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**QUARTERLY REPORT**

**GRANTEE NAME:** International Republican Institute

**GRANT/COOPERATIVE AGREEMENT NUMBER:** CSS-0007-A-00-2021-00  
Russian Project

**PERIOD COVERED IN THIS REPORT:** 4/1/94 TO 6/30/94

**1. Program Goals and Purpose**

The objective of the International Republican Institute's Russia project is to foster the development of institutions essential to the success of a democracy. In particular, the Russia project focuses on grassroots campaign training, political party development and increasing women's roles in politics. IRI believes that the best way to ensure the long-term development of democracy is by reaching out to those outside the central urban areas. For this reason, most of the programming is conducted at the regional and local level. By developing the skills and resources of political activists at the local level, IRI helps keep power in the hands of the people rather than a few governing elite and the federal bureaucracy.

**2. Output/Activities**

Having concluded a series of campaign training workshops in the first quarter of the year, IRI's in-country staff began conducting follow up missions to cities where it has held seminars over the past two years to evaluate the long-term effectiveness of its programs. IRI conducted evaluations in Smolensk on April 4-5; in Perm and Berezniki on April 4-6; in Rostov-na-Donu on April 17-20; in St. Petersburg on May 22-26; and in Archangelsk on April 27-31.

Each of the evaluations included interviews with seminar participants to determine their view of the progress of political reform in their area; what activities they undertook in the December elections and in the local elections; how IRI was useful to their political activities; how IRI's programs could be improved and how IRI could continue to be useful to them.

In each city, a majority of those who participated in the seminar worked on campaigns or be candidates in the December elections and the local elections. Many interviewed during the assessment missions said the IRI seminar was useful in helping them prepare for the election and conduct campaigns. Several candidates used the voter contacts

methods taught at the IRI seminar to varying degrees of effectiveness. The general consensus was that the training was beneficial, the written materials were especially useful and more advanced training would be welcomed with great interest.

On May 15-22, IRI officially began its work with the Parliament by hosting a joint IRI-NDI-IFES roundtable on election law with members of the State Duma. The Duma Committee on Civic and Religious Organizations asked for guidance from IRI in drafting the new election law on parties. IRI responded by joining together with the National Democratic Institute (NDI) and the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) to bring in international experts in election law to work with the deputies.

IRI brought Carol Laham, an election law attorney in Washington, D.C., and Blake Hall, an attorney and former Republican State Chairman of Idaho to advise State Duma members on the first draft of the election law. Joining them was another U.S. election law expert and an expert from Israel brought by NDI and IFES. In briefings prior to the roundtable, the delegation met with committee staff, legal experts and members of the committee to better understand the drafting process of the law and political parties in Russia.

The feedback received from the deputies and staff attending indicated that this was an extremely useful roundtable and further assistance would be appreciated. IRI's trainers agreed to do a detailed analysis of the next draft of the election, which was expected to be available some time this summer.

IRI began a new stage of developing party structures with a Party Leaders Seminar on June 17-22 in Moscow. A new phase of political development is occurring in Russia. IRI is extending its party building program to help strengthen parties internal structures, especially between the regional and national levels. The seminar focused on strengthening ties among national, regional and local party structures, improving coordination and communication within individual parties as well as among parties with similar agendas.

IRI brought four U.S. and European trainers to Moscow for this seminar: Michael Fallon, former British parliamentarian from the Conservative Party; Maria Cino, Executive Director of the NRCC; Asa Hutchinson, Republican State Party Chairman for Arkansas; George Edwards, Director for Presidential Studies at Texas A&M. Each trainer brought unique experiences to the seminar, providing a wide range of expertise. About 65 participants, including national leaders, regional leaders and local party activists, many of whom have worked extensively with IRI in the past, attended the seminar. The seminar provided an excellent opportunity for interaction between leading Russian political activists and U.S. and British political experts. By all accounts the seminar was very useful and provided a good starting point for replicating this programming in cities throughout Russia.

In conjunction with the National Democratic Institute, IRI hosted Yegor Gaidar, chairman of the Russia's Democratic Choice party, and a group of top leaders from the party for campaign training and consultations. The delegation met with top members of the Republican party and leading Republican leaders as well as a campaign consultant to discuss

how to prepare for the next elections in December 1995. Specifically, the Russians learned about party structure, theme and message development and campaign organization.

Under the women's program in Russia, IRI hosted a seminar in Suzdal on April 14-18. Four U.S. trainers were brought to Russia for this seminar, which focused on increasing women's involvement in politics, women in community development and women in small business. About 80 participants from throughout the region attended the seminar.

### **3. Inputs/Financial Report**

See attached.

### **4. Impact/Assessment**

The assessment missions were valuable in determining the progress IRI has made to date in acquainting political activists with the basic skills of conducting a campaign and building grassroots democratic organizations. The assessments revealed that IRI has had an impact in many areas that it has worked. More than 1,000 activists have participated in all of IRI's seminars. Of these, IRI estimates that 50-80 percent were active in the December 1993 elections and local elections in 1994. At least 20 IRI-trained activists ran for Parliament and 12 won. At least 35 IRI participants have sought local office.

The women's program has also had a significant impact. At least six women's groups have been organized to help local women with political, business and social issues by IRI trained activists. Another 10 IRI-trained women ran for federal or local office or ran political campaigns.

The training of trainers portion of IRI's seminars has been effective. During each campaign training seminar, IRI hands out kits to each party that shows them how to conduct a similar workshop. In this way, IRI's materials reach more people. There have been accounts in at least five cities where the IRI training kit, which shows how to conduct a campaign workshop, has been used.

The Party Law Roundtable in June was an important step in building democratic institutions, the underlying goal of all IRI programs. The new election law will govern the activities of political parties, an integral part of any democracy. By providing election experts, IRI was able to further the dialogue over the draft law goes through the legislative process.

The Russia program's goal of building political parties at the grassroots level is being expanded to reflect the maturing of political coalitions in Russia. While IRI will continue to work in the regions, a new focus will be on strengthening parties' internal structure and improving coordination between the regional and national levels. The June Party Leaders Seminar was the first step in this process. Many of the participants at this seminar had previously worked with IRI in the regions. It is clear from the increasing sophistication of their questions and participation that they have matured politically themselves, many say in

large part due to their interaction with IRI.

## **5. Overall Narrative**

The assessment missions provided a lot of useful feedback, which will be helpful in refining IRI's programs and in preparing for future missions. One comment that was frequently repeated was that the written materials IRI distributes are geared too much toward an American political campaign and do not take into account the realities of the Russian political situation. To address that, IRI is working with a Russian political activist to "russify" some of the key training materials. The goal will be to make them as applicable as possible to situations that a Russian campaign staff and candidate would encounter. It is important to note that, even though some materials may not exactly reflect the Russian experience, one of the top requests for IRI staff is to send more materials.

Through the assessments, IRI attempted to evaluate the appropriateness of topics and skills taught. The level of political sophistication of the local activists varies from city to city and IRI tries to make adjustments for this as warranted. In the follow up interviews, participants relayed mixed responses about the level of training. Some said that while all the information was interesting, trainers may have assumed the Russian activists have more resources than they do at their disposal. These participants said the information should be kept as basic as possible. In other cities, however, those interviewed indicated that they were ready for the next level of training.

Under IRI's new proposal, the Russia program will focus training in five core cities. By returning to these cities at least three times a year, IRI will be able to better judge how to gear its training -- whether it needs to be more advanced or focus on the fundamentals.

In most of the other programming, IRI encountered no major problems. Response is growing to each of the seminars hosted. As more Russians learn about IRI, the number of deputies, national and local political activists who want to work with the Institute is increasing.

## **6. Projected Activities for Next Reporting Period:**

In July, IRI will begin training members of the Parliament. On July 19-27 IRI will host a seminar for deputies which will focus on legislative strategy, coalition building, communications and constituent relations. Three trainers from the United States and England, including a U.S. Senate staff member and a member of the British Parliament, will work with their Russian counterparts. The first day, the IRI trainers will work with deputies and staff individually, following them through part of their day to get a better understanding of what their daily responsibilities include. The IRI seminar will be held on the following day. For the next two and a half days, IRI will work cooperatively with the Moscow School of Politics, a Russian political training organization. The trainers will deliver several presentations and will assist two roundtable discussions.

On July 29 - August 1, IRI will host a party building seminar in Tomsk. Two

campaign specialists will provide the training. Included in this seminar will be many of the same topics discussed at the June seminar in Moscow. In addition, IRI will conduct some video coaching exercises.

In August, IRI will conduct a women's seminar in Vyborg, north of St. Petersburg. About 50-70 women political activists are expected to attend this seminar which will focus on developing political skills and integrating women into the political scene.

Other activities are currently under consideration.



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## **TRIP REPORT EVALUATION MISSION TO PERM AND BEREZNIKI, RUSSIA**

### **I. INTRODUCTION**

The International Republican Institute (IRI) conducted campaign skills and political party training programs in Berezniiki in March of 1993, and Perm in October of 1994. The purpose of this trip was to assess the impact of IRI's program on the emerging democracy in these two cities, to determine the utility of the training for the Russians and to receive input about future training topics and methods.

Both Perm and Berezniiki are located in the foothills of the Ural Mountains on the edge of the European continent. The two cities are separated by an eight hour train ride. Perm is the larger of the cities with a population of about one million people. Perm's economy, like so many other Russian cities, is dominated by defense related industries. It currently is trying to create a market economy in the face of strong conservative (Russian style) opposition.

Berezniiki is a city of 600,000. Its economy is dominated by the five large chemical plants in the city. Each of these plants employs around five thousand workers. Berezniiki is, like Perm, in a period of transition from military to civilian production. They have had some success in the sale of chemical fertilizers, but as we will see, the successes are overshadowed by the problems presented by economic and political transformation.

### **II. METHOD OF EVALUATION**

Past seminar participants were asked, among other questions: What specific activities did they undertake in the December elections and in their local elections? Was the IRI seminar useful in their political activities? What improvements or further topics would they suggest for future seminars? How is political reform progressing in their area?

About 70 percent of former participants took part in the assessment in Perm including representatives of the Social Democratic Party, Russia's Choice, Immigrant Party, Democratic Unity and independent candidates for office in Perm. In Berezniiki, members of Russia's Choice, Democratic Russia, Democratic Unity, the Green Party and Independents participated in the evaluation.

### **III. SUMMARY**

The IRI training was useful to participants in their efforts to create democratic

institutions and seek elected office. Past participants would welcome further training from IRI and have made suggestions for future training. Participants provided useful, constructive comments that should enable IRI to improve the usefulness of future programs.

#### IV. PERM

##### A. IMPACT OF TRAINING

All of the participants worked in the national and local elections in some capacity. Some ran as candidates, others worked as political consultants, campaign managers, press secretaries, volunteer coordinators and voter contact managers. Many produced campaign literature, video clips and radio actualities.

IRI's local contact in Perm, Vladimir Zolton, ran for the State Duma in December as an independent candidate. He came in second out of seven candidates. This spring he ran in the local elections and was elected to the Perm City Duma and the Perm Oblast Duma (i.e. state legislature). Zolton said that "(IRI's) seminar was a big help in his winning campaigns." In his campaign, Zolton used video and radio actualities and produced radio commercials. He elicited the support of business groups in order to finance his campaign. With campaign donations, he produced a newspaper tabloid that was distributed to all the voters in the region. In addition to information about his candidacy, the tabloid also included local television listings and horoscopes. During the campaign, five issues were distributed to the voters in Perm.

Using the training kits IRI distributed, Democratic Russia and Zolton conducted several short training sessions of two hours each for volunteers on a variety of topics, including pollwatching. Zolton said the reason more training wasn't conducted was the local activists were consumed with campaigning from October until the spring local elections.

Everyone interviewed for this evaluation said the IRI seminar was very valuable to them in their political activities. Media relations, campaign organization and tactics, voter contact and recruiting, and keeping volunteers were most often mentioned as the most valuable topics covered and material distributed.

Several constructive comments were offered as well. A frequent comment was that the written materials dwelled too much on the American experience and not enough on the Russian realities of political campaigning. Some of the topics of the materials the presenters focused on tactics and strategies in a two-party or two-candidate election and were of limited use when campaigning in the realities of Russia's multi-party, multi-candidate system. Some of the materials were also seen as too elementary by some of the more politically experienced past participants.

##### B. PARTY DEVELOPMENT

It was disappointing to see that there has been further splintering of an already splintered democratic movement in Perm. Some individuals used the coalition building

techniques to bring together various groups to support their own candidacy but not to build political parties.

In April 1993, the democratic forces were united in their support of Yeltsin and his reforms. Consequently, they worked together to for the Referendum turnout in President Yeltsin's favor. With the advent of the December election and the creation of "parties" and "election blocs" the cracks in the democratic coalition of April yawed into uncrossable canyons of disagreement and personal animosity.

In Perm, much of this division between pro-democracy forces can be attributed to the impolitic maneuvers of Russia's Choice. When Russia's Choice was in its formative stage, it invited regional political leaders to its inaugural congress. It did so by two competing methods - through Democratic Russia and the presidential representative network. As a result of this procedure, Perm sent two delegations to the inaugural congress. After a fight, the presidential representative delegation was seated and the Democratic Russia delegation was frozen out. As a result of this procedure, two competing democratic blocs were created in Perm. This problem was repeated in various regions throughout Russia and has been repeated by democratic activists from Smolensk to Irkutsk.

The splintering of the democratic forces went on throughout the campaign season with groups dropping off to run their own campaigns further diluting the democratic vote. The only real ideological question that divided the democrats in December was the issue of the proposed constitution. Some democrats objected to the strong executive powers granted and urged their supporters to vote against it. This caused a rift with those democrats who wanted to support Yeltsin and believed a vote against it would play into the hands of the radicals.

It is clear that the democrats in Perm have thus far failed in their attempts to build a viable democratic party. The best organized political party in Perm currently is the Communist Party.

### C. POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE

The mood of the voters in Perm and Berezniki is apathetic. In the local elections there was only a 26 percent turnout. This barely met the 25 percent threshold needed to make the elections valid. Russians in Perm explain that this apathy is because the voters have lost faith in reforms and in democracy. They have heard many promises of change by democratic reformers only to see their standard of living plummet, the "old boys" maintain power and crime increase in their neighborhoods. It is understandable that Russians would become apathetic in the current state of affairs.

A new political player in the region is business. Businessmen have realized that the need to be active in politics in order to protect their business interests. Business was very active in the local elections by financing campaigns and by having their own candidates for office. The businessmen who ran were often successful in their bid for office. They have been able to form a majority coalition in the Perm City Duma.

One participant said the businessmen ran successful campaigns because they were adept at managing and achieving goals, unlike their competition. But other participants said that they simply bought the elections with their vastly superior financial resources. Their money certainly allowed them to be more creative in their campaigning. One businessman candidate sponsored a fashion show, another gave away free salt and sugar with his campaign materials printed on the packaging. Another businessman candidate sponsored free movies that were bookended with promotional videos of himself. The businessmen's money also helped them in the media where it was standard practice in Perm for the newspapers and television to charge for the printing or airing of stories about the candidate. Most of the pro-democracy parties complained that they did not have the financial resources to compete with the businessmen. The IRI participants also alleged that most of these businessmen were connected to organized crime.

Several businessmen who were elected to office met with the IRI representative. One such politician wanted to be identified as "pro-market" rather than an a democrat. This is not a complete surprise because in Russia, democrat has taken on a negative connotation and, as a result, some are trying to disassociate themselves from the term.

#### D. MEETING WITH MEMBERS OF THE NEWLY ELECTED PERM CITY DUMA

The newly elected legislators expressed their interest in parliamentary training on the local level. They said they would especially be interested on training activities focusing on different models of self government since they are starting with a fresh slate. They also expressed interest in training on forming a budget, taxes and staff organization.

The legislators in Berezniki had virtually the same requests as the Duma members from Perm. In addition, they requested training on revising local election laws and maintaining effective constituent contact.

#### E. MEETING WITH OFFICERS OF THE PERM BUSINESS WOMAN'S CLUB

Svetlana Akhmetova and Larisa Nevskaya run the Perm Businesswoman's Club, which assists women in starting small businesses and finding women employment. They both attended the IRI Women's Conference in Novgorod and thought that the seminar was very useful to their work. They did suggest that the program could be adjusted somewhat to deal more with the realities of Russia. They believed that IRI could be most helpful to them in their work by providing additional information on small business operation and start-up.

In February the Perm Businesswoman's Club sponsored an International Businesswoman's Conference in Perm that was attended by 250 women from all over Russia. Because of their work in helping women start businesses and to find jobs they were able to procure financial help for the conference from the Perm Regional Department for Employment.

This club is currently not involved in political activities. Akhmetova and Nevskaya

said that their club is too busy helping women adjust to the new political environment, but may change in the future.

## V. BEREZINIKI

### A. IMPACT OF TRAINING

Like Perm, most of the IRI seminar participants were either candidates or worked in campaigns in the December and Spring elections. All former participants with said the seminar was very useful in their campaigns. Eight participants ran for local office and two were elected.

The local IRI contact in Bereziniki, Alexander Popov, was the campaign manager for a Russia's Choice party list candidate in the December State Duma elections. Popov did not believe that his candidate ran a very good campaign but owes his election to the national television and media campaign by Russia's Choice and the party's overall strong support in the region. The Berezniki area delivered the third strongest showing for Russia's Choice in the region.

