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EVALUATION OF

GRANT NO CCN-0007-G-00-3012-00

WITH THE

AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY COUNCIL
FOR
DEMOCRATIC PLURALISM INITIATIVES

IN THE NEW INDEPENDENT STATES
OF THE FORMER SOVIET UNION

(PROJECT 110-0007)

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ACRONYMS

AFPC	American Foreign Policy Council
AID	U S Agency for International Development
FEMA	Federal Emergency Management Agency
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NIS	New Independent States of the former Soviet Union
PVO	Private Voluntary Organization
USIA	U S Information Agency

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The American Foreign Policy Council (AFPC) was founded in 1982 as a nonprofit organization to provide information on the formulation of U S foreign policy to Congress that was not readily available from other sources and to assist leaders in the former Soviet Union and other parts of the world in their efforts to build democracies and market economies

The AFPC signed a Grant agreement with the U S Agency for International Development (AID) in December 1992 for the U S Congress - Russian Parliament Exchange Program for \$129 900 The purpose of the program was stated in the Grant to enhance the understanding of Russian parliamentary leaders in the theories and practices of the U S government

The heart of the Grant was for the AFPC to plan and coordinate the exchange of 10 staff members from the Russian Legislature to the U S for a period of 8 weeks In addition, using separate funding (i e, other than those provided in the Grant) AFPC was committed to complementing this activity with an exchange of 10 U S Congressional staff members to Moscow for the same period of time

The very serious chaotic situation in Russia made it impossible to carry out the program as planned The initial exchange program during the Summer of 1993 was 6 weeks in length This was shorter than planned, but it was the decision of the Supreme Soviet It was also their decision to bring 6 Russians rather than the 10 planned

Most activity on the Grant came to a halt when President Yeltsin dissolved Parliament in September 1993 The completion date for the Grant had to be extended AFPC submitted a proposal to AID to use the remaining funding to add two election education programs

A one-week election strategies program was carried out in January 1994 and the another election education program had to be cancelled at the last minute due to the security issues in the former Yugoslavia

The quality of the programs the evaluations filled out by the delegates, the comments made in interviews and the feedback after they returned to Russia suggest that each delegate learned a great deal to take back and use and that each gained personally from the experience But the total number of delegates is too small by several orders of magnitude to amount to ' impact

Like some other small PVO programs, AFPC is a lean, committed, and creative organization with a program that is ultimately too small to have a lasting impact Their organizational and personal experience and contacts in Russia put them in the position to do a thoughtful and professional job of designing and implementing their programs and demonstrate commitment to continue supporting their delegates over time They seem to do all of the right things, but not enough of it If not pushed too far, too fast, the evaluation team concludes that they could scale up to provide sufficient assistance, retaining their high quality, to have a substantial impact on the knowledge and opinions of key Russian leaders that could play a role in the changes to come in Russia

AID allowed them the flexibility they needed to be creative and provided the support they needed as a new Grantee to start to learn the ropes

DIHHR should develop a focused strategy and objectives for working with the Russian Parliament. Once this strategy is in place, DIHHR can make a determination of what means to utilize for carrying out the strategy. One such means to strongly consider is U.S. Congressional study tours as conducted by AFPC. However, to make this a worthwhile undertaking, AFPC's activities need to be scaled up to cover some 50 to 75 percent of Parliamentary members and staff. With its current systems and organizational structure, AFPC appears capable of handling this increase in scale.

To reduce the management burden of DIHHR staff, the funding and oversight of this activity may be appropriately transferred to USIA. This would free up staff time from administering this rather small grant.

The cancellation of the most recent delegation (21 February 1994) will necessitate a further no-cost extension of the Grant in order to carry out this program.

I PURPOSE AND METHOD OF THE EVALUATION

A Background and Purpose of the Evaluation

This evaluation was conducted by Management Systems International (MSI) under IQC No AEP-0085-I-10-3001-00 Delivery Order No 10. It is the first evaluation of a major sectoral component of assistance from the Agency for International Development (AID) to the New Independent States (NIS) of the former Soviet Union. It pertains to a portion of AID's Democratic Pluralism Initiatives (DPI) Project No 110-0007, which was authorized on 10 April 1992. Funding for the DPI Project has subsequently been increased twice and the completion date has been extended to 31 December 1996.

