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BUREAU FOR PROGRAM AND POLICY COORDINATION  
AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT  
by the International Foundation for Electoral Systems

Response to Requests for Pre-election Technical Assessments:

TAJIKISTAN

Project Background

Opportunities to influence democratic development in Tajikistan are few and far between and should not be overlooked. Tajikistan became a human rights disaster area after the government's victory during the civil war against an alliance consisting of the Democratic Party of Tajikistan (DPT) and the Islamic Revival Party (IRP). From early December 1992 through February 1993, the government, led by E. Rakhmonov, pursued an extraordinarily ruthless campaign of revenge against those who he believed had supported the DPT-ITR alliance which had governed for six months in 1992. The government banned four main opposition political organizations, continued the crackdown on the press, and arrested and convicted citizens in retribution for their conduct during the DDT-IRP-led coalition period. The civil war forced more than 500,000 residents of Tajikistan to flee their homes for other parts of the country and Afghanistan, in which 20,000 to 50,000 people have been killed. The pro-government para-military

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troops entered Dushanbe in December 1992 led by the Popular Front of Tajikistan. They conducted a campaign of summary executions and "disappearances" of individuals of Pamiri and Garmi origin. The government has made no attempts to investigate these atrocities.

In June 1993 the Supreme Court banned the DDT, the IRP, the popular movement Rastokhez, and La'li Badakhshan (a Pamiri organization) for having organized the mass demonstrations in 1992 during which members of Parliament were criticized. The rights of free speech have suffered dramatically since the current government came to power as a result of the exile of a number of journalists. Two rounds of talks between the Tajik militant opposition and government have been held without concrete results beyond agreement to continue negotiations. Hopes for agreement on a cease-fire came to nothing when the Tajik government refused opposition demands to amnesty political prisoners and further liberalize the regime. Although the Tajik government is reportedly preparing an amnesty of political prisoners and began a third round of talks in early September, these have yet to be matched with deeds and, even if they were, it would not allow sufficient time to have any material impact on the 6 November elections, the registration process having already closed. In fact, Tajikistan may be on the verge of a second civil war because the government's refusal to grant the opposition the opportunity to achieve its goals through political means. On the other hand, in Karim Adbulojonov, a non-militant opposition candidate with widespread popular support was eventually allowed to register after initial obstruction from the Central Election Committee.

On 11 August 1994, IFES was invited by USAID to produce a capabilities statement regarding possible involvement in the upcoming 25 September 1994 Presidential elections. August and early September were a tumultuous time in the politics of Tajikistan, with the announcement and then postponement of Presidential elections and a Constitutional referendum. Following a joint request by Ambassador Escudero in Dushanbe and by John Scales, the new Democracy Officer at USAID/Almaty, IFES submitted a proposal for a Technical Election Assessment mission.

Pre-Election Technical Assessment

With the new 6 November Referendum/Presidential Election date tentatively set, IFES prepared and fielded a ten-day Pre-Election Technical Assessment mission to be followed by the originally proposed Technical Election Assessment on election day. Team members included:

**Linda Edgeworth:** Edgeworth is an expert in election law and management, public administration and policy development, and statutory and regulatory matters. She has served as consultant on a number of international missions, providing assistance to emerging democracies in the planning and implementation of their electoral processes. In addition, a member of the IFES Pre-Election Technical Assessment Mission to Kyrgyzstan and Project Manager for the IFES Parliamentary Election Assistance Project in Kazakhstan.

**Walter Smith:** Smith is a region expert who served as a FSO from 1958-1987, with extensive experience in Washington D.C. and in the field in Soviet, East European, and Middle Eastern affairs, whose last overseas assignment as DCM and frequent Charge d'Affaires in East Berlin. Retiring as Minister Counselor, he obtained the Harriman Institute Certificate of Columbia University in 1988, has worked for the law firm of Cleary Gottlieb in Washington DC since 1989, and since two weeks after the breakup of the USSR has been the Editor of a twice monthly newsletter covering trade and investment in all of the CEE and the post-Soviet successor states, including Tajikistan. He is fluent in Russian.

