of its objectives; but during the almost two years since authorization, changes in the Project environment and deficiencies in the original design have surfaced in half a dozen areas:

1. **Transition Timetable** -- it was expected that the Transitional Government of Ethiopia would be replaced by a new Ethiopian Government in 1994, and the need for the Project would end at that point. It has become clear

that this transition will run a year or more beyond its originally anticipated date, and the need for the Project will extend into the new administration;

2. **Information Gaps** -- Planning and implementation decisions were required and made with insufficient information regarding: (a) the complexities of the regionalization process; (b) the interplay between economic growth and democratic evolution; and (c) codes, laws, and the courts;
3. **Project Concept and Focus** -- The Project was over-weighted with regard to the Elections component, but the Project's overall concept has been diffuse, and activities selected have been more reactive and discrete than proactive and integrated;
4. **Contractor Performance** -- The pool of organizations and individuals active in democracy and governance initiatives is small, and the performances of those utilized here have been mixed;
5. **Ethiopian Capacity** -- The local NGO community, the legal/judicial community, and the independent media were largely unknown to USAID. They have been found to be small and inexperienced, and their development will take time;
6. **AID Management** -- Project management has been hampered by many of the administrative constraints that accompany USAID regulations and Ethiopian processes.

The Problem this Amendment proposes to resolve is that due to these design flaws, none reasonably foreseeable in 1992, the Purpose cannot be achieved by the Project within the current LOP, in its present form with presently available resources.

The need for assistance in the D/G area will continue beyond the end of the Transition as initially projected, and indeed beyond the transitional elections tentatively expected in mid 1994. Transitions to democracy do not end with the holding of free and fair national elections, and indeed a growing body of experience with D/G assistance suggests that the present areas of engagement are ones in which sustained effort is essential if results are to be achieved.

C. Proposed Solution

The Mission proposes to amend the Project, extending the Project term (PACD) by two and one-half years from September 27, 1995 to March 31, 1998; authorizing the continuation of several ongoing activities, the introduction of several recommended by the

Evaluation, and providing the flexibility necessary for the project to adapt effectively to changing circumstances and opportunities. These changes are consistent with the Project Goal and Purpose as originally approved. They will require increased funding of an estimated US \$6,000,000, bringing the Project total to US \$11,000,000 over a five and one-half year period.

IV. THE AMENDED PROJECT

The Goal and Purpose of the Amended Project remain unchanged from that originally approved -- Goal: to establish an increasingly stable, pluralistic and democratic Ethiopia; Purpose: to provide assistance in defining policy options, rules and procedures, and in strengthening select institutions, both governmental and non-governmental, that support Ethiopia's democratic transition. As it has since its inception, the Democracy/Governance Support Project will continue to emphasize the access to comparative experience and expertise to support the development and strengthening of institutions (governmental and non-governmental) critical to the consolidation of democratic and accountable systems of governance. Its primary mode of intervention will thus continue to be the provision of training and technical assistance, although with this Amendment an attempt is made to provide limited quantities of commodities recognized to be essential to the effective functioning of partner institutions.

A. Project Components, 1995-1997

The Amended Project retains the five original components (Elections, Constitution, Judiciary & Human Rights, Media, and Regionalization), modified somewhat to reflect two years' Project experience and current conditions; and adds a new component "Local Civic Organizations", intended to increase the capacity and effectiveness of local civic organizations and to permit responsiveness to emergent needs. Where relevant the Project intends to place an increasing emphasis on issues of gender and women's political participation. The general outlines of planned Project activity in each of these areas are discussed at greater length below.

1. Elections

This Project component is intended to enhance the ability of the TGE (and its successor) to organize and conduct democratic elections; to increase the capacity of political parties to organize, campaign, and participate effectively in the democratic process; to enable civic associations to conduct civic education on electoral process, and mount effective non-partisan election monitoring; and to assist voters in understanding the democratic process in order that they may more effectively participate. A special concern for

enhancing the enfranchisement and political participation of women will be highlighted.

The existing grant to the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) will be reviewed in conjunction with the NEBE, and extended to provide a combination of short- and long-term technical assistance and commodities (e.g. computer and communications equipment) to assist with the strengthening of NEBE institutional capacity. The design of future technical assistance to the NEBE will follow from the post-election assessment conducted by IFES in collaboration with the NEBE. IFES will likely assist with the development and implementation of NEBE's training program, and with the evaluation and reform of existing electoral regulations and procedures.

In addition, the existing grant to the National Democratic Institute (NDI) will be extended to support a continuation of its program of civic education, and an expansion of activities to encompass work with political parties (in keeping with relevant USAID legal and policy guidance on work with political parties). NDI will continue to work with domestic NGO/civic associations interested in elections monitoring, and organizations interested in public opinion polling.

The potential exists for civic associations and NGOs to become increasingly involved in increasing public (particularly rural) awareness about elections, voting and principles of democratic governance. Attention will be given to the need to increase the participation of women both as voters and as candidates in the political process. Civic education conducted in conjunction with domestic NGOs will likely continue as an area of Project emphasis for the future.

Because the new Ethiopian Constitution will establish the timetable for subsequent national elections, it is not known when the next elections will take place. It is assumed that there will be national, legislative, and/or presidential elections at some point during 1995. As in 1992, the Mission will likely be expected to play a major role in the coordination of international observation and to provide election-related commodities. Funds will be reserved for this purpose, and the Mission intends to request supplementary funding under USAID's AREAF facility. Efforts in the area of electoral assistance and monitoring will be closely coordinated with those of other members of the donor community active in this area, most notably UNDP.

2. Constitutional Governance

This component is intended to enhance citizens' access to

information on Constitutional issues; to increase voter understanding of Constitutional issues; to present alternative Constitutional designs to the Constitutional Commission and Constituent Assembly; and to assure that the adopted Constitution contains internationally accepted guarantees of individual and group rights, provides for separation of institutional powers, and includes provision for regularly scheduled elections.

While the Constitutional process appears to have made reasonable progress, with a draft Constitution already in place, the needs of the Constituent Assembly cannot be predicted, and further technical assistance may be useful to provide the newly elected members of the Constituent Assembly exposure to a range of expert opinion on key constitutional issues with which they may be unfamiliar. The goal of this assistance would be to increase the capacity of the Constituent Assembly to make informed decisions both on specific constitutional provisions and on the ratification of the document as a whole. During the remainder of the transitional period, the Project will provide limited short-term TA to the Constituent Assembly and/or its Secretariat to assist with the development of effective parliamentary procedures and to provide expert opinion on specific topics of constitutional relevance, as needed, and as determined in collaboration with the relevant TGE entity. Although a clause allowing for affirmative action measures for women is included in the Draft Constitution, the means of actually putting such measures in practice and engaging women more fully in policy making will be explored.