The DPI Project was designed to help build political, legal and social institutions critical to the success of democratic and economic reform in the NIS in the wake of the collapse of communism and the Soviet economic system. In its early phase, the Project funded Grants and Cooperative Agreements for U.S.-based nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) to provide technical assistance, training, and some equipment. Grants and Cooperative Agreements are both instruments to transfer funds to provide assistance to the recipient in carrying out a program. A Cooperative Agreement is a relationship in which substantial involvement is anticipated between AID and the recipient during the performance of the proposed activity. This report refers to the recipient organizations generically as 'grantees.'

The DPI Project has five sub-sector components: rule of law, independent media, political process, governance and public administration, and civil society. The civil society component is designed to enable citizens to participate actively and effectively in the political and economic life of their countries, to check governmental powers and encourage responsiveness and to provide services not provided by the government. The American Foreign Policy Council grant falls under the civil society component of the DPI Project.

The overall purpose of the evaluation is to assess the extent to which the grants are meeting the objectives of their agreements, fitting with the general guiding principles of democratic reform and able to adjust to the new strategic priorities, being implemented in an effective and efficient manner and having an impact on the people, organizations and countries of the NIS.

B Method

In December 1993, AID contracted with Management Systems International (MSI) to conduct field evaluations of the activities of seven DPI Project grantees and desk studies of the activities of two grantees.

The evaluations were conducted by a team of six management consultants: David Read Barker (Team Leader), Cynthia Clapp-Wincek, David Hirschmann, James S. Holtaway, Sally J. Patterson and Alan Lessik. Four members of the team (Barker, Holtaway, Patterson and Lessik) divided responsibility for the seven field studies, with three evaluators each taking lead responsibility for two studies and one evaluator taking responsibility for one field study and the

synthesis report. The other two members of the team (Hirschmann and Clapp-Wincek) were each assigned lead responsibility for one desk study.

The professional backgrounds of the evaluators are development management, cultural anthropology, political science, and political organizing and opinion research. All four of the field evaluators had previous professional experience in Russia; three of them had worked in Russia within the previous 6 months.

A team planning meeting of the AID project managers, the evaluators, and representatives of the AFPC and other grantees was held on 4 January 1994. The participants agreed to support the evaluation as a collaborative, candid, constructive, and creative process. The evaluators then interviewed AID officials and AFPC staff in their offices in Washington, DC and Baltimore, MD. Extensive documentation was gathered and reviewed by the team. The field evaluators visited the Russian Federation from 20-29 January and Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan from 29 January to 5 February.

As one of the desk studies, the evaluation of the American Foreign Policy Council was based on

- A review of documents (the Grant Agreement, quarterly reports, AID policy statements on democracy and assistance to Russia),
- Discussions with AFPC staff in Washington and Baltimore,
- Videotape footage of television news coverage of the Russians' visit in the U.S. and some raw videotape of the delegates' activities taken by the AFPC,
- Newspaper articles concerning the Russians' visit,
- Review of delegate evaluation forms, and
- A team member's participation in several parts of the Election Strategies Program that was underway during the evaluation period.

When the field team returned, the two desk-study evaluators met with them to exchange notes and follow-up interviews were held with AFPC and AID officials. The follow-up interview with the American Foreign Policy Council was conducted by two team members.

The team interviewed 16 people regarding AFPC, who are listed in Appendix A, and reviewed a number of documents, which are listed in Appendix B.

2 THE GRANT

A Purpose and Description of the Program

The American Foreign Policy Council (AFPC) signed a Grant Agreement with the U S Agency for International Development in December 1992 for the U S Congress - Russian Parliament Exchange Program. The purpose of the program was to enhance the understanding of Russian parliamentary leaders in the theories and practices of the U S government.

The heart of the Grant was for the AFPC to plan and coordinate the exchange of 10 staff members from the Russian Legislature to the U S for a period of 8 weeks. In addition, using separate funding (i.e. funds other than those provided in the Grant), AFPC was committed to complementing this activity with an exchange of 10 U S Congressional staff members to Moscow for the same period of time.

The program planned to target four specific issues facing the Russian Parliament: privatization, federal-state relations, the separation of powers, and legislative oversight.