The Assessment team visited 6 raions in Tajikistan. The mission team was comprised of elections expert Linda Edgeworth and former Foreign Service Officer and Soviet area expert Walter Smith. The mission opened itself up to immediate technical assistance opportunities and sample poll worker training manuals, candidate and observer information package were provided to a responsive Tajikistani Government and submitted 26 pages of recommendations to a responsive CEC.

In response to a needs assessment by IFES, and USAID and Government of Tajikistan interest, IFES is preparing a technical

election/referendum assessment mission to participate in the 6 November polls. Kazakhstani CEC officials are to be invited along on the mission.

#### **KYRGYZSTAN**

In July, IFES submitted a proposal for a follow-up Pre-Election Technical Assessment mission to Kyrgyzstan, eventually postponed at the request of USAID. The mission's objectives were to include determining the election calendar, current officials and the status of electoral legislation.

In early September, the Parliament of Kyrgyzstan dissolved itself amid allegations of corruption and illegitimacy (there have, as yet, been no Parliamentary elections in Kyrgyzstan in the post-Soviet period). As a result, IFES began making plans to conduct a Technical Referendary Assessment mission as a follow-up to its May 1993 Pre-Election Technical Assessment mission to Kyrgyzstan. This mission would assess the evolution of the country's electoral system and needs at the time of the 22 October Referendum as a preliminary step toward supporting the Government prepare for its 24 December Parliamentary elections. This project planning mission is necessary at this time to obtain information pertaining to the reform or adaptation of Kyrgyzstan's Electoral Code, and to make a preliminary identification of the country's needs in the area of technical assistance in anticipation of the upcoming elections. IFES intends to send a USAID-funded three person mission comprised of Canadian elections official Alan Dahlo and Greg Koldys, a regional expert. Kazakh CEC officials will also be invited along on any IFES work as part of a training program which IFES has initiated.

#### **UZBEKISTAN**

Program Officer Jean-Paul Gauthier developed an October mission to Uzbekistan at the request of the US Ambassador to Tashkent. To address concerns about Uzbekistan's first post-Soviet round of parliamentary elections on 25 December, IFES Consultant Linda Edgeworth will meet with U.S. Ambassador Clarke and, if possible, election officials, in order to determine which steps the Foundation might take in order to foster democratization in the country.

## MACEDONIA

The Pre-Election Technical Assessment (PETA) Report for Macedonia has been mailed to State, AID, White House, NSC, Capitol Hill, and U.S. NGO representatives prior to the Parliamentary and Presidential elections which occurred on 16 October 1994.

The PETA Report are to be reproduced and delivered in Macedonia to government leaders, election commissioners, and media representatives prior to the aforementioned elections.

### Providing Technical Electoral Assistance:

## KAZAKHSTAN

As a follow-up to the On-Site Technical Assistance project for the 7 March 1994 general Elections, IFES began planning a project close-out mission in order to review the content of the technical report with the CEC, help the CEC identify opportunities for implementing those recommendations, and evaluate the impact of the project. The report will be released to the public and an On-Site Assistance office is scheduled to be opened in early November 1994. The projected mid-August trip to Kazakhstan, originally prepared in July, was postponed at the request of the Kazakhstani CEC due to objective time constraints on their part.

Interim Project Manager Linda Edgeworth, currently in Almaty, began conducting a project follow-up mission to the On-Site Technical Assistance project for the March general elections in order to review IFES technical recommendations with the CEC, help the CEC identify opportunities for implementing those recommendations, and evaluate the impact of the project. Advice is being provided in the areas of election law, regulatory reform, adjudication of grievances, election management, issues of campaign financing, vote tabulating and reporting of results.

