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EVALUATION OF

COOPERATIVE AGREEMENT NO CCS-0007-A-00-2019-00

WITH THE

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

FOR

DEMOCRATIC PLURALISM INITIATIVES
IN THE
NEW INDEPENDENT STATES
(PROJECT 110-0007)

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ACRONYMS

AID	Agency for International Development
CEC	Central Elections Commission
DPI	Democratic Pluralism Initiatives Project
FTUI	Free Trade Union Institute
IRI	International Republican Institute
MSI	Management Systems International
NDI	National Democratic Institute for International Affairs
NED	National Endowment for Democracy
NIS	Newly Independent States
NGO	Nongovernmental organization
PVO	Private voluntary organization
USAID	Overseas mission of the Agency for International Development

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report constitutes a summary of an evaluation of the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) projects that were funded FY 1992-1994 by USAID's Democratic Pluralism Initiatives (DPI) in the Russian Federation, Ukraine, and Central Asia. Total funding: \$3,853,620.

The projects have made a contribution to the immediate process of transition from communist authoritarian states to democratic systems. They are especially significant because of the breadth of their programmatic activity. Early involvement in municipal reform during the Gorbachev administration (under an NED grant) enabled NDI to develop a broad network of local contacts for its political education training. Its in-country resource center was often tapped by leaders of the Gorbachev administration and the Supreme Soviet on the development of new laws and procedures. NDI has continued to expand its program activity at the local level and continued to interact with the Yeltsin administration and reform-oriented parties through the referendum and the first round of multi-party elections.

Program Summary

Once NDI established its presence in the Newly Independent States (NIS), it developed the basis for implementing its programs to strengthen political parties and civic groups and train local government officials. Through in-country assessments, NDI Regional Program Officers were able to refine NDI's understanding of the current political situation, introduce NDI to political and civic organizations active in the political sphere, and conduct an informal assessment of interests and needs among political leaders and civic activists in order to enable NDI to design an effective training program.

The Cooperative Agreement between AID and NDI, approved 10 June 1992 for one year starting 15 May 1992, supported NDI programs to provide assistance in: (1) political party development in Russia, Ukraine, and Central Asia through in-country training and intensive consultations; (2) training for civic organizations in areas such as voter education, citizen responsibility, and responsible governance; and (3) a local government program of technical assistance and management training in Russia and Ukraine.

NDI's democracy development project in the Russian Federation is defined by the following project objectives: develop NDI's capabilities as an in-country resource center for informational requests and to provide general educational and training materials on democratic systems and political development; to support political party training programs; to develop and expand local government training programs; to identify and support nascent civic organizations; to develop NDI's electoral law consultation program; and to provide additional information and analysis to support the development of sound electoral regulations.

NDI produced three voter education spots in cooperation with Russian television which were aired on national television prior to the election. The spots explain voters' rights and responsibilities, the voting procedure, and encourage citizens to vote in the election.

In Ukraine NDI planned to strengthen political parties and to provide focused and periodic consultations to local government officials in several regional cities. The NDI program in Ukraine has three elements: (1) to create a permanent in-country resource center; (2) to support the presence of democratic parties through a political party training program; and (3) to work with local civic councils through a local government training program.

In Central Asia the political climate has been more intolerant to the presence of foreign political activists and in turn is more oppressive in the political, economic and social life of the country. For this reason NDI's efforts have been to promote a political culture supportive of the emergence of democratic institutions through the regional resource center, including the development of general educational and training materials on democratic systems and political development and the development of programs in civic and political education. The program has focused on the development of the NDI in-country resource center, a political party building program and the development of a local government training program.

Findings

The most tangible resource the field offices have produced is a library of information and training materials. These materials have provided countless groups and individuals with uncensored and timely information on topics related to democracy, politics and economic reform. Such materials enable a broad public to consider politics critically and to participate effectively in the political process. Over 10,000 campaign manuals were distributed prior to the Parliamentary elections in the Russian Federation in December 1993.

The conferences and workshops on political party building, election campaign techniques and civic organizing have also been well attended and well reviewed. The individual consulting sessions that have accompanied these sessions have been well regarded by the beneficiaries.

Impact

NDI has successfully established its programs in the countries visited and conducted training which have resulted in changes in the operation of the political parties they have assisted. NDI's support for programs in cities throughout the Russian Federation has contributed to the beginning of an infrastructure of political activists. In other NIS countries NDI sees its programmatic goals as much longer term.

The NDI model of an in-country resource center has enabled it to respond in a timely and concrete fashion to requests from government and party leaders as democratic processes are being developed and implemented. Through the development of voter education spots prior to the referendum and the December elections NDI has been able to contribute to public education about democratic elections.

NDI's work in the countries visited has made a demonstrable positive impact on the clients they have served. Quantifiable and qualitative changes were noted in the operations of municipal organizations, political parties and the civic and political activists which they have assisted. The degree of impact varied depending on external forces (political, legal and other barriers). It is

important to note that tremendous social change must occur in the NIS before democratic institutions will be in place and democratic systems are fully functioning. The challenges confronting these parties are substantial and these efforts, by definition, will have to be initiated by the people of the NIS.

1 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 represents 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 it has been extended through 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, civil society, governance and public administration, and political process, to enable individuals and organizations to determine political outcomes in a competitive and fair environment. The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI), which is evaluated in this report, is one element of this 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 NDI 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 NDI staff in their offices in the Washington, DC. Extensive documentation was gathered and reviewed by the team.

The evaluators visited the Russian Federation from 20-29 January, at which time the team broke into two sub-teams, one of which visited Ukraine from 29 January to 5 February and one of which visited Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan from 29 January to 5 February. The method of the field visits was derived from rapid appraisal techniques, which stress creation of a team, multi-disciplinary treatment of data, selective sampling, gathering information through interviews, and conscious efforts to identify biases.

With the full cooperation of NDI, the evaluators structured their itinerary to maximize opportunities to observe significant project activities. Similarly, NDI provided names of key beneficiaries who became priority targets for interview. Interviews with Russian-speaking informants were conducted in English using professional interpreters. To the extent that logistics permitted, at least two team members participated in interviews with beneficiaries. However, intense time constraints required modifications of the optimal itinerary and interview schedule.