AFPC set out a number of objectives in their proposal. The short-term objectives included:

- Assisting the Russian Federation in their struggle for answers to such basic questions as what type of institutions to create and what the property laws should be.
- Providing extensive exposure to the theory and practices of the U S Government: federal-state relations, government-business relations, federal separation of powers, and business management in a free market system.

The long-term objectives were to:

- Greatly increase the understanding between the peoples of the two countries, and
- Allow important personal relationships to be formed between the participants.

B Country Context and Issues

The change and upheaval throughout the year since the Grant Agreement was signed have significantly affected the AFPC's ability to implement the exchange program as planned. Four events have seriously affected the implementation of the Grant:

- The Constitutional Convention in the Summer of 1993,
- President Yeltsin's dissolving Parliament in September 1993,
- The scheduling of elections in December of 1993, and
- The threatened NATO bombing of the former Yugoslavia.

The specific changes AFPC and AID needed to make because of these events will be discussed in section three

C Program Budget and Financial Management

The AFPC grant was for \$129 900 for approximately 1 year. Over half the funding was to be used for delegate and staff travel.

Funds are managed in two accounts: the AID grant funds and private funds raised in the United States. In addition, the Russians paid for their airfares to the United States. If delegates were in a position to access the resources for the airfare, it was an additional indicator that they were appropriate candidates. The Grant supported them while they were in the United States, including travel to their internships in North Dakota, Ohio, Iowa, Wisconsin, Maryland, and Virginia. The private support played a particular role during the internships. In some instances, the delegates stayed in supporters' homes for parts of their internships.

The Executive Vice President characterized the AFPC as a lean and mean organization. When the delegates to the Russian Parliament Exchange Program in the Summer of 1993 did not bring their translator as planned, it had a substantial impact on the budget for the trip. Translation is one of the most expensive parts of the support provided in the U.S. To address this problem and to provide greater program flexibility, AFPC has since added two Russian language translators (one with simultaneous capability) to its full-time staff.

The program description section of the Grant Agreement includes: "Using separate funding, the American Foreign Policy Council will complement this activity with an exchange of 10 U.S. congressional staff members to Moscow for the same period of time. The program was carried out in the Summer of 1993 with private funding. One other program, an election training program, was carried out during the Grant period using private funding because AID has regulations that it will not support election assistance within 30 days of an election."

3 FINDINGS

A Inputs, Activities, and Delivery Mechanisms

The Grant has supported three exchange programs of Russian and U S legislative staff members and several other Russian officials. The inputs funded by the Grant were planned to include

- 4 person-months of project director's time
- 2 person-months of AFPC existing program director
- 1/2 person-month for Vice President
- 4.5 person-months for President of AFPC
- Travel transportation and per diem in the amount of \$66,200.00
- Book allowances

The planned activity of the Grant was the exchange of 10 staff members from the Russian Legislature to the U S for a period of 8 weeks. In addition, using private funding, AFPC was responsible for an exchange of 10 U S Congressional staff members to Moscow for the same period of time. Later, two programs were added on the topic of election strategies.

Table 1 Planned and Actual Activities

Activity	Date	Number of participants	
		Planned	Actual
Russian Parliament Exchange Program	June/July 1993	10	6
U S Congress Exchange Program	August 1993	10	5
Election Strategies Program*	January 1994	10	3
Election Strategies Program*	February 1994	10	Cancelled

* These were not initially planned

The chaotic situation in Russia made it impossible to carry out the program as planned. The initial exchange program during the Summer 1993 was 6 weeks in length. This was shorter than planned but it was the decision of the Supreme Soviet. It was also their decision to bring 6 Russians rather than the 10 planned.

Most activity on the Grant came to a halt when President Yeltsin dissolved Parliament in September of 1993. The completion date for the Grant had to be extended. AFPC submitted a proposal to AID to use the remaining funding to add two election education programs.

A one-week election strategies program was carried out in January 1994. As with the previous program, there were last-minute cancellations, and only three Russians participated. An

additional one-week election education program was planned for the week of February 21, 1994. In a classic example of what has made this program so difficult, the entire delegation cancelled the weekend they were due to depart. The exchange was cancelled due to the Russians' concern for the political ramifications of their being in the United States should NATO carry out any bombing in the former Yugoslavia.