IFES continued preparations and program staff briefings for its anticipated 1 November 1994 Kazakhstan-based Central Asia Regional Office opening. In Washington, Program Officer and incoming interim Project Manager Jean-Paul Gauthier ordered supplies and hardware, addressed various U.S. and local hiring

issues, etc. In Almaty, Linda Edgeworth scheduled meetings with CEC officials, looked for office space, facilitated visa obtention, among other administrative duties. Efforts have been devoted to the March 1994 Technical Elections Report review, approval, and translation in preparation for the upcoming meetings between IFES and Kazakhstani Central Election Commissioners. Preliminary considerations in preparing for a projected 12 November Election Code reform roundtable were also addressed during this period. Linda Edgeworth, the roundtable will be attended by the following two IFES employees:

**Gwenn Hoffmann:** Hoffmann is an elections expert with over 18 years of experience. She spent 8 years as Public Information Specialist at the Federal Election Committee, developing the first professional election administration training program. She has been Assistant Director of the Election Center in Washington D.C., establishing the first national professional Election Administrators Association and developing the poll worker training program which became the national standard. Ms. Hoffman has been providing election administration and organizational consulting services, including the design and implementation of technical training programs for NYC voting equipment demonstrators; design and implementation of a professional certification program for Election Administrators at Auburn University; writing a ballot security book for Business Records Corporation (Election Division); testing new computerized voting equipment for certification for the NY State Board of Elections; developing and presenting training workshops for NY State Elections Commissioners on a wide range of management and election-related topics; etc. She has researched and published in the areas of media relations, ballot security, poll worker recruitment and training, voter information, election law, and election office management, planning and budgeting.

**Catherine Barnes:** Barnes is Senior Program Officer for CEE/NIS and serves as the Washington based project manager for Russia. She has 4 years experience in managing technical assistance projects ranging from political party development to democracy education to and election administration throughout the former Soviet Union and in Eastern Europe. Ms. Barnes has authored several articles on campaigns and elections in Russia and

has been featured as a guest lecturer on Russian, Kazakh, and Georgian grass-roots politics at the Foreign Service Institute.

**Jean-Paul Gauthier:** Gauthier, a new Program Officer for CEE/NIS with a focus on Central Asia, now serves as the Washington based project manager for Kazakhstan. He is a Russian-speaking lawyer with experience in election and referendum law and technical assistance, as well as in civil law systems and the Law of the former Soviet Union, where he spent two years studying and working.

## UKRAINE

IFES has focussed much of its energy in Ukraine in early September on the preparation of the Proposal on Election Law Reform drafted by Steven Nix. Copies in Ukrainian have already been sent to all Ukrainian Members of Parliament (MPs), including Speaker Moroz, to add to their general knowledge of IFES activities on reform of the electoral system, and to elicit their support of our cause. Other recipients will include President Kuchma, members of the Central Election Commission (CEC) and Constituency Electoral Commissions.

From 18-21, September the IFES field office was visited by IFES Director Richard Soudriette who had the opportunity to meet with CEC Secretary Tseliuko, CEC Chairman Yemets, British Ambassador Simon Ilymans, First Secretary of the American Embassy Erie Rubin, AID/Ukraine Director Terrance McMahon, AID Project Officer Anne Aarnes, and Ukrainian MPs Holovaty and Shihkin (of the Legal Reform Committee). Each expressed very positive comments about IFES's work in Ukraine and offered their continued support.

On-going and future projects include:

- \* a compilation and printing of all observer notes collected in the IFES Observer Checklists for all the recent elections held in Ukraine;

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- \* a compilation of all Ukrainian newspaper articles on subjects dealing with the progress and problems of Ukraine's developing democratic government in preparation for a regular IFES/Kiev newsletter (dual language) which will focus on all activities related to elections as well as the elections themselves;
- \* a database compilation of all 6,000 candidates who ran for deputy seats in Ukraine's parliamentary races (dual language);
- \* a database compilation of all parliamentary deputy's platforms (dual language);
- \* a technical seminar, coordinated with the CEC, which will be targeted toward the training of all election operators/technicians using IFES-purchased computer network equipment with a focus on general use, maintenance, troubleshooting and repair; and
- \* the production of a IFES field program manual which will describe IFES's capabilities in Ukraine and how the local office can standardize operations and responsibilities to better support their programs.