The authors of this report conducted a total of 65 interviews: 28 with U.S. Government officials in five countries, 12 with NDI staff members in four countries, and 25 with beneficiaries of NDI's programs in four countries. A list of people interviewed is given in Appendix A. The documents reviewed are listed in Appendix B.

Following the field visits, the team met several times in Washington, DC, to exchange notes. Team members met with AID officials and NDI staff to present key findings and conclusions informally and to review critical issues. Copies of the draft report were submitted for comment to NDI and to AID/Washington and were sent to the USAID Missions in Moscow, Almaty, and Kiev. This revised draft reflects comments and corrections by the grantee and AID/Washington, but no comments have been received to date from the three USAID Missions.

The team expresses its sincere appreciation for the excellent cooperation and support received from AID officials in Washington, from USAID and U.S. Embassy staffs in Moscow, Almaty, and Kiev, from the NDI staff in its headquarters and field offices, and from the numerous beneficiaries of these programs.

2 THE COOPERATIVE AGREEMENT

A Purpose and Description of the Program

The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) is a nonprofit organization established in 1983. NDI's programs are concentrated in new democracies, societies in conflict and nondemocratic countries with strong democratic movements. By working with political parties, civic organizations, legislatures and other institutions, NDI has undertaken political development projects in more than 60 countries.

NDI's activities in the New Independent States (NIS) of the former Soviet Union began with observation and assessment of the March 1989 elections to the Congress of People's Deputies funded by the National Endowment for Democracy (NED). Between 1990 and 1992, NDI (with NED funding) conducted an extensive technical assistance program for the development of municipal reform. This provided a solid foundation for its work with civic organizations and political parties under the AID/DPI initiative.

NDI submitted an unsolicited proposal to AID on 27 March 1992 and amended it on 7 April, just three days before the DPI Project as a whole was approved. The Cooperative Agreement between AID and NDI, approved 10 June 1992 for one year starting 15 May 1992, supported NDI to provide assistance in (1) political party development in Russia, Ukraine and Central Asia through in-country training and intensive consultations; (2) training for civic organizations in areas such as voter education, citizen responsibility and responsible governance; and (3) a local government program of technical assistance and management training in Russia and Ukraine.

NDI's democracy development project in the Russian Federation is defined by the following project objectives: develop NDI's capabilities as an in-country resource center for informational requests and to provide general educational and training materials on democratic systems and political development; to support political party training programs; to develop and expand local government training programs; to identify and support nascent civic organizations; to develop NDI's electoral law consultation program; and to provide additional information and analysis to support the development of sound electoral regulations.

In Ukraine, NDI is committed "to strengthening political parties and to provide focused and periodic consultations to local government officials in several regional cities." The NDI program in Ukraine has three elements: (1) to create a permanent in-country resource center; (2) to support the presence of democratic parties through a political party training program; and (3) to work with local civic councils through a local government training program.

In Central Asia, the political climate has been more intolerant to the intrusion of foreign political activists and in turn is more oppressive in the political, economic and social life of the country. For this reason, NDI's efforts have been limited to promotion of "a political culture supportive of the emergence of democratic institutions" through the regional resource center, including the development of general education and training materials on democratic systems and political development, and the development of programs in civic and political education. The program

has focused on the development of the NDI in-country resource center a political party building program and the development of a local government training program

The July 1993 proposal demonstrates the evolutionary expansion of NDI's work in the NIS. A clearer assessment of the in-country opportunities a stronger involvement in civic education and responses to support the developing political process are reflected in these objectives:

- 1 to strengthen political parties organization means of communication and voter contact capabilities in order to offer citizens a means of representation and participation in a pluralistic society
- 2 to institutionalize political reform and political party participation at the local level in order to diversify the roles and effects of political parties in the governing process
- 3 to develop and strengthen broad-based civic education organizations in order to heighten awareness of citizens rights and responsibilities in a representative democracy and
- 4 to promote the conduct of free and fair elections "

The Cooperative Agreement required NDI to prepare a workplan to be revised quarterly which included specific objectives for each program component and a strategy for measuring the impact of program activities towards meeting those objectives. AID funds were included for NDI to [e]valuate the program to measure the impact of activities towards achieving the program purpose and specific objectives " (Cooperative Agreement p 12)

Early in 1993 the project requested expanded funding to continue for a year until 15 May 1994 on 22 September 1993 this request was approved with additional funding of \$2 065 820 bringing the total to \$3 853 620

B Country Context and Issues

Russian Federation

NDI's activities in the NIS began with observation and assessment of the March 1989 elections to the Congress of People's Deputies funded by the NED. Between 1990 and 1992 NDI (with NED funding) conducted an extensive technical assistance program for the development of municipal reform. This 2-year program featured a series of municipal finance and administration seminars in Moscow and St. Petersburg, attended by more than 300 city soviet members and city administrators. During this program NDI also worked with members of the Gorbachev administration key committees within the Supreme Soviet and other political leaders in Moscow. This network of contacts provided a solid foundation for NDI's work with civic organizations and political blocs under the AID DPI initiative.

In the post Soviet era two main political movements Democratic Russia and the Movement for Democratic Reforms attempted to formalize themselves as political parties within an anti-party political environment NDI assisted both of these reform movements in these efforts

On 21 September 1993 President Yeltsin issued a presidential decree calling for parliamentary elections on 12 December which resulted in the formation of 35 parties social organizations and electoral blocs Of these 35 only 21 succeeded in collecting the number of signatures necessary to appear on the ballot and only 13 groups were approved by the Central Elections Commission (CEC) to appear on the ballot Several blocs that were expected to be politically significant did not garner enough signatures to appear on the ballot but half a dozen new blocs and organizations emerged and successfully collected the necessary number of signatures

Throughout this hectic pre election period NDI identified leaders in these blocs and attempted to provide political party training and technical assistance to reform-minded parties and candidates

Ukraine

In November 1992 NDI field representatives met with members of the Ukrainian parliament to discuss the new election law draft At the request of Deputies Serhij Holovatv and Anatoly Tkachuk the head of the Committee on Legislation NDI provided advice on election law-related issues such as voter contact and communication and the importance of domestic observers in elections in testimony before the committee and in one-on-one meetings