Using the training kits IRI distributed, the local voters club conducted two two-hour training sessions in general political skills for local volunteers. More was not attempted because everyone was so busy campaigning with three elections in less than a year.

Another participant was elected to the city council in nearby Smolekomsk. He said that "IRI's program was the key to my success." He said that the written materials and exercises on voter contact were especially useful. Because he had little money, he devoted 90 percent of his time to voter contact through door-to-door activities using the techniques he learned in IRI's seminar. He also said the volunteer materials were very useful in managing his winning campaign.

### B. PARTY BUILDING

The saga of the democratic movement in Bereziniki and the failure to develop strong independent political parties mirrors that in Perm. One participant said that political activists spent more time arguing with each other than preparing for elections. They also complained that the parties are ill-defined and that the national parties such as Russia's Choice and Democratic Russia provided little support and rarely, if ever listened to the regions.

### C. POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE

Five large chemical plants employ a majority of the population in Berezniki. These facilities are still run by same communist apparatchiks who were running them when Gorbachev was beginning to speak out that collective farming was a failed system. The "old timers" are not pleased with the idea of reform. For them reform means losing their cushy positions and perks. According to some IRI participants, these factory managers have been very resistant to change and have done everything in their power to thwart democratic

reform. They believe that if they hold out a little longer, the threat of reforms will disappear Yeltsin's retirement. As a result of this hostility towards democratic reform, workers who show democratic proclivities are dismissed from their employment and since, the factory controls housing, possibly from their apartment as well.

There are no independent trade unions to protect workers in Berezniki from such intimidation. "You have to be brave or stupid to participate in Democratic politics," one activist said, "or be on a pension where the factory managers cannot touch you." The managers exert a lot of psychological pressure at the polls because they are set up at the factory and are run by the managers. "No one working in the Berezniki plants believes in the secret ballot or can afford to," one resident said.

The mafia has also become active in politics and a number of the IRI participants said it could be dangerous to one's health to oppose a mafia sponsored candidate. Crime, both organized and unorganized, is a serious problem in Berezniki. The murder rate has risen tremendously in the last year because of a war for control of the city between two mafia gangs. Lack of police control has brought on a precipitous increase in robberies and thefts.

It is surprising and a positive sign that democrats were able to elect anyone at all under these conditions. If these institutional impediments could be removed, the democratic activists believe that they would do much better.

## VI. TOPICS FOR FUTURE TRAINING

During the course of meetings there were a number of topics for future training that were repeated by a large number of past participants:

- PARTY BUILDING AND DEMOCRATIC MANAGEMENT OF POLITICAL PARTIES
- FUNDRAISING - A large number of past participants said that their inability to raise sufficient funds to compete with the well financed "nomenklatura" was a significant factor in their failure to win more seats at the national and local level.
- POLLING
- OPPOSITION RESEARCH
- CANDIDATE RECRUITMENT AND SELECTION
- LOCAL GOVERNMENT



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**TRIP REPORT  
EVALUATION MISSION TO SMOLENSK, RUSSIA**

**April 4-5, 1994**

The International Republican Institute (IRI) conducted a follow-up visit to the city of Smolensk, Russia from April 4 - April 5, 1994. The objectives of this mission were varied. One goal was to receive feedback on the impact and effectiveness of the IRI training seminar which was conducted there in February, 1994. A second aim was to receive local and federal election results from the region, and from that, to determine the number of candidates who had participated in IRI's training programs. A third purpose was to gauge local interest in future seminars, and to explore possible new training topics. The final purpose of the trip was to expand and strengthen the International Republican Institute's network of contacts in the Smolensk region.

The trip was an unqualified success in achieving its objectives. The IRI team first met with Eduard Sergeivich Prudnikov, who serves as assistant to the Smolensk region Presidential Representative. It is through the Presidential Representative's office that the IRI's February seminar was conducted. Mr. Prudnikov provided IRI with detailed local and federal election results from the region and gave an extremely thorough analysis of each constituency's race. A copy of election results will be provided separately.

Mr. Prudnikov said that the IRI's February seminar had been extremely valuable. Specifically, he noted that the seminar was very effective in teaching the "science" of campaigning and in teaching specific techniques that can be used effectively to gain votes. To support his argument, Mr. Prudnikov observed that in constituencies where well-known candidates (local celebrities) were running, lesser known candidates, applying techniques learned in the IRI seminar, were able to overcome much of their handicap. One area Mr. Prudnikov recommended IRI focus more attention on in future seminars was the nominating process. His particular reason for citing this topic was the frequency with which candidates, representing the same party or political bloc, opposed one another in the same constituency. More often than not, the result was to split the vote, thus handing victory to the opposition.

IRI met with three candidates who had run in the March 20, 1994 local Smolensk election for Oblast Legislature and had attended the IRI seminar in February. These candidates were asked how they had run their campaigns, which campaign tactics they had used and with what success. They were asked to analyze the IRI seminar in retrospect and to provide any feedback regarding the topics and applicability of what was discussed in the seminar. They were also asked what training, if any, they would like to have in the future. Specifically, they were asked if they felt a more advanced seminar would be helpful and, if so, what topics should be discussed.

The first of the former candidates with whom the IRI met was Gennady Yakovlevich Golovnikh who ran in Smolensk's 7th district, a constituency in the city-center. He campaigned as an intellectual in a largely working class area of Smolensk --- a factor he felt had hurt him. Mr. Golovnikh is head of the Smolensk region Republican Party and is a university professor. Eleven candidates contested the seat and Mr. Golovnikh finished in fifth place. Overall, results in his district were invalidated as turnout was less than the required 25%. Mr. Golovnikh felt that the IRI seminar had greatly helped him and he used the techniques he had learned at the seminar to the best extent possible. In particular, Mr. Golovnikh said that the IRI provided him with many basic skills from which to run his campaign.

Money was the constraining factor in Mr. Golovnikh's campaign, but he managed to print leaflets and had five minutes of free radio time and 150 lines free of charge in a local newspaper. Mr. Golovnikh ran a door-to-door campaign with the help of 15 volunteers and personally distributed materials in apartment complexes and at transportation centers.

Mr. Golovnikh offered some constructive criticism of the IRI training seminar. First he felt that IRI's approach assumed that a campaign and party structure is in place in Russia when in fact it is not. He said that the seminar should start from the assumption that all potential candidates are starting from scratch, without money, without supporters and without a party structure to support them.

Second, Mr. Golovnikh said that it was very difficult to target voters as IRI seminar had suggested. Statistics and voter information is simply not available in Russia at this time, nor are the funds to pay for such research individually.

Third, he felt that the seminar spent too much time addressing the issue of press relations. He said he raised this issue because there is very little press opportunity at the local level in Smolensk. Newspapers, TV and radio were largely disinterested in the local campaign and were thus not an effective tool for communicating his message.

Finally, Mr. Golovnikh offered a general comment that the seminar was a little too advanced for the political reality of Russia today. While on a personal and "academic" basis he found the seminar interesting, it is his opinion that some of the topics assumed an overly sophisticated political structure and much greater financial resources than are realistic.

Despite his criticism, Mr. Golovnikh had high praise for the seminar overall, and felt that it had helped his campaign a great deal. He said, "What I learned at the IRI seminar was enough to run a practical campaign. While not all topics were directly applicable, I was able to adapt what I learned in the seminar to the specific situation in Smolensk."

In assessing the election, Mr. Golovnikh said he learned that the candidates with the most money fared the best. He was disturbed by what he saw as false promises, if not outright lies, made by his opponents and said that running as one of eleven candidates also complicated matters. The candidate who won the most votes in the district had the most money and was able to effectively use local cable television to get his message out. His

opponents could not afford television advertising. Mr. Golovnikh said that if he were to do it all over again, he would try to use the telephone more and establish greater contact with the electorate.

The second former candidate with whom the IRI team met was Anatoli Fedorovich Semtsov. Mr. Semtsov ran in a field of seven candidates in Smolensk's first district. His candidacy was supported by the Afghan War Veterans Union. Election results placed Mr. Semtsov in last place. However, he did not blame the IRI seminar for his poor showing.

Mr. Semtsov ran a negative, anti-government campaign. The victor in the district, Sergei Vitalevich Novikov is a well known and popular local newspaper editor and member of the Russia's Choice bloc.

Regarding the seminar, Mr. Semtsov said he felt that the IRI did a good job of telling how to run a campaign in a "civilized society." Unfortunately, he said, Russia today is not civilized and lacks the political structures present in the United States. Consequently, his opinion was that the seminar was theoretically sound, but "too refined and complicated" for the present level of political development in Russia.

In particular, Mr. Semtsov felt that the seminar focused too much on political parties. In his opinion the IRI should change the principal approach of the seminar away from its party orientation. He said that Russians today are fed up with politics and after years and years of communist rule are leary of joining a political "party." He thinks the seminars should place greater emphasis on independent candidates and should be better aligned with the reality of contemporary Russian politics.

The final former candidate with whom IRI met, Alexander Ivanovich Zhuravlev, had the best success of seminar participants who ran for office. He won the most votes in his district, but the election was invalidated due to low turnout.

Mr. Zhuravlev felt that the IRI seminar had been extremely useful in helping him organize his campaign. He started his campaign immediately following the seminar and thus gained a jump start on his competition. He was able to enlist the help of eight volunteers. He ran a door-to-door campaign in which he not only distributed campaign materials, but also took an informal public opinion survey by asking constituents what concerned them most. In this way he was able to tailor his message to the specific concerns of the constituency. He also followed up on his door-to-door campaign revisiting many of his potential supporters just before the election.

Campaign financing was the biggest problem Mr. Zhuravlev faced, but friends and relatives were able to help. They provided resources and labor to print and distribute campaign materials. His friendship with the Smolensk region Presidential Representative allowed him to organize a meeting between his potential constituents and the Presidential Representative. He used this meeting to urge people to vote for him. Consistent with IRI training seminar techniques, Mr. Zhuravlev also organized meetings at local factories to bolster support. One technique he didn't use, but said was used effectively by his Russia's

Choice colleagues in other districts, was to mail invitations to those who had signed his signature list just prior to the election, asking them to vote. In hindsight, Mr. Zhuralev regrets not having done this as he believes he would have been able to convince enough people to vote in order to reach the needed 25% turnout.

Overall, Mr. Zhuralev said that the IRI seminar had provided him with all the necessary tools to run a successful campaign. He, like the others whom we interviewed, noted that some of the topics were too advanced (i.e. too expensive) for the present Russian political situation. He said he was uninterested in an "advanced seminar," saying he felt he had learned what he needed from the first seminar.

Additionally, the IRI team met in Smolensk with Tamara Alekseyevna Uzvenko. Her name had been given to the IRI from a contact in the city of Ivanova. Mrs. Uzvenko works for a Children's fund in Smolensk and was invited to attend the upcoming "Role of Women in Russia" seminar in Suzdal, Russia.

Overall, the IRI seminar was seen as successful and constructive. The recurring recommendation for improving future seminars was to focus on a less sophisticated, and thus less expensive, campaign. Trainers with experience in local, low-budget, US political races would likely prove to be the most effective.



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**TRIP REPORT  
EVALUATION MISSION TO ROSTOV-NA-DONU, RUSSIA**

**April 17-20, 1994**

**I. INTRODUCTION**

The International Republican Institute (IRI) conducted a campaign skills and political party training program in Rostov-na-Donu (Rostov) in October of 1993. In December of 1993, IRI also conducted a pollwatcher training seminar in Rostov in preparation for the December 12 parliamentary elections. The goal of this trip was to assess the impact of IRI's program in Rostov, determine the utility of training for the Russian participants and receive input about future training topics and methods.

Rostov is a port city located about 600 miles to the south of Moscow at the mouth of the Don River, which empties into the Sea of Azov. To the North and West is Ukraine and to the South are the republics of the Caucus Mountains. As a border city, there are a significant number of minorities in the city and region. Rostov is known as a center of crime and Russians often compare it to Chicago in the time of Al Capone. Located in the Don Cossack region of Russia, Rostov has an active Cossack Movement. The Cossack heritage is a source of pride for many people in the region because "Cossacks knew what it was like to be free."

**II. METHOD OF EVALUATION**

Past seminar participants were asked, among other questions: What specific activities did they undertake in the December elections and in their local elections? Was the IRI seminar useful in their political activities? What improvements or further topics would they suggest for future seminars? How is political reform progressing in their area?

Of those participating in this evaluation, two were elected to the State Duma and a number worked for these deputies as campaign assistants. All of the evaluation participants were affiliated with Russia's Choice, Democratic Russia, Republican Party or the Don Cossack Movement.

**III. SUMMARY**

Participants indicated the training was useful in their efforts to create democratic institutions and to seek elected office. These seminar participants said they would welcome further training from IRI and have made constructive suggestions, which should enable IRI to significantly improve future programs.

## IV. ROSTOV EVALUATION

### A. IMPACT OF TRAINING

All seminar participants worked in the national and local elections in some capacity. Some ran as candidates, but the majority worked as campaign managers, press secretaries, volunteer coordinators and voter contact managers. They produced campaign literature, newsletters, press releases, commercials, video clips and radio actualities.

IRI's Rostov contact, Boris Titenko, won a seat in the State Duma on the Russia's Choice national party ballot. Titenko also worked as a Russian trainer in IRI's seminar in Irkutsk in August 1993. In addition to being a candidate himself, Titenko served as the campaign manager for Russia's Choice in the Rostov Oblast. He said the seminars were useful because they were "taught by people with real experience and that gave them the authority and legitimacy to teach." He believed his experience with IRI to be a key factor to his success in politics.

Alla Amelina, the former deputy chief editor to the Rostov newspaper, also participated in the seminar. She was elected to the Duma in the single mandate district of Rostov. Amelina said the training helped her significantly in conducting her campaign and now wanted guidance from IRI in being an effective member of the Duma.

Those participants interviewed for this evaluation said the training was beneficial both for national and local elections. Campaign organization, tactics and recruiting volunteers were the topics most often mentioned as the most valuable information covered in the seminar.

Boris Titenko's brother, Mikhail, is also involved in the democratic movement. He is actively involved in campaign management and organization. The two brothers founded an independent, non-profit organization called "The Don Regional Center of Political Technology" (or simply the "Political Center"). At the Political Center, the computer provided by IRI is made available to democratic activists. A database of activists and campaign material and literature is maintained on the computer for anyone's use. The Political Center maintains a library of political materials that includes IRI training materials and handouts as well as all of the documents issued by the new Russian Duma. Mikhail Titenko makes himself available at the Political Center to any one interested in running a campaign or studying the science of politics.

One of our past participants criticized the Titenkos for running the Political Center. He was particularly upset that Mikhail Titenko had provided campaign materials to a woman who ran as an independent and beat one of his coalition's candidates. Despite this criticism Boris and Mikhail think that the Political Center is a necessary resource for democratic activists in Rostov because of the dearth of such materials in the region.

The Titenkos are not dissuaded and are working to build the Political Center's library. They said that students from the Rostov University use the Political Center because the

university's library contains only the communist propaganda that it had ten years ago. They asked for IRI's help in securing works on democracy and democratic institutions, including books in English because some students can read English. They said that they were particularly interested in books and materials dealing with political philosophy, campaign methodology, political party building, economics and politics, business and politics and local government.

Despite the overall sanguine reviews by the past participants, there were some constructive criticisms. A frequent comment was that written materials should compare and contrast the American and European systems because much of the Russian system is borrowed from the European systems. A number of past participants requested that materials give more attention to the realities of politics and campaigning in Russia. Some of the materials were also seen as too elementary by some of the more politically experienced participants. In the future, participants would like to see topics covered in more detail and depth in both presentations and materials. One activist said that more narrowly focused and more advanced seminars would be welcomed.

## B. PARTY DEVELOPMENT

Boris Titenko no longer considers the Republican Party in Russia to be a viable political entity since it has fractured into so many diverse groups. He and others are working to create a new conservative party in southern Russia. Titenko is also working with the Gaidar faction of Russia's Choice which is trying to create a new, stronger democratic party for Russia.

The local Russia's Choice organization, which is led by Titenko, appears to be well organized and relatively cohesive. This is demonstrated, in part, by the fact that they were able to get one of their candidates elected in a single mandate race in the city of Rostov.

The major obstacle to party building in Rostov, as in other regions of Russia, is voter apathy. One activist noted that "it is much harder to get volunteers to work here than it was a year ago." He saw this as a result of "people being disappointed in the fact that democracy is perceived to have failed to deliver on any of its promises of a better life." He said, "voters are tired of politics and the corruption of so many involved in it." Titenko added that even some Duma members in Russia's Choice did not want to be called "democrats" because of its perceived negative image among the populace.

## C. POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE

In one activist's opinion, party building in the Rostov region was severely hampered by the local election law promulgated by the local administration. The law forbade party identification on the ballot and made candidate registration difficult through a variety of measures. According to Titenko, these measures were enacted in order to ensure the local administration's control over the regional and city Dumas. Not coincidentally the March elections left the local administration in control of the executive and legislative branches in the Rostov region. "That will surely put a damper on reform," said Mikhail Titenko.