## RUSSIA

IFES advisors will be working with a CEC task force on regional elections to provide model legislation and administrative regulations to constituency and district level election authorities to guide them in preparation for their elections. While the CEC and the Presidential Administration has hoped that the Duma would pass the voting rights act and legislation on parliamentary and presidential elections prior to the conduct of regional and local elections this has not been the case. As a result, lower level election authorities are operating without the benefit of federal legislation that could be used as a reference point. Given the relatively negative circumstances surrounding the administration of local elections last spring, the CEC is trying to respond by developing model and sample guidelines for this purpose. This is

the responsibility of the task force which will be working throughout October.

IFES will be providing experts on poll worker training, federalism and elections, and practical application of election law for a seven day CEC conference, part of its new training program, for regional election commission chairmen in November and CEC Chairman Nikolai Ryabov will be observing congressional elections in the United States.

IFES is assisting the CEC in preparation for a retreat to include CEC members, Duma deputies, representatives of the presidential administration, and political party chairman to discuss and seek out solutions to issues of election law, campaign financing, and the participating of parties in elections. This retreat is slated for December.

The completion of competitive bidding for the CEC infrastructure assistance project, interviewing for field positions, servicing of GAO requests concerning the Russia programs evaluation, preparation of the 6-month work plans for the new cooperative agreement, as well as work on written instructional and training materials at the request of the CEC is in its final stages.

IFES will alert USAID of delivery dates for equipment being provided to the CEC. At the instruction of USAID, equipment will be shipped by Matrix International. IFES appreciates the assistance of the US Embassy and USAID, in particular Annie Nesterczuk, in facilitating the transfer of equipment through customs.

A finalist has been selected for the on-site Project Manager position. Also, a finalist has been selected for the on-site Election Consultant. These candidates will be presented to USAID/Washington for approval during October.

At the request of the CEC, IFES Election Law Expert Robert Dahl is expanding his instructional outline on campaign finance into a comprehensive training manual on the subject; preparing a comparative overview of proportional, majoritarian, and mixed

electoral systems; and developing a lexicon of technical election terms.

At the urging of the CEC Editorial Department, Terry Holcomb is developing a series of training articles for the CEC Information Bulletins.

Respond to Requests for Civic/Voter Education Programs:

**KAZAKHSTAN**

IFES has begun planning training for CEC level election administrators and staff through steps an Election Management Training Program. The first projected activities in the election management training program will seek to tighten CEC management of elections and enhance uniform election administration by focussing on regional election monitoring and evaluation with an eye to acquiring some comparative perspective. Consultations will be conducted by IFES on-site advisors to provide necessary clarification and monitor practical skills acquisition and exchange of information and experience among election administrators in the region. Kazakhstani CEC members have thus been invited by IFES to participate in IFES missions to Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan.

**ROMANIA**

In the last week of September, IFES Director Richard Soudriette visited the IFES/Bucharest office and met with A.I.D. and NGO representatives to express IFES' continued support for the development of the NGO Sector in Romania and attended a reception in his honor which included over 70 local activists. Soudriette was in the middle of a regional field visit of several of the IFES permanent offices of East Europe and the NIS to assist in the coordination of facility computer and resource center requirements.

An IFES-initiated election reform workshop is in the final stages of development in Bucharest and is scheduled for October 28-29.

Discussions may focus on a bill for presentation to Parliament on: (1) establishing a permanent Electoral Bureau; (2) establishment of a voter registration procedure; and (3) the reform of the electoral system toward a majoritarian system. IFES expects 15-20 participants from the NGO community.

In conjunction with IFES Consultant Judge Randall Rader, the new IFES/Bucharest Director, Dorin Tudoran, is preparing for a visit to Chisinau, Moldova in late October to review the local election law and to look into conducting a short-term PETA. He will also continue his responsibilities which include oversight of project and administration of the Chisinau, Moldova office.

The IFES/Bucharest staff received the new Project Director for Romania has initiated a general search for housing and the general upgrading of office network software.