Political parties are more developed in Ukraine than in Russia because parties have developed charters platforms and program activities and must register with the Minister of Justice Unfortunately the current parliament succeeded in drafting the constitution and the election law to maintain the status quo and the current election law discourages candidates supported by political parties Only 11 percent of the candidates standing for election in March are party affiliated Once again NDI has had to be aggressive and flexible in identifying political activists for its training program

Most of NDI's programs in Ukraine are small scale involving primarily NDI's field representatives and a few US experts Logistical difficulties have been minimal in spite of closed cities and local government suspicion of an American presence NDI's affiliation with the Association of Democratic Councils of Ukraine has provided an avenue for reaching 100 political activists in the cities and *oblasts* Additional outreach through training programs on civic organizing have identified 150 additional contacts With the cooperation of the Association NDI expects that its program in Ukraine will be able to expand to more regional cities increasing its efficacy in local government political party and civic development

Central Asia

The situation in the Russian Federation and Ukraine stands in stark contrast to the less developed political conditions of Central Asia Many political parties exist but their sophistication and institutional capability are extremely weak and tentative Soviet style structures and attitudes

remain widespread. Ethnic tension between Russians and Kazakhs and the absence of procedures to register foreign NGOs impose significant constraints on NDI's activities in Kazakhstan.

These conditions require that NDI develop a program in the region that departs from its traditional emphasis on political party development and local government reform. NDI is seeking to promote a cultural context in which democratic institutions may ultimately take root: a broad-based program dedicated to civic education. Political party training must first deal with the ethnic and national differences and encourage unity and cohesion. The fundamentals of grassroots organization and political coalition building must precede training on party development techniques and strategies. Kyrgyzstan is relatively more receptive to an active role by American political NGOs and NDI has held several successful conferences and training programs in the capital Bishkek and elsewhere in the country. Uzbekistan is relatively more resistant to the presence of U.S. political organizations and NDI was forced to withdraw the resident adviser it had placed there at the start of its cooperative agreement with AID. The civil war in Tajikistan has virtually precluded any work there by NDI.

Issues such as registration, country-to-country travel clearance and communication breakdowns have often absorbed significant time and energy of field representatives and Washington staff. Central Asian government monitoring of foreign organizations in the region has often limited NDI's training and consultative possibilities. Nevertheless, NDI continues to promote democratic institutions in Central Asia through programs on civic organizing and political reform targeted to students, women and other community activists. NDI sustains relations with the indigenous governments and political parties in the anticipation that this will pave the way for more programs in support of democratic development.

C Program Budget and Financial Management

The initial tranche of \$1,600,000 was approved in May 1992. It was increased by \$187,800 to support monitoring of the elections in Georgia. Early in 1993, with the project completion date approaching, NDI submitted a proposal for expanded funding to continue for a year until 15 May 1994. On 14 April 1993, NDI requested a no-cost 7.5 month extension of the project to 31 December 1993 while the two parties continued to negotiate the second round of funding. On 15 July, NDI submitted a final proposal to expand and extend the Cooperative Agreement through 31 March 1994 with additional funding of \$2,065,820 bringing the total to \$3,853,620. This proposal was accepted on 22 September 1993.

Several NDI staff members remarked on budget constraints during September 1993. NDI's audited statement shows that by 30 September, NDI had expended \$1,539,736 of the \$1,600,000 authorized under its Cooperative Agreement. One example of the shortage of funds is that NDI could not reprint 2,000 copies of training materials at a time when they were critically needed during pre-election training. We were told that there were fierce arguments in the offices of Russia's Choice Party over who would get the last few dozen copies.

NDI takes cost effectiveness seriously. For instance, the annual salaries of field staff start at about \$18,000 and appear not to rise much above this even after several years of field experience.

We visited the NDI offices in Moscow, Almaty, and Kiev and found all three to be in accessible city-center locations in very ordinary buildings and with very modest furnishings. Both staff members and internationally-recruited trainers are housed in quite ordinary apartments in Moscow. Spartan is a charitable description of the accommodations NDI provides its staff and consultants in provincial cities.

All of the many books, pamphlets, brochures, and videotapes we examined appeared to have been produced in the local economy using familiar paper and local printing methods.

3 FINDINGS

A Inputs Activities and Delivery Mechanisms

Once NDI established its presence in the NIS it developed the basis for implementing its programs to strengthen political parties and civic groups and train local government officials. Through in country assessments NDI Regional Program Officers were able to (a) refine NDI's understanding of the current political situation with respect to party development the nature of coalition activity the activity of anti-democratic movements and the relationship of all political formations to the government (b) introduce NDI to political and civic organizations active in the political sphere and (c) conduct an informal assessment of interests and needs among political leaders and civic activists in order to enable NDI to design an effective training program.

NDI's quarterly progress reports to AID the first of which covered the period 1 July to 30 September 1992 document a systematic untolding process of developing country work plans. The first three quarterly reports are weighted toward retrospective narration but from the fourth through the most recent report ending 31 December 1993 the emphasis shifts to a balance between a report of activities completed and actions planned.

NDI programs have centered around strong in-country resource centers based in Moscow Kiev and Almaty. These centers have responded to information requests and provided general education and training materials regarding democratic systems and political development. The resource centers have compiled extensive reference and training materials in English translated them into the language of the host country and responded to major requests from the governments for participation in the analysis of election laws parliamentary procedure municipal administration and political party development.

In addition NDI has sponsored three separate tracks of education and training in Russia and Ukraine the development of local governments the development of nascent civic organizations and leaders and political party development. In Central Asia because of the difficult climate for political party development the educational programs have focused on organizational and informational support for locally based civic and political groups in the region.

Russian Federation

NDI began its work in the Soviet Union in 1989 three years before AID established a field presence. Its initial program activity began with observation and assessment of the March 29 elections to the Congress of the People's Deputies funded by NED. Program activity was expanded to include technical assistance for municipal government reform strengthening of democratic institutions in Russia and electoral and municipal consultations in Ukraine.

