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SEMI-ANNUAL REPORT

GRANTEE NAME: International Republican Institute

GRANT/COOPERATIVE AGREEMENT#: CCS-0007-A-00-2021-00
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Russia Project

PERIOD COVERED IN THIS REPORT: June 30, 1995 - December 31, 1995

PROGRAM GOALS AND PURPOSE

The objective of the International Republican Institute's Russia project is to foster the development of political institutions essential to a successful transition to democracy. The Russia project focuses on campaign training and political party development, parliamentary training, and increasing the roles of women and youth in politics and in the political process. IRI believes that the best and most efficient way to build democratic institutions, and an understanding of the democratic process, is at the grassroots level. Consistent with this view, the majority of IRI's work has been conducted in the regions for the benefit of local political leaders and activists. IRI has also played, and continues to play, an important role as an official observer of Russian national and local elections and a contributor to the development of Russian election law.

OUTPUT/ACTIVITIES

IRI Russia program activities in the current reporting period culminated with a 25 member IRI observer mission to the December 17, 1995 State Duma elections. IRI delegates deployed to the 10 core regional cities in which the IRI conducts programs. The delegation sought not only to evaluate the pre-election environment and the administration of the voting process, but to catalogue improvements made in election administration pursuant to the adoption of a new election law in 1995 and to recommend further refinements to the law and the election process. A comprehensive delegation report is forthcoming.

IRI programs during the six month reporting period leading up to the December 17 elections were targeted at political and

civic activists, individual candidates for public office, and political parties. IRI training emphasized a broad range of organizational and communications skills essential to effective campaigning and effective participation in a democratic political process. IRI worked on the national, regional, and local levels with pro-democratic parties such as Russia's Democratic Choice, Yabloko, Social Democrats, PRES, Russia Forward, Christian Democratic Union, Republican Party, Democratic Party, Our Home is Russia, Free Democrats, and Women of Russia. IRI also continued to work with women and youth who are active in political parties or leaders in their communities or groups.

IRI conducted 20 formal training programs in Russia during this reporting period, with 907 participants attending. For many, this was the second or third IRI training program in which they have participated over the past two years. These programs were supplemented by frequent individual consultations with members of the State Duma, their staffs, national and regional party leaders, regional and local parliamentary leaders, youth group leaders, and others. Examples of topics discussed include budgeting, fundraising, voter contact, communications, polling, coalition building, candidate and volunteer recruitment, national party field office coordination, and coordination between youth organizations and national parties.

Extensive contact in the regional cities enabled IRI to design and develop programs responsive to the evolving and specific needs in each of the regions as parties and candidates prepared for the December parliamentary elections. Interactive exercises continued to be an important part of the curricula. Exercises requiring participants to write campaign, communications, budget and fundraising plans were emphasized. Participants also conducted mock press conferences and mock campaigns, received video coaching, and were trained in how to organize and conduct effective roundtable political discussions.

In addition to formal seminars and individual consultations, IRI in-country staff met with local and regional leaders to advance seminars and assess previous seminars. Prior to each formal training mission, IRI trainers and staff met with local government officials and political party activists to provide the trainers with insights on the current political context within which they would be working.

IRI has continued efforts to update and enhance its program evaluation and monitoring systems. The ACT database is now in place and fully operational. The system allows IRI to remain in contact with almost all former program participants and, most important, to evaluate the extent to which skills learned at IRI conferences and seminars have encouraged and/or contributed to the effectiveness of their political and civic work. IRI is currently tracking over 1300 individual participants by program,

region, and political party affiliation. Program performance can be tracked by history, future activity and a series of demographics.

During this period, IRI conducted training in the following program areas:

Advanced Party Building and Campaign Training

Moscow (June 6-10)
Perm (July 3-12)
Murmansk (August 27 - September 6)
Voronezh (September 5-12)
Novosibirsk (November 2-10)

Training for Election Monitors

Arkhangelsk (December 2)
Murmansk (December 8)

Voter Contact and GOTV

Arkhangelsk (October 10-18)
Murmansk (October 22 - November 1)

Political Polling and Political Communications Training

Volgograd (October 16-25 and September 28 - October 7)
Rostov (October 22-31, September 25 and October 5)
Voronezh (October 9-18)
Moscow (October 28-29)

Women and Youth in Politics

St. Petersburg (July 25 - August 1)
Volgograd (August 10-13)
Tomsk/Novosibirsk (September 4-12)
Arkhangelsk (September 16-28)
Perm (October 15-25)

Four Americans staff IRI's Moscow office, and two Americans staff the St. Petersburg office. David Merkel heads the IRI team in Russia from his Moscow office. Also working from the IRI Moscow office are David Denehy and Philip Griffin, who divide responsibility for IRI programs in Rostov - Voronezh - Volgograd, and Perm - Novosibirsk - Tomsk, respectively.

As previously reported, IRI shifted administrative responsibility for its women's program to the Moscow office so that the two IRI staff members in St. Petersburg, Elizabeth Dugan and Mary Schwarz, could assume responsibility for a broader range of program activities in that region, which includes Murmansk and

Arkhangelsk. Francis Chiappardi, who moved to Moscow from the United States in July, now directs the women's program.

The Moscow office Russian staff includes Alexander Stupnikov, political researcher, Lydia Bratova and Constantin Killinik, facilitator/translators. In St. Petersburg, Russian staff include two facilitator/translators, Marina Tyazhelkova and Alexander Kupriyanov.

Assigning individual staffers to specific regions has enabled IRI to continue developing regional-specific relationships, knowledge, and experience. Staff continue to meet and communicate with leaders and activists in their respective regions regularly. Contacts in all regions have continued to express appreciation for this type of deepening and ongoing engagement.

THE REGIONS

St. Petersburg

Considered the most pro-reform city in the country, St. Petersburg voters continued in that vein in their balloting in the State Duma elections, electing 4 Yabloko candidates, 1 Russia's Choice candidate, and 3 Independents to the city's 8 single mandate districts. IRI's work with indigenous organizations such as the Nevsky Research Foundation and the Independent Coalition of Women produced 22 pollwatcher training sessions and candidate forums in all eight constituencies in November and December. IRI's work with local youth leaders also proved decisive in the success of a number of pro-reform candidates.

Arkhangelsk

Having been elected on the Russia's Choice party list in 1993, IRI trainee Deputy Mikhail Danilov had an uphill battle for reelection in a single mandate district in 1995. With a field of 12 candidates, including 6 that could be termed "reformist" independents, the vote was split and the communists' infrastructure that had stayed intact in Arkhangelsk since the collapse of the Soviet Union was successful. The democratic parties represented there, primarily Russia's Choice, Free Democrats, Social Democrats and Yabloko, have pledged to work together for the Presidential elections and the oblast assembly and gubernatorial elections currently being considered for mid-1997. Leaders have scheduled a meeting of all pro-reform parties for early in 1996 to discuss the results of the Duma elections and how they may improve the outcome of their cooperation in future elections.

Murmansk

Former Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev, running as an independent, and Lyudmila Vasilievna Pobedinskaya, running with Our Home is Russia and former leader of PRES in Murmansk, won the two single mandate seats in the oblast. Despite the fact that Yabloko received 20 percent of the vote in the region, no Yabloko party list candidates were elected, due to the uniquely small size of the oblast. The Republicans, Russia's Choice, and Yabloko are the best organized reform parties in the region. The referendum on the 1995 ballot regarding the establishment of a city charter passed overwhelmingly, thus giving local democrats the opportunity to gain representation at the city level if they can organize a successful campaign. Dates for these elections have yet to be scheduled, which makes a March election seem less and less likely.

Rostov

Recent parliamentary elections in Rostov helped create strong coalitions by local political parties. The performance of Russia's Democratic Choice in the region (2.5%) was far below their national average. Alla Amelina and her husband, Boris Titenko, both Russia's Choice Deputies, lost their seats in the Duma. Alla's seat is currently held by PRES leader Sergei Shakhari. On a brighter note the Yabloko coalition did extremely well, collecting very high vote totals throughout the city. One of the IRI's longstanding contacts, Mikhail Imelyanov, won election to a single mandate seat (District 146) in the city. His campaign was run by Maria Negodaeva, who has also been a long time contact and trainer for the IRI. The coalition run by Maria won not only Imelyanov's seat but also elected party list candidates. The Don Center for Political technology conducted a media and campaign monitoring program in conjunction with IRI.

Volgograd

The Communist Party, as predicted, made an impressive showing in the December election by collecting over 36% of the vote, which earned them the largest bloc of parliamentary seats from the Volgograd region. The communists already claimed a large majority in the city Duma. Volgograd's mayor and the region's governor remain squarely in the reformist camp, however, and will likely continue to be the most influential players on the region's political stage in the period ahead.

The local Yabloko organization did succeed in reelecting its leader, Igor Loukashev, to the State Duma. Loukashev was elected to a Federal constituency seat in the election. It appears that Yabloko will emerge from the election, for the time being at least, as the lone surviving reform party in the Volgograd region.

On a positive note, local youth have formed three political organizations. Andres Surganov, a recipient of IRI training, has

started an organization affiliated with the Yabloko party. A second, university based organization, was started by a group of former IRI trainees led by Denis Vladimirovich Biryukov. The third organization, Frontier Generation, succeeded in getting a candidate, Andrei Alexandrovich Kuprikov, on the ballot in the recent election. Kuprikov was trained by IRI.

Voronezh

A Communist Governor still controls the political scene in this city, which lies deep in the heart of Russia's "Red Belt." Parliamentary elections turned out as predicted, with the Communists doing well and Ivan Rybkin being elected to a single mandate constituency seat. Local elections for mayor were held in conjunction with the parliamentary vote, and the incumbent mayor Tzapin was reelected. In a throwback to the old Soviet days, which is characteristic of the region, local independent television stations were shut down for several days prior to election day for alleged "licensing violations." After protests by pro-reform forces and pressure from the federal government, they were belatedly allowed to return to the air. When asked by IRI staff about the incident, local government officials claimed no knowledge of it, even after being shown official orders to close the stations.

On a more positive note, a local businessmen's organization, headed by longtime IRI contact and program participant Katya Morgunova, fielded a candidate in this race and will likely field additional candidates in the upcoming City Duma elections. It is also foreseeable that solid coalitions between reform oriented political parties within the region will continue to develop.

Perm

On average, major reform parties with which IRI has worked performed better in Perm than they did nationally. RDC and Women of Russia received 5.9% and 8.4% of the partly list vote in Perm, respectively, as compared with only 3.9% and 4.6% nationally. Yabloko and OHR performed just slightly above their national averages. Victor Pokhmelkin (RDC), the incumbent deputy from district 140 and an IRI contact, easily won reelection, and district 138 went from the Agrarian party column to Independent. These were two of the highlights of the relatively strong pro-reform showing in the Oblast.

For the Communist Party, on the other hand, Perm proved to be relatively unfertile political ground. KPRF received 11.2% of the party list vote in the Oblast, significantly lower than the 22.3% the Party received nationally. Paradoxically, it appears that in addition to the reform parties, the ultra-nationalist LDPR was the other clear beneficiary of the communists' relative weakness in the Perm region. LDPR received 15.2 % in Oblast party list voting, substantially better than its 11.2% national average.

IRI contacts in Perm are assessing the recent election results and some realignment is possible. Prospects for the formation of new reform coalitions will depend in large measure on whether local leaders can put personality differences and personal ambitions aside prior to the June presidential election or the oblast elections scheduled early 1997.

Tomsk

Voter preferences in Tomsk, as revealed by the December 17 balloting, basically reflected the national averages. The communists and the nationalists, although they performed slightly less well than they did nationally, finished first and second in the party list balloting with 18.6% and 10.4% of the vote, respectively. OHR and Yabloko finished third and fourth, with vote percentages mirroring the national average for both parties. Women of Russia was only party showing unusual regional strength, receiving 6.8% of the party list vote.

Two candidates with whom IRI has had substantial contact - Stepan Sulakshin and Vladimir Bauer - squared off in a crowded field for the District 174 single mandate seat. Sulakshin (IND but formerly a member of the Republican Party) easily defeated Bauer (Ivan Rybkin's Block but formerly a member of RDC) and 15 other challengers. There were several other IRI contacts in the race including Luibov Babich, the chief of staff to the Oblast Duma, and Boris Shaydulyn, the local head of Yabloko. Reformers also managed to hold on to the governor's seat in the Oblast, as Victor Kress (OHR) won 54% of the vote, thus avoiding a runoff.

As in other cities, political realignments and/or the formation of new political coalitions among the pro-reform parties seems likely. The local RDC and Yabloko chapters are well organized and have permanently staffed headquarters in Tomsk. It will be interesting to see what lessons, if any, they learned from the recent election.

Novosibirsk

The trends that were evident in Novosibirsk reflected those of the country at large. All the major parties (KPRF, LDPR and OHR) with the exception of Yabloko performed right at their national numbers. Yabloko did significantly better, receiving 9.1% in Novosibirsk.