Following the ratification of the Constitution by the Constituent Assembly and subsequent national elections, this component will be refocused to provide support designed to build the capacity of the newly elected legislative body. The precise character of assistance remains to be determined in collaboration with legislative authorities as they emerge, however one area of potential support is in providing assistance to the legislature (and perhaps the executive branch if necessary) in establishing effective and democratic legislative procedures and in developing a capacity for policy analysis. Such a capacity will be essential if the legislature is to fully exercise its responsibilities in drafting and approving national legislation. The provision of long-term TA to support this end might begin in 1996.

3. Judiciary and Human Rights

The focus of assistance under this Project component has been the establishment and strengthening of the rule of law and of safeguards for the protection of basic human rights. Under the original Project it was intended that the existing

legal framework be analyzed, including the structure and autonomy of judicial institutions; the SPO gain a capacity to prosecute human rights violators according to prevailing international standards; the independence and capacity of central and regional judicial officials be increased, mainly through training; and the University and NGOs gain capacity to provide analytic, training, and monitoring services related to separation of powers and rule of law. Efforts during the first phase of activity concentrated on the first two of these sub-goals. With this Amendment, an effort is made to concentrate increasingly on issues of court capacity and judicial training at both central and regional levels.

This component looks to the development and deepening of institutional capacity through the provision of training and long-term technical assistance (indicative areas: court administration, record keeping, and caseload management) to the central courts; short-term training and advisory services on topics of relevance to either central and/or regional courts; training for Central and Regional court Justices and, if possible, selected legal educators, possibly including training in the U.S.; and commodities assistance (office and communications equipment for central and/or regional courts, publications, etc.). The possibility of supporting the creation of a Public Defence capacity will also be explored. In addition, this component could provide support to assist the Ministry of Justice to assume anticipated responsibilities in the areas of administration, recordkeeping, etc. Potential types of financing for the MOJ include technical assistance, selected commodity/equipment support and training.

It is anticipated that existing funds will be used during 1994 to provide medium-term (6-8 months) assistance to the Central Supreme Court to support the development of administrative systems and to assist with the planning of a training program for Central, Regional, Zonal, and Wereda Court judges. During the first year of the extension (1995), this training program would be implemented, and long-term technical assistance to the court system begun. Short-term TA will be used to provide comparative expertise on critical topics identified over the LOP. All training will include special emphasis on human rights issues and laws affecting women. During the first year, a first tranche of commodities will also be supplied, since these are critically needed by the courts if they are to become fully operational.

In order to strengthen the capacity of the institutions responsible for the education of future legal and judicial community members, it is expected that portions of the above assistance will go to support the Law Faculty of the Addis Ababa University as well as the newly established Institute of Law and Economics. The Law Faculty of AAU was begun through

a U.S. effort at the time of Emperor Haile-Selassie, and is sorely in need of basic necessities, ranging from photocopy machines to effective and up-to-date teaching methods. The Institute of Law and Economics will begin operations this fall, and is specifically intended to see to the unique legal and economic training needs of civil servants. The administrators of the Institute have requested assistance in the form of teachers and materials to carry out their task. USAID/Ethiopia's efforts in this area will be coordinated with those of other donors, in particular SIDA, to avoid unnecessary duplication and overlap.

4. Independent Media

Resources provided under this component will be targeted largely to efforts to ensure that independent Ethiopian journalists gain the capacity for responsible and accurate reporting (although where possible journalists of the state media will be included in training efforts as well), and to facilitate linkages between elements of the industry, perhaps through support to a broad-based, inclusive press club which is independent of the government, or an independent media trust. Most of the assistance provided under this Project line will likely take the form of training. Technical assistance, some support for local facilities acquisition or commodities may also be provided in the event an autonomous and broad-based press club or media trust emerges.

Unfortunately the pace in the TGE's transformation of the government media into an autonomous public media has been significantly delayed. As a consequence, a number of donors, including USAID, have found it difficult to agree on the appropriateness in general, and more specifically what areas, might be assisted relating to the MOI and related structures. Recently, the MOI requested considerable administrative and logistical support. Their request far exceeded the resource capacity and strategic focus of this Project's component. At this stage, it is also unclear as to how the MOI's request supports the TGE's aim to reduce the role of the state in the media sector.

Additional exchange and details are needed between all parties to clarify assumptions and intentions. Shortly after this amendment is finalized, USAID's D/G Support Office will arrange to meet with the MOI and related agencies to clarify specific details of plans and requirements. The meeting(s) would also serve to update USAID on the TGE's current thinking on timetables and actions for transforming the government media and for promoting private media capacity. Depending on the outcome of these consultations, it may be feasible for USAID to consider some direct level of support to the MOI to maintain over the short-term its capacity to effectively

disseminate messages and information, e.g., during the upcoming national elections. While the funds in this component are aimed at support for an independent media, some limited support could be targeted for this purpose. Ideally, such a meeting would conceivably be organized by MEEC and include other donors active in the subsector of media support.

During the first year of the extension (1995) or before, using existing funds, D/G Project Office will seek to conclude an agreement with USIS or a comparable organization to manage assistance in the independent media sector on a year-by-year or longer term basis. The D/G Project Office will retain supervisory responsibility and will be involved in substantive decisions on programming, but removed from the day-to-day management to the extent possible.

5. Regionalization

This component is intended to assist with the development of increased capacity for effective and democratic governance at the regional level; regional legislatures to establish procedures for democratic self-governance; regional governments to develop a capacity for effective program and fiscal management; and the central government to establish a consistent framework for devolving power and authority to regional governments.

This component will likely include the provision of training, technical assistance, and commodities intended to support institutional development and capacity building in selected regional bodies. The nature and timing of assistance in this area will be decided upon in close cooperation with relevant central and/or regional authorities. The D/G Office is aware of the relevance, importance, and effectiveness of engaging women in decisions at this level, and will explore through the studies conducted how to best see to this issue.

During 1994 or early in 1995, using existing funds, the Project will initiate a study of administrative, technical and financial structures (and capacities) at the regional, zonal and wereda levels in selected areas of Ethiopia. The first phase of this study is expected to inform the development of an assistance package to develop and strengthen these structures in selected areas. It is expected that this study will take in to consideration the interaction of the regional administrations with other areas of interest to the mission, e.g., health, basic education, and that subsequent interventions to strengthen institutions at the regional level will be coordinated to assist the wider Mission program. Emphasis will also be placed on relationships between central and regional structures. This assistance package is expected to include the provision of long-term advisory expertise on

decentralized management beginning in 1995, and training aimed at deepening the capacity of selected regional officials. Also during the first year of the extension (1995), the project will supply an initial tranche of commodities to selected regional bodies, with additional tranches to follow in each subsequent year on the basis of needs established in consultation with relevant regional authorities.