An on-going presence and permanent office were created in June 1992 through NDI's AID-funded program. Activities were oriented toward developing (1) an in-country resource center on democratic systems and political development (2) a political party training program and (3) a local government training program.

The early operations of the NDI office in Moscow were strongly assisted by Dr. Michael McFaul, Research Fellow at the Hoover Institution, an expert on the emerging political parties in Russia, and by Prof. Sergei Markov, a political scientist at Moscow State University and resident expert on the changing political climate in Russia. During early 1993, program resources expanded with the addition of a resident American local government expert. During the second quarter of 1993, program resources were expanded with the addition of the office's third resident American expert, a field specialist to work with civic organizations. Two additional field representatives were hired during the third quarter of 1993, bringing to five the number of Americans in NDI's Moscow office.

The NDI office in Moscow now has six staff members, including three experienced Americans: James Chavin, Program Officer; Ted Smoot, Program Officer; and Anne Mavitv, Field Program Officer.

Central Asia

NDI conducts activities to promote the development of a political culture supportive of the emergence of democratic institutions in Central Asia. Programs are being designed in anticipation of national elections in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan in 1994 based on a strategy of a resource center, civic and political education, and electoral support.

NDI opened a regional resource center at the outset of its work in Central Asia under the cooperative agreement. The center, which is associated with the NDI regional office for the five republics of Central Asia, is located in Almaty and is directed by John Ritchotte, Resident Program Officer. He is assisted by several local staff members. The center is well equipped to respond to specific informational requests and to provide general educational and training materials on democratic systems and political development. The "Documents for Democracy" program has distributed nearly 5 million pages from 54 documents totalling 1,500 pages in length.

More than 15 programs in civic and political education throughout the region for groups of students, political and civic activists, women, and academics. These programs have included both training provided by NDI's field representatives and conferences coordinated by NDI's staff in Washington. Programs to begin to direct public awareness and provide technical support to the electoral process in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan have included national and regional conferences and consultations.

Ukraine

The NDI program in Ukraine has three dimensions: (1) to create a permanent in-country resource center; (2) to support the presence of democratic parties through a political party training program; and (3) to work with local civic councils through a local government training program.

As in Russia, this program has been implemented by a strategy that emphasizes ongoing assistance provided by NDI's local field staff and periodic consultations and conferences coordinated by NDI's Washington office, and the development of an in-country resource center.

to respond to information requests and provide general education and training materials on democratic systems and political development

At the time of the evaluation the NDI office in Kiev was staffed by three professionals two of whom are Americans and three support staff The office is led by Sarah Farnsworth

B Outputs

Russian Federation

NDI's reputation as an in-country resource center was established early in its presence in the NIS and it has continued to provide important information on democratic processes For example

Four international experts on election processes were provided They consulted with members of a parliamentary drafting committee on the draft election law During election law consultations in June 1993 NDI's trainers found that many of the recommendations made on election laws in December 1992 were incorporated into the latest draft

NDI acted as a resource library for the Chair of the Committee on the Problems of the Work of the Councils of Peoples' Deputies and the Development of Self Government

NDI also organized several roundtable discussions with the Russian nongovernmental organization Interlegal Foundation These roundtables consisted of government representatives political analysts and other experts and focused on the rules and processes of elections and the election campaign the role of independent and political party pollwatchers and the relationship of the elections to the development of a democratic society

The extensive educational programs conducted by NDI are described in Table 1 Based on its initial contacts through its municipal reform program NDI was able to develop significant programs in remote cities/towns throughout the Russian Federation

Table 1
Training in Russia
(6-92 - 9/93)

<u>Location</u>	<u>Topic</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u># of Participants</u>
Moscow Nizhny Novgorod	Election Strategies	2-3/93	350
Moscow St Petersburg Nizhny Novgorod Voronezh Riazon	Political Party Building	5/93	200
12 cities	Local government consultations	5/93	
5 cities and Kiev Riga	Political Party Building	5/93	200
Far East Kiou	Political Party Building	5/93	
Vladivastok	Technology of Elections and Political Parties	5/93	70

Moscow	Democracy Leadership and Women (organized with Center for Gender Studies and LWV)	5/93	80
TOTAL			900

When parliamentary elections were called in September 1993 NDI developed a comprehensive program in support of the electoral process. The first element of this program was an expansion of its political party training seminars. Twelve international political experts traveled to 14 cities throughout the Russian Federation. The trainings emphasized volunteer recruitment, targetting and message development. One-on-one consultations encouraged parties and candidates to focus on priorities that would be effective in a 6-week campaign. The 3-week long program was designed to assist democratic political parties and blocs in developing the organizational skills necessary to compete in Russia's first multiparty elections. In November a second international team conducted an election monitor training program in the 14 cities visited by the political party trainers. NDI discovered that one important output of its activities was a sharp increase in requests from parties, expanded participation in NDI programs, and NDI's exponentially expanding contact pool. Ten thousand copies of the election preparation manual were distributed to political party leaders and to seminar participants.

NDI also sponsored media experts to work with television management of the two national networks on how to arrange a broadcast schedule in the pre-election period. They prepared guidelines for elections reporting, allocation of free media time, and the principles and formats for producing political debates.

Shortly before the Parliamentary elections, NDI produced three videotape clips, each a couple of minutes long, on rights and responsibilities of voters, on the process for election day, and on procedures for the vote for parliament. The tapes were distributed to both state and private TV channels and were reported to have been aired several times in November and December 1993.

Central Asia

NDI has distributed information on civic organizations from foreign countries in order to provide emerging groups in Central Asia with models for developing their own institutional platforms, organizing methods and goals. NDI has assembled numerous pamphlets and promotional literature from groups in Hungary, Bulgaria, Zambia, Paraguay, Germany, Rumania, Turkey, and the United States, which it has then translated.

NDI has designed programs to assist the development of the draft election legislation in Kazakhstan. It hosted a roundtable discussion on electoral processes and parliamentary systems in Washington for four visiting members of the Kazakhstan Parliamentary Commission on Election Law and a panel of political, legal, and regional experts.

NDI has also conducted programs on "Building a Student Organization" and other presentations on civic organization, including one conference targeted to women throughout Central Asia.