Two longtime and very close IRI contacts, Oleg Gonzharov (OHR) and Igor Malkov (Yabloko), won State Duma seats on party list ballots. On a less positive note, Yevgeni Loginoff picked up the only single mandate seat victory for the LDPR. This was in District 127, a seat that had previously been held by IRI trained Ivan Starikov (RDC), who ran unsuccessfully for governor. The eventual winner in that race was a former Oblast governor who had been dismissed from office by President Yeltsin, and came back to run again as a communist party candidate.

It will be interesting to see what impact these developments have on pro-reform parties as well as seeing if any cooperation will develop between the newly elected pro-reform deputies.

IRI REGIONAL PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

(NOTE: Detailed seminar reports are on file at IRI.)

MOSCOW

o **Yabloko Campaign Training, September 23-24**

Twenty five Yabloko faction members attended this intensive, two-day training seminar for Yabloko faction candidates and campaign managers from across Russia. This was the second such seminar which IRI sponsored for campaign teams of the leading pro-reform parties.

The topics addressed included: campaign organization and management; strategy and planning; message development and communication, and; earned and paid media. Presentations by American experts were interspersed with practical written exercises and role playing.

o **Training for Russian Trainers Seminar, July 21-23**

Sixty participants, many of them selected by the leaders of their national political party organizations, attended this two and a half day seminar. The seminar was designed to provide the participants - all of whom had substantial political experience - with the basic skills and understanding necessary to prepare and present their own political education programs and to participate as trainers in IRI sponsored programs, which many of them subsequently did.

The topics addressed included: how to write an effective political education plan; the logistics of seminar planning; selecting program content, and; how to select and prepare effective and relevant training materials.

o **Advanced Communications Seminar, October 28-29**

Twenty participants attended this seminar, which was organized by IRI in cooperation with the leadership of the Russia's Choice parliamentary faction. Members of Russia's Choice, PRES, and Russia Forward attended. The seminar focused on how to generate effective "earned" or unpaid media, and how to effectively plan and conduct a paid media campaign.

The topics addressed included: the basic elements of successful media relations; opinion research and how to use it in effective message development; writing successful television and radio adds, and; image building and candidate presentation.

ST. PETERSBURG

o **Advanced Youth Campaign Training, July 25-August 1**

Close to 80 young political activists attended the seminar that was intended to prepare pro-reform youth for the 1995 parliamentary elections. The program included two panel discussions for party leaders and elected officials.

The following topics were addressed: Campaign Management and Organization, Campaign Strategy, Role of the Candidates, Image and Message Development, Research, Budget Management, Voter ID and Targeting, Media - Earned and paid, Fundraising, Negotiation/Conflict Resolution, Get-Out-the-Vote (GOTV.)

ARKHANGELSK

o **Advanced Party Building, June 11-21**

Sixty political activists came to the seminar from Arkhangelsk, Severodvinsk, Mezen Onega, Vologda and Naryan-Mar. They represented various pro-reform movements including Russia's Choice, Ecology of the North, Yabloko, Free Democrats, Pomor Revival of the North, Social Democrats, Democratic Party of Russia, and Russia Forward.

The following topics were addressed: Role of the Party, Coalition Development in a Multi-Party Environment, Key Elements of a Winning Campaign, Research (demographics, issues, opposition/counter opposition), Polling, Voter Targeting/Voter Identification, Budgeting and Fund-raising, Volunteer Recruitment and Grassroots Organization, GOTV, Introduction to Communications Strategy, Message Development, Working with the Press, Earned Media, and Paid Media.

o **Youth and Women's Training, September 16-28**

A two-part seminar was held for women and youth from Arkhangelsk and its neighboring cities.

The following topics were addressed at the youth program: Role of Youth in a Democratic Society, Campaign Management and Organization, Organizing Youth Groups, Role of the Candidate, Image and Message Development, Public Speaking, Fund-raising, Paid and Earned Media, GOTV, and Training the Trainers

The women's program addressed: Key Elements of a Winning Campaign, Campaign Management and Organization, Voter I.D. and Targeting/Coalition Building, Grassroots organization/Volunteer Activities, Public Speaking, Communications Strategy, Fund-raising, Research, Polling and Focus Groups, GOTV, Role of the Candidate, and Training the Trainers.

o **Voter Contact and GOTV Seminar, October 10-18**

Forty-nine attendees represented Russia's Choice, Social Democrats, Free Democrats, Democratic Party of Russia, Yabloko, and Russia Forward. The program was structured around a mock election that enabled participants to get hands on experience utilizing GOTV tactics and strategies.

The following topics were addressed: Timelines and Schedule Coordination, Voter Contact Materials, Public Speaking, Canvassing and Door to Door, Telephone and Direct Mail, Grassroots Organization and Field Coordination, Video Coaching, Radio and Ad Production and Strategy Session, and Voter Education.

MURMANSK

o **Campaign Preparedness Training, August 27 - September 6**

Approximately 52 pro-reform campaign managers, candidates, and party leaders from several reform parties learned about techniques and strategies for conducting effective campaigns. The participants were not only from Murmansk, but also from cities such as Apatity, Kandalaksha, Olenegorsk, Pechenga, Polyarnye Zori, Severomorsk, and Zapolyarnoe.

The following topics were covered: Campaign Organization and Management, Strategy and Planning, Political and Opposition Research, Voter Targeting and Identification, Message Development and Communications Strategy, Earned Media, Fund-raising, Polling, Voter Contact and Paid Media, Coalition Building, Volunteer Recruitment, Training the Trainers

o **Voter Contact and Get-Out-The-Vote, October 22 - November 1**

IRI helped organize a mock election exercise for a group of 51 seminar participants.

The following topics were covered: Communications and Voter Contact Timeline, Voter Contact Materials, Public Speaking, Script Writing and Ad Production, Canvassing and Door to Door, Video Coaching, TV Ad and Radio Ad Production, Voter Education, Training the Trainers

ROSTOV

o **Political Polling Training, September 25 - October 5, 1995**

Twenty-eight pro-reform party pollsters, who will be responsible for polling before and after the December 1995 parliamentary elections participated in the seminar. Participants conducted a poll using the information they learned from IRI trainers.

The following topics were addressed: Designing a Polling Questionnaire, Focus Groups, Data Collection, Coding and Entering Data, Coding and Entering Illustrative Data, Utilizing Opinion Research, Converting the Research to Political Utility

o **Political Communications Training, October 22-31, 1995**

Thirty-two party media professionals, who will be responsible for media relations and advertising before and after the December 1995 parliamentary elections participated in this seminar.

The following topics were addressed: Overview of Earned and Paid Media; Press Releases and Press Kits; Press Conferences; Radio Actualities; Television/Radio Advertising, and; Posters/Brochures/Direct Mail.

VOLGOGRAD

o **Advanced Party Building/Candidate Training, June 18-27**

Eighty-three pro-reform activists including regional party leadership, local and national campaign managers and candidates attended this seminar, the goal of which was to craft a workable campaign plan for a sample district.

The following topics were addressed: Writing a campaign Plan, Polling, Voter Targeting and Coalition Building, Constructing a Coalition, Volunteer Recruitment, Grassroots Organization, GOTV, Voter Identification, Budgeting and Targeting, Message Development and Communications Strategy, Earned Media and Paid Media.

o **Yabloko Youth Union National Work Camp, August 10-13**

Forty-three Yabloko affiliated youths with previous campaign experience participated in this seminar. The seminar focused on youth involvement in politics and elections, namely what practical role youth could play in the December parliamentary elections.

o **Polling Techniques, August 28-September 7**

Twenty-nine participants representing local pro-reform parties attended the seminar. As the participants were taught the theoretical process of conducting polls, they applied the new skills and conducted a poll in Volgograd.

The following topics were addressed: Public Opinion Research Training: An Overview, Designing a Polling Questionnaire, Focus Groups, Data Collection, Coding and Entering Illustrative Data.

o **Advanced Political Communications, October 16-25**

Twenty pro-reform communications strategists planned, developed, and produced materials for paid and earned media campaigns. Copies of the materials produced by program participants are on file.

The following topics were covered: Earned Media Strategy, Press Releases and Press Kits, Radio Actualities, Overview of Paid Media, Television/Radio Advertising, Posters, Brochures and Direct Mail.

VORONEZH

o **Advanced Party Building, September 5-12**

Fifty-three pro-reform activists with previous campaign experience took part in the seminar which focused on a range of communications issues critical to their election campaigns.

The following topics were addressed: Polling, Voter Targeting and Coalitions, Speech writing, Video Coaching/One-on-One Interviews, Volunteer Recruitment, Grassroots Organization, Budget/Fundraising, Voter Contact, Get-Out-the-Vote.

o **Political Polling, October 9-18**

IRI taught twenty-eight party pollsters polling techniques. The participants conducted a poll in the city of Voronezh building upon the skills and concepts presented in the IRI seminar.

The following topics were addressed: Designing a Polling Questionnaire, Focus Groups, Data Collection, Coding and Entering Data, Utilizing Opinion Research, Converting the Research to Political Utility.

PERM

o **Advanced Party Building/Candidate Training, July 3-12**

Eighty pro-reform activists representing Yabloko, Russia, Forward!, Russia's Democratic Choice, PRES, Greens and Solidarity participated in the seminar.

The following topics were addressed: Campaign Planning, Campaign Organization, Fundraising, Communications, Political Operations, and Field Operations.

o **Youth and Women in Politics, October 15-25**

Sixty-five youth, and 50 women's organization members, respectively, attended seminars on youth and women in politics.

The following topics were addressed: Youth Auxiliary Groups, Campaign Organization, Message Development, Managing a Budget, Earned and Paid Media, Public Speaking, Fundraising, Video Coaching, Volunteer Recruitment, Get-Out-the-Vote, Training the Trainers, Why Get Involved in Politics, Key Elements of Winning a Campaign, Starting Political/Volunteer Organizations, Image Building and Message Development, Public Speaking, Earned and Paid Media, Polling and Focus Groups, Grassroots Organizations/Volunteer Activities, Budget, Voter ID and Targeting/Coalition Building.

NOVOSIBIRSK

o **Advanced Campaign and Candidate Training, October 2-10**

Twenty participants met in Novosibirsk to sharpen the skills needed to help pro-reform candidates succeed in the December 1995 parliamentary elections.

The following topics were addressed: Overview of Key Elements of a Winning Campaign, Research and Polling, Campaign Strategy and Planning, Campaign Budgeting and Fundraising, Grassroots Campaigning and Get-Out-the-Vote, Campaign Message Development and Communications Strategy, Earned Media, Paid Media, Public Speaking, and Video Coaching.

TOMSK

o **Women in Campaigns, September 4-12**

Fifty women affiliated with a broad spectrum of reform oriented political organizations participated in this program, the principal objective of which was to enhance their communication skills.

IRI trainers spoke on the following issues: Women in Politics, Public Speaking, Directing a Successful Campaign, Effective Use of Volunteers, Video Coaching, Image and Message Development, Polling and Focus Groups, Media - Earned and Paid, Voter Targeting/Coalition Building, and GOTV.

INPUTS/FINANCIAL REPORT

See attached.

IMPACT/ASSESSMENT

(NOTE: Two appendices accompany this report. Both contain data to substantiate or expand upon information provided in this section. Appendix I provides a preliminary sample of candidates,

campaign workers, and activists with whom IRI worked, and indicates the broad range of secondary political and civic activities in which IRI trainees have become involved. Appendix II lists Russians who participated as trainers in IRI programs during the last 6 months.)

During the reporting period, IRI maintained a rigorous schedule of training and consultative programs throughout the 10 city region in which the Institute has worked over the past 2 years. IRI training reached a wide range of political party activists, office holders, and candidates for public office from nearly a dozen reform oriented parties. In addition, IRI worked with numerous youth and women's groups in an effort to enhance their role and effectiveness in the civic and political life of their communities and their country. In the course of 20 formal seminar programs - more than 60 full training days - and more than 100 informal consultations, IRI staff and American volunteer trainers reached over 1,000 Russian political and civic leaders and activists.

Candidate and Campaign Training

The positive impact of IRI's work can be measured in numerous ways. Perhaps most impressive has been the number of IRI trainees that participated directly, as candidates and/or as campaign managers and workers, in the State Duma elections of December, 1995.

Leading members of 185 campaign organizations from IRI's 10 core regions and beyond benefitted from direct participation in IRI programs. In 78 of those campaigns, the candidate himself or herself had been an IRI program participant. In all, 42 winning candidates and campaign organizations received IRI training during the pre-election period.

IRI staff has accumulated substantial direct and anecdotal evidence that IRI trained candidates and campaign organizations incorporated methods and utilized skills taught in IRI programs during their campaigns. An outstanding example involves the winning campaign of Mikhail Vasilyevich Yemelyanov for the single mandate seat in District 146, Rostov. Both Yemelyanov and the woman who managed his campaign, Maria Negodaeva, have attended several IRI seminars since 1993. Ms. Negodaeva has also been a trainer for the IRI. Yemelyanov combined the skills and tools which he took away from IRI seminars into a highly effective communications strategy that employed both electronic and print media. Ms. Negodaeva, moreover, has given a great deal of the credit for the success of Yemelyanov's campaign to organizational and management concepts which she learned - and has subsequently taught - at IRI programs.