Finally, provision is made for several micro-studies to be undertaken during the life of the Project on topics of special importance to the regionalization process. Topics might include public expenditure implications of decentralization, budgeting, taxation, and policy analysis, but specific topics will be determined in collaboration with relevant central and/or regional government officials, the D/G Advisor, and the long-term technical assistant, once in place. Studies will, as a rule, be undertaken collaboratively by Ethiopian and expatriate experts.

6. Civic Organizations

This project component is new. Its addition reflects both USAID's growing emphasis on structures of popular participation, and the Evaluation's emphasis on efforts to foster the strengthening of civil society. This component is intended to develop the capacity of indigenous NGOs/civic associations to promote popular participation in national, regional, and local democratic processes; to assist civic associations in developing effective and democratic internal procedures; to increase the capacity of civic associations to engage in political advocacy, for example in support of a free press, the rule of law, and a democratic Constitution, and to promote increased participation by women in the political process at a variety of levels. Over the (extended) life of the project, support to NGO's is expected to include project subgrants, TA and training for NGOs and other civic associations, and support for the emergence of new associations.

During the first year (1995), the Project expects to make two or more subgrants to domestic civic NGOs with interests in project-related areas. These grants would be relatively small, time-limited (18-24 months maximum duration), program focused, addressing the broad areas of NGO activity mentioned above, but would also include some institutional support intended to nurture and strengthen assisted organizations/groups.

Also during the first year a series of training workshops/seminars would be held, in collaboration with a U.S. NGO experienced in the development and management of NGOs, on issues of institutional development, management, accounting, constituency building, etc. In addition, workshops and other

support could be provided on technical/programmatic concerns, e.g., gender, human rights, etc. This is considered essential if NGOs are to become increasingly effective in addressing the broader programmatic goals enumerated above. Follow-up training targeted to emerging needs will be undertaken at intervals over the LOP.

B. Project Management

The Evaluation made repeated reference to the extent to which project management by the D/G Office became "bogged down by administrative minutia," with the side effect of forcing the D/G Advisor to give most of his time to relatively low-value activities to the exclusion of higher-value analytic and advisory work with USAID, the TGE and other domestic partners, and the Embassy.

More specifically, the D/G Project Officers and the Evaluation team were concerned with the following aspects of Project management: speed with which USAID can move activities (due to RCO contracting backlog, TGE clearances, at times payment procedures, etc.); TGE notification and clearance issues (in particular, the time and confusion at times associated with this process); commodities procurement and customs clearance; lack of appropriate mechanisms, especially in dealing with indigenous NGOs (both nascent and established), other non-U.S. NGOs, and U.S. PVOs who may not be registered with USAID; a not as yet fully-functional monitoring system; and the management burden to Project and Mission staff stemming from all of the above.

As a general solution to several of these problems, the Evaluation proposed the negotiation of a long-term institutional contractor to assume the bulk of day-to-day managerial tasks in several components of the project, with the D/G Advisor retaining supervisory authority over programmatic and subcontracting decisions. After considerable reflection on this approach within the Mission, the Mission's Executive Committee Project Review (ECPR) determined that that approach would not be feasible. This conclusion is based inter alia on: 1) the time it would take to get such a contractor into place; 2) the high ratio of administrative to program expenditures this approach would imply; and 3) the degree to which D/G Office inputs in terms of design input and oversight would continue to be required.

It was determined by the ECPR, chaired by the Mission Director, that a number of the problems identified by the Evaluation could be addressed by other means. With the granting of "Schedule A" status to the Mission and with recent personnel changes, a variety of tasks which previously required actions by REDSO/ESA can now be performed in-house. The Mission's grant authority has been greatly increased, contracting authority is

available, and the Mission is contemplating the addition of a procurement manager to procure commodities not procured by institutional contractors or NGOs pursuant to other agreements under the Project. These changes, together with the expanded Controller staff and capabilities, should greatly reduce the Project's dependence on REDSO, and address many of the management issues raised by the Evaluation.

To address the remaining issues, the Project will review and amend where necessary the division of responsibilities between existing staff, and explore the possibility of locally recruiting a project manager. These changes will allow the Project Office to fulfill its continued management responsibilities, as well as assume additional monitoring and review activities. As the Mission's and the Project's monitoring and review systems (MER, PMR) are put in place, these activities should become more routine and perfunctory.

In addition, in supporting each Project component, the Project Office will attempt to identify a prime contractor/cooperating organization to carry out a range of specific project activities. In this way, the contracting burden on the Mission as a whole will be minimized, as will the day-to-day management burden on Project staff. To the extent possible, responsibility for routine substantive monitoring activities will also be devolved to these arrangements. The D/G Office will remain closely involved in programmatic decision making and in program monitoring and evaluation.

The Amplified Project Description of the Project Agreement of September 28, 1992 called for "TGE Consultation" and concurrence in any contract or other implementing document under the Election, Constitution, and Regionalization activities. This sort of consultation is basic to collaborative project execution, and a record of concurrence is important in a project as politically sensitive as this one. In practice this consultation has turned out to be a bottleneck, not necessarily because of contention over proposed actions, but simply because procedures have been cumbersome and time consuming. At issue is MEEC's practice of requiring written evidence of support for project activities from "relevant" ministries, whether or not they involve TGE ministries (i.e., in cases where private groups are the intended recipients of Project assistance).

The Project Paper clearly states that the project's purpose "is to provide assistance in defining policy options, rules and procedures, and in strengthening select institutions, governmental and non-governmental, that can support Ethiopia's democratic transition" (emphasis added). Soliciting and obtaining approval from official sources for programs in support of non-governmental beneficiaries has proven costly in terms both of staff time and delays, and raises issues of conflict of interest. With this

amendment, the TGE will be required to clear any documents (PIO's, PIL's, etc.) that directly finance assistance to TGE institutions/agencies. For any earmarks/commitments planned for financing of PVO/NGO activities, project management, evaluation and audit, TGE clearance will no longer be required.

C. Cost Estimates and Financial Plan

1. Summary Cost Estimates/Project Funding Authority.

Over the proposed 5 and one-half year life of project, the total estimated D/G Support Project cost and planned USAID contribution is US \$11 million. Under this amendment, an estimated US \$6 million of USAID contribution has been added to the original project. In April 1992, the USAID Acting Assistant Administrator for the Africa Bureau approved a waiver of the Section 110 requirement that the TGE contribute at least 25% of the project costs for this activity. In consideration of Ethiopia's continuing financial constraints, commitment to this Project's objectives, and the basically unchanged nature of the Project, the original Section 110 waiver remains in effect (see 1992 STATE 78150).