**Table 2
Training in Central Asia**

<u>Location</u>	<u>Topic</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u># of Participants</u>
Almaty	Effective Organizing	1/93	100
Bishkek	Organizing for Students	1/93	35
Almaty	Forum for Educators	2/93	50
Tashkent	Building Political Consensus for Economic Reform	3/93	85
Almaty	Stalinism and Contemporary Politics	3/93	275
Bishkek	Economic Development and Pol Reform	4/93	100
Various	Lectures of High Schools	11/92- 5/93	490
Bishkek	What a political party should do 18 months before an election	5/93	35
Almaty	Building a Student Organization	5/93	35
	Women in Contemporary American Politics	5/93	30
Bishkek	Comparative Election Systems	5/93	40
Almaty	Women's Conference	8-9/93	
			Total 1275

Ukraine

From the beginning the Resident Project Director has regarded the program in Ukraine as product-driven. The seminars and workshops are usually 3 hours in length. Training in campaign preparedness is focused on a workbook to guide participants through the steps of developing a campaign plan. Usually there are 20-25 participants and each leaves the workshop with a campaign scenario and a campaign plan for message development, voter targeting and voter outreach.

**Table 3
Training in Ukraine**

<u>Location</u>	<u>Topic</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u># of Participants</u>
Kiev	International seminar on local governance and local politics	Nov 92	185
Odessa	Political party development	3/93	110
Kiev	Draft elect law consultation	12/92	15
	Pol party training seminar	5/27/93	35

Total 470

To maximize their resources NDI has worked in collaboration with other American NGOs in Ukraine. It sponsored a democratic initiatives seminar with (FTUI and IRI) that used Ukrainian trainers and focused on voter contact structure and administration of parties. NDI is also helping fund and develop six debates in conjunction with other American NGOs and foreign foundations including the Westminster Foundation, the Dutch Embassy and the National Endowment for Democracy. The format is being developed in conjunction with the Center for Political Studies and will be shown on UT 1, the principal Ukrainian government channel which reaches over 90% of the Ukrainian public. Each debate will be one half hour in length and will focus on a single issue affecting the Ukrainian voter: crime, taxation, economic reform, workers rights, ecology and privatization. The topics were selected by an advisory committee which will help select the actual debaters and screen the questions which will be drawn from on-the-street interviews with Ukrainians prior to the broadcast.

Several important resources have been developed by the NDI in the Ukrainian language including 13,000 copies of an election preparation manual, primary and secondary written materials on civic organizing, scholarly articles on political philosophy, party organizing and governance issues. NDI also provided an analysis and commentary on the draft election law in response to a request from the President of Ukraine's Advisory Council. NDI's mailing list for the Ukraine contains some 600 names and addresses of political activists and civic and political organizations.

NDI is also working on a grassroots development project with the Committee for the Defense of Human Rights. Working with the Union of Ukrainian Students and four other groups, NDI will support development of a local civic group to focus on non-partisan monitoring of the March elections and to establish communication channels between the Central Election Commission and the district *oblast* election center. They will distribute materials and train civic groups on techniques for candidate forums. A special training on elections observation is scheduled for February 18-20 using Romanian and Bulgarian trainers.

C Impact

NDI's work in the countries visited has reached the clients they sought. NDI has established its programs in the countries visited and conducted training which have resulted in changes in the operation of the political parties they have assisted. Political parties and candidates have attempted to be more strategic in their campaign activities. This has included specific efforts to identify supporters and to target campaign resources, research to refine and define campaign themes and messages, more aggressive voter education and outreach, and development of mechanisms to manage party operations. NDI's support for programs in cities throughout the Russian Federation has contributed to the beginning of an infrastructure of political activists. In other NIS countries, NDI sees its programmatic goals as much longer term. Quantifiable and

qualitative changes were noted in the operations of municipal organizations, political parties and the civic and political activists which they have assisted.

NDI's democracy-building activities manifest several different types of impacts which can be arranged along a spectrum grounded at the extremes by impacts on individual people and systemic impacts with impacts on organizations occupying an intermediate position. There are several kinds of impacts on individuals ranging from changes in morale, motivation and attitudes through the acquisition of new knowledge and skills to changes in personal behavior. Impacts on political and civic organizations similarly range from the intangible to the practical, from, for instance, the capacity to develop campaign themes and strategies to the ability to mobilize volunteers and raise funds. Systemic impacts are changes in the broad frameworks of society including the national constitution and laws and the mechanisms of the economy and governance.

Through the development of voter education spots prior to the referendum and the December elections, NDI has been able to contribute to public education about democratic elections. The NDI model of an in-country resource center has enabled it to respond in a timely and concrete fashion to requests from government and party leaders as democratic processes are being developed and implemented.

Given the limitations of the rapid appraisal method, it is a great deal easier to attribute to NDI's activities their impacts on individuals than on political organizations or national systems. Interviews with a sample of participants in NDI training programs clearly revealed changes in attitudes, skills, and behavior which the participants themselves attributed to their training. Some of these changes have begun to affect political party platforms and organizations, and some have probably influenced the cataclysmic social, economic and political changes that have engulfed the former Soviet Union. A complete impact study will be needed at a later date to clearly link outputs to changes in operations, systems, and individual behavior.

Russian Federation

The evaluation team found abundant evidence of NDI's impact on the activities of individuals who would describe themselves as political reformers. Sergei Markov, a professor at Moscow State University and NDI consultant, told us:

The work of the American organizations have already yielded successful results. In particular, many political leaders have absorbed techniques from their American counterparts, especially in the major cities. American attention significantly enhances the status of any organization. It is sometimes difficult for U.S. representatives to appreciate how important it is for us to have contact."

We observed the influence of NDI's campaign training when we visited the offices of three political reformers in Yekaterinburg (the capital of the Urals mountain region which divides European Russia from Siberia) when we sought a small representative sample of participants in a single training program. Sergei Malygin, a participant in an NDI workshop, had a very dog-eared copy of the Russian-language elections manual distributed by NDI entitled *How to Win*.

an Election on his coffee table. He said, "I found the training very helpful and they provided very helpful materials. This is my deskbook."