Deputy Yemelyanov is only one of many new, reform minded State Duma Deputies who have benefitted directly from the work which IRI is doing in Russia. The following is a list of the others.

**1995 WINNING CANDIDATES
TRAINED BY IRI**

Single Mandate Candidates

- o **Golov, Anatoli Grigoryevich**
Yabloko (SDPR)
St. Petersburg - District 210
- o **Pokhmelkin, Viktor Valeryevich**
RDC
Perm - District 140
- o **Sulakshin, Stephan Steponovich**
RC later DPR
Tomsk - District 174
- o **Yemelyanov, Mikhail Vasilyevich**
Yabloko
Rostov - District 146
- o **Lysenko, Vladimir Nikolayevich**
PGL-RP
Moscow - District 194
- o **Khadamada, Irina Muzuovna**
Common Cause
Moscow - District 197
- o **Pobedinskaya, Lyudmila Vasilyevna**
OHR
Murmansk - District 115
- o **Tetelmin, Vladimir Vladimirovich**
Russia's Choice
- o **Mazur, Alexander Alekseevich**
Yabloko
St. Petersburg - District 213

Party List Candidates

- Our Home is Russia
- o **Belyayev, Sergei Georgiyevich**
Novosibirsk
- o **Ryzhkov, Vladimir Alexandrovich**
Moscow
- o **Gonzharov, Oleg Pavlovich**
Novosibirsk
- o **Alexandrov, Alexei Ivanovich**
St. Petersburg

- Yabloko
- o **Igrunov, Vyacheslav Vladimirovich**
Moscow

- o Lukashev, Igor Lvovich
Volgograd
- o Karapetyan, Saak Albertovich
Rostov-on-Don
- o Shishlov, Alexander Vladimirovich
St. Petersburg
- o Duryagin, Ivan Nikolayevich
Irkutsk
- o Malkov, Igor Olegovich
Novosibirsk

**1995 WINNING CAMPAIGNS
WHICH RECEIVED IRI TRAINING**

Party List Candidates

Our Home Is Russia

- o Alferov, Zhores Ivanovich
St. Petersburg
- o Grebennikov, Valeri Vasilievich
Moscow
- o Kuznetsov, Boris Yurievich
Perm
- o Linnik, Vitali Viktorovich
Rostov
- o Luntovski, Georgi Ivanovich
Voronezh
- o Narusova, Ludmila Borisovna
St. Petersburg
- o Rokhlin, Lev Yakovlevich
Volgograd
- o Shokhin, Alexander Nikolayevich
Moscow

Yabloko

- o Averchev, Vladimir Petrovich
Moscow
- o Don, Sergey Eduardovich
Moscow
- o Dmitriyeva, Oksana Genrikhovna
St. Petersburg
- o Moiseev, Boris Alexandrovich
St. Petersburg
- o Schekochikhin, Yuri Petrovich
Moscow

Single Mandate Candidates

- o Borshchev, Valeri Vasilyevich
Yabloko
Moscow - District 198

- o **Fedorov, Boris Grigoryevich**
Russia, Forward!
Moscow - District 195
- o **Kovalev, Sergei Adamovich**
Independent
Moscow - District 204
- o **Nesterov, Yuri Mikhailovich**
Yabloko
St. Petersburg - District 208
- o **Popov, Sergei Alexeevich**
Yabloko
St. Petersburg - District 212
- o **Rybakov, Yuly Andreevich**
Russia's Democratic Choice
St. Petersburg - District 206
- o **Shakhrai, Sergei Mikhailovich**
PRES
Rostov - District 145
- o **Shchelishch, Petr Borisovich**
Yabloko
St. Petersburg - District 211

Political Party Building

IRI objectives extend well beyond helping individual candidates and campaign organizations to compete effectively in any given election. A principal IRI goal has been to help lay the foundations for a stable and lasting pluralistic democracy in Russia, and that means helping to build parties that can endure the vagaries of individual election cycles and remain competitive over time. This is especially crucial in a country like Russia, where a traumatic period of social, economic, and political change is unfolding.

The recent election phase was a difficult one for the parties with which IRI works. We were nonetheless encouraged by the substantial evidence suggesting that these parties have continued developing the grassroot structures and organizational skills which will enable them to endure as competitive political parties and as voices for continued democratic reform. Parties have initiated more systematic recruitment and member contact programs, greater emphasis is being placed on recruiting and organizing volunteers, substantially more thought is being given the development of effective and consistent communication strategies. In all of these areas, the fundamental as well as the more advanced concepts and skills taught by IRI are in evidence.

In Rostov, for example, the Yabloko organization which has been trained by IRI has established a highly organized and efficient political operation. Management roles within the

organization have been articulated and formalized, and IRI methods in department areas such as media management, grass roots development, political research, and fund raising have been adapted to the local environment. Bucking broader regional trends, this organization saw two of its candidates win State Duma seats on December 17.

IRI Program Multipliers

IRI is also able to report that many of those who have participated in our Russia programs, and in particular those who participated in our well received Training for Russian Trainers seminar, have gone on to become educators and program organizers in their own right. Evidence of such is provided in Appendix I of this report, which presents the names, along with brief biographical sketches, of some of the people with whom IRI has worked. They are currently involved in a wide range of activities that are contributing to the development of democracy in Russia. IRI has also made a concerted effort to involve Russians as trainers in its seminars, and 25 Russians have participated as trainers in 32 IRI seminars during the reporting period. Appendix II provides a list of those who have conducted training for IRI.

IRI is especially pleased with the performance of indigenous organizations that are headed by individuals who receive IRI training, or supported by direct financial and consultative assistance from the Institute. Among the former are the Don Center located in Rostov, the St. Petersburg based Independent Coalition of Women, and the Arkhangelsk Movement for Free and Fair Elections. Most prominent among indigenous organizations receiving financial and consultative support from IRI is the Moscow School of Political Studies. With the support of IRI, MSOPS has engaged in an active agenda of political education programming. The School's annual report is attached. IRI intends to increase the level of support for MSOPS in the new year.

Youth and Women in the Political Process

Another of IRI's stated program objectives has been to encourage the increased participation of young Russians, and of Russian women, in the political process. Again, IRI can point to positive program results.

In Volgograd alone, three political organizations have been formed by young Russians who received IRI training. The most dramatic success was achieved by Sergei Vovochenko, who created an organization named Frontier Generation which succeeded in getting a candidate - Andrei Kuprikov - placed on the ballot in the recent State Duma election.

In Arkhangelsk, Yuroslav Pronin, an IRI trainee, has started an organization called the Pomor Youth Union which actively sought to get more local youth involved in the recent election process and out to the polls on election day. In Murmansk, IRI trained youth have started an organization called the Golden Age Club, an organization whose objective is to identify and train young people interested in politics and public service.

More generally, there is a significant amount of evidence that the parties with whom IRI has been working are bringing women and youth into their organizational structures, and into their political campaigns, in more systematic and effective ways.

APPENDIX I

The following is a preliminary list of other candidates, campaign workers, and political activists with whom IRI has worked in the recent election cycle, along with brief biographical references.

ARKHANGELSK

Candidates IRI has Trained

- **Mikhail Alexandrovich Danilov** was elected to State Duma in 1993 on the Russia's Choice party list and was a candidate for District 59 in the 1995 parliamentary elections.
- **Yuri Nikolaevich Scherbachev** is currently the Vice-Chairman of the local Democratic Party of Russia chapter and was a candidate for the State Duma in 1995.

Campaign Workers IRI has Trained (partial listing)

- **Nonna Nikolaevna Politschuk** is Executive Assistant to State Duma Deputy Mikhail Alexandrovich Danilov, and works with the local Soldier's Mothers organization. Nonna fund-raises for the local Russia's Choice Party, designs campaign literature, and gathered signatures for the Russia's Choice and Russia, Forward! parties during the recent election campaign.
- **Galina Konstantinovna Dundina** works with the local Soldier's Mothers organization. She gathered signatures for the Russia's Choice and Russia, Forward! parties.
- **Rosa Anatolivna Tscherbakova** works with local the Soldier's Mothers organization. Along with Politschuk and Dundina, he is the backbone of the local grassroots political organization in Arkhangelsk. During the recent elections he gathered signatures for the Russia's Choice and Russia, Forward! parties. He also designs literature for Russia's Choice.
- **Konstantin Yurievich Zhuravlyov** is the Executive Chairman of the Russia's Choice oblast organization and heads the local Russia's Choice youth organization. He is also an assistant to State Duma Deputy Danilov.
- **Mikhail Mikhailovich Ferin**, a former IRI trainer, is the chairman of the Arkhangelsk Movement for Free and Fair Elections.
- **Yaroslav Valirievich Pronin** is the chairman of the democratic youth organization "Northern Youth Union," which he formed after attending two IRI youth seminars in 1995.

The Union is registered as a civic organization, and has an organizational charter and structure. He was the leader of a youth support team for Russia's Choice in the December Duma elections.

- **Maksim Alexandrovich Lobanov**
Maksim is a key member of Pronin's team.
- **Sergey Nikolaevich Vladimirov** is the Vice Chair of the Severodvinsk Russia's Choice chapter and the chairman of Russia's Choice Youth Organization. He attributes his success in effective signature-gathering for party candidates to IRI's training seminars.

MURMANSK

Candidates IRI has Trained

- **Igor Yakovlevich Lebedev** is a Yabloko local party chair.
- **Vladimir Nikolaevich Manannikov** is an incumbent Duma Deputy and also an IRI trainer at the IRI sponsored Murmansk GOTV/Voter Contact Seminar October 28-29, 1995.
- **Sergei Nikolaevich Popov** is a Republican Party Chairman and candidate in the 1995 Duma elections.

Campaign Workers IRI has Trained

- **Ludmila Vasilyevna Tsmyg** - Campaign manager, State Duma.
- **Sergei Viktorovich Yanenko** is on the management staff of Lyudmila Pobedinskaya's winning campaign in District #115, and attended the September 1-3 campaign training seminar.

Though Lebedev did not win a party list seat, the following **Yabloko** party workers helped his effort and were trained by IRI:

- **Evgeniy Leonidovich Sudakov** - July 28-30 Youth Seminar; September 1-3 Campaign Training
- **Oleg Valerievich Drozdov** - July 28-30 Youth Seminar
- **Igor Petrovich Archipchenko** - October 28-29 GOTV Seminar
- **Roman Sergeevich Astachov** - October 28-29 GOTV Seminar
- **Gennadiy Aleksandrovich Frolovich** - October 28-29 GOTV Seminar
- **Valentina Pavlovna Polyanskaya** - October 28-29 GOTV Seminar

ROSTOV

Candidates and Campaign Workers IRI Has Trained

- **Maria Negodaeva** has been a longtime contact, participant, and trainer in IRI programming. She recently worked as the campaign manager for both local and national Yabloko candidates. In addition to her work on the campaign front, Maria has acted as the regional Yabloko party's press secretary and as a trainer for IRI and her party. Maria trained at our recent Rostov Communications program as well as the Rostov campaign management program held by IRI. She has also been a trainer at Yabloko's national campaign training seminar in Moscow.
- **Borris Titenko** is a State Duma Deputy. Borris has been involved with IRI programming since 1993, and has acted as a participant and trainer at various programs throughout Russia. Borris is a Duma member, elected from the Russia's Choice Party list. He was a candidate on the Russia's Choice party list in 1995.
- **Margarita Nikolayevna Yamina** was a Democratic Choice of Russia party list candidate. She is also the leader for the Russia's Choice movement in Taganrog.
- **Mikhail Titenko** is the Director of the Don Center for Political Technology. Mikhail has been involved with IRI programming since 1993. He has trained at various programs in Rostov and throughout Russia. He is currently involved in IRI's Training the Trainers program.

ST. PETERSBURG

Candidates IRI Has Trained

- **Sergei Anatolyevich Popov**, State Duma Deputy for District 213, was defeated in his re-election bid. IRI held a 5-hour consultation with him and his staff discussing campaign organization and strategies.
- **Boris Moiseyev** is a Yabloko regional leader and a party list candidate.

Campaign Workers IRI Has Trained

- **Maksim Lvovich Reznik** is the manager of Alexander Alekseevich Mazur's winning campaign for District 213, and attended the July 28-30 Youth Seminar.