## VI. TOPICS FOR FUTURE TRAINING

The following topics for future seminars were requested by participants:

- PARTY BUILDING AND DEMOCRATIC MANAGEMENT OF POLITICAL PARTIES
- FUNDRAISING
- POLLING
- TRAINING IN THE UNITED STATES
- CANDIDATE RECRUITMENT AND SELECTION
- LOCAL GOVERNMENT
- PUBLIC RELATIONS/MASS MEDIA
- BUSINESS AND POLITICS
- LOBBYING



**TRIP REPORT  
EVALUATION MISSION TO St. PETERSBURG, RUSSIA**

**MAY 23-25, 1994**

**I. INTRODUCTION**

The International Republican Institute (IRI) conducted a campaign skills and political party training programs in St. Petersburg in February of 1994. IRI staff returned to assess the impact of IRI's training program on those democratic activists in St. Petersburg who attended IRI's seminar. In the meetings held with past participants IRI staff sought to determine the utility of IRI's training for our Russian participants and receive input about future training topics and methods from our Russian colleagues.

St. Petersburg is Russia's second capitol. It is a city that is distinct in many ways from other Russian cities because of its very European architecture and feel. Politically, however, it suffers from the same problems as the rest of Russia which was aptly demonstrated in the recent local elections were not enough people voted to elect a workable city and regional council.

**II. METHOD OF EVALUATION**

IRI staff conducted this evaluation by meeting with past participants in our seminars. In these meetings past participants were asked:

What they did in the past elections;  
Did they find the seminar useful in their political activities;  
What improvements or further topics would they suggest for future seminars; and,  
How political reform is progressing in St. Petersburg.

**III. SUMMARY**

The IRI training was considered to be very useful to past participants in their efforts to create democratic institutions. The fact that the IRI training was considered to be valuable was bolstered by past participants's requests that IRI do more training programs in St. Petersburg. One party came armed to our meeting with a written proposal for future training programs.

Everyone who met with IRI staff was very positive about the program. It was a unanimous opinion that IRI should do more training programs in St. Petersburg and there

were a wealth of suggestions about which topics and areas should be covered in the future. The two most valuable aspects of the training according to the past participants were the experience of the trainers and the written materials that were distributed at the seminars.

#### IV. ST. PETERSBURG EVALUATION

##### A. IMPACT OF TRAINING

All of the former participants worked in the St. Petersburg local elections in some capacity. According those interviewed, more than 20 of the past participants were candidates. A large percentage of the past participants worked as campaign managers, press secretaries, transportation coordinators, volunteer coordinators and voter contact managers. IRI participants produced campaign literature, newsletters, press releases, commercials, video clips and radio actualities.

Those who attend the IRI seminar participated in a coalition of democratic parties and movements that placed 26 candidates into a possible 50 runoff contests this coming November for the city council.

All those interviewed for this assessment said that the IRI training program helped them do their jobs in democratic politics better and more efficiently. Pollwatching, campaign organization and tactics, voter contact and recruiting, and keeping volunteers were most often mentioned as the most valuable topics covered and material distributed. One past participant said that, "Before I attended your seminar, I thought that I knew everything I needed to know about campaigns and politics -- after the first morning of your seminar I realized that I knew very little." Many participants stated that, now that they have real campaign experience, more training in campaign technics would be even more valuable to them now that they have had real campaign experience.

The democratic parties who have formed a loose election coalition have conducted their own training in the areas of campaign organization and pollwatching were they used IRI materials. One party was organizing a women's conference along the same lines as IRI's Novgorod Women's Conference for late June of this year in St. Petersburg.

##### B. PARTY DEVELOPMENT

All the democratic organizations IRI works with are active in St. Petersburg, but only the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) is headquartered in the city. The CDU has run as part of a democratic coalition in all of the past elections both national and local. Starting with the local elections in November the CDU will be running as an independent political party. Alexander Kisselov told IRI staff that the party is already preparing for the next national election and would they like to work with IRI in training its party activists throughout Russia. Mr. Kisselov presented Russian Resident Program Officer, Scott Boylan with a proposal for future training programs with the CDU. The topics included: Political Party Building, Political Party Organization and Management, Mass Media Relations by Political Parties, International Relations by Political Parties, Coalition Building, Working

with Interest Groups, Parties Role and Organization of Election Campaign, Selection of Candidates, Training of Candidates, Voter Targeting and Local Government Organization and Development.

IRI has worked with the CDU in the past and the party has been eager and cooperative in having other democratic political parties and activists participate in seminars with its party. The CDU focuses its efforts on making friends, not enemies.

### C. POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE

Like other parts of Russia, St. Petersburg is plagued with political apathy. In the recent local elections the turnout was so low that the city's mayor extended the voting for a day in the hope that there would be a sufficient turnout to validate the elections. Even this desperate and questionable action was not able to convince twenty-five percent of the voters in many of the city's districts to come to the polls. As a result nearly half of the races for the 50 seats on the city council were invalidated for lack of sufficient turnout.

It was surprising that after such a disastrous election the democratic activists who met with IRI representatives were still enthusiastic about building their democratic organizations. Although they were disappointed with the recent elections, many stated that building Russian democracy will take years and perseverance and that occasional setbacks were to be expected. These activists were not only looking forward to the November elections in St. Petersburg, they were also working on the establishment of real party organizations to field candidates in the 1995 elections for parliament, in St. Petersburg and throughout the country.

Politically, the city of St. Petersburg is much more liberal and democratically oriented than the region that surrounds it. Among the regionalists were ardent communists who staged a 24-hour vigil to prevent the bust of Lenin from being replaced by that of Peter the Great in the city. It was the city residents who installed Peter the Great in Lenin's place when the vigilance of the hardliners waned in the wee hours of the morning.

These groups are still fighting on every issue and will probably continue to joust with each other for the immediate future. The democrats in St. Petersburg believe that the democratic policies must show results that have a positive impact on the lives of the average citizen in order for them to progress further on the path to democracy and they are working with quiet determination to accomplish that goal.

### VI. TOPICS FOR FUTURE TRAINING

During the course of the meetings there were a number of topics for future training that were repeated by a large number of past participants:

- PARTY BUILDING AND DEMOCRATIC MANAGEMENT OF POLITICAL PARTIES
- FUNDRAISING

- POLLING
- COALITION BUILDING
- CANDIDATE RECRUITMENT AND SELECTION
- LOCAL GOVERNMENT
- PUBLIC RELATIONS/MASS MEDIA
- BUSINESS AND POLITICS
- VOTER TARGETING

Vitaly Savitsky, Duma Member from St. Petersburg and past IRI seminar participant, specifically asked that IRI conduct a series of seminars on party building in St. Petersburg over the next year to assist in the creation of viable, true democratic political parties. He suggested that the seminars begin with a focus on the building and organization of political parties and then move to all the skills necessary for campaign organization and success. He said that IRI's programs are useful because the IRI trainers bring skill and experience that no one in Russia has. "Your experience is the most valuable asset that you can bring to us," he said.

## VII. CONCLUSION

This evaluation was useful and informative. It was useful in that it affirmed that IRI's training programs have made a difference and have assisted democratic activists in their work. It was informative in that the Russians who have worked with IRI and would like to continue working with IRI were able to clearly define where they need help. It was clear from these meetings that the activists are focusing on the establishment of political parties that will field candidates election after election. The apparent trend among the activists in St. Petersburg is away from the election/campaign coalition of the past and toward the establishment of political parties. As elsewhere in Russia the activists were pretty consistent in the areas where they believed they needed assistance.



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**SCHEDULE FOR  
DEMOCRATIC CHOICE OF RUSSIA LEADERS  
(YEGOR GAIDAR, OLEG BOIKO, SERGI BLAGOVOLIN,  
MIKHAIL SCHNEIDER, KIRIL IGNATIEV, VLADIMIR BOKSER)**

Tuesday, June 28, 1994  
Washington, DC

8:15 am Mayflower Hotel lobby pick-up by Dr. Lori Murray, IRI Director of NIS Programs, and Grace Moe, IRI Vice President for Program Support

8:45 am- Breakfast Meeting with IRI President Bruce McColm  
9:15 National Republican Senatorial Committee  
425 Second St., N.E.  
202/675-6000

9:30 am- Republican National Committee (RNC) Briefing  
11:15 310 First St., S.E.  
202/863-8700  
Topic: Building a Party Structure

Presenters: Republican Party Chairman Haley Barbour  
Evelyn McPhail, RNC Director of Political Education  
Patrice Geraghty, RNC Director of Broadcast  
Contact: Kirk Blalock, 863-8700

11:30 am- Meeting with Senate Republican Leader Robert Dole  
11:50 U.S. Capitol, Room S-230  
(Tentative) Contact: Randy Scheunemann, Yvonne Costello, 224-6521

Noon- Luncheon  
1:15 pm Capitol Hill Club  
Private Dining Room #4, 3rd floor  
300 First St., S.E.  
Contact: Israel Canada or Brenda Braxton, 484-4590

Topic: "The Reagan Economic Reform Package: Campaign Message to Policy"

Presenters: Michael K. Deaver, Counselor to President Ronald Reagan  
now with Edelman Public Relations Contact: Brad Muller, 371-0200

Democratic Choice of Russia Schedule  
Page 2

1:30 pm- Meeting with former Secretary of State James A. Baker, III  
2:15 The Warner Building  
1299 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W. 13th Floor  
Washington, DC 20004  
Contact: Caron Jackson, 202/639-7755

2:35 pm- Meeting with Donald Walter  
5:30 pm Greg Stevens Company  
101 N. Union St., Suite 210  
Alexandria, VA 22314  
Contact: Eric Potholm 703/683-8326

Topic: Effective Message Development and Communications

6:30 pm- Dinner hosted by U.S. Senator John McCain, IRI Chairman  
9:00 Cosmos Club  
Old Members Dining Room  
2121 Massachusetts Ave., N.W.

NOTE: Mr. Gaidar will be asked to deliver brief remarks after a brief introduction by Senator McCain.

9:15 pm Return to Stouffer Mayflower Hotel  
1127 Connecticut Ave., N.W.  
347-3000



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**AGENDA  
PARTY LEADERS SEMINAR  
June 15-22**

**Friday, June 17**

Meetings

**Saturday, June 18**

9:00

**Registration**

9:45

**Introduction**

10:00 - 10:30

**Party Ideology**

History of party development

The creation of the Republican party: an example

The party based on ideology, not personality

Presenters: George Edwards

10:30 - 11:45

**Party Structure: Two Models**

The American party structure

The British party structure

Presenters: Michael Fallon  
Asa Hutchinson

11:45

**Break**

12:00 - 1:30

**Coordination Between the Local, State and National Party**

The link between the local, regional and national party

Communication

Dividing and assigning responsibility

Responding to dissention among the ranks

Presenters: Maria Cino  
Asa Hutchinson

1:30 - 3:00

**Lunch**

**Saturday, June 18 (Cont'd)**

3:00 - 4:30

**Defining Your Party**

Principles

Platform

Message development

Getting the message out

Presenters: George Edwards

4:30 - 6:00

**Fundraising**

Basics of Fundraising

Fundraising and Party Building

Fundraising Events

Presenters: Michael Fallon  
Maria Cino

6:00 - 6:30

**Question and Answer Session -- Review of Next Day's Activities**

8:00

**Dinner**

"Campaigns and the News Media -- Who Controls the Message"

John Dancy

NBC Moscow Bureau Correspondent



**Sunday, June 19 (Cont'd)**

4:00 - 5:00            **Workshops/Roundtables**

5:00 - 6:00            **Workshops/Roundtables**

**Topics:**

- Writing a political party plan
- Building voter support
- Advanced fundraising
- How to conduct a poll

6:00 - 6:30            **Final Question and Answer Session**

7:30                    **Dinner**

**Fundraising Activity**

**Monday, June 20**

One-on-one consultations with parties

**Tuesday, June 21**

One-on-one consultations with parties

45498

Cathy Stermer



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**QUARTERLY REPORT**

**GRANTEE NAME:** International Republican Institute  
**GRANT/COOPERATIVE AGREEMENT NUMBER:** CCS-0007-A-00-2021-00  
Russian Project  
**PERIOD COVERED IN THIS REPORT:** 1/1/94 TO 3/31/94

**1. Program Goals and Purpose**

The objective of the International Republican Institute's Russia project is to foster the development of institutions essential to the success of a democracy. In particular, the Russia project focuses on grassroots campaign training, political party development and increasing women's roles in politics. IRI believes that the best way to ensure the long-term development of democracy is by reaching out to those outside the central urban areas. For this reason, most of the programming is conducted at the regional and local level. By developing the skills and resources of political activists at the local level, IRI helps put power in the hands of the people rather than a few governing elite and the federal bureaucracy.

**2. Output/Activities**

With local elections initially scheduled throughout the month of March, IRI stepped up its campaign training seminars, conducting seminars in five cities during this quarter: Samara, Smolensk, St. Petersburg, Obninsk and Petrozavodsk. The Samara seminar was held on January 21-23; the Smolensk seminar was held January 28-30; the St. Petersburg seminar was held February 12-13; the Obninsk seminar was held on February 29; and, the Petrozavodsk seminar was held March 4-6.

U.S. trainers worked with IRI staff on four of the five missions. The Obninsk mission was conducted by an IRI in-country representative. Each seminar dealt with topics concerning campaign management, strategy, volunteer recruitment, political organization, pollwatching, communication skills and mass media relations. IRI continued to use its successful role playing exercises to enhance participants understanding of the issues addressed in presentations. One exercise attempted to reinforce the importance of targeting specific voter groups by having each party define its three key issues and determine to what blocks of voters they would target their message. This exercise, the mock press conference and one-on-one interviews provided the opportunity for participants to practice the skills the trainers talked about and then get immediate feedback from IRI staff and trainers.

In February, the Russia Women's Program hosted a seminar in Novosibirsk to help Russian women further develop those skills which will enable them to excel in the political process and succeed in business and community projects as well. Four U.S. trainers and three Russian trainers were utilized for workshop style presentations on political party organization, communications, small business development and community development.

To spearhead the women's program in Russia, IRI opened a new office in St. Petersburg in March. The office is staffed by an IRI program officer and a Russian assistant, who will work to strengthen IRI's contacts with women's groups throughout Russia, assess their needs, and provide guidance to IRI's Washington staff in developing programs to increase women's roles in Russian society. This person will also work with women members of the Duma, and will coordinate on a regular basis with other women's organizations existing in Russia.

The IRI election observation report on the December Parliamentary elections was finished in mid-January and has been distributed to more than 500 interested American government officials and others. The report has been translated into Russian and is being circulated to Russians in the government, parliament and political parties. In addition, IRI will distribute its recommendations to participants at future training seminars. This will be helpful, not only in terms of spreading IRI's suggestions on elections and campaigning, but it reinforces the importance of pollwatchers, which were not very active during the December elections.

In addition to making advance trips to the cities where seminars were held this quarter, IRI in-country staff will continue conducting follow up visits to cities where past seminars have been held. In March the in-country director went to Voronezh, a city that has been a host to an IRI seminar and was a deployment city during the December election observation mission. The IRI representative met with participants from its previous seminar, a Voronezh member of parliament, and other democratic political activists.

### **3. Inputs/Financial Report**

See attached.

### **4. Impact/Assessment**

With continued campaign training in five cities throughout Russia, IRI moved ahead toward its goal to empower local democratic activists. With local elections in each city a little more than a month away, the audiences were filled with candidates and campaign workers who wanted to know how to use their limited time most effectively.

The seminar in Samara drew one of the largest crowds ever for an IRI campaign training seminar. About 120 people took part in the seminar. In addition, a large contingent of youth turned out to request IRI's help in starting a youth group in Samara. The staff and trainers held separate meetings with the youth to provide advice and encouragement in starting their own organization.

In Smolensk, democrats were especially glad to work with IRI because of the heavy

influence of communists in the region. Reformers fared poorly in the December elections, which they partly attribute to fraud and intimidation on the part of the old communist bosses, many of whom still wield great power. Some of the 40 participants even expressed fears that there might be repercussions against them for attending the IRI seminar and conducting other pro-democratic activities should the communists ever regain power.

In St. Petersburg, the participants were noticeably more sophisticated than those in smaller cities. This was especially apparent during the mock press conferences and interviews. Many clearly had experience taking questions and speaking on camera. The result was the trainers were able to discuss subjects on a more advanced level. Twenty candidates for the local council took part in seminar.

At each of the seminars, training kits were distributed to the various parties present. This is part of IRI's effort to train Russians to be trainers. With the use of the training kits, activists can host similar seminars on their own. This way one IRI seminar can reach many activists. For those who don't host a formal seminar, the materials and information are usually still circulated to others who can benefit from it.

At the women's seminar in Novosibirsk, Russian trainers assisted the U.S. trainers in each workshop. Not only did the Russian trainers benefit by learning instructional techniques from their U.S. counterparts, it proved to be extremely effective for the women participants to hear first hand success stories from women in their own country.

IRI conducted a networking exercise at the women's training seminar which encouraged future networking between the women. Because the participants reacted so positively to this exercise, it will be interesting to gauge its success in the future.

The follow up visit to Voronezh revealed some of IRI's long term successes. A participant from the Novgorod women's conference in June, 1993 ran the campaigns of two candidates who won seats in the state Duma. This woman is also leading the effort in her region to develop a strong national party. Another member of the Duma from Voronezh expressed interest in working with IRI in Moscow on party development and parliamentary work.