The proposed D/G Support Project will be funded under the Development Fund for Africa (DFA), with joint authorization under Section 116(e). This approach is consistent with the guidance, provided in May 1991 by the Africa Bureau's General Counsel, which advises such an approach in instances where the project is supportive of the development objectives reflected in the DFA, but equally supportive of the overall 116(e) framework by virtue of its direct linkage to civil and political rights activities.

2. USAID and Host Country Contributions.

USAID financing will cover the foreign exchange (FX) and local currency (LC) costs for Technical Assistance (TA), training, commodity/logistical support, overhead, project management, evaluation/audit and other direct costs. USAID support for FX and LC costs includes an inflation/contingency factor of 10%. Total LOP estimated cost is shown by project components/elements in Table 1 below.

In consideration of Ethiopia's continuing financial constraints, commitment to this Project's objectives, and the basically unchanged nature of the Project, the original Section 110 waiver remains in effect (see 92 STATE 78150).

TABLE C.1
 Summary Cost Estimate and Financial Plan
 (U.S. \$ 000)

Source /Project Element	USAID		TGE		Total
	FX	LC	FX	LC	
Elections Support	1,207	393	0	0	1,600
Constitutional Governance	452	48	0	0	500
Human Rights/ Judiciary	842	183	0	0	1,025
Independent Media	125	75	0	0	200
Regionalization	693.5	81.5	0	0	775
Civic NGOs	148	307	0	0	455
Project Management	880	40	0	0	920
Evaluation/Audit	150	0	0	0	150
Contingency	187.5	187.5	0	0	375
TOTAL	4,685	1,315	0	0	6,000

Detailed cost information by major categories with further unit cost breakdowns are provided in Annex A. (NOTE: The following elaboration on budget utilization relates to the planned budget increase of \$6 million in LOP funding.)

(1) Elections Support

An additional US \$1.6 million in USAID financing is budgeted to support local, regional and national elections. This budget includes US \$200,000 for the provision of a combination of short- and long-term technical assistance and commodities to assist with the strengthening of NEBE institutional capacity. It is expected that 9 person months of long-term technical assistance will be required for this purpose in 1995 (US \$175,000). Commodities such as computers and communications equipment may be provided at an estimated cost of US \$25,000.

USAID assistance for civic education on electoral process is estimated at US \$800,000. This includes technical assistance (US \$582,000) over 1995 and 1996 with materials and in-country travel support (US \$197,000). It is also expected that five meetings in 1995 and two in 1996 will be organized for civic education. Facility rental costs for 7 meetings are estimated at US \$21,000.

It is assumed that there will be national, legislative, and/or presidential elections at some point during 1995 and

It is assumed that there will be national, legislative, and/or presidential elections at some point during 1995 and possible parliamentary elections in 1997. A total of US \$600,000 has been budgeted for assistance in the form of coordination of international observation and provision of election-related commodities. The Mission also intends to request supplementary funding under USAID/W's AREAF facility. It is expected that the project will finance costs of recruitment, training and orientation in monitoring techniques, travel and per diem of 40 to 50 observers for elections in 1995 at an estimated cost of US \$250,000 and 5 to 10 observers in 1997 at a cost of US \$50,000. Communications equipment will also be provided (US \$50,000). Efforts in the area of electoral assistance and monitoring will be closely coordinated with those of other members of the donor community active in this area, most notably UNDP. US \$200,000 in 1995 and US \$50,000 in 1997 will be provided for a UNDP trust fund towards this end.

(2) Constitutional Governance

An increase of US \$500,000 is anticipated for this component to finance short-term technical assistance and consultancies for the Constituent Assembly to provide newly elected members exposure to a range of expert opinion on key constitutional issues with which they may be unfamiliar. It is expected that no more than US \$50,000 will be spent on such an initiative, given the short time-frame in which the Constitution will likely be ratified. Long-term technical assistance will be provided to the legislative assembly elected following the ratification of the Constitution and subsequent national elections. It is expected that 9 person months of technical assistance in 1996 and 4 person months in 1997 at an estimated cost of US \$255,000 plus US \$45,000 in materials will be provided. In addition to technical assistance, an estimated US \$100,000 is budgeted for assistance to the legislative assembly for developing a capacity for policy analysis. This includes US \$77,000 for short-term technical assistance, US \$70,000 for research materials and US \$3,000 to cover expenses for holding a meeting in 1995.

(3) Judiciary and Human Rights

It is estimated that an additional US \$1,025,000 will support initiatives under this component. A training program (US \$385,000) for central and regional courts, central and regional court justices, and if possible selected legal educators will be implemented beginning in 1995. Indicative areas for training include court administration, record keeping, and caseload management. This will be complemented by long-term technical assistance for court administration and legal education (US \$135,000). In addition an estimated US \$375,000 in commodities assistance (office and communications equipment, publications,

provide comparative expertise on critical topics identified over the LOP.

(4) Independent Media

It is expected that an additional US \$200,000 will be required to finance short- and long-term training of journalists under this component. During the first year of the extension (1995) or before, using existing funds, the D/G Project Office will seek to conclude an agreement with USIS and/or a comparable organization to manage assistance in the independent media sector on a year-by-year or longer term basis.

(5) Regionalization

An additional US \$775,000 has been budgeted to finance activities in this component. This assistance package is expected to include the provision of long-term advisory expertise on decentralized management beginning in 1995 up to 1997 and training aimed at deepening the capacity of selected regional officials, at a total cost of approximately US \$315,000. Also during the first year of the extension (1995), the project will supply an initial tranche of commodities to selected regional bodies, with additional tranches to follow in each subsequent year on the basis of needs established in consultation with relevant regional authorities. It is expected that total commodities will not exceed US \$335,000 over the FY95 - FY97 period.

Provision is also made for several micro-studies to be undertaken over LOP on topics of special importance to the regionalization process. Studies will, as a rule, be undertaken collaboratively by Ethiopian and expatriate experts, and will total US \$125,000 over the FY95 - FY97 period.

(6) NGO Support

A new budget element would be established to finance this component totalling US \$455,000. About US \$70,000 a year (a total of US \$240,000 over the amended LOP) will be provided in subgrants to domestic NGOs under a U.S. NGO umbrella mechanism. Also beginning 1995, a series of training workshops/seminars would be held, in collaboration with a U.S. NGO experienced in the development and management of NGOs, on issues of institutional development, management, accounting, constituency building, etc. In addition, workshops and other support could be provided on technical/programmatic concerns, e.g., gender, human rights, etc. The training/TA aspect of this is estimated at US \$215,000.

(7) Project Management

An additional US \$920,000 has been budgeted to finance a USPSC D/G Advisor and a D/G Project Manager from 1995 through the first quarter of 1998. The salary and benefit package is set at below the FS01 level, and is consistent with the international professional market levels for this type of position. Provision for housing, office space and equipment and vehicle has been made to assure that the Project is fully supported and that the Mission does not encumber OE funds for readily identifiable, legitimate D/G Support Project expenditures. Costs for both positions are based on present PSC costs and spread over the LOP in the assumption that a new D/G Advisor may have to be hired in FY95. The budget also includes the salary and benefits for a Program Operations Assistant calculated at the FSN 9/10 level.