The following **Yabloko** Party workers helped in the winning campaign of Alexander Alekseevich Mazur to District 213:

- **Gleb Valerievich Stashkov** - July 28-30 Youth Seminar
- **Fiodor Yurievich Gromov** - July 28-30 Youth Seminar
- **Anton Andreevich Morozov** - July 28-30 Youth Seminar
- **Alexander V. Zviagin** - July 28-30 Youth Seminar
- **Evgeniy Rostovtsev** - July 28-30 Youth Seminar
- **Denis Yakovlev** - July 28-30 Youth Seminar
- **Dmitri Chibik** - July 28-30 Youth Seminar
- **Vladimir Y. Vladmirskiy** - July 28-30 Youth Seminar

VOLGOGRAD

Candidates And Campaign Workers IRI Has Trained

- **Igor Lukashev** is a State Duma Deputy. Lukashev has been an ardent supporter of IRI and its programming. He has participated in several regional programs and sent most of his staff to attend our seminars. He ran in District 71.
- **Andres Serganov** is assistant to Deputy Loukashev. Andres has been involved in IRI programming since 1995. He is the leader of Yabloko Youth in Volgograd and heads the Rock the Vote Program in this region. He worked on the campaign to re-elect Loukashev.
- **Igor Krasnov** ran on the Democratic Choice of Russia party list. Igor is also a leader in this party. He has been involved with IRI programming since 1995. He recently ran as a candidate for city Duma, and although he lost, he paid IRI a great compliment by saying that without IRI he could not have organized his campaign.
- **Denis Sederov** has been a frequent participant in IRI programming. Denis has recently started a youth political organization at his university. Most recently he was the campaign manager for Igor Krasnov's run for city council during the October elections, and he worked for the Russia's Choice campaign.
- **Sergei Vovchenko and Daniel Zaharov** have participated and trained at IRI seminars in Volgograd. They have taken their experience and the knowledge they have learned from IRI to their own political consulting firm. They are now working

for Our Home Is Russia and other candidates. They have also begun a non-profit pro-reform organization in Volgograd.

VORONEZH

Candidates And Activists IRI Has Trained

- **Katya Morgunova** is clearly one of IRI's best success stories. Catya has used her IRI training to elect one Duma Deputy and become a political consultant. She directed the local businessmen's alliance in its effort to seize the city council and mayor's office. She has participated in IRI training since 1992, and has acted as a trainer for use in several seminars.
- **Sergei Shislov** was a candidate for Mayor from the local businessmen's association. Sergei attended IRI training in September, and thanked IRI by saying that without its training he would not have run.

PERM

Candidates IRI Has Trained

- **Vladimir Zotin**, a longtime IRI contact, is a leader in the local Yabloko chapter and was a candidate in single mandate district 140. He is a member of both the City and Oblast Dumas.
- **Viktor Pokhmelkin** is Science manager of a private research institute. He ran successfully as a candidate in single mandate district 140, nominated by Russia's Choice. IRI worked with Pokhmelkin and members of his campaign team.
- **Leonid Kuznetsov** is Chairman of the Board of the local Perm organization; Governor of Perm voters. Kuznetsov ran for the single mandate seat in district 139.
- **Nafis Saifullin** is the General Director, construction amalgamation. He ran in a single mandate district, nominated by PRES.
- **Riata Krukova** is the Director of High School number 20. She was nominated by Russia's Choice to run on their party list ballot.
- **Alexi Chernykh** is Chairman of the regional branch of the independent trade union Solidarity. He was the Russia, Forward! candidate for a single mandate seat.

NOVOSIBIRSK

Candidates IRI Has Trained

- **Gennadi Konstantinovich Bessonov** is head of the local Republican Party and was its candidate for a single mandate seat.
- **Stanislav Bronislavovich Labetsky** is a member of the Oblast Duma. He was elected as a member of the RDC but ran for the State Duma as an independent.
- **Nikolai Grigorievich Krasnikov** is a longtime IRI contact, and ran for a single mandate district seat as a member of Russia's Choice. He was also on the party list ballot.
- **Alexei Pavlenko** is director of the Sibir-Altai Trading House and ran for a single mandate seat for Forward, Russia!
- **Oleg Gonzorov** is the oblast Administrator and ran on the Our Home, Russia party list ballot.
- **Igor Malkov** is a legislative assistant in the State Duma who ran on the Yabloko party list ballot.

TOMSK

Candidates IRI has Trained

- **Sergei Krasinski** is Deputy General Director of a private enterprise and was a candidate on the RDC party list ballot.
- **Tatyana Petrova** is an engineer and was a candidate on the Yabloko party list ballot.
- **Luibov Babich** is the Chief Administrator of the Tomsk Oblast Duma and ran for a single mandate seat as member of the party My Fatherland.
- **Boris Shaydalin** is council Chairman of the Tomsk EPI Center Branch who ran for a single mandate seat as a Yabloko party member.

APPENDIX II

The following is a list of Russians who have participated as trainers in IRI sponsored seminars during the reporting period. Most, though not all of these individuals had themselves received IRI training.

ST. PETERSBURG

Fyodor Andreevich Borsov

St. Petersburg Youth Campaign Training Seminar
Topic: Campaign Strategy
July 28-30, 1995

Irina Andreeovna Dobrovian

Arkhangelsk Pollwatcher Training Seminar
Topic: Potential election violations and courses of action
December 2, 1995

Mikhail Mikailovich Ferin

Arkhangelsk Women's Campaign Seminar
Topic: Get Out the Vote
September 22-24, 1995

Arkhangelsk Pollwatcher Training Seminar
Topic: Voting Procedures & Role of Observers
December 2, 1995

Igor Yakolevich Frantsuzov

Murmansk Party Building Seminar
Topic: Get Out the Vote
September 1-3, 1995

Murmansk Pollwatcher Training Seminar
Topic: Potential election violations and courses of action
December 8, 1995

Alexander Petrovich Ivanov

Arkhangelsk Women's Campaign Seminar
Topic: Fundraising
September 22-24, 1995

Dmitri Yuryevich Mosin

St. Petersburg Advanced Youth Seminar
Topic: Fundraising
July 28-30, 1995

Valentina Vaialievna Polushina

Arkhangelsk Pollwatcher Training Seminar
Topic: Russian Election Law
December 2, 1995

Sergey Nikolaevich Popov

Murmansk GOTV/Voter Contact Seminar

Topic: Voter education and pre-election activities

October 28-29, 1995

Murmansk Pollwatcher Training Seminar

Topic #1: Russian Electoral Law

Topic #2: Voting procedure & Role of Observers

December 8, 1995

Maxim Lvovich Reznik

St. Petersburg Advanced Youth Campaign Seminar

Topic: How you can effect legislation

July 28-30, 1995

Vitaliy Nikolaevich Stepanov

Arkhangelsk GOTV/Voter Contact Seminar

Topic: Voter education & Poll watcher training

October 14-15, 1995

Tatyana Vasiliyevna Timokha

Arkhangelsk Women's Campaign Training Seminar

Topic: Communications/Paid and Earned Media

September 22-25, 1995

Arkhangelsk GOTV/Voter Contact Seminar

Topic: Public Speaking

December 2, 1995

Lyudmila Vasily Tsmyg

Murmansk GOTV/Voter Contact Seminar

Topic: Canvassing

October 28-29, 1995

Vladimir Nikolaevich Zverev

Arkhangelsk GOTV/Voter Contact Seminar

Topic: Grassroots Organization and Field Coordination

October 14-15, 1995

TOMSK, NOVOSIBIRSK, PERM

Tatiana Matveyevna Dmitriyeva

Tomsk "Women in Campaigns"

Topic: Women in Campaigns

September 9-10, 1995

Yuri Victorovich Issayev

Novosibirsk Campaign and Candidate Training

Topic: Public Speaking

October 7-8, 1995

Perm Youth in Politics
Topic: Running a Campaign
October 19-20, 1995

Perm Women in Politics
Topic: Campaign Strategy
October 21-22, 1995

Rostov, Voronezh, Volgograd

Catya Vladimirovna Morgunova
Voronezh Campaign Management College
Topic: Campaign Strategy
September 22-24, 1995

Voronezh Advanced Party Training
Topic: Signature Collection / Public Speaking
September 8-10, 1995

Maria Ivanovna Negodaeva
Rostov Communications Seminar
Topic: Press Releases
October 20-22, 1995

Sergey Bondarenko
Rostov Communications Seminar
Topic: Radio advertising in campaigns
October 20-22, 1995

Yelena Mikhailnova
Rostov Communications Seminar
Topic: Local Press
October 20-22, 1995

Gena Gennadievich Chernov
Volgograd Communications Seminar
Topic: Campaigning with television
October 21, 22 & 23, 1995

Danil Bronislavovich Zakharov
Volgograd Communications Seminar
Topic: Advertising
October 21, 22 & 23, 1995

Sergei Alexandrovich Vovchenko
Volgograd Communications Seminar
Topic: Advertising
October 21, 22 & 23, 1995

Vasily Vladimirovich Tokarev
Volgograd Polling Seminar
Topic: Data entry
September 2,3 & 4, 1995

Nadia Doulina
Volgograd Polling Seminar
Topic: Polling in Russia
September 2, 3 & 4, 1995

Vladimir Semenov
Yabloko National Youth Camp
Topic: Youth in Politics
August 10-13, 1995



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QUARTERLY/SEMI-ANNUAL REPORT

GRANTEE NAME:

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Russia Project

PERIOD COVERED IN THIS REPORT:

January 1-June 30, 1995

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, parliamentary training, and increasing the roles of women and youth in politics and the political process. IRI believes the best way to ensure the long-term development of democracy is to reach out to those outside the central urban areas. Thus, the majority of IRI's work is being conducted in the regions.

OUTPUT/ACTIVITIES

IRI's programs in this period focused for the most part on campaign skills for the December 1995 parliamentary elections. IRI continued to work on the national, regional, and local levels with pro-democratic parties such as Russia's Democratic Choice, Yabloko, Social Democrats, PRES, Russia Forward, Christian Democratic Union, Republican Party, Democratic Russia, Democratic Party, Our Home is Russia, Free Democrats, and Women of Russia. Parliamentarians included factions of pro-reform members of the State Duma and pro-reform deputies of regional dumas. IRI worked with women and youth who are active in political parties or leaders in their communities or groups.

IRI conducted 17 formal training programs in Russia during this reporting period, with nearly 1,000 participants attending. These programs were supplemented by frequent individual consultations with members of the State Duma, their staffs, national and regional party leaders, regional and local parliamentary leaders, youth group leaders, and others. The consultations averaged 15 a month with national party leaders and State Duma deputies and

20-30 a month with regional party leaders and potential candidates. Consultation topics ranged from budgeting, fundraising, voter contact, communications, polling, coalition building, candidate and volunteer recruitment, national party field office coordination, and coordination between youth organizations and national parties. IRI also initiated a new form of training for the national campaign teams of pro-reform parties, beginning with a week long session in June with Russia's Democratic Choice national campaign team.

Extensive contact in the regional cities enabled IRI to design and develop programs responsive to the evolving and specific needs in each of the regions as the parties prepare for parliamentary elections in December. Interactive exercises continued to be an important part of the curricula; for example, writing campaign, communications, budget and fundraising plans was emphasized, in addition to holding mock press conferences, mock campaigns, video coaching, and roundtable discussions.

In addition to formal seminars and individual consultations, IRI in-country staff met with local and regional leaders to advance seminars and assess previous seminars. Prior to each formal training mission, IRI trainers and staff met with local government officials and political party activists to provide the trainers with insights on the current political context within which they would be working.

Further work was done on the evaluation and monitoring benchmarks of IRI's workplan. The software system ACT was put in place to provide a data base to track all participants who have attended seminars, and additional questionnaires were developed to obtain more information. In addition to questionnaires and evaluation forms, IRI staff, through regional contacts or follow-up visits, are in the process of tracking progress of participants to determine how they are using skills learned at IRI seminars.

During this period, IRI conducted training in the following program areas:

Advanced Party Building and Campaign Training

St. Petersburg (January 14-15)
 Novosibirsk (January 21-22)
 Yaroslavl (February 4-5)
 Volgograd (February 20-22)
 Moscow and St. Petersburg (April 15-16 and 19-21)
 Rostov (May 19-22)
 Moscow (June 6-10)
 Arkangelsk (June 16-18)
 Volgograd (June 21-24)

Parliamentary Training

St. Petersburg (January 16-17)
 Novosibirsk (January 23-24)
 Perm (March 18-19)
 Moscow National Duma Roundtables (April 17 and June 12)
 Moscow individual consultations for democratic Duma factions (weekly)
 Moscow School of Political Studies, financial support for May 28-June 2 seminar

Women in Politics

Voronezh (February 23-26)
 Moscow (June 22-25)
 St. Petersburg Women's Network (January 12, March 16, May 11, June 29)

Youth in Politics

St. Petersburg (February 10-12)
 Novosibirsk (May 13-14)

IRI is now fully staffed with five Americans in Moscow and two in St. Petersburg. This includes Dave Merkel, who as director, oversees the entire program in Russia. As we discussed with USAID, IRI has moved the women's program to the Moscow office, so that the two IRI staff in St. Petersburg, Mary Schwarz and Liz Dugan, may concentrate on conducting all four programs in that region (which includes Murmansk and Arkanglesk). The responsibility for the women's program has been given to France Chiappardi, who moved to Moscow in July. Courtney Smith is responsible for not only accounting but the evaluation portion of IRI programs.

Two other IRI Moscow based staff have as their responsibility the remainder of the regions: David Denehy--Rostov, Voronezh, and Volgograd; and, Philip Griffin--Perm, Novosibirsk, and Tomsk.

The Moscow office Russian staff includes Alexander Stupnikov, political researcher, Lydia Bratova and Constantin Killinik, facilitator/translators. Because of the increase in staff, IRI is planning to hire an additional political researcher/translator. In St. Petersburg, Russian staff include two facilitator/translators, Marina Tyazhelkova and Alexander Kuprianov.