## **5. Overall Narrative**

Only a few minor problems were encountered during this reporting period. IRI's workplan changed in early February upon learning that local elections would be held throughout March and into April, rather than all being held on March 8. Initially, IRI planned on holding seminars in January and early February in order to maintain a 30 day moratorium on competitive training before an election. However, the change in the election schedule allowed the institute to continue training into March. And, now that it is known that local elections may run into the fall, IRI will continue targeting local candidates with its training seminars.

In only one city was the turnout lower than expected. In Petrozavodsk, the word about the seminar was not well disseminated by the city contacts and as a result few local democratic activists knew about the seminar. However, a number of college age students were present,

which enabled IRI to reach out to the future leaders of the region. One possible reason for the turnout was that the contacts were not willing to share IRI as a resource. IRI will be more selective in choosing new sites and local partners and will make certain in its advance work that information about IRI is being disseminated as widely as possible.

In Smolensk, a few democratic activists from one party chose not to attend the seminar apparently because they were offended that IRI did not work with them directly in setting up the seminar. This sort of attitude in Russia is not uncommon. Part of the problem with Russian politicians is that they refuse to work together on anything, regardless of the benefit to themselves or to the nation at large. This experience just emphasizes the need to stress during seminars the importance of cooperating, building coalitions, and putting issues before personalities.

At the training seminar in Novosibirsk, IRI found that the majority of the women do not yet understand the importance of becoming involved in politics at the local, regional and national level. They need to realize that in holding an elected office, one can impact legislation and make decisions that will effect other aspects of their lives - economy, social issues, business opportunities, etc. This is where IRI can have an impact in the future. We need to make them realize the importance of political participation.

## **6. Projected Activities for next reporting period**

IRI has scheduled one campaign training seminar in June in Murmansk, using two U.S. or European trainers.

In May, IRI will bring two U.S. party building experts to Moscow for intensive consultations with party leaders of the various reform movements. Following those consultations, IRI would like to host a roundtable discussion in conjunction with the National Democratic Institute and the International Foundation for Electoral Systems for members of Parliament working on revising the election law. For those discussions, IRI will use three U.S. party building experts and bring in a fourth expert from Europe.

In June, IRI has scheduled a Party Leaders Conference for national, regional and local leaders of democratic reform movements. The conference will focus on strengthening the parties, party structure and strategy. Also in June or early July, the institute plans to host a conference for members of Parliament on coalition building, legislative strategy, and political communications.

In the women's program, IRI will host a similar training seminar in Suzdal from April 14-17. In June, IRI will host a larger women's symposium in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan. We will bring 12 trainers from the U.S., CIS, Eastern Europe, and possibly a women trainer from Turkey. IRI will invite women from the four Central Asian states in which it currently operates. The conference will place special emphasis on how cultural traditions based on an Islamic heritage can be reconciled with the desire of women to gain access to political opportunities. This program is in response to a formal request from a dozen women who met with the U.S. AID representative in Almaty after attending the Novgorod conference in June, 1993.



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**TRAINING SCHEDULE  
IRI MISSION TO ST. PETERSBURG, RUSSIA  
February 8 - February 15, 1994**

**Tuesday, February 8:**

Delegates Depart for Russia

**Wednesday, February 9:**

Delegates Arrive in St. Petersburg

**Thursday, February 10:**

11:00 a.m. Meeting with political party leaders in Moscow

5:00 p.m. IRI delegation meets at hotel to prepare for training

**Friday, February 11:**

a.m. Free

2:00 p.m. Meeting with local administration officials

7:00 p.m. Dinner with local democratic activists

**Saturday, February 12:  
Day 1 of Training:**

9:00 a.m.           **Registration of Participants**

10:00 a.m.           **Introduction of the IRI and Training Team  
Review of goals and agenda**  
*Scott Boylan*

10:15 a.m.           **Campaign Management**  
Developing a plan of action  
Organizing staff and volunteers  
Training and motivating volunteers  
Assigning tasks  
Fundraising  
Allocating resources  
Candidate preparation

*Presenter: Brandon Scholz*

12:00 p.m.           **Opposition Research and Polling**  
Measuring public opinion  
Issue and opposition research  
    What is opposition research  
    Uses of opposition research  
    Research process

*Presenter: Darrell Williams*

1:00 p.m.-  
2:30 p.m.           **Lunch**

2:30 p.m.           **Campaign Tactics and Strategy**  
Elements of a campaign strategy  
Theme and message development  
Linking the right message to the right people  
Targeting voter groups  
Voter contact programs  
Door to door canvassing

*Presenter: Darrell Williams*



3:30 p.m. **Winning Support of Groups/Coalition Building**

*Presenter: Brandon Scholz*

4:30 p.m. **Role Playing Exercise: Targeting Voter Groups Within the Electorate and Establishing Voter Contacts**

Participants are broken down according to political party or organization and asked to develop a strategy for targeting and contacting a specific voter group within the St. Petersburg region. A spokesperson for each party or organization shares the strategy with the audience. The presentation should include who is the target what is the strategy/issue, why the targeted group would be receptive to the appeal, and where the voter group can be encountered (at work, at a place of worship, at home, etc.) A member of the audience who is from the targeted group is then asked to participate in a mock contact scenario. The spokesperson makes their appeal based upon the strategy. IRI trainers comment on the overall strategy and the voter contact role playing exercise.

6:00 p.m. **The Importance of Pollwatching**

Why pollwatching is important  
Role of pollwatcher  
How to organize pollwatching in a campaign

*Presenter: Brandon Scholz*

6:45 p.m. **End Day One of Training**

8:00 p.m. **Dinner with local democratic activists**

**Sunday, February 13**  
**Day 2 of training**

9:00 a.m.            **Review of agenda**  
                              *Scott Boylan*

9:15 a.m.            **Fundamentals of Public Speaking**  
                              Developing public speaking skills  
                              Fundamentals of political debate  
                              Responding to criticism  
                              Nonverbal communication  
                              Giving a good interview  
  
                              *Presenter: Darrell Williams*

10:00 a.m.           **Media Relations**  
                              Fostering contacts with the media  
                              Developing a media list  
                              Paid vs. earned media  
                              Generating earned media  
  
                              *Presenter: Brandon Scholz*

10:45 a.m.           **Mass Communication Tools**  
                              Writing a letter to the editor  
                              Writing a press release  
                              Conducting a press conference  
  
                              *Presenter: Darrell Williams*

11:30 a.m.           **Role Playing Exercise (videotaped):**

**How to Give a Press Conference**

The participants are broken down by political party or group and given 15 minutes to develop a 2-3 minute press statement in response to the following hypothetical situation: "The St. Petersburg City Council has voted to prohibit further steps toward privatization and market reform in the city." Each group will select a spokesperson to present their statement and respond to five minutes of questions by the "media".

**Impromptu Interviews**

While the participants are developing their press statements, a member of each party or organization is taken outside the room and interviewed on camera. The following questions are asked: "A recent poll of the voters of St. Petersburg determined that the public cannot distinguish the different political parties from each other. "What is it that makes your party unique?" (2 minute answer) and "Why should voters support your candidate in a future election?" (1 minute answer).

1:00 p.m. -  
2:30 p.m.

**Lunch**

2:30 p.m.

**Volunteers: Making Them An Asset to Your Organization**

Good and bad volunteer headquarters  
What does the headquarters need to do  
Meeting the needs of outside volunteers  
Meeting the needs of inside volunteers  
Meeting the needs of the party organization of campaign  
Giving Personality and Excitement to Campaign

*Presenter: Brandon Scholz*

3:15 p.m.

**Establishing a Youth Group**

*Presenter: Darrell Williams*

3:45 p.m.

**Targeting Voters**

Why targeting is necessary  
Two levels of targeting  
Collecting election data

*Presenter: Brandon Scholz*

4:30 p.m.

**Review and critique of video exercises**

6:00 p.m.

**Closing Remarks and Awards  
Evaluation of Seminar**

6:30 p.m.

**End**

7:30 p.m.

**Dinner with party leaders  
(Training kits will be explained and distributed)**

**Monday, February 14**

Follow up with party leaders

p.m.

Free

**Tuesday, February 15**

Delegates depart for United States



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**TENTATIVE TRAINING SCHEDULE  
IRI MISSION TO SAMARA, RUSSIA  
January 16-26, 1994**

**Sunday, January 16:**

Keith Kirk Departs for Russia

**Monday, January 17:**

Keith Kirk Arrives in Moscow

Gene Ulm Departs for Moscow

**Tuesday, January 18:**

Gene Ulm Arrives in Moscow

5:00 p.m. IRI delegation meets at IRI office to prepare for training

**Wednesday, January 19:**

12:10 p.m. Depart for Samara by train

**Thursday, January 20:**

8:00 a.m. Arrive in Samara

12:00 p.m. Meetings with local press, party and government officials

**Friday, January 21**  
**Day 1 of Training:**

9:00 a.m.           **Registration of Participants**

10:00 a.m.           **Introduction of the IRI and Training Team**  
*Bill Townsend*

10:15 a.m.           **Campaign Management**  
Developing a plan of action  
Organizing staff and volunteers  
Training and motivating volunteers  
Assigning tasks  
Fundraising  
Allocating resources  
Candidate preparation

*Presenter: Keith Kirk*

12:00 p.m.           **Opposition Research and Polling**  
Measuring public opinion  
Issue and opposition research  
    What is opposition research  
    Uses of opposition research  
    Research process

*Presenter: Gene Ulm*

1:00 p.m.-  
2:30 p.m.           **Lunch**

2:30 p.m.           **Campaign Tactics and Strategy**  
Elements of a campaign strategy  
Theme and message development  
Linking the right message to the right people  
Targeting voter groups  
Voter contact programs  
Door to door canvassing

*Presenter: Keith Kirk*

4:00 p.m.

**Role Playing Exercise: Targeting Voter Groups Within the Electorate and Establishing Voter Contacts**

Participants are broken down according to political party or organization and asked to develop a strategy for targeting and contacting a specific voter group within the Samara region. A spokesperson for each party or organization shares the strategy with the audience. The presentation should include who is the target what is the strategy/issue, why the targeted group would be receptive to the appeal, and where the voter group can be encountered (at work, at a place of worship, at home, etc.) A member of the audience who is from the targeted group is then asked to participate in a mock contact scenario. The spokesperson makes their appeal based upon the strategy. IRI trainers comment on the overall strategy and the voter contact role playing exercise.

5:00 p.m.

**The Importance of Pollwatching**

Why pollwatching is important  
Role of pollwatcher  
How to organize pollwatching in a campaign

*Presenter: Gene Ulm*

7:00 p.m.

**Dinner with local democratic activists**

**Saturday, January 22**  
**Day 2 of training**

9:00 a.m.           **Review of agenda**  
*Bill Townsend*

9:15 a.m.           **Fundamentals of Public Speaking**  
Developing public speaking skills  
Fundamentals of political debate  
Responding to criticism  
Nonverbal communication  
Giving a good interview  
  
*Presenter: Keith Kirk*

10:00 a.m.         **Media Relations**  
Fostering contacts with the media  
Developing a media list  
Paid vs. earned media  
Generating earned media  
  
*Presenter: Gene Ulm*

10:45 a.m.         **Mass Communication Tools**  
Writing a letter to the editor  
Writing a press release  
Conducting a press conference  
  
*Presenter: Gene Ulm*

11:30 a.m.         **Role Playing Exercise (videotaped):**

**How to Give a Press Conference**

The participants are broken down by political party or group and given 15 minutes to develop a 2-3 minute press statement in response to the following hypothetical situation: "The Samara City Council has voted to prohibit further steps toward privatization and market reform in the city." Each group will select a spokesperson to present their statement and respond to five minutes of questions by the "media".

**Impromptu Interviews**

While the participants are developing their press statements, a member of each party or organization is taken outside the room and interviewed on camera. The following questions are asked: "A recent poll of the voters of Samara determined that the public cannot distinguish the different political parties from each other. "What is it that makes your party unique?" (2 minute answer) and "Why should voters support your candidate in a future election?" (1 minute answer).

1:00 p.m. -         **Lunch**

- 2:30 p.m.
- 2:30 p.m.            **Establishing a Youth Group**  
*Presenter: Gene Ulm*
- 3:15 p.m.            **Winning the Support of Coalition Groups**  
What coalition groups can do for you  
Why have a coalition plan  
Conducting an inventory of groups  
Targeting the right groups  
Writing your coalitions plan  
Winning endorsements  
Making coalitions part of your campaign  
  
*Presenter: Keith Kirk*
- 4:00 p.m.            **Coalition Exercise**
- 4:45 p.m.            **Review and critique of video exercises**
- 6:00 p.m.            **Closing Remarks and Awards**  
**Evaluation of Seminar**
- 6:30 p.m.            **End of Seminar**
- 8:15 p.m.            **Introduction of Training Kits**  
*Bill Townsend*
- 8:25 p.m.            **Sign up for future seminars**  
**Questions**  
**Evaluations**

**Sunday, January 23**

Delegation departs by train for Moscow

**Monday, January 24**

Delegation arrives in Moscow  
Evening free

**Tuesday, January 25**

Delegation departs for United States



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**TRAINING SCHEDULE  
IRI MISSION TO SMOLENSK, RUSSIA  
January 30 - February 8, 1994**

**Sunday, January 30:**

Delegates Depart for Russia

**Monday, January 31:**

Delegates Arrive in Moscow

Overnight in Moscow

**Tuesday, February 1:**

IRI delegation meets at IRI office to prepare for training

**Wednesday, February 2:**

a.m. Free

10:00 p.m. Depart for Smolensk

**Thursday, February 3:**

8:00 a.m. Arrive in Smolensk

1:00 p.m. Meetings with local press, party and government officials

**Friday, February 4**  
**Day 1 of Training:**

9:00 a.m.           **Registration of Participants**

10:00 a.m.           **Introduction of the IRI and Training Team**  
*Scott Boylan*

10:15 a.m.           **Campaign Management**  
Developing a plan of action  
Organizing staff and volunteers  
Training and motivating volunteers  
Assigning tasks  
Fundraising  
Allocating resources  
Candidate preparation

*Presenter: Tim Meyer*

12:00 p.m.           **Opposition Research and Polling**  
Measuring public opinion  
Issue and opposition research  
    What is opposition research  
    Uses of opposition research  
    Research process

*Presenter: Ben Key*

1:00 p.m.-  
2:30 p.m.           **Lunch**

2:30 p.m.           **Campaign Tactics and Strategy**  
Elements of a campaign strategy  
Theme and message development  
Linking the right message to the right people  
Targeting voter groups  
Voter contact programs  
Door to door canvassing

*Presenter: Tim Meyer*

4:00 p.m.

**Role Playing Exercise: Targeting Voter Groups Within the Electorate and Establishing Voter Contacts**

Participants are broken down according to political party or organization and asked to develop a strategy for targeting and contacting a specific voter group within the Smolensk region. A spokesperson for each party or organization shares the strategy with the audience. The presentation should include who is the target what is the strategy/issue, why the targeted group would be receptive to the appeal, and where the voter group can be encountered (at work, at a place of worship, at home, etc.) A member of the audience who is from the targeted group is then asked to participate in a mock contact scenario. The spokesperson makes their appeal based upon the strategy. IRI trainers comment on the overall strategy and the voter contact role playing exercise.

*Presenters: Tim Meyer and Ben Key*

5:00 p.m.

**The Importance of Pollwatching**

Why pollwatching is important  
Role of pollwatcher  
How to organize pollwatching in a campaign

*Presenter: Scott Boylan*

7:00 p.m.

**Dinner with local democratic activists**



2:30 p.m.            **Establishing a Youth Group**  
                                 *Presenter: Ben Key*

3:15 p.m.            **Winning the Support of Coalition Groups**  
                                 What coalition groups can do for you  
                                 Why have a coalition plan  
                                 Conducting an inventory of groups  
                                 Targeting the right groups  
                                 Writing your coalitions plan  
                                 Winning endorsements  
                                 Making coalitions part of your campaign  
  
                                 *Presenter: Tim Meyer*

4:00 p.m.            **Coalition Exercise**  
  
                                 *Presenters: Tim Meyer and Ben Key*

4:45 p.m.            **Review and critique of video exercises**  
  
                                 *Tim Meyer and Ben Key*

6:00 p.m.            **Closing Remarks and Awards**  
                                 **Evaluation of Seminar**

6:30 p.m.            **Seminar Ends**

7:00 p.m.            **Dinner**





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## **CAMPAIGN PREPAREDNESS SEMINAR**

**ST. PETERSBURG, RUSSIA  
February 8-15, 1994**

With the local elections one month away, the campaign training seminar in St. Petersburg was well attended and well received. The trainers were Brandon Scholz, Chief of Staff to Congressman Scott Klug and Darrell Williams, political media consultant from Bismarck, ND. IRI organized the seminar in conjunction with the Christian Democratic Party.

In preparation for the seminar, meetings were scheduled on Thursday and Friday for the trainers to meet with local party representatives, journalists and local government officials. The trainers were delayed one day because of bad weather so IRI in-country representative Scott Boylan conducted the Thursday meetings and briefed the trainers when they arrived.

Boylan met with Alexander Belyaev, St. Petersburg deputy to the Federation Council. Belyaev indicated his support for IRI's local training program. He said the December election demonstrates that Russian democrats have much more to learn about political campaigning. Belyaev is currently involved in litigation seeking to overturn the local election law promulgated by Anatoli Sobchak, the mayor of St. Petersburg. Belyaev disputes the requirement that citizens must be a resident in St. Petersburg for five years in order to vote. He claims this provision is a violation of the Russian Constitution. The law also sets the minimum voting age at 21 years old, which Belyaev says is unconstitutional as well.