## MOLDOVA

The IFES\Chisinau office continues to develop a potential project which cooperates with National Broadcasting Company TELERADIO-Moldova. We hope to initiate a seminar focussed on: (1) participant training on election mechanisms; (2) the roles and duties of journalists; and (3) the relationship between the State and Local Administration and the mass media.

Cost estimates of an IFES-initiated "*Sociological Survey*", which will assist in the evaluation of the efficiency of our projects was delivered for IFES/Washington's approval and comment.

On 26 September, Assistant to the Director, IFES/Chisinau, Igor Munteanu, initiated the first general (Legal Administration Reform (LAR) meeting which specific issues of interest, introduction of participants and meeting timetables were on the agenda.

IFES/Chisinau continues to prepare for the tentative arrival of Judge Rader in October who plans to work with the IFES/Chisinau Director Dorin Tudoran on a review of the local election law and the conduct of a short-term PETA.

The Official IFES Election Results Manual with details of the new makeup of parliament, voting results at the raion-level from the 27 February 1994 Parliamentary Elections, and Resolutions have arrived in Bucharest for delivery to the U.S. for dissemination.

## RUSSIA

Throughout August, preparations were underway for a CEC/IFES sponsored Voter Education Retreat in cooperation with the Russian Ministry of Education and Teacher's Gazette. The aim of the conference was to bring together teachers from throughout Russia to develop a four week voter education program directed toward first-time voters, which in a country that had virtual mandatory voting would be young people, that at its very inception takes into account Russia's cultural, political, and socioeconomic experience into account. Prior to the retreat, IFES conducted a number of focus groups with young Russians who did not vote in the December elections and constitutional referendum to determine what motivated them not to vote. The group's participants ranged from university students, urban professionals, and the unemployed to housewives, laborers, and rock music groupies and were between the ages of 18 and 20.

Participants expressed frustration and confusion about the new electoral system commenting that it was too complicated and that they did not have enough information to make a responsible decision. "I just didn't know how to vote," one participant noted. "The procedure confused me," another admitted. They also indicated their cynicism with Russian politicians, who they characterized as corrupt, self-interested, dull, and prone to political infighting. "There are too many parties. I can't tell the difference", one commented. "The politicians don't talk to young people and young people don't identify with them", another participant added. While these young people were clearly intimidated by the electoral system and had a negative impression of politicians, they did confide their belief that the December 1993 elections were free from fraud. While the accuracy of this impression is a separate issue, their trust in the results does give foundation for participation in the future. The findings of the focus groups were presented to teachers and election officials

during the retreat to help guide them in the development of a program that directly and successfully addressed the obstacles to voter participation.

The CEC provided its members and staff to provide technical guidance in the design of the program and to ensure its legal accuracy. Upon its completion, the program will be adopted by the CEC as its official voter education program for first time voters and implemented throughout the Russian school system with the assistance of the Ministry of Education. While presentations were made by several practitioners, including FEC Commissioners Scott Thomas, CEC Vice-Chairman Alexander Ivanchenko, IFES Voter Education Specialist Terry Holcomb, Election's Canada Returning Officer Alan Dahlo, Duma members Victor Shernis and Sergei Zenkin of the Legal Reform Committee, and Presidential advisor Galina Staravoitova, most of the retreat was spent in working groups, with election officials and teachers drafting components of the program. The product of the retreat was a conceptual framework for the four week course, which was endorsed by the CEC during a meeting of its members on 27 September 1994. The leaders of each working group have continued to meet with CEC staff representing the election law working group and the local and information departments to further refine the actual curriculum and design of actual lesson plans.