Assigning individual staffers to specific regions has enabled IRI to continue developing regional-specific relationships, knowledge, and experience. Staff meet and communicate with leaders and activists in their respective regions regularly. Contacts in all regions have told IRI that they very much appreciate and value this type of deepening and ongoing engagement.

THE REGIONS

Moscow

IRI has had some success working with pro-democratic party leadership, encouraging them to cooperate so as not to split the pro-reform vote. At this time, the major pro-reform parties have reached an agreement on not running head to head in Moscow, St. Petersburg, and Perm. Campaign funds for party lists are sure to be concentrated in Moscow and to a lesser extent in St. Petersburg. The party leaders will be the focus of this campaign. Pro-reform parties need to do well in Moscow and St. Petersburg but run the risk of not using resources effectively.

St. Petersburg

St. Petersburg local legislative elections in early 1995 showed the importance of local issues and a local focus with the success of St. Petersburg local parties over national parties. St. Petersburg First and Beloved City, two local political parties, were successful while Russia's Democratic Choice was the only national party to win any of these elections. St. Petersburg is quite progressive with strong local women and youth organizations, focusing on business, community, and democracy as their stated unifying factor.

Arkangelsk

Russia's Choice received more than 17 percent in Arkangelsk in the 1993 election. While this support for pro-reform parties in 1993 did not bring the North Region the economic prosperity hoped for, reform parties should still do well because of their organization. The best organized reform political party in the region appears to be Russia's Democratic Choice. Long-time IRI contact, and former IRI trainee, Mikhail Danilov is the local leader of the RDC and has been relatively successful in unifying democratic activists in the region. Danilov's strong opposition to Our House is Russia raises the possibility of a strongly contested election between Russia's Democratic Choice and Our House is Russia for Danilov's State Duma seat.

Murmansk

In the 1993 elections, the Liberal Democratic Party received 23 percent of the votes in this region, while Russia's Choice and Yabloko received an estimated 19 and 16 percent, respectively. Staff found democratic parties hopeful of victories in December, largely due to the aversion of the electorate to returning to the old days of communism. There seems to be a keen interest on the part of the democrats to build coalitions for this election -- Russia's

Democratic Choice in Murmansk has begun to reach out to the other parties, but as of June no action had been taken.

Rostov

Currently represented by three pro-reform deputies in the State Duma, Rostov is perhaps the most pro-democratic city in the region. State Duma Deputy Boris Titienko and his wife, Deputy Alla Amelina, have worked to solidify their base of support in the region. Two factions or coalitions have now been formed. The first, a coalition of Yabloko, Social Democrats, Russia Forward, PRES, and the Republican Party, won several seats in the past Oblast Duma election. The other coalition headed by Russia's Democratic Choice has the largest organization and volunteer base. These parties are now in negotiation to form one coalition for the upcoming parliamentary elections.

Volgograd

Volgograd is the hometown of State Duma Speaker Ivan Rybkin. Volgograd has two democrats representing it in the State Duma -- Yabloko member Igor Loukashev, single mandate seat, and Anatoli Yuschenko, elected on Russia's Choice party list. Long a hotbed of communist and agrarian support, democrats in Volgograd are forming coalitions and recruiting quality candidates for the upcoming parliamentary elections. Democrats are well positioned to seize three of Volgograd's eight State Duma seats.

Voronezh

Sitting well within the so-called Russian "red belt," Voronezh is a city represented by State Duma Deputy Viktor Davidkyn. Davidkyn has over the past year built a strong campaign organization and using IRI training has begun to build the region's first targeted voter files. In addition, recent coalition building among parties will ensure there is a united front of candidates in the upcoming local elections. Davidkyn faces a tough battle for reelection. Recent local polling shared with IRI shows that more than 65 percent of those polled are unhappy with the course Russia is taking.

Perm/Novosibirsk/Tomsk

The current political situations in Perm, Novosibirsk, and Tomsk remain, as in the rest of Russia, very fluid. Recent information gathered from informal polling and anecdotal evidence suggests a breakdown of popularity among the political parties as follows: Communists/Agrarian bloc, 30 percent; LDP, 15 percent and slipping; Women of Russia, 10 percent; Pro-Reform bloc, taken as a whole, 10 to 15 percent; the remainder undecided. The strength of the pro-reform parties differs from region to region. In Perm, Yabloko is by far the largest and most organized pro-reformist group. In Novosibirsk, Russia's Democratic Choice is the most active group. In Tomsk, both the Republicans and Russia's Democratic Choice have the strongest organizations. All pro-reform activists are gearing up for the December elections. Novosibirsk reformists face a particularly tough time as the "independents" (mostly former communists) are especially well organized and plan to hold their own campaign training seminars in the fall.

The following is a breakdown of training activity in the regions.

MOSCOW

Party Building, Yaroslavl, February 4-5

This party building seminar attracted an audience of 40 from Democratic Russia, Russia's Democratic Choice, and Youth Initiative, a civic organization. Training was conducted by Brian Christianson, political director of the Wisconsin Republican Party, and Dave Merkel, IRI in-country director.

Training topics addressed party and campaign organization, campaign planning, political communications, fundraising, and civic advocacy. The program integrated presentations and practical exercises, including a mock press conference and one-on-one practice interviews.

IRI trainer Brian Christianson also participated in an IFES-sponsored conference on the "Political Parties in the New Election Process." Mr. Christianson spoke about laws governing the activities and financing of U.S. political parties and took part in day-long individual consultations with Russian party leaders and parliamentarians.

Political Communications, April 15-16

Reflecting IRI's ongoing efforts to provide specialized training, the Institute conducted an advanced seminar on political communications for 45 party communications staff. Parties represented were: Russia Forward, Yabloko, Social Democrats, Russia's Democratic Choice, PRES, Christian Democrats, and Free Democrats. Volunteer trainers were Chris Robling, field representative for Congressman Michael Flanagan, and Don Walter, a partner of Creative Media Partners. The training was designed in cooperation with national party leaders and was targeted especially for party press secretaries and communications directors. The seminar included exercises and home work assignments on message development, communications planning, delivering one's message, press relations, video coaching, and the role of the press secretary. In a culmination of these exercises, participants wrote and presented communications plans, which were critiqued by the trainers and other participants.

Additionally, IRI hosted a roundtable of Russian journalists and editors who discussed media coverage of elections with the participants. Alexander Popov, chairman of the Professional Communications Guild of Russia and general director of the Moscow Center of Political Advertisement led the roundtable.

Following the seminar, IRI trainer Don Walter held a three-hour consultation April 17 for Russia's Democratic Choice communications team in which he reviewed its draft communication plan.

National Campaign Leadership Training, June 6-10

In early June, IRI initiated a new form of intensive training for the national campaign teams of the major pro-reform parties. The first such training was in Moscow for Russia's Democratic Choice (RDC). The training utilized a small-group roundtable format, which permits highly focused, in-depth discussion among trainers and participants. (Similar training has been requested by Russia Forward and Yabloko.)

The Moscow program for RDC was a five-day, intensive training mission for approximately 10 leaders of the RDC campaign team and their assistants. Part of the training was directed to the group as a whole and part was targeted to the specific responsibilities of various members of the campaign team, such as fundraising or press. Throughout the week-long session, IRI trainers and participants covered topics such as campaign organization, management, and planning; message development; finances and budgets; campaign message, theme, and strategy; political research and communications; field operations; and coordination between national and regional campaigns. Several sessions, including one devoted to cooperation among pro-reform parties, were attended by Duma deputies from Yabloko and the Stability faction in the State Duma.

IRI trainers for this mission were Joyce Lyons Terhes, Chairman of the Maryland Republican Party, and Russ Schriefer, a partner in a public relations firm and formerly chief of staff to a U.S. Congressman.

Conference on Women in Campaigns and Elections, June 22-25

As specified in IRI's approved proposal, the Institute conducted a working conference for 92 women from central and western Russia that focused on women in campaigns and elections. Participants were women who are likely to run for office or play key roles on campaigns in the December 1995 parliamentary elections. The training was provided at an advanced level and combined seminar presentations with practical exercises.

Five trainers taught techniques in campaign management, volunteer recruitment, voter targeting, budget management, political communications, message development, coalition building, public speaking and polling. IRI conducted a mock election campaign to apply skills taught in the workshops. Three candidates ran for office, formed a campaign team, developed a campaign strategy, held news conferences, spoke to interest groups (made up of other participants), and created campaign literature. During the mock election exercise, IRI conducted a pre-election survey (see attached survey), part of which was developed by the

participants. A U.S. pollster presented the results to show participants how a poll can be used by a candidate in a campaign.

IRI trainers included Maggie Grant, Finance Director for the Kustra for U.S. Senate Exploratory Committee and long-time campaign activist at the state and national levels; Maggie Pullen, 32-year activist in the British Conservative Party, with extensive experience as a constituency organizer and campaign director; Dollyne Pettingill Sherman, a strategic communications planning and media relations consultant and formerly media and communications director for the Mayor of Indianapolis; Deby Snodgrass, a marketing and public relations expert, with special skills in creative services such as design and production of television and radio spots and direct mail; and pollster Julie Weeks, Director of Research for the National Foundation for Women Business Owners.

In addition, a panel discussion on the importance of women becoming involved in politics was conducted by Alla Gerber, Russia's Choice State Duma Deputy, Elena Nemirovskaya, director of the Moscow School of Political Studies, and Elena Ershova, director of Gaia International Women's Center and chairman of Russia's delegation to the International Women's Forum.

State Duma Roundtables, April 17 and June 12

During this reporting period, IRI initiated a series of roundtable discussions with members and staff of the State Duma. These discussions represent a new form of cooperation with the State Duma and offer IRI an opportunity for high-level contacts with parliamentary leaders in comparatively small and less formal settings. IRI hosts Duma roundtable discussions in conjunction with other IRI training missions to take advantage of trainers' time while in country.

Each Duma roundtable is organized around a relevant theme. The first of these roundtables, held April 17, was on the theme of "Relations with the Press." The discussions were led by Don Walter and Chris Robling. Seventeen Duma members attended. The second roundtable, held June 12, followed another IRI training mission. This session for eight Duma members focused on coalition building and was led by Joyce Terhes and Russ Shriefer.

Also, IRI in-country staff met weekly with deputies of pro-democratic factions in the State Duma to provide consultations on specific issues pertaining to the legislative and campaign process. The factions include Russia's Choice, Yabloko, Stability, Rossia, Women of Russia, and PRES.

Moscow School of Political Studies

IRI provided the Moscow School of Political Studies with \$45,000 to support three of its 1995 seminars for Duma and regional parliamentarians. The seminar in this reporting period occurred May 28-June 2. Over the six-day period, participants included 24 State Duma Deputies from the factions PRES, New Regional Policy, Stability, Yabloko, Women of Russia, Rossia, and Russia's Choice. Members of the federal administration, Perm regional administration, Altai regional administration, Ekaterinburg regional administration, and the Volgograd Duma discussed elections and the future political system in Russia, rule of law, mass media in a democratic society and market economy, and Russia's place in the world economy.

ST. PETERSBURG

Advanced Party Training, January 14-15

Approximately 80 party leaders and activists participated, representing Russia's Democratic Choice, Yabloko, PRES, and Christian Democratic Union. In addition, representatives from Beloved City, St. Petersburg First, and other local political organizations were present.

IRI trainers covered six principal topics: party and campaign organization, coalition building, political research, fundraising, political communications, and voter targeting.

IRI trainers included Viktor Davidkyn, Member of the State Duma from Voronezh, and IRI training alumnus; Jeff Moseley, County Executive of Denton County, Texas; and Ben Key, a campaign consultant and advisor in Dallas, Texas.

In addition to the seminar, IRI conducted roundtable discussions on January 16 with national and regional representatives of the Christian Democratic Union. The subjects for these discussions -- voter targeting, message development, focus groups, and volunteer recruitment -- were requested by CDU representatives.

Parliamentary Training, January 16-17

For the January program in St. Petersburg, IRI trainers Jeff Moseley and Ben Key followed the party building program with parliamentary training designed for members and staff of the St. Petersburg Legislative Assembly. The objective of the training was to help elected officials and their staffs develop the skills and institutional structures and practices necessary to confront the challenges of building and strengthening a democratic society. Participants included approximately 25 Legislative Assembly deputies and staff.

Training topics included the roles and structures of parties/factions in parliaments; parliamentary coalition building; constituent relations; media relations; and forms of local government.

Youth in Politics, February 10-12

The objective of this program was to encourage youths, primarily from the St. Petersburg region, to increase their participation in politics. Approximately 140 18-30 year-old political activists attended.

Trainers included Tom Hockaday, former Vice-President of Political Support Services for APCO Associates, Inc.; Michael Johnson, State Chairman for Arkansas Young Republicans; and Michael Caputo, in-country program director for IFES. Trainers taught techniques in establishing youth organizations, political communications, civic advocacy, fundraising, and volunteer recruitment. Presentations and practical exercises were used throughout.

The Association of Young Leaders, a Russian organization based in Moscow that specializes in leadership training for youths conducted training on public speaking, video coaching, and conflict resolution.