AFPC used a number of approaches to deliver the information the programs were planned to convey. Their initial design, actually used in the 6-week course included the greatest variety such as:

- Theoretical lectures on basic topics (e.g., the Bill of Rights),
- Gaming exercises to show how property was purchased in U.S. and how individual rights are protected in criminal prosecutions (e.g., 100 people participated in presenting a mock arrest, mock arraignment, and mock trial in Baltimore),
- Meetings/interviews with selected individuals in Congress (e.g., legislative assistants and administrative assistants to members and staffers of committees and subcommittees), all other levels of government as well as entrepreneurs and others who play a role in the U.S. private sector (e.g., Harry Herman of Herman's Bakery in Baltimore),
- Extended individual discussions were held between delegates and U.S. specialists in the Russian's area of interest (e.g., Dmitry Klimov, who was Chief of International Protocol for the Supreme Soviet Department of Interparliamentary Ties with the president of the Maryland Senate, and Evgeny Gavrilov who was Head Specialist of the Supreme Soviet Department of Socio-Economic Relations and is now the Staff Director for the Department of Oversight of Relations between Regional and Central Authorities for the Federative Council [upper house of Parliament] with Governor Ed Schafer of North Dakota.)
- Week long internships, mostly in the Midwest, some sponsored by groups and others individually.

Primarily meetings and interviews were used for the one-week election programs. They emphasized the electoral process and included campaign managers (e.g., Joe Trippi for gubernatorial candidate Melvin Steinberg of Maryland), political consultants (e.g., Matt Reese), media consultants (e.g., Don Ringe), Congressional staff (e.g., Jim Dykstra, administrative assistant to Congressman Horn), pollster (e.g., Ed Goetz), press secretaries (e.g., Clarkson Hine, Sen. Robert Dole's press secretary), and staff from both the Democratic and Republican Congressional Campaign Committees.

B Outputs

At the time of writing the draft report nine Russian delegates actually participated in AFPC programs. In a program of this type, not only is the number of people who participate important but also the positions those people hold. It was initially intended that the participants be Russian Parliamentarians. This was not however a year in Russia during which parliamentarians were willing to travel--particularly for the 10 weeks initially planned. It was decided that key parliamentary staff would participate instead but even they were unwilling to be away for the full 10 weeks and agreed to come only for six weeks.

Table 2 Positions of Russian Parliament Exchange Program Delegates

Head Specialist of the Supreme Soviet Department of Socioeconomic Relations
Head of the Supreme Soviet of Russia's Legal Department
Chief of International Protocol for the Supreme Soviet Department of Interparliamentary Ties
Head specialist on the Mass Information (Media) Committee
Russian Parliament's Director of Sector Three of the Department of Personnel Management (responsible for hiring and firing staff)
Specialist in budget, taxes, loans, and credits for Supreme Soviet First Deputy Chairman Voronin

As the Supreme Soviet was dissolved some 3 months after the program, the necessity of bringing staff members looked like a virtue. All the participants in the Exchange Program lost their jobs as a result of Parliament being dissolved, as did the members they worked for but the 6 participants were all offered the opportunity to return. Two have accepted: the Head Specialist from the Department of Socio-Economic Relations is now the Staff Director for the Department for the Oversight of Relations between Regional and Central Authorities for the Federative Council (the upper house of Parliament), and the Head of the Legal Department will lead a section of the legal department of the new Duma (lower house of Parliament).

The participants in the election strategies program in January had been city council members. However, between the extension of the invitations to city council members to participate in the Election Strategies program and their arrival, President Yeltsin dissolved most of the local councils.

Table 3 Positions of Election Strategies Program Delegates

Previous Positions	Current Positions
Member of Vladivostok City Council, press secretary, and regional campaign organizer for the Republican Party of Russia	Regional campaign organizer for the Republican Party of Russia and reporter for <u>Pacific Ocean</u>

Previous Positions	Current Positions
Member of St Petersburg City Council	Candidate for the new legislature which will be elected in late February
Deputy Head of Administration for the Sakhalin <i>Oblast</i> (equivalent to the lieutenant governor of a U S state)	Deputy Head of Administration for the Sakhalin <i>Oblast</i>

Since his visit here in January, the delegate from the Sakhalin *Oblast* was named to head the Free Trade Zone established in Sakhalin. This is the type of position, if he is successful that could lead to his becoming a national figure.