As a direct result of the retreat and on the basis of the presentations, hand-outs, and conceptual framework, participating teachers have already begun to assume responsibility for introduce the program in their schools. In the autonomous republic of Tartarstan, teachers enthusiastically cooperated with their students in organizing a mock election for secondary school students in the capital city of Kazan. The mock election was held on a Saturday. Student developed their themes, while "political parties" worked on platforms, telecom officials prepared ballots and secured necessary resources (ballot boxes were provided by local election authorities), and the "media monitored and reported these undertakings. Actual elected officials were invited to serve as "observers." A local television station in Kazan covered the event. The "winner" of the election told IFES that the entire exercise which was conducted through the laboratory of the classroom

allowed for more freedom of expression for young people than actually existed in Russian society. He and the losing candidates confirmed that they would participate in real elections in the future. A written report of the project has been prepared by the Kazan teachers as a reference material for other teachers throughout Russia. This report is currently in translation and will be provided to USAID.

During the retreat, presentations were made by:  
Alexander Ivanchenko, Vice Chairman of the CEC  
Alexander Postnikov, Election Law Advisor to the CEC  
Parmian Shanshen, Press Secretary to the CEC  
Alexander Asmolov, Deputy Minister of Education  
Peter Polozhevitz, Editor in Chief of Teachers' Gazette  
Victor Sheinis, MP, Legal Reform Committee  
Sergei Zenkin, MP, Legal Reform Committee  
Galina Starovoitova, Presidential Advisor  
Scott Thomas, Commissioner, FEC  
Alan Dahlo, Returning Officer, Elections Canada  
Terry Holcomb, Voter Education Specialist, IFES  
Alice Eichelberger, Director, Yakutsk Student Vote Project  
Tavorochova, Teacher, Yakutsk Student Vote Project  
Lena Saplina, Teacher, Moscow School 1235

### Special Elections

The Moscow district of Mitichi, which will be holding special elections for an open Duma seat on 30 October 1994, school no.16 has been working under the guidance of the CEC Department of Information to conduct a mock election program titled "elections 2010". Eight candidates are running and have based their campaign on issues of importance to their constituents, including educational reforms, improvement of the school cafeteria, development of constructive extracurricular activities, and the improvement of supply and service in area shops. On 14 October, students provided reports to the CEC advisor on their progress in preparing for the "mock elections." On 21 October, primaries are to be conducted with candidate debates, elections, and a victory party slated for the following week. A follow-up discussion session to evaluate the entire program and discuss the students

impression of the actual elections on 30 October will be conducted by IFES voter education specialist Terry Holcomb. The findings of this evaluation, combined with that from Kazan, and the pilot testing in other target schools will be incorporated into the final draft (to be provided to USAID in English upon completion) of the voter education curriculum to be provided to the CEC by December so that they can make any necessary revisions before its adoption as the official "voter education program". At that point, implementation of the program will become the responsibility of the CEC.

As a result of the 13 December elections and constitutional referendum and the more recent local elections, the CEC has reevaluated its responsibilities in the area of voter information and education. It's commitment to this work is evidenced in a recent CEC report which sites the increase in spoiled ballots during the December elections (up 1.5 million from 1990) and poor turn-out during local contests among other things as illustrating the need for voter education and not just on election day. At a recent meeting of the CEC it was decided that a system of organized voter education be established to help voters "prepare for conscious and active participation in elections." The Vice-Chairmen's Office and the Office of the Press Secretary of the CEC have been active in outlining the first-time voters programs as well as related initiatives to Russian election authorities and educators. For its part, IFES will continue to monitor the first-time voters program for the purposes of impact evaluation.

#### Project Effectiveness

Evaluation forms, completed during the retreat and which rated applicability and usefulness on a scale of one through five with one indicating the most positive response ("I absolutely agree with this statement.") and 5 the most negative response ("I absolutely disagree with this statement"), found that:

(1) 75% of the respondents marked "one" when asked if the information provided was useful to them. The remaining 25 Percent marked "two."

(2) 67% marked "one" in response to the statement "There were enough practical examples provided from which to understand the meaning and sphere of application of ideas presented. 21% marked "2", 4% marked "3," and another 4% marked option "4".

(3) 79% marked "1" when asked if an adequate opportunity to talk to Russian and foreign experts during the course of the retreat. 17% marked option "2", while 4% marked option "3".

(4) 83%, responded to the question "Were written handouts useful?" by marking option "1". 18% marked option "2".