Rather than being strictly informational, the meeting with the St. Petersburg press turned into a press conference. This was good publicity for IRI as several stories ran in the local papers about the seminar. A TV reporter from the St. Petersburg TV station attended the seminar on Saturday and ran a story Saturday night. The journalists were open to taking questions themselves during the meeting. They operate like many other reporters found throughout Russia, taking a more subjective view to their reporting.

On Friday, Scholz and Williams met with representatives from a number of local parties including the Christian Democrats, Union of Labor Cooperatives, Free Democrats, Republicans and Social Democrats. A lot of time was spent with the Union of Labor Cooperatives talking about their campaign for the upcoming local election. They are trying to have a candidate run from each of the city's 50 districts. They have identified six issues that make up their platform. Some of their issues do appear to reflect the mindset of the voters, but not all necessarily reflect the public's priorities. They believe the most effective way to campaign is to meet people because, as they said, most voters in Russia are not interested in a platform or issues, just names. However, the party representatives were not interested in doing door-to-door campaigning, saying people were afraid of crime and wouldn't answer their doors. While there

may be some truth to this, it also could be an excuse not to do it. The trainers instead suggested they meet with people at bus stops or other public places.

The host of the seminar, Vitaly Savitsky, is a member of the State Duma. He is kind of a maverick who won his election by undertaking a western-style campaign, including door-to-door campaigning. He also understands the importance of image. Before the December elections, Savitsky had long hair, something that is as unappealing to mainstream Russians as is to voters in the United States. He cut his hair and changed his appearance in order to appeal to the average voter. His strategy worked!

### The seminar

About 60-65 people attended the two-day seminar including 20 candidates for local office. Most of the participants were from parties in the Democratic Russia movement. Many were conservative Christians as the hosts were the Christian Democratic Party. The parties included the Union of Labor Cooperatives, Democratic Union of Handicapped Persons, All-Russia Youth Christian Democratic Union, Free Democratic Party of Russia, Culture Student Union, Russian Green Party, Christian Entrepreneurs Union, Peasant Party of Russia, Democratic Unity of St. Petersburg and Memorial (a movement for the victims of Stalin's purges).

A surprising number of young people participated in the seminar. This is especially encouraging as young people have been noticeably absent from the political process, both from participating in political organizations and from voting. The Christian Democratic Youth Organization wanted IRI to help them find contacts with U.S. youth groups.

The trainers balanced each other well with Williams specializing in media and communications, and Scholz specializing in the strategy, tactics and message development.

The topics addressed included campaign strategy, tactics, opposition research, pollwatching, public speaking, media relations, volunteer recruitment, targeting voters and building coalitions. Incorporated into the discussions were exercises designed to give participants hands-on work with these concepts. Mock press conferences and one-on-one interviews were conducted, videotaped and critiqued by the trainers.

As expected, these participants had reached a higher level of experience and sophistication in western political concepts than many of the people IRI works with. The speakers from the press conferences and interviews were confident, poised and experienced and did not make many typical mistakes. As a result, the trainers could spend a lot of time talking about refining the performances. In addition, many of the questions asked of the trainers throughout the seminar were at least as perceptive, if not more so, than what an American audience might ask.

Another exercise was conducted to complement the discussion of political coalitions and targeting voters. The audience was divided into four groups. They were asked to decide their three priority issues and determine what groups they would target for each issue and why.

Again, given the relative sophistication of the participants, this was a fairly easy concept for them to grasp.

With the election only a month away, the group had a number of specific questions for the trainers. According to Savitsky and his assistant, the seminar was very useful and the trainers made suggestions that could be easily adapted to a Russian campaign.

At the end of the seminar, training kits were provided to the four largest parties so that they can hold similar workshops on their own.

**International Republican Institute  
Training Seminar in Samara, Russia  
January, 1994**

The International Republican Institute (IRI) conducted a grass roots political training seminar in Samara, Russia from January 20, 1994 through January 23, 1994. Samara, located on the banks of the Volga river, is a major industrial city. Because of military concerns (ballistic missiles were produced in the city), Samara was closed to foreigners until the early 1990s. The Samara region also produces Zhiguli automobiles and Tupelev aircraft. The city boasts over 1.3 million inhabitants and its own Metro. Two weeks prior to the seminar, IRI Moscow employees Nadia Seryakova and Bill Townsend traveled to Samara where they met with local officials and political activists. This advance visit served three purposes. First, it allowed the IRI training team to adapt the seminar to the specific needs and desires of Samara. Second, it promoted the seminar amongst likely participants. Third, it enabled the IRI to make logistical arrangements required to support the seminar.

Upon arrival in Samara, the IRI team met with the Presidential Representative and Deputy Head of the Samara Regional Administration. This meeting allowed the IRI team to both inform the regional government of IRI's activity, and learn about the region's political, economic and cultural concerns. A second meeting was held with the regional administration's youth coordinator. He was particularly interested in learning how to involve young people (under 30 years of age) in politics, and promised a strong turnout of young people at the IRI seminar. Following these meetings, the IRI team held a press conference announcing the seminar. The press conference also enabled the IRI team to analyze the media environment in Samara.

The issue of fair press in Samara raises some strong concerns. It is apparently common practice for newspapers to sell press to candidates. This is to say that candidates are charged for all articles about them (not just advertising, but news stories as well) and that objective coverage is virtually non-existent. The political implications of such practices are far reaching and inconsistent with democratic practice.

The IRI hosted a dinner meeting with local political activists from the Samara region. This get-together provided the IRI team with a chance to hear local concerns and to assess the region's political landscape. The occasion strengthened IRI's relationship with area contacts and stimulated interest in IRI's seminar. Attendees represented a wide spectrum of interests and included members of the Republican Party of Russia, YABLOK, People's Party of Russia, Free Russia, Future of Russia, Trade Unions, the Democratic Party of Russia, Cossacks, women's organizations and the local administration. The economy was the primary concern mentioned. Samara, as a major center of the former Soviet military-industrial complex, has been especially hard hit economically. Unemployment in the region is said to be high, particularly among young people. Local elections will be held in Samara on March 27, 1994. Candidates for the elections have not yet been announced, but several of the attendees stated their intentions to run.

The Samara seminar was attended by a standing room only crowd of 120 participants -- the largest seminar audience to date. The IRI trainers included Mr. Keith Kirk, Executive Assistant to Congressman Bill Emerson, and Mr. Gene Ulm, Vice President of Public Opinion Strategies, a national public opinion research firm. Both Mr. Kirk and Mr. Ulm have considerable campaign experience at both the local and national levels. Mr. Kirk has managed Congressman Emerson's last two campaigns.

The seminar audience was very enthusiastic, attentive and eager to learn. The IRI consultants became local celebrities following spots on TV and radio as well as front page ("above the fold") newspaper stories. They captivated the audience with tales of political battles won and lost. Their excellent rapport with the audience encouraged lively debate and created an environment in which ideas could be freely shared..

The training seminar included a two-day series of lectures, discussion sessions and role-playing exercises. Campaign development, political communication, party development, volunteer recruitment, coalition building and campaign administration were all emphasized. The seminar also included presentations on communicating with the electorate, the art of public speaking, enhancing media relations, election preparation, and campaign tactics and strategy. Role playing exercises enhanced the discussion and provided the audience with hand's on experience. For example, following discussion of how to organize and run a press conference, the audience was divided into groups and asked to prepare a press conference in response to a specific issue (assigned by the IRI staff). These groups then were provided with 5 minutes to present a statement and field questions from the "press" (audience). These press conferences were video-taped and later critiqued. Such exercises provide a bridge between lecture and the reality of running a political campaign. Additionally, they reinforce the points made in the lecture.

The IRI also conducted a third day of training which was devoted to the "training of trainers." This program is essential to the IRI's political party training program in Russia as the IRI believes not only in the development of strong and independent political institutions in Russia, but also on increasing the self sufficiency and maintenance of these institutions. This is done by assisting these parties to develop the necessary skills to conduct their own training programs. Self-explanatory training kits are provided to participants. These training kits provide step-by-step guidance on how to organize and run a political seminar. It is hoped that the result is a multiplier effect through which one IRI seminar will lead to a series of local political seminars and a continuation of the party-building process at the grass roots level.

In addition to the seminar, the IRI conducted local meetings with young people. There is a strong young peoples' movement in Samara and approximately 40 young people attended the meeting. They were particularly interested in organizing a youth organization in Samara and asked the IRI staff and consultants for advice, assistance and encouragement. Discussion ranged from the role of young people in politics to like-minded American organizations and how they are organized. The IRI staff distributed written materials from such organizations as the Young Republicans to guide the Samarans in establishing their own youth organization. The participants invited IRI to assist them with a youth seminar in

Samara. Should the IRI decide to become more involved in youth organizations, Samara would prove a logical starting point.

A meeting was also held with local women. This meeting discussed the role and challenges facing the women of Russia, how they can become more involved in politics and community affairs, and IRI's women's program. Such meetings provide an outstanding opportunity for local women to meet one another and share ideas. It is hoped that they will hold future meetings themselves.

At the conclusion of the seminar, the IRI distributed written evaluations to assess the participants' view of the overall seminar, trainers, subject material and supplemental literature. The evaluation also encouraged participants to offer ideas for improving the seminar. The IRI training program received high marks and the trainers were unanimously praised. The seminar concluded with the presentation of certificates of completion to the participants.

**International Republican Institute  
Training Seminar in Smolensk, Russia  
January, 1994**

The International Republican Institute (IRI) conducted a grass roots political training seminar in Smolensk, Russia from February 3, 1994 through February 6, 1994. Smolensk, located in Western Russia on the Dniepr river not far from the Byelorussian border, is a scenic and historic town. The city has a population of approximately 350,000 and was badly damaged in the second world war. Napoleon, too, fought his way through Smolensk in the early 19th century. Today, Smolensk boasts a beautiful kremlin (fortress) and several spectacular cathedrals. The Smolensk region is generally rural and agricultural. In the city of Smolensk, the primary industries include parts manufacture for both the aviation and automotive industries, as well as diamond polishing. Politically, Smolensk is known as a communist stronghold.

Upon arrival in Smolensk, the IRI team met with the Presidential Representative, Alexander Manoim, and his staff. IRI Russia Program Officer, Scott Boylan, had previously met with the Smolensk region Presidential Representative and it is through his office that the seminar was organized. This meeting allowed the IRI team to both meet our hosts and to learn of the particular concerns and peculiarities of the region. Mr. Manoim identified the three major issues facing the Smolensk region as inflation, crime and unemployment, in that order. He described the political environment as "sharply divided" between those favoring reform and those opposed. The Presidential Representative is convinced that the December elections were fraudulent, though he says he can't prove this and has not filed a complaint. Voter turnout in the Parliamentary elections was 64%. Mr. Manoim expects local election turnout to be a bit lower. The local elections are to be held on March 20, 1994. The signature list deadline is February 20. Election law requires a simple majority for victory.

A press conference was held in which the IRI team outlined the purpose for our visit to Smolensk and invited local media to cover the event. Additionally, it provide IRI an opportunity to assess the local media environment. The media present at the press conference represented radio, TV and newspaper. A marked division became immediately apparent between the journalists in attendance representing hardline communist interests and those supporting the democratic movement. At times during the press conference, the journalists would openly argue with one another and the situation could best be described as "tense." The media favoring democratic reform complained that the local administration, renowned hardliners, created many obstacles. One local newspaper editor claims that eight months ago he requested credentials for his journalists and to date he has still received no response from the administration. Additionally, journalists complained that the regional administration was extremely tight-lipped, making it difficult to get accurate information. In contrast with the federal elections, candidates will not be given a specific amount of free press coverage for the upcoming local elections.

The IRI next met with leaders and activists from various political parties in Smolensk. Those parties present represented the Republican Party of Russia, the Free Democratic Party,

Choice of Russia, Popular Front, Democratic Russia and the Liberal Democratic Party. The Communist Party, Christian Democrats and "Motherland" were also invited, but declined to attend. This gathering, like the meeting with the press, was also sharply divided between those favoring democratic reform and those opposed.

There was consensus among the democratic parties represented that, in rural areas, the Communist and Agrarian Parties still have an absolute stranglehold -- that party leaders there tell people how to vote, plain and simple, just like the old days. None of the parties present said that they had filed a complaint, and none offered concrete examples of vote fraud.

The Chairman of the Smolensk Republican Party, Gennady Golovnikh, expects a strong showing in the next elections. His party put forward three candidates in the Parliamentary elections and had one elected. The Smolensk Republican Party was created in the summer of 1993 and favors political and economic reform. Mr. Golovnikh conceded that the Communists would almost undoubtedly win, but not without a fight. The Republican Party is fielding candidates in each of the 10 districts in the city of Smolensk and in about half of the 17 regional districts.

One of the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) representatives in attendance was a former fighter pilot in the Soviet Air Force. He says that he joined the LDP because he "shares Zhirinovski's views on the future of Russia." He expressed resentment that Russia is treated as a third world nation today rather than the superpower it once was.

In Smolensk, the Free Democratic Party of Russia (FDPR) is largely composed of intellectuals. A lawyer representing the FDPR is calling for members of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to be tried for crimes against humanity in a Nuremburg-like process. He feels that the poor showing by democrats in the December elections is attributable to two primary causes. First, the democrats failed to find common ground and form a solid coalition. Second, the democratic movement lacked an intellectual foundation.

Choice of Russia's representative similarly agreed that the democratic cause was weakened by infighting amongst reformers. He also noted that the party-forming process is just beginning and stated that the Choice of Russia bloc in Smolensk will focus on greater coordination between local and national level politics.

Many in the room highlighted apathy amongst voters as a problem. "People are not motivated and disinterested in politics," stated a representative from the Popular Front. As proof, he cited the LDP's success in the December elections and relatively low voter turnout -- "People voted for the LDP not because they knew about their platform, but because of unhappiness over their current lot in life."

Overall, the party representatives felt that press coverage in the December elections were more or less fair. They particularly liked the free radio and TV time candidates were given.

The Smolensk seminar was attended by approximately 40 participants. The IRI trainers were Ben Key and Tim Meyer. Ben Key is a partner in a public relations firm

specializing in direct mail. Tim Meyer is a government relations director at Columbia Healthcare. Both Mr. Key and Mr. Meyer have considerable campaign experience at both the local and national levels.

Seminar participants included representatives from the Republican party of Russia, Choice of Russia, Yabloko, The Communist Party of Russia, the Cossacks, the Free Trade Union, the Movement for Democratic Reforms and DemRossiya. DemRossiya had a much lower turnout than expected. When contacted by IRI representatives and questioned why DemRossiya wasn't better represented, the head of the Smolensk DemRossiya stated that his group did not want to attend since the seminar had been principally arranged through the Smolensk branch of Choice of Russia. Such infighting amongst democrats underscores the point made earlier that reformers are split and fractionalized. The phrase "they are cutting off their nose despite their face," applies.

The training seminar included a two-day series of lectures, discussion sessions and role-playing exercises. Campaign development, political communication, party development, volunteer recruitment, coalition building and campaign administration were all emphasized. The seminar also included presentations on communicating with the electorate, the art of public speaking, enhancing media relations, election preparation, and campaign tactics and strategy. Role playing exercises enhanced the discussion and provided the audience with hands on experience. For example, following discussion of how to organize and run a press conference, the audience was divided into groups and asked to prepare a press conference in response to a specific issue (assigned by the IRI staff). These groups then were provided with 5 minutes to present a statement and field questions from the "press" (audience). These press conferences were video-taped and later critiqued. Such exercises provide a bridge between lecture and the reality of running a political campaign. Additionally, they reinforce the points made in the lecture.

The IRI also conducted a third day of training which was devoted to the "training of trainers." This program is essential to the IRI's political party training program in Russia as the IRI believes not only in the development of strong and independent political institutions in Russia, but also on increasing the self sufficiency and maintenance of these institutions. This is done by assisting these parties to develop the necessary skills to conduct their own training programs. Self-explanatory training kits are provided to participants. These training kits provide step-by-step guidance on how to organize and run a political seminar. It is hoped that the result is a multiplier effect through which one IRI seminar will lead to a series of local political seminars and a continuation of the party-building process at the grass roots level.

At the conclusion of the seminar, the IRI distributed written evaluations to assess the participants' view of the overall seminar, trainers, subject material and supplemental literature. The evaluation also encouraged participants to offer ideas for improving the seminar. The IRI training program received high marks and the trainers were unanimously praised. The seminar concluded with the presentation of certificates of completion to the participants.

**"WOMEN IN POLITICS"**  
**TRAINING SEMINAR, NOVOSIBIRSK, RUSSIA**  
**February 17-20, 1994**

The training seminar in Novosibirsk, Russia was the first of a series of training seminars designed to help Russian women further develop those skills which will enable them excel in the political process and succeed in business and community projects as well. Four U.S. trainers and three Russian trainers were utilized for workshop style presentations on political party organization, communications, small business development, and community development. There were 98 participants, the majority of whom were women.

In preparation for the seminar, meetings were scheduled on Thursday, February 17 for the trainers to meet with local government officials, journalists and local party representatives. Unfortunately, none of the party representatives were available to meet with us. We had a productive meeting with Victor Matveev, Deputy Head of the Novosibirsk Region Administration. He discussed problems facing women in Novosibirsk. Unemployment was obviously one of the most critical issues facing the women of Novosibirsk. He discussed the lack of professional training for women and the tremendous burden of family and employment.