Political Communications, April 19-21

As mentioned in the Moscow section, as part of IRI's ongoing efforts to provide appropriately specialized training, the Institute conducted a seminar exclusively on political communications for 52 communications specialists in St. Petersburg.

The training was designed in cooperation with national party leaders and was targeted especially for press secretaries and communications directors for major parties and coalitions. The seminar included training, exercises, and home work assignments on message development, communications planning, delivering one's message, press relations, video coaching, and the role of the press secretary. These exercises culminated in the participants writing and presenting communications campaign plans for critique.

Volunteer trainers were Chris Robling, Field Representative for Congressman Michael Flanagan, and Don Walter, a partner of Creative Media Partners. Sergey Sipliev, St. Petersburg Presidential Representative, opened the seminar speaking on the importance of building coalitions so as not to split the vote. Rita Malova, St. Petersburg Election Commission Secretary, conducted training on election laws pertaining to paid and earned media.

Additionally, IRI hosted a roundtable on campaign media coverage for the participants. The roundtable was led by Alexander Veretin, director of the St. Petersburg Public Relations Guild, and included eight other Russian journalists.

On April 20th, Chris Robling and Don Walter conducted separate consultations for seven parliamentary press secretaries for the Oblast Duma and for 12 members of the St. Petersburg Youth Union, and Yabloko.

Women's Network, January 12, March 16, May 11, June 29

IRI's St. Petersburg office has continued to support and promote the activities of the St. Petersburg Women's Network. IRI initiated the Network in November 1994 to provide women activists a forum to meet, share experiences, build and expand informal networks among themselves. The Network, which has increased from 15 to 50 women, typically meets every six weeks. The Network has facilitated the establishment of stronger professional relationships among politically and civically active St. Petersburg women.

ARKANGLESK

Advanced Party Building, June 16-18

The training targeted local party activists interested in advancing their skills in running successful campaigns. Approximately 57 activists participated in the program. IRI trainee Mikhail Danilov, State Duma Deputy elected on Russia's Choice party list, opened the session. IRI trainers were political activists and consultants Mark Maddox and Steven Lee.

The schedule was structured in partnership with local leaders and IRI staff in St. Petersburg, and sought to prepare the activists for the December parliamentary elections by focusing on campaign strategy, party image-building, message development, voter mobilization, and improving coordination and communication within individual parties and among parties with similar agendas.

ROSTOV

Advanced Campaign and Party Building Training, May 19-22

Fifty-five leaders, activists, and prospective candidates and campaign managers from Yabloko, Russia Forward, Russia's Democratic Choice, PRES, Social Democrats, and the Republican Party attended this advanced campaign seminar.

The schedule emphasized topics such as writing a campaign plan, message development and communications strategies, voter identification and targeting, coalition building among voter groups and political allies, polling, budgeting and fundraising, and communications. The program included a series of practical exercises; specifically, each party represented wrote campaign plans that were critiqued by the trainers.

Long-time political and campaign consultants and managers John Alvis and Mike Hudome served as volunteer trainers. NDI trainer Joe Kohan also attended the program and trained on polling and recruiting volunteers.

Russian trainers included Maria Megodaeva, press secretary for Yabloko in Rostov, and Mikhail Titienko, founder of the Don Center of Political Technology. Ms. Megodaeva taught earned media and Mr. Titienko, who is an IRI alumnus, taught direct mail and other campaign techniques.

Candidates School, May 22

The Rostov training also included an afternoon session for 14 prospective candidates. This "candidates school" focused in greater depth on campaign organization, campaigning skills, communications skills, fundraising, and recruiting volunteers. Candidates from Yabloko, the Republican Party, and Russia's Democratic Choice participated. In addition, an individual consultation was held with the Oblast Duma's Russia Choice faction on its campaign strategy for the region.

VOLGOGRAD

Party Building, Campaigns, and Federalism, February 20-22

In Volgograd, Peggy Wilson, councilman at-large from New Orleans, and Christine Quinn Burt, a long-time political activist and campaign advisor, served as IRI's volunteer trainers. IRI In-Country Director Dave Merkel also conducted several training segments. Attending the two-day seminar were approximately 70 local party activists and government officials, including an Oblast Duma deputy, the press secretary of the Oblast Administration, the press secretary for the Oblast governor, and local political, legal, and media consultants. The Democratic Party of Russia, Free Democratic Party of Russia, Christian Democrats, Russia's Democratic Choice, Russia Forward, and PRES were among the pro-reform groups represented. The chairmen of the regional branches of the Christian Democrats and of PRES also attended the seminar.

The seminar schedule, developed cooperatively between IRI and local political leaders, emphasized party and campaign organization, party structures in parliament, federalism, polling, media relations, and voter contact.

On February 23, Peggy Wilson conducted an individual consultation for members of the Volgograd Regional Council, which included Chairman Leonid Smerergey, Nina Novochenko, press secretary for Volgograd's Yabloko Party, and Alexander Maximov, chairman of Social Policy Commission for Volgograd. The subject was on an elected official's contact with the voters.

Advanced Party Building, June 21-24

IRI conducted an advanced party building training program in Volgograd for 75 participants, representing Russia's Democratic Choice, Russia Forward, Yabloko, Our Home is Russia, Free Democrats, Social Democrats, PRES, and the Republican Party. More advanced and narrowly focused than the February training, this mission emphasized campaign management and organization, message development, communications skills and strategies, political research, and campaign finances. Trainers employed a series of practical exercises designed to test the ideas and skills presented during the program. Trainers also gave advanced presentations on several topics that were introduced in February, such as campaign organization, voter targeting, get-out-the-vote, polling, and communications issues.

IRI trainers for this mission included Mark Davis, a Public Affairs Fellow at the Pacific Research Institute, and Mark Lehman, Chief of Staff for Texas State Senator Florence Shapiro.

Russian trainers included Sergey Vovchenko, Russian political consultant to Yabloko, and Tatiana Pavlova, press secretary for the Regional Administrator. Viktor Vespalov, Vice Governor for Volgograd, opened up the session.

VORONEZH

Women in Politics, February 23-26

Representing IRI's sixth program focused specifically on women, the Voronezh training attracted approximately 80 women. The seminar concentrated on fostering the pro-active involvement of women in political parties, government and the democratic process. The women participating in this seminar were political and community activists from Rostov, Voronezh and surrounding regions. Training focused on the benefits of political participation, the role of political parties in a democracy, leadership and management, coalition building and issue advocacy, public speaking and developing a winning communications strategy. The seminar included both presentations and hands-on exercises so that participants could practice the skills trainers discussed.

IRI trainers included Jane Lynch, Executive Director of the Arizona Republican Party, and Dave Merkel, IRI's in-country director. Russian trainers were Katya

Morgunova, campaign manager and former candidate from Voronezh, and Alexandra Komissarova, who directs a center for children with cerebral palsy in St. Petersburg. Ms. Morgunova taught campaign techniques and Ms. Komissarova taught fundraising.

PERM

Parliamentary Training, March 18-19

IRI conducted its first parliamentary training program in Perm in March. About 40 local and regional legislators and their staffs participated in the two-day seminar, including seven members of the Perm Oblast Duma.

Training topics included the roles and structures of parties in parliaments; parliamentary coalition building; constituent relations; media relations; orientation programs for new members; federalism and the separation of powers; and fundraising.

Trainers included Barry Aarons, Director of Government Relations for U. S. West Communications and long-time staff member at different levels of the Arizona legislature; and Rosemary Pramuk, Budget Director for New Jersey State Senate Republican (majority) staff.

A separate consultation was held with Yevgeny Sapiro, chairman of the Perm Oblast Duma, on committee structure. Mr. Sapiro also participated in the seminar program. He addressed participants on the issue of the importance of separation of powers.

NOVOSIBIRSK

Party Building and Campaigns, January 21-22

Participants numbered 50, including three party representatives from Tomsk. The audience also included two elected members of the Novosibirsk Oblast Council of Deputies (both from Russia's Democratic Choice) and representatives of several other parties, including RDC, the Republican Party, and the Social Democratic Party. Also attending were a number of young party volunteers and activists. Approximately one-half in the audience were members of political parties and most had either run for elected office or volunteered on campaigns.

Training topics included party and campaign organization, coalition building, political research, fundraising, political communications (including video coaching), and media relations.

IRI trainers included Tony Caldwell, former Member of the Oklahoma House of Representatives; and Scott McPherson, partner in the Midwest Public Affairs Group.

Parliamentary Training, January 23-24

In Novosibirsk, IRI trainers Tony Caldwell and Scott McPherson followed the party building program with parliamentary training designed for members and staff of the Novosibirsk Oblast Council of Deputies. As in St. Petersburg, the objective of this training was to help elected officials and their staffs in developing the skills and institutional structures and practices. Participants included approximately 20 Oblast Council deputies and staff.

Training topics included the roles and structures of parties in parliaments; parliamentary coalition building; constituent relations; media relations; and forms of local government.

Youth in Politics, May 13-14

In Novosibirsk, 45 young voters between 18-30 years old attended IRI's second regional Youth in Politics Seminar. The goal of the program was to assist young voters in integrating themselves into the political process and to encourage them to participate as candidates, activists, or voters in the December 1995 Parliamentary elections. Participants included members of the Yabloko, Russia's Democratic Choice, Russia Forward, and Republican Party as well as numerous independent young political activists. Some have worked with IRI before, and many have had some prior political or campaign experience.

The trainers taught skills needed for organizing youth groups, party building, leadership and management, campaign organization and management, image and message development, and communications. The program also incorporated an exercise that taught conflict resolution and negotiation skills.

IRI trainers for this mission were John Alvis, a long-time political and campaign activist and manager; and Richard Bartholomew, the New York Senate Republican Majority's representative in Washington.

Vladimir Semenov, Chairman of the National Yabloko Youth Union, served as a trainer.

INPUTS/FINANCIAL REPORT

See attached.

IMPACT/ASSESSMENT

During this period, IRI doubled the number of formal seminars and substantially increased individual consultations from the last six-month period. This is due in part to having a full complement of staff. The subjects covered in IRI's programs came as a result of specific requests from political parties and candidates preparing for the upcoming elections and were tailored to an advanced audience. By and large, training centered on campaign planning, organization, and communications. However, many of the party leaders requested more training in coalition building and national and regional coordination, a clear indication they recognize such things are crucial to a democratic win in December. Whether leaders will be able to overcome personality differences to build and sustain coalitions remains to be seen in the next few months, but this is a subject frequently discussed among regional party leaders as well as national leaders.

While it is premature to speculate on the actual number of IRI trainees who will become official candidates in the December parliamentary elections, clearly one-fourth attending seminars in this period are giving serious consideration to running. Many indicate they will serve as campaign managers or key campaign workers. IRI is in the process of gathering specific information from the participants that will show whether they actually run or are involved in this campaign once the campaign season officially kicks-off in September.

By and large, participant evaluations showed great satisfaction with and appreciation for the seminars, particularly the interactive exercises. Several participants have expressed the desire for training to be more applicable to the Russian experience. When pressed for clarification, the general answer has been that more Russian trainers are needed. This is an item foremost on IRI's mind when planning the seminars. IRI has tackled this problem by increasing the numbers of Russian trainers, speakers, and commentators, and consulting with our Russian contacts in formulating the agendas. In addition, IRI will add a training the trainer segment to each seminar held in the second half of this year. IRI has intensified briefings for the U.S. volunteer trainers about the political situation in Russia and the similarities and differences between the two countries in the application of campaign techniques.

Some results of training in this period were:

- Chief of Staff of Russia's Choice faction in the State Duma, Vladimir Lukashev, told IRI that Russia's Choice was able to provide substantial political training to its members because of IRI assistance;
- In Novosibirsk, IRI staff were warned by a member of Russia's Democratic Choice (also an Oblast Duma Deputy) that the Communists in power are beginning to see IRI programs having an impact, that "they now feel IRI training is a problem" and may make it difficult for IRI to conduct further programming;

45

- Four young women who attended the political party training in Novosibirsk in January told an IRI staffer they were so inspired by the IRI training they'd received that they joined Russia's Democratic Choice party only a few days after the seminar;
- Alexander Chernikov from Tomsk, who attended the Novosibirsk youth seminar in May, returned home to start a Russia's Democratic Choice youth chapter;
- Nadezhda Lisitina, an IRI alumna (IRI's women's conferences in Novgorod, June 1993, and Moscow, July 1995), is conducting campaign training for women political activists in her home town of Novgorod this fall and has requested IRI assistance in the form of translated materials and training;
- IRI's Election Observation report following the December 1993 elections produced results during this period. According to Mr. Alexander Ivanchenko, Vice Chairman of Russian Central Election Commission, "The report provided by IRI's international observer delegation served as the road map for the CEC in making improvements to the election law." He made this statement in a meeting on Capitol Hill on March 29, 1994, just one week after the State Duma passed its version of the parliamentary election law. Of the 20 recommendations in IRI's report that can be considered germane to an election law, the State Duma either passed or substantially addressed 15 (75%). After much debate among the State Duma, Federation Council, and the executive branch, President Yeltsin signed the bill into law in June 1995.