One unintended positive consequence of this effort has been for the Americans who have participated. Of the hundred Baltimoreans who participated in the criminal justice exercise many had probably never read the Bill of Rights that they were demonstrating for the Russians. But their participation helped them understand the concepts and protections behind some of the rights they had taken for granted. Moreover, several Baltimoreans including the head of the Narcotics Division of the Baltimore Police Department, went to North Dakota one of the internship sites, to explain what they had been doing, thus sharing that experience in the Midwest as well. AFPC estimates that 600 to 700 Americans have participated in some way in these programs. They have learned not only about the Russians but also about their own system.

C Impact

During an interview with the three participants in the January 1994 Election Strategies program they were asked what they had learned. Perhaps the most striking comment was from the Deputy Head of Administration for the Sakhalin *Oblast*. He said that in Russia, someone is for you or against you and if they are against you, they are your enemy. In the U S he saw local Democratic and Republican party workers cordially discussing strategies for beating each other. He learned from a political consultant about the strategy of identifying the spectrum of support and opposition. He said that, as an administrator, he would use the model provided and focus on holding the support of those who are just a little for you, those who are in the middle and those a little against you. He added that it is very useful to remember that those for you might be against you tomorrow.

To have conveyed the competitiveness and divergence of views in a context without enmity AFPC has shared a major lesson with the Russian delegates--all nine of them. The problem with this Grant becomes glaring at this point. Nine participants, perhaps 12 - 15 by the time the Grant is completed, is, in the words of the Executive Vice President of AFPC, "a drop in the bucket."

The quality of the programs, the evaluations filled out by the delegates, the comments made in interviews, and other verbal feedback given to AFPC staff after the participants returned to Russia suggest that each delegate learned a great deal that they could take back and use and that each gained personally from the experience. But the total number of delegates is too small by several orders of magnitude to amount to 'impact'.

D Grantee Future Directions

The American Foreign Policy Council has been working to build up their capacity to invite parliamentary members and staff on a regular basis. For example, they have hired two staff members with the ability to serve as translators. In the next two years, they would like to arrange for ten two-week trips of Russian Parliamentarians and two four-week trips by staff members to the U.S.

The next tier of Russians to target would be the regional leadership, specifically from the

88 *oblasts*, both because of the potential for them to move to the national scene and the role they play in their regions. AFPC would like to sponsor two two-week trips to the U.S. for 40 Governors or Vice Governors of Russian *Oblasts*. In order to maintain the quality, they would continue to bring delegations in groups of 10 but they would greatly increase the number of groups.

"Now I'm [back in Russia] working on my election campaign and it's hard to overestimate all of the ideas I had the lucky chance to learn organization of political campaigns and making sure that there is close contact between constituents and candidates."

4 MANAGEMENT

A Management by AFPC

The program planning for the exchange programs was thorough, thoughtful and professional at the same time that creativity and a sense of humor were apparent. The 18-page glossary of governmental and political jargon that needed to be translated into Russian in preparation for the program is an indication of the planning and professionalism that were apparent as the evaluator was able to observe several of the sessions of the Election Assistance Program in January 1994. One wonders how "deep pockets" and "rubber chicken circuit" came out in Russian.

"When I came here I was relatively pessimistic that it would give me anything I could use in my professional life because we had Americans visit in Russia who spoke in abstract terms. But I came here and saw that people were talking so openly and honestly about so much I could use."

One of the things most striking to the evaluators was the extent to which the AFPC made the most of opportunities. Several examples indicate the care with which the program was initially planned but also the flexibility in management that allowed them to capitalize on opportunities.

The Russian Parliament Exchange Program in June/July 1993 was primarily intended to enhance the Russians' understanding of the U.S. Government with an emphasis on private property and its responsibilities and protections in the United States. The environment is such an important issue in the world today, and particularly in Russia as it moves forward, that AFPC wanted to include it in the program. In order to cover the primary topics as well as intended, there was no time in the program for a module on the environment. But not wanting to leave it ignored, the program manager found a way to raise the key issues. In the series of visits to businesses dealing with the rights and protections under the law as well as the legal/moral responsibilities of businesses, a business was selected that made environmental clean up equipment. This allowed, during the course of the afternoon at least, some discussion of the importance of environmental management with an introduction to the issues and some awareness of the technologies.