Jakob Rosin, also a participant in the Yekaterinburg workshop, said, "They even mailed some materials to me as preparation for the elections and these were very helpful. It was useful to receive that information because election techniques govern everything. By the end, there was almost nothing left to teach us. Today, the local chief administrator just announced that the *oblast Duma* elections will be held on 10 April. We are going to run. We are not boasting, but you will not find people more prepared to run than we are."

Rosin underscored the importance of preparation when he noted, "To me, the most important thing about the December 1993 election is that it was the border at which political amateurship ceased. It became clear to us and to our opponents that future political life will be based on parties and professionalism."

Central Asia

The most tangible resource the field office has produced is its library of informational and training materials. These materials have provided countless groups and individuals with uncensored and timely information on topics related to democracy and politics and economic reform. Such materials enable a broad public to consider politics critically and to participate effectively in the political process.

NDI's efforts to develop programs related to the electoral process are in response to proposals from political activists in Central Asia. The Interior Ministry, the Union of People's Unity, and the People's Congress of Kazakhstan have all approached NDI to request NDI election-related assistance.

As in Russia, we found that the directly observable impact of NDI's work is on the careers of reform politicians. Leonid Z. Solomin, the President of the International Trade Union Center of Kazakhstan, told us, "Their [NDI's] work was useful to help growing democratic powers, including independent trade unions. I give them a very positive evaluation. They gave seminars on organizing for a campaign and how an election works in the USA. They brought different political parties nearer to each other. Their seminars prevented national conflicts among political parties. They helped to find common political, ethnic, and national points of view. This is the main achievement—they showed people could work together around a round table."

Aleksander Rouzanov, the head of BRIF, a private market research firm, also underscored the importance of the work being done by NDI when he told the evaluation team, "NDI was the first foreign organization to associate with BRIF. We attended the seminars that James Chavin organized. They were held for representatives of different political parties in Kazakhstan. Their seminars were very useful for the political parties. For example, one was on how to prepare a party to participate in an election. But the people who attended were not ready for it. The seminars were delivered not only as theoretical material but also with practical examples. All the concepts were illustrated by examples from this real life."

He underscored the immensity of the challenges confronted by NDI in Kazakhstan by noting: "It is very difficult for NDI to work here because the government does not approve of their work."

Tatvana Kvatkovskaya, a journalist and independent candidate for Parliament, expressed her response to the NDI training when we interviewed her at her home: "I attended a pre-election seminar. It was very interesting and fruitful. The program is well-organized and intensive. The contents are good. This seminar helped me to make up a concrete campaign. My evaluation of it is high. All kinds of parties became more prominent, more definite in structure and aims."

Our interviews with a small sample of beneficiaries of NDI's political training programs in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan yielded impressions that were consistent with those in Russia. Training on how to run a campaign has been open to all those who learn about it and who are motivated to attend. The training successfully reinforced self-confidence and motivation to participate actively in elections. Trainees felt that they had gained important new skills. And some of those who had completed the training program have already launched their own campaigns as political reformers.

It is too soon to draw any firm conclusions about the eventual impact of the training, especially regarding the number of reformers who get themselves elected at the national *oblast* and municipal levels. But early indications are positive in Central Asia, as they are also in the Russian Federation.

Ukraine

NDI's continuous political party program has enabled it to become a dependable resource for political activists in Ukraine. The in-country resource center has expanded its database and routinely distributes materials in the Ukrainian language, including information on models for organizing civic organizations, political party structures, and other information. They have provided training in civic organizing to over 18 civic groups, including women, students, and environmental organizations. As a result of this training, two organizations, the Association of Ukrainian Students and the All Ukrainian Center for the Defense of Human Rights, have formed an election monitoring committee.

The elections had not occurred at the time of the evaluation, so it has not been possible to draw more than tentative conclusions about the immediate or eventual impact of the information distributed by NDI or of its education and training programs. A full evaluation is needed after the elections to assess what political tactics and techniques were actually used and which were successful.

4 MANAGEMENT

A Grant Management

Management by NDI

NDI has made good use of the main concepts of the Logical Framework especially the hierarchy of objectives. Quarterly Reports follow key elements of the LogFrame and they are the most comprehensive reports reviewed by the evaluators. NDI submitted and the evaluators reviewed six Quarterly Reports covering the period from 1 July 1992 through 31 December 1993. The reports convey specific information about current program activities and plans for future directions.

NDI staff and consultants described mixed experiences with officials in the USAID missions in Moscow, Almaty, and Kiev. Professional and personal relationships in Moscow were uniformly described as being 'very good' and "excellent." NDI staff think that their work is both appreciated and reasonably well understood at the USAID mission and at the U.S. Embassy, especially as the result of weekly meetings during the three months before the December elections. In Almaty, USAID and Embassy officials and NDI staff expressed positive appreciation for each other's work. NDI staffers spoke in glowing terms about the leadership of Ambassador William Courtney, and they were glad that weekly pre-election meetings had begun in early February. In Kiev, however, communications with the regional USAID mission were reported to be subject to some improvement.

All of NDI's staff in the NIS have practical experience in U.S. political campaigns and/or legislation, and they convey a professional commitment to democratic processes. They all appeared to be comfortable working in the local cultural and linguistic environment. Most are in their 20s or 30s. They gave the appearance of being satisfied with the equivalent of entry-level Washington, DC salaries and modest living allowances.

The evaluators read dozens of internal memoranda and systematically questioned NDI staffers about relations between NDI's Washington, DC Headquarters and the field offices in the NIS. On the whole, we found communication and the delegation of decision-making to be effective, well grounded in shared goals, mutual respect, and strong leadership by Ambassador Nelson Ledsky.

Local-level campaign training programs relied very heavily on local organizers during the two months before the 1993 Russian parliamentary elections. The management systems to recruit, orient, and field internationally recruited trainers were stretched by the pressure to deliver quickly a large number of training programs in widely dispersed cities. The NDI office in Moscow has made a considerable effort to expand its database of participants in all of its training programs, now numbering more than 1,400. However, it has not yet been possible to organize systematic, proactive followup for each individual who has completed workshops.