(8) Audit/Evaluation

Additional D/G funding for evaluations and audits totals US \$150,000. It is expected that the REDSO/ESA's D/G Advisor will participate in these evaluations, thereby providing complementary support. Regarding the audit, US \$50,000 has been set aside to undertake close-out audits where warranted. Since it is anticipated that a significant portion of the overall Project budget will be financed under USAID Handbook 13 Cooperative Agreements or Grants or USAID direct contracts, the Mission Controller will ensure that all contract or grant agreements and related budgets contain adequate legal provision and financing for annual audits.

(9) Contingency/Inflation

An additional US \$375,000 has been set aside in contingency funds to accommodate any shortfall in funding under any of the components, or to take into account issues that could arise that do not fall under the rubric of the above components. In addition, within each budget component, an inflation factor of approximately 10 percent has been factored in to mitigate against any deterioration in the economic condition of Ethiopia, and particularly on the U.S. dollar in the international markets.

3. Expenditure Projections and Obligation Schedule.

It is expected that the increase in LOP funding to the Project of US \$6 million will be incrementally obligated under a Project Agreement with the TGE and will be expended as noted in Table C.2 assuming that the Project is authorized and that a total of US \$2.5 million in financing will be initially obligated in FY 1994. The planned obligation level in FY 1995 is US \$1.9 million and that for FY 1996 is US \$1.6 million, which, at a total LOP cost of US \$11 million, will carry the Project through to completion in the first quarter of FY 1998.

Table C.2
 Cost and Disbursement Estimates
 (U.S. \$ '000)

INPUTS	ORIG. BUDGET	AMDMT.			SUB- TOTALS	CUM. TOTALS
		FY 95	FY 96	FY 97		
				Thru 3/98		
Tech. Asst. (TA)	2,733	470	540	420	1,430	4,163
Train.	1,147	1,150	445	220	1,815	2,962
Equip./ Commod.		485	340	245	1,070	1,070
NGO Grants		70	70	100	240	240
Other/ Contin- gency		25	175	175	375	375
USAID Mgmt.	970	300	255	365	920	1,890
Audit/ Eval.	150	0	75	75	150	300
TOTAL	5,000	2,500	1,900	1,600	6,000	11,000

USAID financing will cover the foreign exchange and local currency costs for TA, training, commodity/logistical support, overhead, project management, evaluation/audit and other direct costs.

4. Reasonableness of Cost Estimates.

The cost estimates developed for this Project amendment appear reasonable and in line with actual costs, based on previous costs involved in this Project in particular, and on similar Projects in other African countries. As noted in the Project description, in certain components, (e.g., election support and human rights,) budget estimates represent a planned

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USAID contribution that will not necessarily cover all of the costs associated with these components. These levels are, however, assessed to be adequate and sufficient to ensure achievement of the Project's outputs and purpose.

The cost estimates presented for short-term technical expertise (expatriate) are based on FS01 USAID salary benefit levels. Airfares (international and local) are based on actual present costs. The cost estimates for the USPSC D/G Advisor and the Program Asst. are based on present costs. The PSC Programs Operations assistant is based on the FSN 10 level.

Depending on the type of award made under the various components, it is expected that technical assistance and other support costs will vary. It is assumed, however, that efficiencies will be gained by packaging overall component requirements into single financing arrangements that might include provision for subcontracting or subgranting mechanisms. This approach would serve to reduce the proliferation of separate implementing units, thereby simplifying Mission management requirements. The costs for equipment and supplies represent broader estimates of requirements that will be refined based on assessments and details contained in proposals presented by applicants responding to IFAs or RFPs. The figures do, however, reflect the Mission's view of what portion of a component's budget should be allocated to each type of expense.

Overseas attachment costs include roundtrip airfare, basic support and other costs. Continuation of salary-benefits for the families while the individuals are in training will be required.

In the event that the amount of technical assistance or other support budgeted under a specific project component is not required, funds will be transferred to another budget line-item within the same component by the Mission directly, or to another project component, upon the mutual consent of the TGE and USAID. Similarly, should savings accrue due to cost savings, such savings may be re-apportioned within the component by the Mission directly, or to another component by mutual agreement of the TGE and USAID.

5. Methods of Implementation and Financing.

While these additional funds will be obligated through an amended Project Agreement signed between USAID and the TGE, USAID/Ethiopia will retain responsibility for procurement required under the Project. The following is an illustration of the methods of implementation and USAID financing arrangement required by this Project.

Table C.3

Component	Method of Implementation	Financial Method	Amount US \$
Elections	Handbook 13 CAs, Grants, AREAF top-offs	Direct Payment	1,600,000
Constitutional Governance	Handbook 13 CAs, Grants, Global Bureau Mech'sms, or Direct Contract	Direct Payment	500,000
Judiciary/Human Rights	Handbook 13 CAs, Grants, Global Bureau Mech'sms, or Direct Contract	Direct Payment	1,025,000
Media	Inter-Agency Agreement, PASA, Grant, or Direct Contract	Direct Payment	200,000
Regionalization	PD & S assistance, Handbook 13 CAs, Grants, Direct Contract, Global Bureau Mech'sms	Direct Payment	775,000
Civic Organizations	Handbook 13 CAs, Grants, WID mechanism, or Direct Contract	U.S. NGO pass-through arrangements	455,000
Contingency	As relevant	As relevant	375,000
USAID Project Management	PSCs	Direct Payment	920,000
Evaluation/Audit	Direct Contracts, AID/W IQCs, REDSO/ESA IQCs	Direct Payment	150,000
Total			6,000,000.00

D. Monitoring, Evaluation and Reporting

Monitoring activities will track the delivery of inputs (human, physical, and financial) and the achievements of output-level indicators (as reflected in the amended logframe) to provide the D/G Office with information regarding progress toward

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achievement of Project objectives. Data will be obtained from contractors, grantees, Government offices, collaborating NGOs, and Mission site visits. The D/G Office will issue a semi-annual progress report in USAID's PMR format. In addition to PMRs, measurement of indicators in relation to strategic objective will be undertaken as part of the Assessment of Program Impact (API) process.

Evaluation activities will look to appraise the prospects for achievement of the Purpose and Goal, and to assess longer-term impacts on individual beneficiaries, institutions, and the environment for democracy in Ethiopia. To that end, data collection and reporting responsibilities will be built into agreements with cooperating institutions to the extent possible. In addition, the D/G Office will actively explore the possibility of obtaining monitoring support for the Project through USAID/W's AREAF facility.