The Summer of 1993 in the United States will undoubtedly be remembered as the season of the Mississippi Flood. A tragedy for many Midwesterners, it did present an excellent opportunity to demonstrate the relationships between Federal, State and local governments during a crisis. On the spur of the moment, one of the participants was flown to Davenport, Iowa, where he was escorted by the Mayor of Davenport to community, State, and Federal Emergency Management Agency assistance centers. He met with the Director of the Economic and Community Development Council and the President of the Scott County Farm Bureau, as well as touring farms in the flood zone. One question he asked every farmer was whether the National Guard would really leave when the flood waters receded. He was surprised at the confidence of the

farmers that the Guard would leave and equally surprised to learn that they had only come at the request of the Governor

AFPC's major management problem was an inability to get all of the planned delegates to actually participate. Each program had its cancellations--from heart trouble to a supervisor canceling the trip 72 hours before departure. We conclude that the AFPC was flexible in adapting but should risk more overbooking. Experience shows that cancellations are inevitable. AFPC plans for a certain number and only some of them come, resulting in their cost per person being higher than it should. They should be able to safely invite 10-15% more participants than they actually expect to attend a program.

Because the AFPC had "built solid relationships with the government of Russia" at the time of the Grant Agreement, this program is directed only to Russia and not to other parts of the former Soviet Union.

B Management by AID

For AID, this \$129,900 grant is small under any circumstances. But in the context of initiating the many million dollar program in the New Independent States, suffice it to say this would not have been the top priority.

AFPC weathered the bureaucracy and paperwork of being a U.S. Government Grantee, and this was their first experience. They found their project manager to be very helpful and prompt on such issues as what could and couldn't be funded under the Grant. In spite of fairly minimal programmatic contact with the Agency, AID was apparently willing to let them go ahead with the very creative but somewhat risky approach of the mock arrest and trial. In terms of management, this flexibility was probably what AFPC needed most from AID.

5 CONCLUSIONS

1 Like some other smaller PVO programs AFPC is a lean, committed, and creative organization with a program that is ultimately too small to have a lasting impact. Their organizational and personal experience and contacts in Russia (particularly of their president) put them in a position to do a thoughtful and professional job of designing and implementing their programs. They have demonstrated commitment to continue supporting their delegates over time. They seem to do all of the right things, but not enough of it. If not pushed too far, too fast, the evaluation team concludes that they could scale up to provide sufficient assistance, retaining their high quality, to have a substantial impact on the knowledge and opinions of key Russian leaders that could play a role in the changes to come in Russia.

2 AID allowed them the flexibility they needed to be creative and provided the support they needed as a new Grantee to start to learn the ropes.

3 AFPC will continue to assist leaders in the former Soviet Union to build democracies and market economies through an understanding of the theories and practices of the role of government in the United States.

6 RECOMMENDATIONS

1 DIHHR should develop a focused strategy and objectives for working with the Russian Parliament. Once this strategy is in place, DIHHR can make a determination of what means to utilize for carrying out the strategy. One such means to strongly consider is Russian Parliamentary study tours as conducted by AFPC. However, to make this a worthwhile undertaking, AFPC's activities need to be scaled up to cover some 50 to 75 percent of Parliamentary members and staff. With its current systems and organizational structure, AFPC appears capable of handling this increase in scale.

2 To reduce the management burden of DIHHR staff, the funding and oversight of this activity may be appropriately transferred to USIA. This would free up staff time from administering this rather small grant.

2 The current grant should receive a no-cost extension in order to carry out planned activities delayed by the cancellation of the most recent delegation (21 February 1994).

APPENDIX A LIST OF PEOPLE INTERVIEWED

AFPC Program Delegates

Vladimir Nikiferov, delegate to Election Strategies Program
Leonid Romankov, delegate to Election Strategies Program
Victor Surenko, delegate to Election Strategies Program

American Foreign Policy Council

Herman Pirchner, President, American Foreign Policy Council
Elizabeth Derby, Executive Vice President, AFPC
Glenn Brvant, Program Director, AFPC
Ilva Evstifeev, translator, AFPC

AID/EUR/NIS/DIHR

Geraldine Donnelly, Director
Marv Ann Riegelman Deputy Director
Paul Holmes Adviser
Brvant George, Project Manager

AID/EUR/NIS/PAC

Carlos Pascual, Director
Jeff Evans, Evaluation Officer
Paul Ashin, Social Science Analyst
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