The meeting with the city administration turned into a press conference. Several reporters from the local papers attended the meeting, and stories ran on the local stations on each night of the conference. The reporters asked questions during the meeting. One woman journalist made is sound like we were encouraging women to participate in the feminist movement of Russia. We were extremely careful in handling this question. We emphasized the importance of integrating men into our seminars, women working with men in able to succeed, etc..

The seminar

There were 98 participants who attended the three-day seminar. They were women and men from Samara, Kemerovo, Tomsk, Tyumen, Omsk, Linevo, Gorno-Altaysk, and Novosibirsk.

There was a combination of political, community and business interests among the participants. The political participants were members of Russia's Choice, Women of Russia and the Republican Party. The majority of the participants were involved in community type organizations that dealt with issues such as handicapped children, family, education, women, orphanages, and pensioners assistance. There were also several women from the business community, as well as a few doctors, teachers and journalists.

The trainers covered a tremendous amount of material in a very short time. In a pre-election preparation workshop conducted by Fran McNaught, the topics addressed included developing a plan of action, organizing staff, allocating resources, measuring public opinion, candidate preparation, elements of a campaign strategy, theme and message development, etc..

Fran also conducted the workshop, Local Party Organization, where she discussed establishing organizational goals, local party staff structure, delegating responsibility, identifying resources, voter education, etc.. Her workshops were complimented by Tatiana Dimitreeva, a Russian campaign consultant from Tomsk.

The participants were not as experienced in politics as they have been in past IRI training seminars. In the future, we may want to re-structure the political section of the seminar. We could begin with a presentation about why women need to be involved in the political process. Then, we could discuss how to get involved and gain credibility and influence. Finally, we could discuss the building of parties and individual campaigns.

Tatiana Roodkowsky's workshop, Issues Facing Women in Russia, focused on concerns of the Russian women. Raising children, coping with economic stress, assisting handicapped and elderly, and the role of family in society were issues they wanted to discuss.

The participants in this workshop were extremely emotional as they discussed problems they deal with on a regular basis. The main concerns were alcoholism, starting organizations for the youth, handicapped children, pensioners assistance, single mothers, childcare and dealing with economic stress. This workshop was complimented by a Russian trainer, Galina Kupinskaya from Kemerovo, a woman who works with an organization called The Children's Fund.

My concern with this workshop is that the participants were so emotional that they were discussing issues at great length amongst themselves. This is not a bad thing, except that the workshop got a bit out of control. In the future, the IRI staff person should be present to control the audience and ensure that all points we want to cover are addressed.

Tatiana also covered How to Start a Volunteer Organization. This is something that should be covered in greater detail in each of the training seminars.

The mock press conference exercise and the mock interviews were extremely effective. Kathryn Coombs had covered in detail all aspects of communications before we began this exercise. She discussed communicating the message, fundamentals of public speaking, getting your message across, debating, and effective media relations. Larisa Idolenko assisted Kathryn in the

workshop. Larisa, who attended the Novgorod conference, is founder and editor of a "Women's Newspaper".

The participants did an excellent job in conducting the mock press conferences and the video taped interviews. The majority of women were quite impressive on camera.

J.L. Cullen was the business trainer who discussed business and employment. She did a good job at describing the procedure for starting a small home-based business. However, because unemployment is a major problem in Russia, we need to discuss in greater detail strategies for finding employment and dealing with stress associated with unemployment. Time management techniques should also be addressed in greater detail.

The only topic that seemed to be over the participants head was the discussion, Lobbying Government for Change. This discussion took place after dinner, late in the evening. Therefore, it could have just been that participants were exhausted. However, it seemed that the presentation Kathryn gave was not applicable to the women at this time.

At the end of the seminar, we had a lengthy question and answer period. I thought this was very useful. They asked specific questions about our lives in the United States.

The participants were extremely interactive and inquisitive throughout the seminar. They were by far the most enthusiastic and interested group that I have experienced. It is obvious that these women were intelligent, active members of their society. It is important that we follow-up with them and continue to assist them in their endeavors, whether it be in encouraging political participation, assisting in development of community organizations or encouraging business entrepreneurship.

It is extremely important to have the Russian women participate as trainers. In the future, I would like to see them become more involved in the overall presentations with the U.S. trainers. In Novosibirsk, the U.S. trainers took the lead in each workshop. As the program officer, I will work to ensure that they meet beforehand to present the workshops together, and will emphasize to the U.S. trainers that they will be co-teaching these workshops.

This was the first training seminar in the Women in Politics Program for Russia. It was useful in determining what issues are important to the women of Russia, so that we can structure future seminars to meet their needs. As I mentioned, in the future, IRI should re-emphasize why it is important for the women to become involved in the political process. That is the basis of our programming goals, and therefore needs to be addressed at future training seminars.

**Schedule for IRI Women's Conference  
Novosibirsk  
17-20 February 1994**

**Wednesday 16 February**

8:00 P.M. IRI delegation arrives

**Thursday 17 February**

Daytime: Meetings with representatives of women's groups, local government officials, leaders of democratic organizations and local journalists. Also, IRI trainers will meet and discuss presentations with Russian trainers who will work with IRI in the training program.

Evening: Dinner with local organizers of IRI Women's Program

**Friday 18 February  
Day 1 of Training**

9:00 A.M. Registration of participants.

10:00 A.M. Introduction of IRI training team.  
General Session Review of goals and agenda. General discussion of challenges and opportunities facing women in Russia's changing society.

**Presenters: Holly Barber  
Nadia Seryakova  
Larissa Idolenko**

11:00 A.M.-2:00 P.M. Part 1A: Pre-election Preparation  
Part 2A: Issues Facing Women in Russia

Breakout participants into two sections - 90 minutes each, including breaks - to allow more interaction in training.

Part 1A Pre-Election Preparation:  
Developing a plan of action  
Organizing staff and volunteers  
Allocating resources  
Measuring public opinion  
Candidate preparation  
Elements of a campaign strategy  
Developing a campaign timeline

Part 1A (cont.)

Theme and message development  
Linking the right message to the right group  
Voter contact programs  
Coalition Building  
Door to door canvassing  
**Presenters: Fran McNaught**  
**Tatiana Dimitreeva**  
**J.L. Cullen**

Part 2A

Issues Facing Women in Russia:  
Building self-esteem  
Raising Children  
Coping with economic stress  
Assisting handicapped and elderly  
Role of the family in society  
**Presenters: Tatiana Roodkowsky**  
**Galina Kupinskaya**  
**Kathryn Coombs**

2:00 P.M. - 3:30 P.M.

Lunch

3:30 P.M. - 6:00 P.M.

Part 3A: Communicating Your Message  
Part 4A: Business and Employment

Breakout participants into two sections - 90 minutes each,  
including breaks - to allow more interaction in training.

Section 3A

Communicating Your Message  
Developing a communications strategy  
Positioning and messages  
Targeting your audience  
Suiting the method to the message; tools  
Media relations; overview  
Advertising/paid media  
Organization/corporate visual identity; logos, design  
Newsletters and direct communications  
Brochures, posters, other communications materials  
Letters to the editor, petition drives, grassroots  
techniques  
Use of opinion research in communications  
**Presenters: Kathryn Coombs**  
**Fran McNaught**

Section 4A

Business and Employment

Strategies for finding employment  
Business leadership and self-esteem  
Small home-based businesses  
Devising a business plan  
Managing people  
Time management  
Identifying resources

**Presenters: J.L. Cullen**

**Natalia Sobtsina**

**Tatiana Roodkowsky**

6:00 P.M. - 8:00 P.M.

Dinner

8:00 P.M.

Lobbying Government for Change

**Presenters: Kathryn Coombs**

**J.L. Cullen**

**Tatiana Dimitreeva**

**Saturday February 19**

**Day 2 of Training**

9:00 A.M.

General Session

Getting Your Message Across

Fundamentals of Public Speaking

How to construct a speech persuasively

Rhetorical devices

Presentation techniques

Television/Radio

Special techniques for each

Handling interviews

Political Debate Techniques

**Presenters: Kathryn Coombs**

**Tatiana Roodkowsky**

10:00 A.M. - 1:00 P.M.

Part 2B: How to Build a Volunteer Organization

Part 3B: Effective Media Relations

Breakout participants into two sections - 90 minutes each,  
including breaks - to allow more interaction in training.

Part 2B

Social Organization and Advancement

Qualities of leadership

Creating a social organization

Promoting charity

Managing a staff

Recruiting supporters  
Developing volunteers talents  
Raising funds  
Utilizing resources  
Networking  
Grassroots issue campaigning  
Managing time/balancing commitments  
**Presenters: Tatiana Roodkowsky**  
**J.L. Cullen**  
**Galina Kupinskaya**

Part 3B

#### Effective Media Relations

Developing storylines and "news pegs"  
Assessing newsworthiness  
Targeting media  
How to develop good press contacts  
Building a press/media list

#### Media Relations Tools:

The one-on-one briefing  
Writing a press release  
Organizing a press conference  
Organizing a media event  
Interviewing skills - press  
Dealing with unfriendly reporters  
Crisis management

**Presenters: Kathryn Coombs**  
**Fran McNaught**

1:00 P.M.

#### Video-Taped Role Playing Exercises

General Session

#### How to give a Press Conference

The participants will be broken into 4-6 groups during Section 3B and asked to develop a 2-3 minute press statement in response to the following hypothetical situation: "The Russian Minister of Labor has suggested that women should give up their jobs so that men can be guaranteed a job in the shrinking workforce (this event actually happened on 10 February 1993). Each group will select a spokesperson to present their statement and respond to five minutes of questions by the "media" (the other participants).

#### Impromptu Interviews

While the participants are developing their press statements during Section 3B a member of each group is taken outside the room and interviewed on camera. The following question is asked: "As a

candidate for office what would be your theme?" (2 minutes to answer).

2:00 P.M. - 3:30 P.M.

Lunch

3:30 P.M. - 5:00 P.M.

Part 1B: Local Party Organization  
Part 4B: Economic Empowerment

Breakout participants into two sections - 90 minutes each, including breaks - to allow more interaction in training.

Part 1B

Local Party Organization:

Establishing organizational goals

Local party staff structure

Delegating responsibilities

Identifying party resources

Building a base of volunteers

Establishing a political calendar

Training of party staff

Voter education program

Building party membership

Internal communication and the use of party newsletters

**Presenters: Fran McNaught**

**Tatiana Dimitreeva**

**Kathryn Coombs**

Part 4B

Economic Empowerment

Economic influence as political influence

Team work and business associations

Leadership skills

**Presenters: J.L. Cullen**

**Natalia Sobtsina**

**Tatiana Roodkowsky**

5:00 P.M.

General Session

Review and Critique of Video Exercises

Trainers will show video tape of interviews and press conferences to participants. Critique will be made on presentation, content, and overall effectiveness.

7:00 P.M.

After dinner IRI will distribute several 3x5 note cards to the participants so that they may write their names, addresses, phone numbers, and specific interests to exchange with each other.

General Questions and Answers

Closing Remarks and Award Certificates

**Sunday 20 February**

10:00 A.M.

**Group Effectiveness**

Civic activism and involvement

Transferring skills and teaching

Working for change within your community

Maintaining lines of communication

Networking within and between communities

**Presenters: Kathryn Coombs**

**Tatiana Roodkowsky**

12:00 P.M.

Seminar Concludes

Afternoon

Departure of IRI delegation by train

**Monday 21 February**

Morning

Departure of IRI delegation by plane



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## QUARTERLYREPORT

**GRANTEE NAME:** International Republican Institute

**GRANT/COOPERATIVE AGREEMENT NUMBER:** CSS-0007-A-00-2021-00  
Russian Project

**PERIOD COVERED IN THIS REPORT:** 10/1/93 TO 12/31/93

**ANTICIPATED DATE FOR EVALUATION:**

### **1. Program Goals and Purpose**

The objective of the International Republican Institute's Russia project is to foster the development of institutions essential to the success of a democracy. In particular, the Russia project focuses on grassroots campaign training, political party development and increasing women's roles in politics. IRI believes that the best way to ensure the long-term development of democracy is by reaching out to those outside the central urban areas. For this reason, most of the programming is conducted at the regional and local level. By developing the skills and resources of political activists at the local level, IRI helps keep power in the hands of the people rather than a few governing elite and the federal bureaucracy.

### **2. Output/Activities**

Continuing with the successful grassroots campaign program, two more political communication and campaign preparedness seminars were conducted in October in Perm and Rostov-na-Donu. The Perm seminar was held October 22-24 and the Rostov seminar was held October 29-31. Two U.S. experts traveled on each mission to teach participants the basic elements of campaigns in a democratic society, including grassroots political organization, coalition building, general campaign skills and developing a media strategy. The seminars employed interactive exercises to give participants a hands-on understanding of these techniques. Participants held mock press conferences and conducted one-on-one interviews, which were videotaped and reviewed by IRI staff and the trainers.

Attending the Perm seminar were about 35 participants, representing Democratic Russia, the Immigrant Party, the Green Party, the People's Labor Party, the Social Democratic Party of Russia as well as a number of independents.

Attending the Rostov seminar were 60 participants representing the Democratic

Russia Movement, The Social Democratic Party, the Republican Party, the Choice of Russia, Choice of Don, Don Region League of Young Republicans, Chief Administrator of Volgodonsk, Civic Revival Movement and the Association of Private Enterprise.

At the end of each seminar, IRI staff and trainers met with the best participants to teach them how to hold training seminars on their own. To assist them, 10 training kits, explaining point-by-point in Russian how to conduct a seminar were distributed in Perm and Rostov. In this way, IRI can extend its reach beyond those participants who attended the seminar. Employing the multiplier effect is a key element of the IRI program.

In addition, a meeting was held with the women's working groups in each city to discuss political and social issues specific to women. An emphasis was placed on discussing ways for women to have a greater impact on the political situation both through behind the scenes activities and by running for elected office.

In preparation for the December Parliamentary elections, IRI conducted pollwatcher training missions in 11 cities during November: Chelyabinsk, Irkhutsk, Khabarovsk, Archangelsk, Novgorod, Moscow, Vladimir, Rostov-na-Donu, Voronezh and Kemerovo. The seminar in Moscow was held in conjunction with the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) and the National Democratic Institute (NDI). Two U.S. trainers helped IRI staff acquaint local party activists with the fundamentals of domestic pollwatching. Among the topics addressed at the seminar were the importance of pollwatching, the Russian election process, the responsibilities of pollwatchers and what to do in the event of a problem at a polling site. A manual that IRI drafted with IFES and NDI was distributed along with other materials so that participants could train other party activists in pollwatching on their own.

For the December 12 Parliamentary elections, IRI conducted a 25-member, 11-city election observation mission. The purpose of this mission was both to follow up on IRI's earlier missions as well as to evaluate the electoral environment and the electoral administration, identify strengths and weaknesses of the system and make recommendations for future elections. The 11 cities observed were Moscow, Vladimir, Khabarovsk, Irkustsk, Kemerovo, Kazan, Rostov-na-Donu, Archangelsk, Novgorod, Voronezh and Chelyabinsk. IRI has conducted training missions in all these cities, except one.

In preparation for the elections, the observers met with election and party officials in Moscow as well as in their deployment cities. In each city, observers held briefings with local government officials, local party members, members of the media and regional election commissioners to get an assessment of the pre-election environment. On election day, delegates went to 15 polling sites on average and noted specific aspects of the administration of the election. In addition, observers conducted an exit poll, which IRI will use to assess the reasons Russians voted as they did and their opinions of the election itself.

A third Russian was hired for the Moscow office to assist in translations, conduct an analysis of election data, assist in follow up on training missions and general assistance in carrying out programming objectives.

### **3. Inputs/Financial Report**

See attached.

### **4. Impact/Assessment**

IRI continued to move forward in reaching out to democratic political activists in the regions and localities by visiting 11 cities this quarter, working with them at various stages of the democratic process.

The October seminars in Perm and Rostov-na-Donu were especially useful for party activists gearing up for the December elections. Seminar participants were able to ask concrete questions about their own campaigns. In Perm, participants were concerned with how to squeeze a typical two-three month campaign into six weeks, as well as specific questions about candidate recruitment and fundraising. Rostov participants had specific questions about signature collection, press monitoring and the timeline of a campaign.

Once the moratorium on competitiveness party training went into effect, IRI switched gears to conduct pollwatcher training. Domestic pollwatching is an important aspect of the electoral process, a function that allows voters to feel secure about the integrity of the election results. Because international observers will not monitor most future elections, Russians must be able to monitor their own elections adequately. In addition to conducting pollwatcher training in 11 cities, IRI distributed 200 pollwatcher observer manuals in each of the cities so that democratic activists would have a comprehensive manual to refer to with questions or when training new observers. The government in the city of Irkutsk reproduced the manual to distribute to all domestic pollworkers throughout the region.

The December Parliamentary election observation mission gave IRI the unique opportunity to work as partners with those activists it trained. By sending U.S. observers to cities in which IRI has trained, the institute demonstrated its commitment to following the democratic process at all stages. By setting an example, it also reinforced the lessons IRI was attempting to convey. And, because an election is the final point of a campaign, it was important for IRI to see through to the end what had been started in the training sessions. A full report of the observation team's observations and evaluations is attached. It is being distributed to Russian policymakers and interested parties in both Russia and the United States.