A second external interim evaluation will be scheduled for 1996, with a final evaluation to take place during the last three months of the Project in 1998.

V. GENDER CONCERNS

A major cross-cutting issue of the D/G Project not explicitly mentioned in the original Project Paper is gender. The D/G Office recognizes that, although both men and women suffer under oppressive or otherwise ineffective systems of government, women are affected in very different ways from men. Ethiopia, in contrast to most of its African neighbors, has begun to address the issue of gender equality. The Women's Affairs Office in the Office of the Prime Minister has formulated a national women's policy; the new Labor Law prohibits sex-specific natural and social biases against women in employment (e.g., pregnancy, maternity, etc.); and women have been granted "equal rights with men" and given the right to the benefit of affirmative action measures in the draft of the new Constitution.

Much remains to be done, however, in terms of changing cultural attitudes and raising gender awareness. Because women continue to be under-represented at the decision making level, at times in spite of a commitment on the part of legislators, the challenge for Ethiopian society is to enable them to cope with the traditional burdens of household production and reproduction, as well as an increasing workload resulting from the adoption of new roles, in order to enable their full participation in all spheres of the public domain. This will require changes in the internal social division of labor and organizational adjustments and improvements essential for a fuller participation of women.

We believe that the D/G project can begin to address these issues in a variety of ways, and have attempted explicitly to

integrate a sensitivity to gender related issues in the Project interventions discussed above. More explicit attention will be devoted to this issue in the future. D/G programs aimed at strengthening the components of civil society will make a conscious effort to involve where possible different categories of women's organizations, or organizations that the D/G Office feels effectively represent both women's and men's interests. Where political parties are concerned, D/G-supported workshops will address methods of communicating with, and winning the support of women and women' groups; and creating environments encouraging to women's participation. Additionally, women's NGOs should be trained in methods of gaining access to, and influencing, political parties. The NGO component of the Amended Project will provide a mechanism for addressing this need.

USAID/Ethiopia
Democracy & Governance Project 663-007
Amended Detailed Budget

Project Component	Cum Oblig	1995	1996	1997	Total	FX	LC	Total Comments (FX+LC)
A. Elections Support								
1. NEBE Support via IFES								
Long Term TA (9 pm)		175,000	0	0	175,000	175,000	0	
Supplies/Mgt costs		25,000	0	0	25,000	0	25,000	
2. National Democratic Institute								
Long Term TA		464,000	118,000	0	582,000	582,000	0	1995: 12pmx2; 1996:3pmx2
Materials		80,000	26,000	0	106,000	0	106,000	
Large Meeting Costs		15,000	6,000	0	21,000	0	21,000	@3000 1995: 5meetings; 1996:2 meetings
In-country Travel		91,000	0	0	91,000	0	91,000	
3. Elections Observation								
UNDP Trust		200,000	0	50,000	250,000	250,000	0	
Communication Equipment		50,000	0	0	50,000	50,000	0	
Observer Effort		250,000	0	50,000	300,000	150,000	150,000	1995: 40-50 observers; 1997: 5-10 observers
Sub-total Elections Support	2,500,000	1,350,000	150,000	100,000	1,600,000	1,207,000	393,000	
B. Constitutional Governance								
Long Distance Consultancies		18,000	0	0	18,000	18,000	0	5@10 days salary plus communication costs only
Short Term TA to Constituent/Leg Assembly		32,000	0	0	32,000	32,000	0	1 weekx3
Research & Analysis Unit								
Lg. Meeting (1)		3,000	0	0	3,000		3,000	
Short Term TA		47,000	30,000	0	77,000	77,000		3weekx2
Research Materials		0	70,000	0	70,000	70,000		
Long Term TA to Legislative Assembly		0	175,000	80,000	255,000	255,000		1996: 9pm; 1997: 4pm
Materials		0	25,000	20,000	45,000	0	45,000	
Sub-total Constitutional Governance	435,000	100,000	300,000	100,000	500,000	452,000	48,000	
C. Judiciary/Human Rights								
Long Term TA to Court Administration		60,000	40,000	35,000	135,000	135,000	0	1995: 3 pm; 1996: 8 weeks; 1997: 6 weeks
Short Term TA (2 person months/yr)		50,000	40,000	40,000	130,000	130,000	0	1995: 1995: 8 weeks; 1996: 8 weeks 1997: 8weeks
Training to Central & Regional Courts								
TA		80,000	61,000	61,000	202,000	202,000	0	
Materials, Trans. etc.		20,000	14,000	14,000	48,000	0	48,000	
In-Country travel		50,000	50,000	35,000	135,000	0	135,000	
Commodities								
Printing Capacity/maint.		50,000	35,000	15,000	100,000	100,000	0	
Computer Equipment/maint		25,000	5,000	5,000	35,000	35,000	0	
Research Materials		100,000	60,000	70,000	230,000	230,000	0	
Communications (faxes)		0	10,000	0	10,000	10,000	0	
Sub-total Judiciary/Human Rights	374,716	435,000	315,000	275,000	1,025,000	842,000	183,000	
D. Independent Media								
ST Training via USIS (or other org.)		0	50,000	75,000	125,000	125,000	0	
Training for Journalists (FES or other org.)		0	50,000	25,000	75,000	0	75,000	

Sub-total Independent Media	345,000	0	100,000	100,000	200,000	125,000	75,000	
E. Regionalization								
TA	33,000	121,000	103,000	257,000	257,000	0		1995: 2 weekx2; 1996: 3 pmx2 1997: 2.5 pmx2
In-country travel cost	7,000	29,000	22,000	58,000	0	58,000		
Commodities								
Computer Equipment/main	54,500	50,000	20,000	124,500	124,500	0		
Fax Machine	5,500	0	0	5,500	5,500	0		
Photocopiers	0	66,000	35,000	101,000	101,000	0		
General office Equipment	0	64,000	40,000	104,000	104,000	0		
Micro studies								
Ta	20,250	40,500	40,500	101,250	101,250	0		1995: 2 weeks; 1996: 2x2 weeks 1997: 2x2weeks
In-country travel cost	4,750	9,500	9,500	23,750	0	23,750		
Sub-total Regionalization	180,000	125,000	380,000	270,000	775,000	693,250	81,750	
F. Project Management Unit								
US PSC D/G Advisor	240,000	190,000	265,000	695,000	695,000	0		
US PSC (LH) Assis.	50,000	55,000	80,000	185,000	185,000	0		
FSN Project Officer	10,000	10,000	20,000	40,000	0	40,000		
Sub-total Project Management	970,284	300,000	255,000	365,000	920,000	880,000	40,000	Cost based on present mission personal contracts
G. Civic Organizations								
Direct Grants 3 years	70,000	70,000	100,000	240,000	0	240,000		
Training Activities								
Trainers	67,000	54,000	27,000	148,000	148,000	0		1995: 3 weekx2; 1996: 2 weekx2 1997: 2 weeks @3000; 5 in 1995, 4 in 1996, 2 in 1997
Lg Meetings	15,000	12,000	6,000	33,000	0	33,000		
Mets./transl./prting	7,500	8,000	4,000	19,500	0	19,500		
In-country travel cost	5,500	6,000	3,000	14,500	0	14,500		
Sub-total Civic Organizations	0	165,000	150,000	140,000	455,000	148,000	307,000	
Evaluation & Audit								
Evaluation (2)	0	30,000	30,000	60,000	60,000	0		
Audits	0	45,000	45,000	90,000	90,000	0		
Sub-total Evaluation & Audit	150,000	0	75,000	75,000	150,000	150,000	0	
Total	4,955,000	2,475,000	1,725,000	1,425,000	5,825,000	4,497,250	1,127,750	
Other Costs/Contingency (10%)	45,000	25,000	175,000	175,000	375,000	187,500	187,500	
Grand Total	5,000,000	2,500,000	1,900,000	1,600,000	6,000,000	4,684,750	1,315,250	6,000,000