NDI's initial proposal shows that it was aware of the need for evaluation. NDI proposed that it solicit feedback from participating democratic reformers through written evaluations from local

participants using a detailed post-conference evaluation form. NDI is also soliciting input from its international trainers on the success and shortcomings of the programs and the project as a whole.

Management by AID

Interviews with about a dozen AID officials with responsibility for managing the Cooperative Agreement with NDI revealed a complex relationship that pits AID's perceived need for accountability and control against an equally strong mandate for flexibility and partnership. The initial Cooperative Agreement with NDI was described as having been written on the back of an envelope at a time when the Agency was specifically enjoined from conducting 'assessments' or developing a strategy. Under these circumstances, the activities selected for funding appear quite appropriate.

With the passage of two years, however, there are now increasing demands for accountability and measurement of performance against strategic and programmatic objectives. AID and NDI have had the challenge of implementing a complex grant requiring great flexibility while simultaneously clarifying the goal and purpose of the activities and developing objectively verifiable indicators for their achievement. Overall, AID officials seem genuinely pleased with NDI's responsiveness and performance. For example, an internal memorandum regarding an NDI political party training in Riazon noted that "The conference was well structured and very well received."

AID officials are at a great disadvantage in their relationship with NDI because AID has very limited first-hand familiarity with the Russian language, the culture, area, and with conditions in the field. Heavy workloads preclude frequent monitoring visits, which forces officials to rely on written reports as substitutes for personal observation. NDI staff assert that they devote considerable effort to compensate for inadequate communication and slow decision-making between AID Washington and the USAID missions in the NIS. Many AID officials share this frustration.

Timely and constructive interventions and increased routine communications between USAID Missions and NDI field operations would greatly enhance this grantee's program. AID conducted a Project Implementation Review of the Democratic Pluralism Initiatives Project on 13 May 1993. The review concluded that the project had a grade of "B" overall but that NDI would merit an "A."

B Organizational and Institutional Factors

In all three countries and regions where it is working in the NIS, NDI faces daily challenges of deciding with what organizations and individuals it should be working. The weak and fluid institutional framework for assistance to parties was described to us by two leading reform politicians who know NDI well. Sergey Margarit, a member of the Policy Council of the Social Democratic Party, said "The elections demonstrated a lack of organization by the democratic parties. Many democratic organizations were scattered among numerous blocs. There was a lack

of coordination among democratic groups which facilitated the victories of the nationalists and communists

Mikhail Schneider, the Executive Secretary of the Coordination Council of the Democratic Russia Movement, put things even more bluntly. 'It is not that we don't have enough democratic organizations. The problem is that we don't have them **at all** in the accepted sense. What we have is a lot of democratic "get-togethers" around certain political leaders.

NDI focuses its work on reform-minded parties and individuals. However, while NDI does not invite or actively solicit the participation of other groups in accordance with the terms of its AID grant, neither does it turn them away from its training programs. This has created concern among some beneficiaries that NDI is providing the training to too broad a political spectrum. One participant in a campaign training course commented, "The only demerit was that to my mind NDI was too democratic because they invited representatives from all political organizations, including communists."

A U.S. Embassy official in Moscow noted, "NDI and IRI are good examples of organizations that came out at a certain time and managed to do outstanding work. They got out to Russia's regions and cities, became knowledgeable about political leaders, and established credibility. That being said, in the aftermath of the election, the context has changed: where do they go from here? Now only a third of Parliament is reform-oriented. A lot of the people they were working with have not been re-elected. Now, they might focus on the regions, since power is flowing from the center to the regions."

The decentralization of political and economic power alluded to by the U.S. official will pose a significant challenge for NDI and other DPI Project grantees because it will increase pressures to deliver even more information and training at the municipal and territorial levels than has been achieved through the end of 1993.

5 CONCLUSIONS

- 1 NDI has effectively promoted the development of democratic processes in elections in the four countries visited by the evaluation team. They are internationally recognized as an effective provider of needed technical assistance and political party and election training. With many of the beneficiaries, it is possible to see the impact of these programs in restructured organizations, more efficient planning of campaign activity, and expanded community activity by civic groups. With other beneficiaries, quantification is more difficult. This is often the case where AID projects are providing assistance early in the process of transformation to democratic systems.
- 2 The evaluation team was impressed with the quality of both contacts and programs developed by NDI despite the challenges inherent in developing programs to reach political activists in isolated parts of countries without communication infrastructures. In fact, increased understanding of the economic, political, and social environments of the four countries facilitated by the field staff has made NDI management of its programs more effective. This point should be emphasized. Throughout the NIS, NDI's initial political assessments and conscious efforts to create in-country resource centers has allowed NDI to develop an in-depth understanding of the political constraints and opportunities for emerging political parties. NDI was then able to better target its projects on clients with both the willingness and the ability to implement recommendations.
- 3 NDI staff are of a high calibre, demonstrating both technical competence and professional commitment. Beneficiaries constantly remarked on how much they have enjoyed working with the staff and the value of the insights into Western parliamentary and electoral practices. The inclusion of international participants on the training teams were also appreciated, although a desire for more NIS centered training was also expressed.
- 4 The NDI model of an in-country resource center has enabled it to respond in a timely and concrete fashion to requests for information from government and party leaders as democratic processes are being instituted.
- 5 NDI has good educational programs, but the management systems to support these programs is uneven. Training programs have been spontaneous and follow-up is inconsistent. The value of these training is greatly strengthened, however, by strong written materials. Once there is a clearer understanding of the role NDI can play, the parties and activists seem to do a better job of defining their needs, making sure that the right people attend the training and requesting appropriate follow-up.
- 6 NDI's work was reported to stimulate benefits beyond the level of the initial organizing or educational sessions. In many cases, this has been the result of follow-up visits by additional training teams to reinforce earlier lessons and to consult individually with candidates and activists as they prepare for the next round of elections.