### **5. Overall Narrative**

One problem encountered this quarter was a general apathy on the part of the party activists during the pre-election period. Participation was lower than anticipated during the pollwatching seminars. This was due in part to the general weariness over the political and economic conditions. Many average Russians are completely frustrated with the political process and are turned off to politics in general. As a result, only a small number of domestic pollwatchers turned out on election day. It is unlikely that international observers will monitor many future Russian elections so it is even more important that domestic

observers understand the importance of their role and turn out in greater numbers in the future. However, the information gathered and materials produced will be very useful in future training missions because IRI's traditional party building seminar includes a section on pollwatching and ballot integrity. In addition, as part of ongoing training, IRI will continue efforts to raise the level of awareness of the importance of maintaining party activity all the way through election day.

Despite the low turnout of domestic observers, not all political activism was absent around election time. IRI election delegates met with democratic activists in the deployment cities the day before the election and heard from a number of people with whom IRI has worked. The activists were enthusiastic about the information IRI has provided, saying it was useful for the election. They were also very pleased to have IRI representatives in their cities to observe the election. IRI is in the process of conducting a post-election analysis and evaluation of its activities in the cities where training has been conducted.

## **6. Projected Activities for next reporting period**

IRI plans to conduct a party building seminar in Samara, Russia on January 21-23, with two American trainers and two Russians who have previously participated in a similar seminar. The following weekend, IRI will send another mission to Smolensk to conduct a party building seminar with two American trainers and two Russian trainers on January 28-30. On February 4-6, IRI plans to send a third mission to Petrozavodsk with two American consultants and two Russians. Future plans will depend on the March local elections and whether any AID restrictions on training will be imposed.

Continuing with efforts in the women's program, IRI will hold a women's conference in Novosibirsk in mid-February with three American experts to foster greater involvement of women in Russia's political and economic spheres.



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**INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE  
AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT  
1992 CIS GRANT  
CCS-0007-A-00-2021-00**

**QUARTERLY REPORT  
APRIL, MAY, JUNE 1993  
RUSSIA PROJECT**

**I. Activities This Quarter**

- A. IRI Resident Officer for Russia returns to IRI Washington Office , 12-17 May and 26 May - 1 June 1993 for briefings to policy and development communities on the status of democratic institution building in Russia. [see attached meeting schedule].
- B. Debriefing with Ilona Countryman at AID on 19 May 1993 about Berezniki mission and update on plans for Women's Conference in Novgorod.
- C. Equipment for IRI Infrastructure Program distributed to final destinations throughout Russia. Contracts reviewed and signed. Contact lists drawn up. [Copies of contracts and contact lists forthcoming from IRI Moscow Office].
- D. IRI Resident Officer Steve Biegun meets with Chelyabinsk political activists Anatoly Grashchenkov and Sergei Mukharkin in Moscow, reviews impact of previous IRI training, assesses continuing needs, and explains and distributes IRI training kits.
- E. Anatoly Grashchenkov and Sergei Mukharkin, political activists from Chelyabinsk, participate as trainers at the IRI Conference "Finding Common Ground in Political Discussion," 25-27 June 1993.
- F. Follow-up consultations held with Victor Danilov, political activist from Archangelsk, at the IRI Office in Moscow. Discussions held on impact of IRI programming and continuing needs in the Northern region. Request for additional training kits fulfilled. Additional press coverage on the IRI training seminar in Archangelsk forwarded. [See attached].
- G. IRI team conducts follow-up consultations with political activists in Khaborovsk and provides them with IRI Training Kits.

- H. Travel Authorization for Women's Conference forwarded to AID.
- I. IRI Women's Conference advance undertaken. Assistant Program Officer for Russia, Martha Young deployed for early advance to finalize logistical, administrative, contractual, and billing arrangements in Novgorod and St. Petersburg. Additional staff sent to Novgorod in intervals throughout the final week of June as the pace of preparations for the conference picks up. [see attached staff assignment list and staff schedule].
- IRI Resident Officer Steve Biegun and local Moscow staff finalize travel arrangements for CIS participants, complete final translation and printing tasks, and handle Moscow based press coverage of the conference. Steve Biegun deploys early to St. Petersburg to confirm logistical arrangements, schedule meetings and briefings, and arrange St. Petersburg post-conference press round-table.
- J. Contract drawn up with Beresta Palace Hotel in Novgorod governing services and allowable costs. [See attached contract].
- K. Waiting List drawn up for IRI Conference, "Women Making a Difference . . . Today!." Second round of invitations issued in early June.
- L. IRI Women's Conference schedule finalized. Workshop content elaborated and role-playing exercises designed. [See attached explanations].
- M. Briefings for Women's Conference trainers conducted at IRI Washington Office, May 6 and June 11 1993. Logistics reviewed, schedule outlined, role-playing and learning exercise assignments announced, training team strategy sessions organized, and briefings undertaken on the political situation and women's issues in Russia. Written briefing materials prepared and distributed. [See attached trainer bios].
- N. New training materials identified by Women's Conference trainers and staff. Materials forwarded to Moscow for editing and translation.
- O. Russia Program Officer Catherine Barnes and Resident Officer Steve Biegun meet with political party representatives and city council officials in St. Petersburg to evaluate impact of previous IRI training, assess continuing needs, and issue invitations to the IRI women's conference.
- P. IRI Women's Conference Delegation holds meetings with representatives of the US Consulate and advisors to the Mayor's Office in St. Petersburg as well as with City Council members and women leaders in Novgorod.
- Q. IRI Women's Conference, "Women Making a Difference . . . Today," 24-27 June 1993, implemented in Novgorod, Russia. Women representing various

political and civic organizations, businesses, charities, military reform groups, environmental clubs, schools and universities, and governing bodies. [See attached registration lists].

### **Progress to Implementation and Evaluation**

- A. Two hundred copies of 50 different manuals on democracy, business, community development, political party building, campaign management, and governance distributed at the IRI Women's Conference, "Women Making a Difference . . . Today!" Of these, 30 were new titles, translated in Russian, and added to the IRI's existing source library. [See attached hand-out list].
- B. Additional training kits provided upon request to political activists in Archangelsk. Training kits also presented to party leaders in Chelyabinsk and Khabarovsk.
- C. Revision of three month work-plan.
- D. Registration list - IRI Women's Conference, "Women Making a Difference . . . Today!" [See attached].
- E. Women's Conference Training Schedule. [See attached].
- F. Information collected on women's attitudes toward economic and political reform in the former Soviet Union [Poll results and analysis forthcoming].
- G. Enhanced contact list for women from participating communities in the IRI Women's conference, "Women Making a Difference . . . Today!"
- H. Continued press coverage in Archangelsk. [See attached press clips].
- I. Television, radio, and press coverage of IRI Women's Conference, "Women Making a Difference . . . Today!" in Novgorod, St. Petersburg, and Moscow. Press and television coverage in the United States -- coverage airing on "Working Woman" on Channel 7, 11:00 a.m. on 18 July 1993; Channel 7 News on 29 -30 July; and again on "Working Woman" this Fall. [See attached press clips].
- J. Graduates of "IRI Trainers Program" train in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan at IRI Conference, "Finding Common Ground in Political Discussion," 25-27 June 1993.
- K. Reports from political activists in Voronezh, Archangelsk, Berezniki, and Perm that skills obtained or refined during the IRI Political Training Program directly benefitted them in preparing for the 25 April Referendum. Voter contact projects, get out the vote activities, ballot integrity programs, volunteer recruitment and training, and political communication were identified as

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particularly helpful themes.

- L. The short-term success of IRI women's programming during the Novgorod Women's Conference, "Women Making a Difference . . . Today!," was measured through written evaluations. Long-term impact will be measured through evidence of implementation as well as follow-up consultations with the IRI representative in Moscow. Written evaluations from Novgorod, which were done on a voluntary and anonymous basis, indicated:

When asked if the conference addressed, in a practical way, the needs which women face in the former Soviet Union, participants responded:

Strongly Agree	43%
Agree	46%
Disagree	11%

Participants agreed that the trainers were accessible and answered their questions:

Strongly Agree	78%
Agree	22%
Disagree	0

Participants rated the quality of the trainers' presentation:

Excellent	74%
Above Average	22%
Fair	1%
Below Average	0
Poor	0

Asked whether the format of the conference was conducive to interaction with trainers and active participation, attendees responded:

Strongly Agree	65%
Agree	33%
Disagree	0
No Answer	2%

Participants were divided on whether or not there was sufficient time allotted for informal social interaction allowing for experience and idea sharing and networking among the participants:

Strongly Agree	33% (enough time allotted)
Agree	41%
Disagree	21%

The training manuals and materials which were distributed during the conference were deemed helpful and relevant by the conference participants:

Strongly Agree	62%
Agree	35%
Disagree	1%

The IRI staff was perceived to be both professional and helpful during conference planning and implementation:

Strongly Agree	76%
Agree	22%
Disagree	2%

Participants were also asked to recommend colleagues who should be invited to IRI events in the future. Through this mechanism, 67 people were identified and have been added to IRI contact lists.

Significant accolades were also directed toward the trainers from Eastern Europe who were able to share valuable information and advice on contributing, in a practical way, to reforms in transitional societies. The Eastern European trainers proved invaluable to bridging the gap between the American experience and Eastern reality.

Addition commentary requested on the evaluations is currently being translated and will be forwarded to AID upon completion.

- M. Among the most popular workshops at the conference were the following: Writing a Business Plan; Marketing and Sales; Small and Home-Based Businesses; Business Associations; Starting a Private Business, Charity or Club; Campaign Management; Issue and Opposition Research; Voter Contact Programs; Leadership, Ethics and Self-Esteem; Public Speaking; Media Relations; Radio, Television, and Press; Press Conference Practicum; Empowerment and Concrete Action; Community Viability; and, Youth Clubs and Activism.

### III. Description of Implementation and Methodology

- A. IRI Training Kits revised on the basis of Russian participant and American trainer input.
- B. Meetings with government officials, representatives of civic, political, and business organizations, and the mass media in St. Petersburg and Novgorod. Briefings also provided by the staff of the US Consulate in St. Petersburg. Following meetings and briefings, IRI staff and trainers discuss necessary adaptations to training presentations.

- C. American and European trainers for the Women's Conference, "Women Making a Difference . . . Today!," confer with each other and with the IRI staff in the development of presentation outlines, design of workshop format, and establishment of division of labor.
- D. A combination of trainer presentation, informal discussion, question and answer sessions, role-playing exercises, work assignments, video-coaching, opinion poll implementation, practical experience opportunities comprised format of conference. General sessions, workshops, working groups -- in the form of special interest clubs, and mock campaign teams were utilized in communicating conference themes.

#### **IV. Issues and Problems**

- A. While the 25 April Referendum, and the IRI's Poll Watcher and Referendum Monitoring programs (funded by the National Endowment for Democracy) slowed the pace of the IRI political training program in the month of April, AID funded initiatives picked up again in June with the IRI Women's Conference, "Women Making a Difference . . . Today!" NED funded projects related to the 25 April Referendum were in support of and supplemented existing programming under AID funding.
- B. The prospect of new parliamentary and presidential elections, as early as October, continue to impact both the content and timeliness of IRI program implementation in the Russian country-side. Requests for assistance in the areas of campaign preparedness, while historically frequent, have increased. The remaining six training missions, to be completed prior to the expiration of the current grant in November, will focus on political mobilization for these elections.
- C. Similarly the possibility that Russian politics may quickly move to a pre-election, i.e. campaign, period may affect the very nature, as well as the pace, of IRI programming. Both the IRI and AID should be prepared for the possibility of a rapid shift in programming from political training to electoral assistance encompassing voter, ballot integrity, and poll watcher activities according to more precise laws on elections and political party activities. In addition, AID should give careful consideration to the extent of its commitment in the realm of election observation in the Russian Republic, not to mention other countries of the former Soviet Union.

#### **V. Status of Actions As Of Last Reporting**

- A. Washington briefings by IRI resident Officer for Russia undertaken during the third and fourth weeks of May 1993.
- B. Successful implementation of the IRI Women's Conference, "Women Making a Difference . . . Today!" in Novgorod Russia, 24-27 June 1993.

- C. Follow-up consultations held with democratic activists from Archangelsk, Chelyabinsk, and Khabarovsk.
- D. Delivery of infrastructure to final regional destinations throughout Russia. Training conducted on the usage and communication networking options for national and local coordination.
- E. IRI briefings for Women's Conference trainers conducted in Washington, St. Petersburg, and Russia.
- F. Advance for Women's Conference undertaken.
- G. Due to the extent of work generated by the Women's Conference and the Russia Referendum Mission, and the drain which it placed on the IRI's human resources, planning for summer political party training seminars was postponed until July.

**VI. Activities Planned for the Next 30 - 90 Days**

- A. Preparation for and implementation of July political training mission in the Siberian city of Novosibirsk.
- B. Planning for and implementation of August political training missions to Irkutsk and Yakutsk in eastern Siberia.
- C. Russian and American trainers selected and briefed for summer training missions.
- D. Sites selected and planning undertaken for political training missions to be conducted in September and October.
- E. Follow-up consultations held in Archangelsk, Saransk, Chelyabinsk, and Barnaul.
- F. Consultations held with party leaders in Moscow to inform about IRI program initiatives in the countryside, assess the impact of IRI programming, evaluate continuing needs, and record recommendations for future programming.
- G. Release for Distribution of Post Women's Conference Report and Poll Analysis to be sent to congressional leaders, members of the development and policy community, and the press. Copies will be made available upon request.
- H. Post Women's Conference Debriefing to be held with members of the delegation, congressional leaders and staff, representatives of the development and policy community, and the press.



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**INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE  
AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT  
1992 CIS GRANT  
CCS-0007-A-00-2021-00**

**QUARTERLY REPORT  
JANUARY, FEBRUARY, MARCH 1993  
RUSSIA PROJECT**

**I. Activities This Quarter**

- A. Russia Resident Officer, Steve Biegun, opens IRI Office in Moscow. Address: 27/4 Bolshaya Bronnaya, Apt 5, Moscow Russia 103104. Tel/Fax: 011-7095-291-29-52.
- B. Assistant Program Officer for Russia, Martha Young, hired 1 March 1993.
- C. Contacts in Archangelsk select topics from IRI training menu: campaign preparation and execution and political communication. Additional requests: adapt all training topics to assist in local mobilization for referendum on 11 April 1993.
- D. U.S. Trainers confirmed for Archangelsk Trip. Trainers: Dan Jones, Consultant with the Government Solutions Group in Dublin, Ohio, and Joseph Brush, former Representative of Georgia State House.
- E. Two Russian trainers, graduates of the IRI "Trainers Program" in Voronezh selected to train in Archangelsk. Russian trainers: Katya Morgunova, Chairwoman of the Voronezh chapter of the Democratic Party, and Valeria Gulimova, activist in the Voronezh chapter of the Republican Party.
- F. Briefing materials prepared for and consultations held with Archangelsk training team. Training methodology discussions and presentations prepared.
- G. Travel authorization for February mission forwarded to AID.
- H. Political training seminar implemented in Archangelsk, Russia, 12-14 February 1993. Representatives of Democratic Russia, the Democratic Party of Russia, the Republican Party of Russia, the Social Democratic Party, the Green Party, the

Christian Democratic Party, the People's Party of Free Russia, the Memorial Society, the Committee for Economic Reforms, and the Center for the Revival of Pomyr Culture. [see attached mission statement]

- I. IRI Women's Advisory Council meeting conducted in Archangelsk, Russia, 14 February 1993, to collect recommendations for upcoming women's conference in Russia.
- J. Russia Resident Officer, Steve Biegun, and Russia Program Officer, Catherine Barnes meet with AID officials in Moscow to discuss IRI programming, Russia project implementation, and training methodology as well as impact of Russians political situation on program implementation.
- K. Archangelsk trip report written and forwarded to AID. [see attached]
- L. Debriefing with Bryant George at AID on 17 March 1993 about Archangelsk mission and update on plans for March mission to Berezniki.
- M. Program follow-up mission to Voronezh conducted by IRI Resident Officer for Russia. Meetings conducted with representatives of the Voronezh Regional Soviet and Voronezh Administration and pro-democracy political activists. [See attached report].
- N. Program follow-up and conference advance mission to Novgorod conducted by IRI Resident Officer for Russia. Meetings conducted with representatives of the Novgorod City Soviet and the Novgorod Administration, pro-democracy political parties, area women's organizations, and the management of the Beresta Palace Hotel. [See attached reports].
- O. Women's Working Group meeting conducted in Novgorod, Russia to collect recommendations and request assistance for upcoming women's conference in Russia.
- P. Contact made with political activists in Berezniki and Perm in preparation for March training mission. Local planning and organization set into motion. Topics selected from IRI training menu were forwarded: campaign preparation and execution and political communication. Specific requests were made to adapt these them in light of the referendum scheduled for April 1993.
- Q. Trainers selected for March mission to Berezniki. Berezniki trainers: Campaign manager Michael Laudick and communication specialist Scott Boylan.
- R. Briefing materials prepared for and consultations held with Berezniki training team. Training methodology discussions and presentations prepared.
- S. Travel authorization for February mission forwarded to AID.