(5) When asked if they would be interested in participating in further projects of this nature, 96% marked option "1", while 4% marked option "2".

(6) 46% of the participants said that the approach of the retreat took into consideration the real political, social, and cultural environment of Russia. The remaining 54% marked option "2".

(7) When asked to comment on the overall organization and structure of the conference, 92% of responding gave IFES a rating of "1" with 4% each going to options "2" and "3", while the remaining 54% indicated that further refinements/development of information would be necessary.

International Election Observations:

**MACEDONIA**

Program Officer for CEE/NIS Scott Lansell plans to participate as an-election observer and report to USAID on potential follow-on assistance from recommendations made in the PETA. This reporting will occur after the runoff elections scheduled for 30 October 1994 in conjunction with his inclusion in International Republican Institute's (IRI) observer mission in Macedonia.

## NEPAL

IFES responded to the evolving needs and resources of Nepal and USAID with respect to the 13 November Nepalese Parliamentary Elections by developing a mission proposal. Senior Program Officer Christopher Siddall, Program Officer Jean-Paul Gauthier, and Program Assistant Irina Zaslavskaya devoted a part of their energies to developing a three-person one-week technical observer mission proposal. The proposed team would be comprised of a mix of IFES Senior Staff and Asian election officials. Questions remain as to whether IFES can find sufficient funding in addition to funds already allocated to implement the project.

### Symposiums and Election Official Exchanges:

## RUSSIA

In July, the Secretary of the Central Election Commission Ivan Galoushko and foreign affairs counsellor Vadim Zhdanovich travelled to the U.S. to attend the annual conference of the **International Association of Clerks, Recorders, Election Officials, and Treasurers (IACREOT)**. Participation in the conference afforded CEC representatives the opportunity to meet with federal, state, and local election officials to discuss technical issues including districting, voter registration, tabulation of results, poll worker training, the roles and responsibilities of various levels of election administrators in the U.S., as well as the function of professional associations of election officials. The vendors fair at the conference was of considerable interest to the Russians who spent several days exploring the application of modern technology to the election process.

The fair, in conjunction with discussions with voter registrars from several states, provided a timely forum for exploring automated voter registration systems, which has been one priority of the CEC since the December elections. The accuracy of Russia's often hand-written voter registration lists has been called into question by international and domestic observers. The inadequacy of Russia's voter lists, was brought to the forefront during the April referendum when some district election officials used lists

developed for the disbursement of privatization vouchers since they were more up to date than the actual voter registries. While the experience of April helped to improve the precision and comprehensiveness of the lists used in the December 1993 elections, the introduction of an automated system would greatly improve the efficiency of voter registration in Russia. A report of CEC Chairman Nikolai Ryabov, the CEC intends to develop and introduce an automated voter registry for the systematic enrollment of the electorate by region, city, and rural villages.

The widespread use of election official training programs and the existence of professional associations in North America was also of considerable interest to Secretary Galoushko who spoke with those responsible for designing and implementing training programs and managing associations. Since the conduct of its technical assessment mission in Russia last July, IFES has been advising the CEC to develop a clear and consistent training program for its half a million poll workers. The soviet tradition of providing oral instruction to regional level election commission chairmen along with copies of the election law and bureaucratic explanations has strong roots in Russia. While the introduction of poll worker guidelines and instructions through the CEC bulletins during the December elections was a positive first step, much work remains to be done in this area.

At that time, the IFES team, along with international and domestic observers, found that many poll workers were unclear concerning the various provisions of the election decree and unfamiliar with the full extent of CEC procedural regulations, which led to an arbitrary decision making process based on habit rather than the altered circumstances of Russia's new electoral system. The need for an "unconditionally uniform approach to election administration and regulation throughout the whole of Russia" was the topic of a presentation by Chairman Ryabov during a recent training conference for election officials in the Far East. Starting this fall, the CEC has decided to initiate a large-scale training program for election officials from the federal to precinct level. IFES has been invited to provide advisors and written materials for this program.