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LOGICAL FRAMEWORK
ETHIOPIA: DEMOCRACY/GOVERNANCE
Amendment No. 2

ANNEX **B**
 Pg. 1 of 4

Project No: 663-0007
 Orig. Auth. Date: 16 May 1992
 Orig. Auth. Amt.: \$5,000,000
 Add. Amnd. Amt.: \$6,000,000

Orig. PACD: 26 Sep 1995
 Amnd. PACD: 31 Mar 1998

Narrative Summary	Measureable Indicators	Means of Verification	Important Assumptions
<p>Goal:</p> <p>To establish an increasingly stable, pluralistic and democratic Ethiopia.</p>	<p>Diminished violence; increased consensus between competitive political movements; increased tolerance of dissent; peaceful changes of power through democratic means</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Embassy reports - Human rights reports - Local media 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Ethiopia at peace - Macroeconomic improvement
<p>Purpose:</p> <p>To provide assistance in defining policy options, rules and procedures, and in strengthening select institutions, both governmental and non-governmental, that support Ethiopia's democratic transition.</p>	<p>(EOPS)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Free and fair national and regional elections are held; - A democratic constitution is drafted and adopted through a consultative process; - An independent judiciary is functioning in the context of the rule of law; - Pluralistic, free and responsible media are established and operational; - Civil society is strengthened by building effective civic associations; - Democratic and effective self-government emerges at the regional level. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Government documents - Contractor and NGO reports - AID oversight - Local media - Evaluations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Pro-democracy national will - External assistance
<p>Outputs:</p> <p>A. Elections</p> <p>-----</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. NEBE gains capacity to organize elections; 2. Political parties gain capacity to run election campaigns; 3. Civic associations gain capacity to conduct civic education on electoral process and mount effective non-partisan election monitoring effort; 4. Target voters gain understanding of electoral process. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. NEBE accomplishes tasks specified in December 1993 election timetable; 2. Political parties accomplish tasks specified in MDI training (candidate selection, fund raising, campaign publicity, voter mobilization, poll watching); 3. # and quality of workshops conducted by civic associations; # and effectiveness of election monitors trained; proportion of polling and counting places monitored; 4. Assessments of voter political knowledge. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. NEBE reports, reports of technical assistants/ IFES, reports of election monitors; 2. Participant evaluations of MDI training program, observer reports of party performance in election campaign; 3. Participant evaluation of training workshops, observer reports; 4. Before and after tests administered at workshops, sample survey questionnaires, and focus group interviews. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Parties take political decision to participate in elections; - MDI conducts party training program; - TGE permits parties to campaign freely to contest election.

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B. Constitutional Governance

1. Media gain capacity to inform citizens on constitutional issues;
2. Civic associations gain capacity to involve citizens in discussions of constitutional issues;
3. Target citizens gain understanding of constitutional issues;
4. Constitutional Commission considers alternative constitutional designs in producing draft constitution;
5. Adopted constitution contains internationally accepted guarantees of individual and group rights, provides for separation of institutional powers, and includes provision for regularly scheduled elections.

C. JUDICIARY AND HUMAN RIGHTS

1. Existing rule of law status is analyzed, including structure and autonomy of judicial institutions;
2. SPO gains capacity to prosecute human rights violators according to prevailing int'l standards;
3. Independence and capacity of central and regional judicial officials is increased, mainly through training;
4. University and NGOs gain capacity to provide analytic, training, and monitoring services related to separation of powers and rule of law.

1. Frequency and quality of press reports on constitutional issues;
2. Attendance of citizens and their level of participation in debates sponsored by civic associations;
3. Citizen political knowledge on constitutional issues;
4. Number of constitutional models reviewed and general quality of draft constitution;
5. # of rights adopted from Int'l Declaration of Human Rights; # of new measures guaranteeing separation of powers as compared w/ previous nat'l constitution; new provisions for regular elections.

1. Assessments of independent observers on judicial recruitment, performance and organization;
2. Number of cases prosecuted, successful and not;

3. Numbers of trainees, quality of training, numbers of trainees deployed, nature of judicial decisions;
4. Number and quality of services provided.

1. WAAG Information Digest, USIS analysis;

2. Civic association records of workshop proceedings, MOI;

3. sample survey questionnaires and focus group interviews;
4. Report of IAG Constitutional Symposium, expert reports;

5. Expert reports, DG/A review of constitution.

1. IHRLG Report, AAU reports, NGO reports;

2. SPO records, court records, NGO reports;

3. Carter Center and TA reports, participant evaluations of training workshops, MOJ records;

4. Carter Center, NGO and AAU reports.

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D. MEDIA

- 1. Legal obstacles to freedom of the press are identified, debated and policy solutions advocated;
- 2. Economic constraints to pluralistic media are identified and addressed;
- 3. Journalists build broad based and independent press club-media trust;
- 4. Journalists gain capacity for responsible reporting, mainly through training.

- 1. # and extent of public forums held, quantity and quality of press reports;
- 2. # of business failures, analysis of accounts of viable media enterprises, assessment of market demand;
- 3. New institution formed and registered, programs launched;
- 4. #s of trainees, quality of training, #s of trainees deployed, quality of press reports.

- 1. Reports by JEAustin, ENRPC, USIS press analysis, independent media center analysis;
- 2. Annual audited accounts, JEAustin/WAAG surveys of readership and media firms;
- 3. Constitution, by laws, certificate of registration, first annual report;
- 4. JEAustin reports, participant evaluations of training workshops, USIS press analysis, independent media center analysis

E. REGIONALIZATION

- 1. Regional legislatures establish procedures for democratic self-governance;
- 2. Regional governments develop capacity for effective program and fiscal management;
- 3. Central government establishes consistent framework for devolution to regions of constitutional, administrative, and financial powers.