- 7 NDI has good working relationships with the other American NGOs and its European counterparts. In Ukraine especially, NDI has worked on collaborative programs. Efforts are routinely also made to share information, contacts and resources throughout the NIS. Coordination of program schedules and access to consultants is encouraged.
- 8 The NDI program is expanding very rapidly. This expansion has not resulted in a reduction of project quality. However, growth has put high demands on staff in the field, expatriate as well as local. NDI is addressing these issues and developing mechanisms for managing the increased level of programmatic activity. This phenomenon bears watching to avoid organizational overload caused by too many resources with too few staff.
- 9 NDI is clearly cost-conscious in its field operations, which are based on the local economy and successfully avoid being perceived as extravagant or offering prospects of undue financial reward.
- 10 Officials in the Office of Democratic Initiatives, Health and Human Resources with direct oversight of this project have been conscientious and diligent in fulfilling their management responsibilities. AID needs to maintain flexibility in its relationship. Amendments to the Cooperative Agreement appear to have absorbed a great deal of time and effort and to have delayed the program at times. Communications between AID, Washington and the three USAID missions in the NIS are sometimes slow, which can affect program implementation. Although relations between the USAID missions and NDI are generally good, communications with the Kiev mission could be improved.

6 RECOMMENDATIONS

- 1 This grantee has effectively identified political leaders in government political parties and community organizations and developed programs which are having an impact on the development of democratic systems within these NIS countries. The grantee can function within this framework and could be encouraged to expand its scope of work within the NIS with careful attention to organizational capacity limits.
- 2 NDI has developed systems for monitoring projects and reporting on program activity that is exemplary. Its reliance on the Logical Framework has made its quarterly reports easily responsive to AID direction. However, more effort is needed to follow-up with contacts in order to evaluate its impact on beneficiaries.
- 3 AID needs a reporting format and set standards for the adequate monitoring of its cooperative agreements. There is a feeling that the reports as presently submitted are not widely circulated or read by AID personnel. The current quarterly report mechanism combines information updating program activity with the information needed for management decision making. NDI and AID should continue to use the Logical Framework and other program planning tools to develop Objectively Verifiable Indicators of outputs and the Purpose of the program as a basis for improved monitoring.
- 4 Officials with responsibility for democracy-building in the three USAID regional missions in the NIS should be encouraged to keep abreast of and visit project activities and provide feedback whenever possible. The Ukraine activities in particular could benefit from this.

APPENDIX A LIST OF PEOPLE INTERVIEWED

United States

Washington, DC

AID/EUR/NIS/DIHR

Geraldine Donnelly Director
Marv Ann Riegelman Deputy Director
Paul Holmes Adviser
Ilona Countryman Project Officer

AID/EUR/NIS/PAC

Carlos Pascual Director
Jeff Evans Evaluation Officer
Paul Ashin Social Science Analyst
Annette Tuebner
Julie Allaire McDonald

Larry Garber

POL/CDIE/E

Gary Hansen
Harry W Blair

Department of State

Rosemary A DiCarlo
Director Democratic Initiatives for the
NIS

NDI

Kenneth Wollack, President
Nelson Ledsky Program Manager,
Former Soviet Union
Joanna Levison, Program Officer
Gabriel Huetter Program Officer
Michael Tiedemann Program Officer
Joshua Freeman Program Officer

Russian Federation

Moscow

USAID

James Norris Mission Director
Robert V Burke Deputy Mission Director
Allen Reed Program Officer
Jeanne Bourgault Program Officer
Anne Nesterczuk

US Embassy

Thomas C Niblock Jr First Secretary,
Political Section

NDI

James Chavin, Program Officer
Ted Smoot Program Assistant
Anne Mavity, Field Program Officer

Beneficiaries

Alexei S KOROTAEV, Director of
Research Memorial Human Rights
Society

Elena V KOTCHKINA Center for Gender
Studies Russian Academy of Sciences

Dmitri LEONOV Memorial Human
Rights Society

Marina MALISHEVA Center for Gender
Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences

Sergey MARGARIL, Policy Council,
Democratic Party of Russia

Sergei MARKOV, Moscow State
University

Georgy A SATAROV Director Center
for Applied Political Problems INDEM

Mikhail SCHNEIDER Executive Secretary
of the Coordination Council Democratic
Russia Movement

Alexander SHILOV Executive Secretary
of the International Committee Social
Democratic Party

Dmitrii ZHUKOV Center for Municipal
Law

Yekaterinburg

Beneficiaries

Sergei I BELYAEV Vice President, Urals
Trade Union Center

Sergei F MALYGIN former member
Ekaterinburg City Council

Alia Ivanovna PANACHOVA Chair All-
Russian Federation for the Support of
the First President of Russia

Vladimir Ivanovich POPOV, former
member, Ekaterinburg City Council

Jacob ROSIN, Chairman, Urals
Commonwealth Foundation

Vladimir I LOMOVITZEV, Chairman
Ekaterinburg Foreign Relations
Committee

Ukraine

NDI

Sarah Farnsworth
Marta Baziuk

Kazakhstan

Almaty

US Mission

William H Courtney, Ambassador
Jackson McDonald Deputy Chief of
Mission

Richard O Lankford Public Affairs
Officer US Embassy

Charles G Buck Director USAID
Patricia Buckles, Deputy Director USAID
Paula Feeney General Development
Officer USAID

Jonathan Addleton Program Officer
USAID

NDI

John Ritchotte Program Officer

KOZLOV Vyacheslav Vice President for
R&D, Agency for Social
Communications "BRIF"

KVYATKOVSKAYA Tatyana
Grigoryevna Independent Journalist

ROUZANOV, Aleksander Borisovich
Chief, Agency of Social
Communications "BRIF"

SOLOMIN, Leonid Zinovievich President,
Independent Trade Union Center of
Kazakhstan

ZHUSUPOV, Baurzhan Sabitovich
Director, Kazakh Center for Study of
Public Opinion & Market Research

TEMIRBULATOV, Serik Gabdulaevich
Deputy Minister of Justice, at the
Ministry

Kyrgyzstan

Bishkek

Edward Hurwitz Ambassador
Michael Scanlan Second Secretary US
Embassy

KARIBEK Baibosounov Memorial
Human Rights Movement

KENYANBAEVA Kamila Nadrumatneva
Chairman Dept Public Relations
Presidential Staff

TURUGUNALIEV Topchubek
Turugunaliyevich Chairman Yerken
Kyrgyzstan Party

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