Cooperation with NDI

Also during this reporting period, IRI reassessed working in the regional cities of Samara, Vladimir, Krasnoyarsk, and Chelyabinsk, and determined it could work more effectively in the other approved cities. The reassessment came about for two reasons.

First, while USAID had approved both IRI and NDI to work in Samara, USAID's concern of overlap and duplication resulted in its requesting the two institutes to come to an agreement that one of the institutes would work elsewhere. IRI decided it would not work in Samara to meet USAID's concerns.

Second, NDI, in April, approached IRI with the suggestion of dividing IRI's and NDI's work by region. IRI had already long before taken a regional approach, approved by USAID, but agreed to consider the proposal. After much analysis and discussion, IRI remained convinced that stable, long-term programming will produce sustainable political development and that to stop working in regions where IRI's programs were ongoing would be unproductive. IRI believed that making any major changes to plans only a few months prior to the election would have been counterproductive to assisting the pro-democratic parties, elected officials, women and youth participants.

However, IRI agreed to relinquish working in Chelyabinsk, a specific request by NDI. IRI continues to share and coordinate schedules with NDI, especially with regard to activities in Moscow and St. Petersburg, since both institutes have been approved to work in both cities. IRI and NDI agreed during this reporting period that IRI will not conduct programs in Ekaterinburg where NDI is working. In addition, NDI agreed not to work in Rostov, an IRI-approved region.

Two other decisions resulted from this reassessment. With regard to Vladimir (which is in the Moscow region), recent developments have shown that the communist party is so organized there that IRI can be more effective intensifying efforts in areas where there is more pro-democratic activity. Also, rather than going to Krasnoyarsk, IRI has determined that bringing pro-democratic participants from Krasnoyarsk to seminars in Novosibirsk is more effective given staff, time, and travel constraints.

PROJECTED ACTIVITIES FOR NEXT REPORTING PERIOD

For the July-December, 1995 reporting period, IRI programs will concentrate on assisting Russian democrats to prepare for the December parliamentary elections. Consistent with its previously submitted workplan for the second half of 1995, IRI will conduct approximately 15 regional training seminars. For each seminar, two U.S. based volunteer experts will be deployed to train and provide consultations. IRI will continue to incorporate Russian trainers in all seminars, those who have gone through IRI training and who have had actual experience in campaigning, fundraising, and organizing groups. IRI in-country staff will continue to conduct individual consultations with political parties, candidates, women and youth groups in the regions and Moscow on a regular basis.

As discussed with USAID, IRI intends to conduct official programs until the end of October. IRI will then keep its doors open for consultations until mid-November, based solely on parties and candidates' requests. IRI will then turn its attention to the final organization of an election observation mission, the proposal of which will be sent to USAID soon.

IRI staff will continue to gather and track information to meet the benchmarks set out in the workplan, many of which will be determined by the December elections.

Party Building

For this six-month period, IRI programs will focus on campaign skills, specifically coalition building, message development and get-out-the-vote activities in all regional cities -- Moscow, St. Petersburg, Arkangelsk, Murmansk, Rostov, Volgograd, Voronezh, Perm, Novosibirsk, and Tomsk. Advanced campaign training will continue for individual parties, their campaign teams, and potential candidates. Russia Forward and Yabloko national

campaign teams have requested such training in August. IRI will conduct similar individualized training with other reform parties as requested.

In an effort to increase sustainability, IRI has scheduled a "Training the Trainers" seminar for July; participants will include IRI Russian trainers and trainers for the political parties. A training the trainer session will be included in all formal seminars for the second half of this year.

Parliamentary

IRI will conduct intensive training seminars for parliamentarians every 3 months in the regions and will conduct follow-up consultations with parliamentarians and their staffs. On the national level, IRI will continue to conduct roundtable sessions for deputies of the State Duma, approximately every month. In addition, IRI's in-country director and staff will continue to provide weekly individual consultations for State Duma deputies and staff.

Two of the Moscow School of Political Studies' seminars that IRI agreed to support financially are scheduled in July. In addition, IRI may consider providing the School with further funds for book translations to be used in its parliamentary programs and other seminar costs. IRI will consult with USAID before the decision is made to go forward. IRI's relationship with the Moscow School of Politics reflects IRI's overall philosophy of encouraging and fostering the development of home-grown, local pillars of civil society. The Moscow School has demonstrated it has the ability to draw high-level government, parliamentary, and political party audiences to its programs. It has the potential to make meaningful contributions to the education and training of Russia's democratic leaders.

Women's Programs

In the second half of 1995, IRI will conduct programs for women in Arkangelsk, Tomsk, and St. Petersburg. The programs will be geared toward women who are both political activists and potential activists, focusing on increasing specific skills for political party and campaign organization and participation, particularly running as candidates and get-out-the-vote activities.

Youth Programs

In the second half of 1995, IRI will conduct youth programs in Rostov, Perm, St. Petersburg and Volgograd. The programs will also concentrate on organization of get-out-the-vote activities and campaign skills. IRI is working with members of youth wings of several pro-reform parties, including Russia's Democratic Choice and Yabloko, and young civic leaders from the regions.

Women in Campaigns and Elections -- 1995
Survey Results
N=66 respondents

Thank you again for attending this conference. This survey is an important part of the conference; it represents a typical pre-election opinion survey. Please answer this questionnaire as if you were a constituent in the Oblast in which this mock election is taking place. This survey is anonymous and confidential, so please be honest in your opinions. To complete this survey, please circle the number on the answer sheet that comes closest to your opinion. For open-ended questions, please state your opinions briefly and succinctly in the space provided on the answer sheet.

1. Generally speaking, do you feel that things in your region are going in the right direction or do you feel that things are going in the wrong direction?

31% Right direction
45 Wrong direction
23 Undecided

2. What is the SINGLE most important problem facing you and your family today? In other words what issue are you and your family most concerned about right now? (PLEASE ANSWER IN YOUR OWN WORDS IN THE SPACE PROVIDED ON THE ANSWER SHEET)

3. What are some of the other issues that you and your family are most concerned about right now? (PLEASE ANSWER IN YOUR OWN WORDS IN THE SPACE PROVIDED ON THE ANSWER SHEET)

	<u>Q2</u>	<u>Q3</u>
Standard of living	15%	9%
Finances	15	9
Crime	11	19
Economic instability	8	14
Culture/morals	8	8
Political instability	6	12
Housing	6	9
Health	6	9
Unemployment	5	14
Inflation	5	8
Children	5	6
Chechnya/ethnic conflict	3	20
Underemployment	3	9
Concern for the future	3	2
Education	2	19
Corruption	2	3
Draft/conscription	--	8
Other issues	3	11

4. Which THREE of the following issues do you think are the most important issues in the campaign for State Duma? (PLEASE CIRCLE THE THREE NUMBERS REPRESENTING THOSE ISSUES ON THE ANSWER SHEET)

- 55% Inflation/high prices
- 49 Crime and hooliganism
- 39 The situation in Chechnya
- 33 Improving child care and education systems for Russia's children
- 29 Unemployment
- 21 Environmental issues
- 20 Affordable, quality health care
- 18 Conversion to a free market system
- 14 Housing
- 9 Equality for women
- 6 Religious/personal freedom

5. Which ONE of the following issues do you think is the MOST important issue in the campaign?

- 1 Crime and hooliganism
- 2 Inflation/high prices
- 3 Environmental issues
- 4 Unemployment
- 5 The situation in Chechnya
- 6 Conversion to a free market system
- 7 Improving child care and education systems for Russia's children
- 8 Equality for women
- 9 Affordable, quality health care
- 10 Religious/personal freedom
- 11 Housing
- 98 Undecided

(did not work; half of respondents circled more than one answer--see Q4)

For each of the following names, please indicate whether or not you have heard of the person, and whether your impression of that person is very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable.

		Not Aware of <u>Person</u>	Aware Very <u>Favorable</u>	Aware Somewhat <u>Favorable</u>	Aware Somewhat <u>Unfavorable</u>	Aware Very <u>Unfavorable</u>	Aware No <u>Opinion</u>
6.	Yeltsin	--	--	17	40	32	12
7.	Chernomyrdin	2	17	47	12	7	17
8.	Yavlinsky	2	5	41	25	16	12
9.	Gaidar	3	13	35	12	20	17
10.	Shakrai	2	2	15	28	18	35
11.	B. Feodorov	12	3	39	10	7	29

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12.	Zhirinovskiy	2	--	9	14	73	3
13.	Lebed	9	14	42	12	5	19
14.	Zyuganov	10	2	19	25	29	15
15.	Kucheroval, E.	--	25	45	5	2	23
16.	Tsalikoval, Z.	--	33	41	7	--	19
17.	Shvedoval, N.	--	46	37	4	--	13

18. In the election for State Duma being held tomorrow, which of the following candidates will you be voting for?

41% Nadezda Shvedova
 24 Zamfira Tsalikova
 15 Elena Kucheroval
 20 Undecided

For each of the following words or phrases, please circle the number representing which one of the candidates you think it best describes.

19. Is honest

11% Elena Kucheroval
 20 Zemfira Tsalikova
 14 Nadezda Shvedova
 44 All of them equally
 -- None of them
 12 Undecided

20. Has the most experience

21% Elena Kucheroval
 15 Zemfira Tsalikova
 38 Nadezda Shvedova
 18 All of them equally
 3 None of them
 5 Undecided

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21. Has the best qualifications for the position

18%	Elena Kucherova
17	Zemfira Tsalikova
38	Nadezda Shvedova
14	All of them equally
5	None of them
9	Undecided

22. Has views and opinions closest to my own

14%	Elena Kucherova
21	Zemfira Tsalikova
44	Nadezda Shvedova
9	All of them equally
3	None of them
9	Undecided

23. Would be a strong leader

11%	Elena Kucherova
19	Zemfira Tsalikova
46	Nadezda Shvedova
14	All of them equally
--	None of them
11	Undecided

Now a few more questions for background purposes ...

24. What is your age?

6%	18-24
8	25-29
6	30-34
17	35-39
19	40-44
26	45-49
9	50-54
6	55-59
3	60-64
--	65-69
--	70-74
--	75 and older

52

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25. What is your marital status?

48% Married
12 Single, never married
29 Divorced or separated
11 Widow

26. How many children do you have? (PLEASE WRITE NUMBER IN SPACE PROVIDED ON ANSWER SHEET)

15% None
46 One
32 Two
8 Three

27. What is the highest level of education you have attained?

--% High school education
14 Vocational/technical school
65 University study
21 Post-graduate study

28. What is your current employment status?

76% Employed full time
9 Employed part time
8 Unemployed/laid off
2 Do not work outside the home
6 Retired/Pensioner

29. Which of the following categories best describes your profession? (If retired or laid off, please answer what your profession was before you retired or were laid off)

3% Agriculture/farming
25 Education/teaching
12 Government official
-- Defense-related industry
8 Manufacturing
13 Small business
5 Health care
-- Journalism
10 Science
8 Administrative/secretarial
2 Student
-- Homemaker
13 Other (PLEASE SPECIFY ON ANSWER SHEET)

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30. Have you ever been a candidate for public office?

29% Yes
71 No

31. Do you currently hold elected office?

16 Yes
84 No

32. Which political party are you a member of, or do you most closely support?

8% Russia's Democratic Choice
24 Yabloko
8 PRES
2 Christian Democratic Union
2 Forward, Russia
2 Our Home is Russia
8 Free Democrats
2 Social Democrats
2 Democratic Russia Movement
13 Women of Russia
13 Republican Party of Russia
-- Democratic Party of Russia
-- Liberal Democratic Party of Russia
-- Agrarian Bloc
-- Communist Party of Russia
19 Other (PLEASE SPECIFY ON ANSWER SHEET)

33-36. To be made up by participants in workshop.

33. How would you rate the morale of the electorate in your district at the present time—are citizens generally very satisfied with the way things are, is morale pretty good, is morale low, or would you describe morale as in crisis?

2% Very satisfied
10 Pretty good
27 Somewhat low
44 Crisis
18 Undecided

34. How much do you think that the elections for State Duma will improve citizen morale and change the situation in the country?

18% Will have a significant impact
53 Will have a moderate impact
18 Won't have much, if any, impact
11 Undecided

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35. Currently, there are strong, but somewhat separate, women's movements in Russia's political parties. Some people say that this is a good thing—that the only way for women to influence their parties and have winning female candidates is to unite into a bloc. Others say that separating women leaves them outside the party hierarchy and diminishes their impact on other issues. What do you think—should women's movements be a distinct bloc within parties, or should women's political activities be integrated within each party?

27% Separate blocs within party structure
60 Integrated into all party activities
13 Undecided

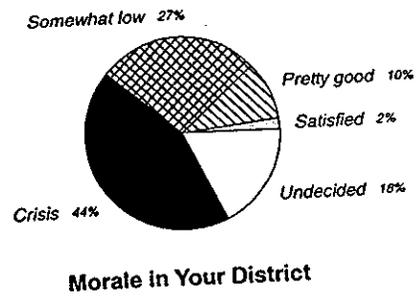
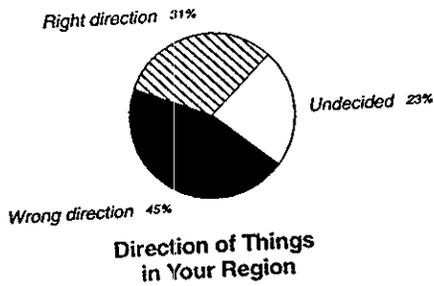
36. All other things being equal, would you prefer to vote for a male candidate for State Duma or a female candidate?