(to be established by special study on regionalization)

F. LOCAL CIVIC ORGANIZATIONS

- 1. Civic associations increase capacity to promote popular participation in national, regional, and local democratic processes;
- 2. Civic associations develop effective and democratic internal procedures;
- 3. Civic associations increase capacity to monitor governmental performance and protect democratic rights;
- 4. Civic associations increase capacity to engage in policy advocacy.

- 1. # civic education workshops held, # and character of workshop participants, changes in political knowledge, attitudes, and values of target beneficiaries;
- 2. # officeholder elections, turnover of officeholders, est. of consultative procedures;
- 3. # monitoring reports issued, violations contested;
- 4. # and nature of policy issues advocated.

- 1. MDI/ABUGIDA reports, participant evaluations of training workshops, sample surveys;
- 2. NGO constitutions and bylaws, evaluator interviews with NGO staff and members, sample surveys;
- 3. NGO monitoring reports
- 4. NGO monitoring reports, evaluator interviews with NGO staff and members.

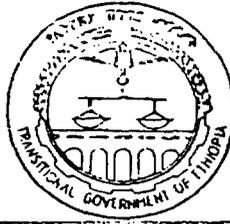
YLO BIZAJAVA 1233

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INPUTS	(US\$ 000)				
	Orig.	Amend	Cum		
1. TA	2733	1420	4163		
2. Training	1147	1815	2962		
3. Commodities	--	1070	1070	Grantee records.	Funds available
4. NGO Grants	--	240	240	Supplier records	Conditions and covenants met
5. Project Management	970	920	1890	USAID records	
6. Other/Contingency	--	375	375		
7. Audit/Eval.	150	150	300		
TOTALS:	<u>5000</u>	<u>6000</u>	<u>11000</u>		

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THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT
OF ETHIOPIA
MINISTRY FOR EXTERNAL
ECONOMIC COOPERATION

*TC REF. No. AA7-3.2.8/23
22 SEP 1994
DATE

Ms. Margaret Bonner
Mission Director
USAID/Ethiopia

SUBJECT: Amendment Two of Democracy/
Governance Support Project
Aid Number 663-0007

Dear Ms. Bonner:

The Democracy/Governance Support Project began in 1992 as a support to the TGE's efforts in designing and adopting democratic policies and practices, to public and private institutions which would have a role in enhancing the democratization process underway in Ethiopia.

Based on our experience over the past two years in processing this project with your staff and the conclusion reached by the external evaluation conducted in May 1994, our Ministry in consultation with relevant implementing agencies has indentified a number of areas in which additional assistance would be useful in pursuing the overall goals of the initial programme to a successful implementation beyond the transition period.

Based on your letter of August 12, 1994 on processing the extension of this project, we are pleased to request that the Project be amended for an extension by 3 years, to March 31, 1998, and increase the planned USAID funding of the project by US\$ 6,000,000, to a total of US\$11,000,000.

We very much appreciate your continued cooperation and assistance.

Sincerely yours,



Dr. Abdulmejid Hussein

Dr. Abdulmejid Hussein
Minister for External Economic
Cooperation

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Plm
D/G

UNCLASSIFIED

STATE 078150

ACTION: AID INFO: DCM CHRG

VZCZCDS0742
RE RUEHDS
DE RUEHC #8150 0721642
ZNR UUUUU ZZH
R 121639Z MAR 92
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 2886
INFO RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 5552
BT
UNCLAS STATE 078150

LOC: 062 690
13 MAR 92 0649
CN: 09026
CHRG: AID
DIST: AIDA

Action Officer	<i>AVZB</i>
Action Due Date	<i>N/A</i>
Action Taken	<i>W</i>
By Whom	
Date	

AIDAC

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS:
SUBJECT: IFE FOR ETHIOPIA DEMOCRACY/GOVERNANCE SUPPORT
PROJECT

RE ADDIS ABABA 00367
BUREAU ENVIRONMENTAL INTELLIGENCE HAS REVIEWED SUBJECT
AND CONCURS IN CATEGORICAL EXCLUSION.
ZGC/AER HAS CLEARED THIS CABLE. BAKER

BT
#8150

NNNN

UNCLASSIFIED

STATE 078150

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STATE 147582

ACTION: AID INFO: DCM CHRG

VZCZCDS0157
OO RUEHDS
DE RUEHC #7582 1300058
ZNR UUUUU ZZH
O 090054Z MAY 92
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA IMMEDIATE 3639
INFO RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI IMMEDIATE 7678

LOC: 118 696
09 MAY 92 0424
CN: 17200
CHRG: AID
DIST: AIDA

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Bull

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UNCLAS STATE 147582

AIDAC FOR REDSO/ESA

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS:

SUBJECT: WAIVER OF HOST COUNTRY CONTRIBUTION

MISSION IS ADVISED THAT THE ACTING ASSISTANT ADMINISTRATOR FOR AFRICA APPROVED THE WAIVER OF THE FULL 25 PERCENT HOST COUNTRY CONTRIBUTION REQUIREMENT FOR THE SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRACY AND GOVERNANCE PROJECT (663-0007) ON APRIL 13,

1992 BAKER

BT
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STATE 147582

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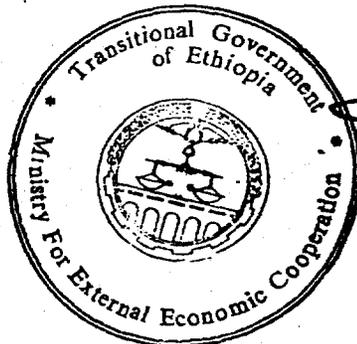
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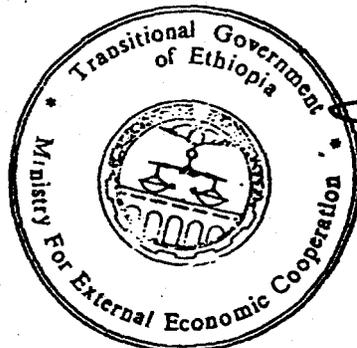
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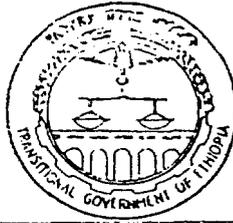
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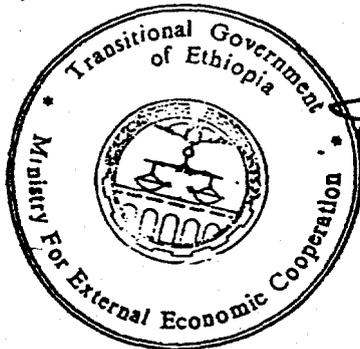
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