- T. Political training seminar implemented in Berezniki, Russia, 26-28 March 1993. Representatives of Democratic Russia, the Democratic Party of Russia, the Republican Party of Russia, the Social Democratic Party, the Green Party, the Christian Democratic Party, and the Memorial Society. [see attached mission statement].
- U. IRI Women's Working Group meeting conducted in Berezniki, 27 March 1993, to collect recommendations for upcoming women's conference in Russia.
- V. Meetings held with political activists from Perm including Democratic Russia, the Party for Economic Freedom, the Greens, and independent political activists.
- W. Equipment for IRI Infrastructure Program tested and shipped to Moscow. Documents for customs clearance, including letters for the Moscow City Council, the US Embassy, the IRI, and the vendor collected. Contracts governing use of equipment for signature of the IRI, Recipient Organization, and User Organizations drawn up. Additional supplies for equipment maintenance ordered.
- X. IRI Women's Advisory Council meetings conducted at the IRI offices in Washington on 18 and 25 March 1993 to discuss the upcoming women's conference in Russia. Subjects of panel discussions, including: politics, social issues, economic development, and grass-roots organization were considered. Smaller working groups focussing on fundraising, conference enhancement, and selection of training team also convened.
- Y. Trainer Invitations for IRI Women's Conference in Novgorod, Russia, 25-27 June, Issued in the United States and Eastern Europe. CIS participant invitation process begun in Moscow. Regional point persons established for delegations from each participating community.
- Z. Beresta Palace Hotel selected a site of IRI Women's Conference in Novgorod Russia, 25-27 June 1993. First installment of payment wired to Marco Polo Hotels Management in Vienna, Austria.

**Progress to Implementation and Evaluation**

- A. Manuals distributed.
- B. Training kits revised. Thirty kits distributed in Archangelsk, Moscow, and Berezniki.
- C. Revision of 3 month work-plan.
- D. Registration list - Archangelsk seminar [see attached].
- E. Registration list - Berezniki seminar [see attached].
- F. Archangelsk training seminar schedule [see attached].
- G. Berezniki training seminar schedule [see attached].
- H. Information collected on target voter groups and priority issues of political parties in Archangelsk.

- I. Information collected on target voter groups and priority issues of political parties in Berezniki.
- J. Contact list for Archangelsk.
- K. Contact list for Berezniki and Perm.
- L. Trip Report for Archangelsk.
- M. Trip Report for Berezniki.
- N. Press Coverage in Archangelsk.
- O. Press Secretary position created by Democratic Party in Voronezh. Improved media coverage.
- P. Training activities on political party organization and market development organized by participants in the "IRI Trainers Program -- Voronezh." Training activities organized and implemented by the Republican and Democratic parties.
- Q. Russian trainers from Voronezh teach at IRI political training seminar in Archangelsk.
- R. Graduate of "IRI "Trainers Program -- Voronezh" invited, during IRI political training seminar in Archangelsk, to teach a conference on political organization in Murmansk. The conference is being hosted by the Social Democratic Party.
- S. IRI Manuals further adapted to Russian political situation and mass distributed throughout the Voronezh Region, by the Democratic Party of Voronezh.
- T. IRI's coalition building exercises reinforced an already healthy working relationship among the political parties in the Voronezh region that is now manifesting itself through a combined effort on the referendum. The parties have pledged themselves to assembling a single staff to coordinate efforts in support of President Yeltsin's position on the referendum. Also the parties are prepared to share the financial burden of the effort. This coalition ignores and overcomes political divisions among the national party organizations.
- U. Republican and Social Democratic parties in Voronezh began issuing press releases to print and broadcast media to generate coverage of party activities and position.
- V. Updated address lists for Coordinating Council of Democratic Russia and the staff of the Association of Funds. Organizational chart for Democratic Russia and the Association of Funds completed.
- W. The short-term success of IRI programming in Archangelsk was measured through written evaluations, long-term impact will be measured through evidence of implementation as well as follow-up consultations with the IRI representative in Moscow. Written evaluations from Archangelsk, which are done on a voluntary basis, were encouraging:

In general, how would you rate the success of the seminar?

Excellent	13%	Average	0%
Very Good	56%	Poor	0%
Good	22%	No Answer	9%

How would you rate the applicability of the seminar?

Excellent	22%	Average	4%
Very Good	52%	Poor	0%

Good 13% No Answer 9%

Do you feel the instructors answered your questions thoroughly?

Excellent 22% Average 4%  
Very Good 35% Poor 0%  
Good 26% No Answer 13%

Was the time allotted for trainer presentations acceptable?

Excellent 31% Average 4%  
Very Good 48% Poor 0%  
Good 13% No Answer 4%

Was there sufficient trainer interaction with participants?

Excellent 48% Average 4%  
Very Good 39% Poor 0%  
Good 4% No Answer 5%

Were written materials, visual aides, and practical exercises useful?

Excellent 57% Average 0%  
Very Good 13% Poor 0%  
Good 26% No Answer 4%

How would you rate the quality of the conference schedule/format?

Excellent 35% Average 0%  
Very Good 31% Poor 0%  
Good 17% No Answer 17%

Over eighty-five percent of the participants ranked the IRI trainers as very good or excellent. One hundred percent of the participants said that the information provided in the seminar would have a practical use in their party work. Some participants provided written comments following this question:

This information is indispensable for the success of our work.

Finally, information we can work with.

Information is useful, although results will not be immediately apparent.

It is helpful to look at things from a different perspective.

The seminar trainers gave good advice and lots of ideas!

When asked to identify something they learned specifically during the IRI seminar, participants responded:

- Coalition building strategies among pro-democracy groups (5)
- Voter contact and interaction (5)
- Campaign preparation (5)
- Election preparation and coalition building experiences in Eastern Europe (4)
- Campaign strategies and tactics (4)
- Organizational aspects of election campaigns (4)
- Mechanisms of mass communication (3)
- How to go about creating coalitions (2)
- How to prepare for a referendum (2)
- How to conduct a press conference (2)
- Targeting and training candidates in the pre-campaign period (2)
- Organizing voting blocs in support of a candidate
- Networking with other activists at the seminar
- Improved public speaking skills

The participants were also asked to identify additional people who should be included in future IRI activities. A list of over a dozen additional contacts from Archangelsk, Murmansk, and Severdvinsk was collected.

When asked what additional topics they would like to learn about or which themes they would appreciate learning about in more depth, comments were as follows:

- Inter-ethnic relations (2)
- Federalist forms of governance (2)
- Focussing public opinion
- Democratic models governance
- The process of de-colonialism around the world
- Analysis of campaigns in Russia
- Political debating
- Interaction between political parties and special interest groups
- History of democratic development in the United States
- Fundraising techniques

Finally, in requesting ideas for improving IRI seminars in the future several suggestions were forwarded:

Even more role playing, especially for extreme and difficult situations.

Please come conduct further seminars before next elections are held in Russia.

Beyond the substantive content of the IRI seminar and the performance of the U.S. trainers, both the IRI team and the audience were extremely impressed with the contributions made by the Russian trainers to the training mission. Both Katya and Valeria put considerable time and effort into their presentations. Their ability to anticipate the flow of the workshops and the "moral of the story" was astonishing. Time after time, their ideas, experience sharing, and recommendations clearly bridged the American and Russian realities and made a forcible appeal for pro-active work by political parties. By illustrating in a concrete fashion, the ways democratic practices have been implemented with success in other Russian communities, they motivated and inspired their fellow Russians.

- X. Written evaluations were further adapted and utilized in Berezniki. As with other programs, the long-term impact will be measured through evidence of implementation as well as follow-up consultations with the IRI representative in Moscow. Written evaluations from Berezniki, continue to show support of the IRI training methodology:

Overall, How would you rate this seminar?

Excellent	29%	Average	7%
Very Good	51%	Poor	0%
Good	13%	No Answer	0%

How would you rate the practical applicability of this seminar?

Excellent	47%	Average	2%
Very Good	33%	Poor	2%
Good	11%	No Answer	5%

How complete were the instructors' answers to your questions?

Excellent	44%	Average	2%
Very Good	36%	Poor	0%
Good	16%	No Answer	2%

The length of time allotted for presentations by the instructors

Excellent	47%	Average	9%
Very Good	35%	Poor	0%
Good	7%	No Answer	2%

The level of interaction with the participants			
Excellent	68%	Average	0%
Very Good	13%	Poor	0%
Good	15%	No Answer	4%

The usefulness of the working materials			
Excellent	64%	Average	2%
Very Good	22%	Poor	0%
Good	9%	No Answer	3%

The quality of the seminar plan			
Excellent	49%	Average	2%
Very Good	31%	Poor	0%
Good	11%	No Answer	7%

Did you receive information that will be useful to you from this seminar?			
Yes	100%	No	0%

Why?

This was the first time in 75 years in Russia that we are able to meet with Americans who really want to help Russia from the bottom of their souls.

In Russia, we still know too little about how to organize political party activities and electoral campaigns.

Earlier in political campaigns in our country such practical political information was absent. But in this seminar, all the information was concentrated and at the same time was clear.

We don't have societal readiness. I want to help democracy transform Russia.

The seminar gave me the to capability fight for my interests in the political struggle.

I received information on how to prepare for an election.

You gave complete enough suggestions on the methods of conducting an electoral campaign.

I saw how freely you Americans speak and support yourselves in front of the public.

The differences between the political systems in America and in Russia.

The high level of satisfaction we received by your answers to our questions. Especially the question about the role of culture and art in the USA and in the period of an electoral campaign

List three themes you took from the seminar

- Working with mass media (10)
- How to organize, strategize, and prepare for elections (6)
- Practical skills for public speaking (4)
- Psychologically preparation and behavior of a candidate (2)
- Work with voters (2)
- Coalition Building (2)
- Financial problems of a campaign
- The theory of attracting voters to your side
- Role Playing
- Press Conferences
- Preparing the candidate's schedule
- Working with television

What other themes would you like to hear about in future in similar seminars?

- Basic democracy and current news in democratic parties (5)
- Working with the opposition
- The history and structure of the United States political system (3)
- How to maximally prepare for elections
- How to overcome political weariness and apathy of the electorate
- Creating a political image
- Economic rights and human rights
- Politics and state building in society
- How to win over passive and neutral people , especially pensioners
- Help Russia with technical development
- How democrats can compete with the rich Communists

As with the Archangelsk and Voronezh seminars, participants were asked to recommend the names of people who should be included in future seminars. Over a dozen new contacts were obtained. Finally, in requesting ideas for improving IRI seminars in the future several suggestions were forwarded:

I wish you fruitfulness and prosperity, health and happiness.  
Thank you. Come back again.

I wish all of the seminar teachers health and a long life!

Scott [Boylan (trainer)], to tell you the truth, if I lived in your voting district I would have voted for you without needing any convincing. You're a very charming person. Thanks for every thing. I wish you success!

We are glad that such a wonderful institute exists. I wish you well and hope for more in depth contact.

I wish you would come back to our town often especially before elections. I beg you.

Despite the very good translation, a lot of time was wasted during translation and several misunderstandings arose because of it. I know it is hard, but if the instructors knew Russian the seminar would have been more effective. Thank you and I wish you the best.

Thank you! Great job!

I would like to hear more about the U.S. legal system  
I am very thankful for the seminar.

Conduct the whole seminar on weekends because not everyone can take off time from work.

Thank you from the bottom of my heart. Keep strong.

We would really like it if you could do a seminar in the city of Samara. We have a very strong organization of the Movement of Democratic Russia and the Committee for Russian reform.

Advertise the seminar more, this way even more people can attend.

Please come again and teach us in more depth about the democratic mechanism and elections.

Russia is a big country. How can we seize these kind of seminars to move toward democracy like all civilized countries in the world.

Keep in contact with us at the Berezniki Worker newspaper.

It was good to interact with American citizens. We were not able to have such contacts earlier.

### **III. Description of Implementation and Methodology**

- A. IRI Training Kits revised on the basis of Russian participant and American trainer input.
- B. Meetings with government officials, representatives of civic and political organizations, and the mass media conducted in Archangelsk. Briefings provided by John Withers of the US Embassy in Moscow and Shiela Gwaltney of the US Consulate in St. Peteresburg. (Mr. Withers and Ms. Gwaltney both attended the IRI seminar.) Following meetings, IRI staff and training team discuss necessary adaptations to training presentations.
- C. American and Russian trainers for Archangelsk confer with each other and the IRI staff in the development of presentation outlines, design of workshop format, and establishment of a division of labor. Russian trainers refer to IRI Training Kit for guidance on their presentations.
- D. A combination of trainer presentation, informal discussion, question and answer session, role-playing exercises, work assignments, and video-coaching are used to implement seminar on campaign preparation and execution and political communication in Archangelsk. [see attached schedule]
- E. Following Archangelsk seminar, Russian trainers review IRI evaluations and consult with IRI trainers and staff on improving their presentations and soliciting commentary on their teaching style.
- F. Meetings with government officials, representatives of civic and political organizations, and the mass media conducted in Berezniki. Following meetings, IRI staff and training team discuss necessary adaptations to training presentations.
- G. A combination of trainer presentation, informal discussion, question and answer session, role-playing exercises, work assignments, and video-coaching are used to implement seminar on campaign preparation and execution and political communication in Berezniki. [see attached schedule]

### **IV. Issues and Problems**

- A. As suspected the reality of the April Referendum and the possibility of early elections is impacting the nature of the IRI program and the timetable for its implementation. Seminar formats continue to be adapted to issues and circumstances surrounding the 25 April Referendum. In addition, the IRI will be forwarding a Monitoring Mission to the cities of Moscow, Archangelsk, Voronezh, Chelyabinsk, and Khabarovsk. As party activists are busy preparing for the referendum, further IRI Political Party training seminars have been postponed until after 25 April 1993.

The IRI has been invited to monitor the referendum by representatives of national and local level political organizations as well as by several Members of the Congress of People's Deputies. The monitoring mission and a pre-referendum civic education program for poll watchers is made possible by funding from the National Endowment for Democracy, although both activities are in support of and supplement existing programming under AID funding. Despite the referendum monitoring mission, planning continues for the Women's Conference, "Women Making a Difference . . . Today!" in Novgorod this June.

- B. The amount of work involved in the simultaneous planning and implementation of political party training seminars and follow-up consultations as well as preparations for the women's conference and delivery of the infrastructure assistance has been overwhelming the IRI office in Moscow. IRI Field Officer Steve Biegun has been working very long hours and with much success, but has had to employ the additional services of two local staff.

Nadia Seryakova, who already provides part-time accounting and administrative support, has been brought on to assist in the invitation process and logistical arrangements for the Russian Women participating in the Novgorod Conference. Alex Yurin, the local IRI program facilitator, has also been working full-time to provide additional support at the IRI Office and in furtherance of IRI programming activities.

The IRI would like to thank AID for providing additional funds pertaining to office operation, internal transportation, communication, and contractual items to allow for the additional help that is necessary for the implementation of this program.

- C. The IRI was unable to obtain Russian trainers from the Archangelsk program for the Berezniki mission, due to the amount of time required to travel to and from Berezniki above and beyond the three days of training. Trainers from Archangelsk were eager to assist, but could not receive permission from their employers to miss a week of work. Additional efforts will be made by the IRI to accommodate the constraints of Russian trainers in the future. Trainers from Berezniki are enthusiastic about implementing their skills in another city and the IRI will attempt to utilize them in a location which is easily accessible.
- D. During its three year programming history in Russia, the IRI has found that training activities in the Uralalian and Siberian regions are not as well organized as in other portions of the country. This was also the case with the Berezniki mission. Disorganization in no way lessens the need for this type of work or the enthusiasm with which it is received. Nonetheless, in the future and at the suggestion of several Berezniki participants, the IRI Field Representative will travel in advance of the training team to ensure adequate organization and promotion.

## **V. Status of Actions As Of Last Reporting**

- A. Assistant Program Officer for Russia hired.
- B. IRI Office in Moscow open and operational.
- C. Political training mission conducted in Archangelsk, Russia.
- D. Political training mission conducted in Berezniki, Russia. At the direction of Democratic Russia, Berezniki was substituted for the Kuzbass, Region. Tomsk seminar postponed until Fall.
- E. Delivery of infrastructure to Moscow.
- F. Follow-up consultations in Voronezh completed.
- G. Meeting of Women's Working Groups in Washington and Russia. Russia meetings conducted in Archangelsk, Berezniki, and Novgorod. Washington meetings conducted in February and March.

## **VI. Activities Planned for the Next 30 - 90 Days**

- A. Washington briefings by IRI Resident Officer for Russia during the third week in May 1993.
- B. IRI Women's Conference -- "Women Making a Difference . . . Today! -- in Novgorod, Russia, 24 - 27 June 1993.
- C. Follow-up consultations in Archangelsk, Chelyabinsk, and Khabarovsk.
- D. Delivery of infrastructure to final regional destinations. Training conducted on usage and communication networking options for national and local coordination. Delivery of back-up supplies for equipment.
- E. Preparation for summer political party training seminars. Locations to be determined.
- F. IRI briefings for trainers for the IRI Women's Conference in Novgorod, 24-27 June 1993.
- G. Advance for Women's Conference. Martha Young, Assistant Program Officer for Russia, on the ground in Novgorod by 24 May 1993. Additional staff to Novgorod in intervals throughout the final week in June. Resident Officer for Russia and local facilitators undertake logistical planning from Moscow including invitations, follow-up calls, participation confirmation, and travel arrangements for CIS participants.