10% Male candidate
46 Female candidate
44 Undecided

Thank you for participating in the survey!

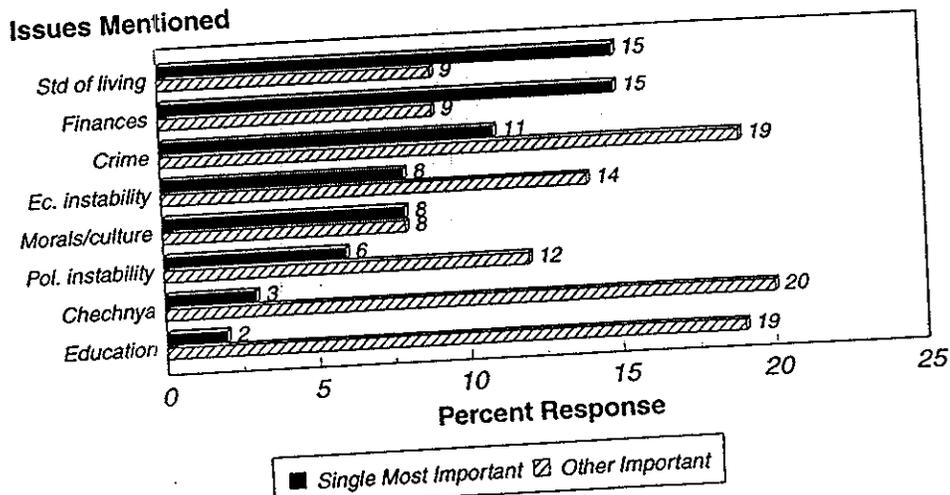
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Political Environment: Worry and Concern



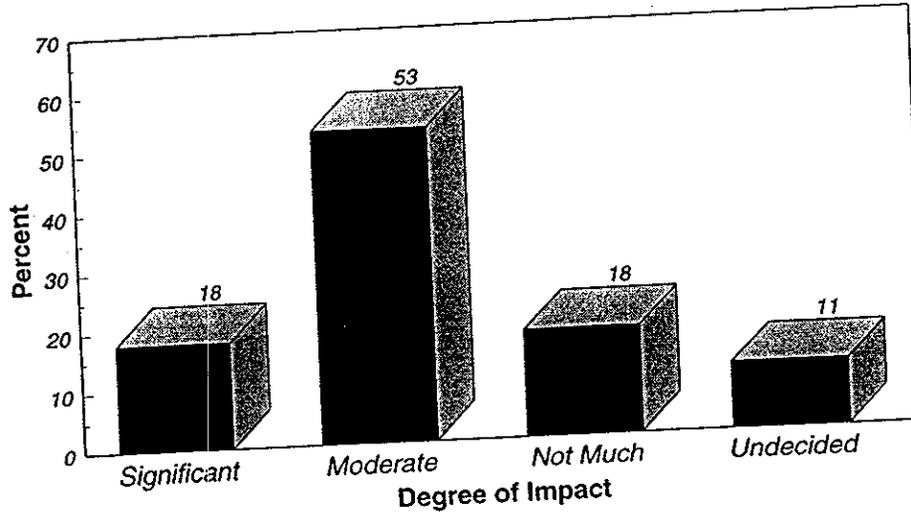
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Important Issue Concerns



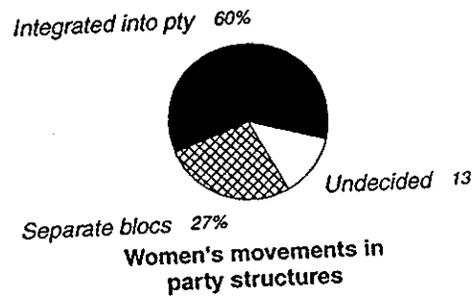
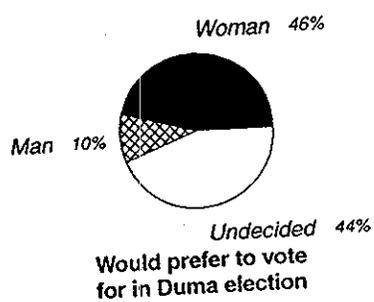
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Duma Elections Will Have a Moderate Impact



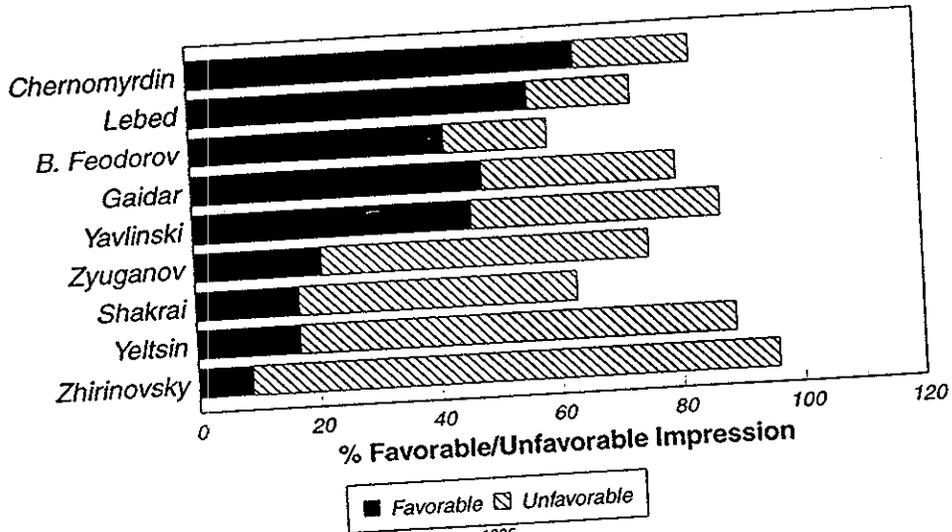
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Women in Politics: Separate is Unequal

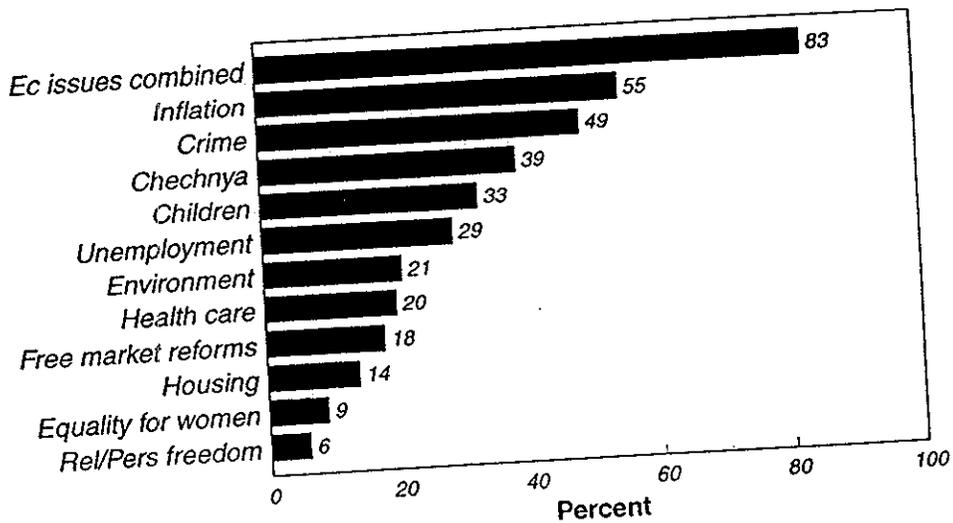


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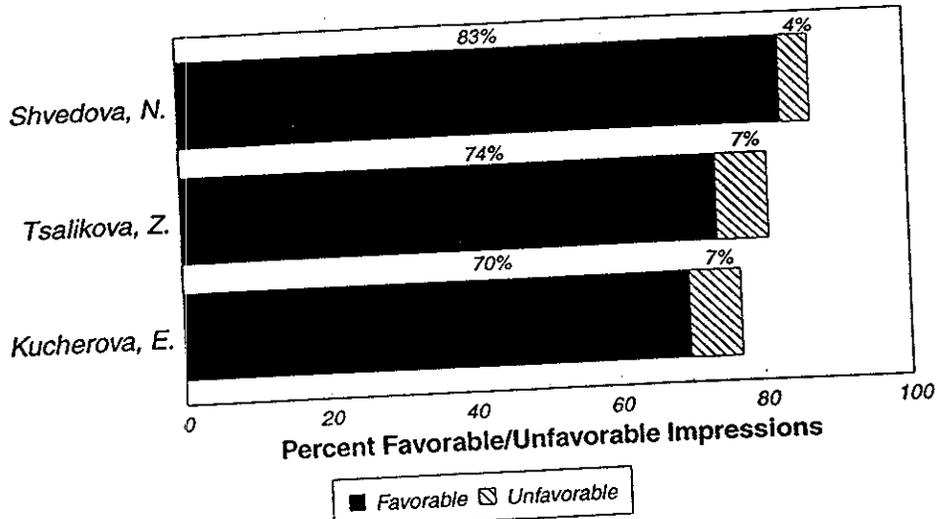
Most Political Figures Not Well Thought Of



Important Campaign Issues

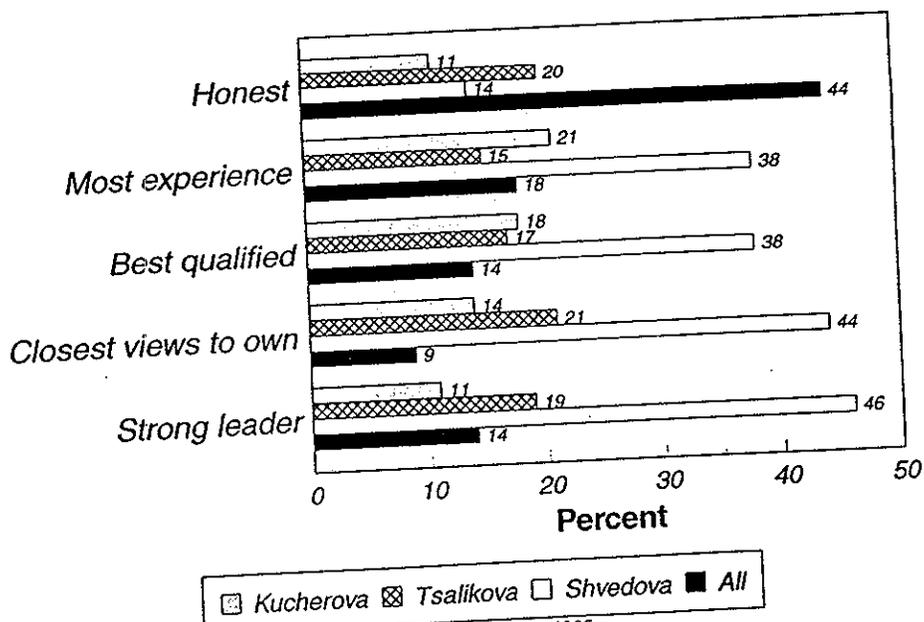


Mock Electorate Likes All Three Candidates



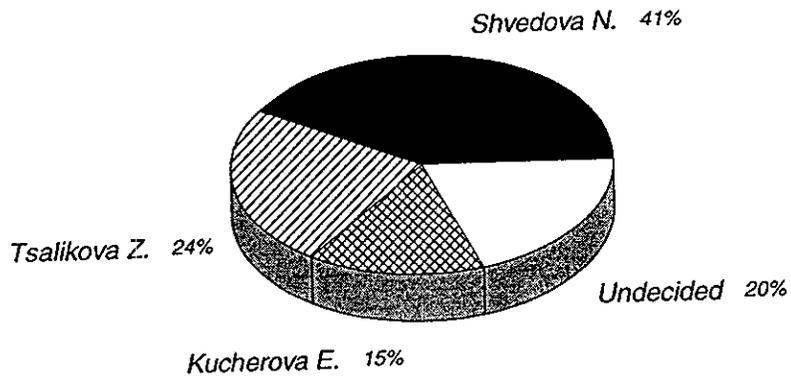
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Evaluation of Candidate Qualities



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Mock Election for State Duma: Trial Ballot



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Analysis of Current Voter Coalitions

Kucherova

- ▶ *Demographics*
 - ✓ Divorced
 - ✓ Voc/tech education
- ▶ *Issues*
 - ✓ Unemployment
 - ✓ Child care

Tsalikova

- ▶ *Demographics*
 - ✓ Under 45
 - ✓ Single
- ▶ *Issues*
 - ✓ Chechnya
 - ✓ Crime

Shvedova

- ▶ *Demographics*
 - ✓ Post graduate
 - ✓ Married
- ▶ *Issues*
 - ✓ Inflation

Undecided

- ▶ *Demographics*
 - ✓ 45 and older
 - ✓ Voc/tech education
- ▶ *Issues*
 - ✓ Chechnya
 - ✓ Health