In addition to participating in the conference, Mr. Galoushko participated in the IFES panel on technical election assistance to Russia of offered his observations of the December 1994 parliamentary election and constitutional referendum and the legislative and administrative reforms which are currently underway to improve the efficiency, integrity, and professionalism of election administration in Russia. Additional panel participants included IFES Russia Project Manager Catherine Barnes; IFES Consultant Paul DeGregorio, who was a member of the IFES project team during the December 1994 elections; and Lorie Wells, who spoke on contributions of the Canadian Government to the IFES technical assistance project in Russia. Approximately 250 conference participants signed up for the workshop. In addition to the presentations, a video document balloting in the Autonomous Republic of Mordovia on 12 December was shown. Copies of the various presentations, the election video, as well as a video of the entire workshop were requested by the conference organizers and workshop participants who agreed that this was one of the most interesting and informative sessions offered at an IACREOT conference. The conduct of this seminar provided an opportunity for IFES to share information on its work under the auspices of USAID with election practitioners from the fifty states and Canada.

#### **KAZAKHSTAN**

On 13-14 September, while on a visit to the United States sponsored by USIA, a delegation of Kazakhstani opposition politicians met with IFES staff in order to discuss grassroots election campaigning. As the delegation was particularly interested in learning about American-style political campaigning, IFES arranged for Senior Consultant Terry Holcomb, who has twice run for Congressional office, to make a general presentation on the topic. Primary concerns of the delegation members were the registration process, campaign financing and staffing, constituent relations, image creation, and media access. After receiving Mr. Holcomb's excellent overview of the American campaigning process, delegation members were anxious to point out what they felt to be the many deficiencies of Kazakhstan's own campaigning and electoral processes with an eye to possible amendments to Kazkhstan's Electoral Code. IFES Director

Richard Soudriette found their idea auspicious in that members of Kazakhstan's Central Election Commission ["CEC"], with whom IFES On-Site Project Manager for the March elections Linda Edgeworth had established a working relationship at that time, have recently invited the Foundation to participate in a Roundtable on that very topic. With that in mind, the visiting Kazakhstani delegation offered IFES its recommendations in the areas of candidate registration and nomination procedures, vote counting, accountability of election commission officials, and adjudication of electoral grievances. USIA reported to IFES that the visit was considered by the Kazakhstanis to have been a great success and that they looked forward to a close collaboration with IFES once its Almaty Office opens. Another such meeting has already been scheduled.

ACEEEO: Kazakhstani CEC members have been invited to participate as observer-delegates in the planned 12 December ACEEEO Conference in Kiev, Ukraine.

## UKRAINE

Both CEC Chairman Yemets and Secretary Tseliuko reaffirmed their own commitment and the full support of the Ukrainian government in making the IFES-supported ACEEEO Kiev Conference (December 15 - 17, 1994) a success. Both are looking forward to all the benefits the mutual consultation and information exchange made possible by the conference will provide for Ukraine's efforts to establish a transparent, impartial, and democratic electoral system.

## SRI LANKA

IFES responded to a invitation to submit a proposal for the CIPART program to reintegrate North-Eastern Sri Lanka into the country's political and electoral systems. An RFA will be sent later.

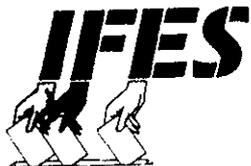
Resource Center and Publications:

**UKRAINE**

IFES is currently nearing completion of its latest publication "*Ukraine's Parliament to Date*" in both the English and Ukrainian languages. This publication will soon be available as a reference for all interested individuals and groups.

**WASHINGTON RESOURCE CENTER**

The IFES Resource Center is collecting sample voter information materials, such as posters, banners, leaflets, radio spots, and television commercials as well as administrative forms, including candidate registration forms, applications for special voting, ballots, tally sheets, protocols, and ballot paper account forms from various countries for review by the CEC which is planning to significantly change to appearance and improve the utility of such materials and documents in the December 1995 Duma elections.



**THIRD QUARTERLY REPORT  
YEAR THREE  
APRIL 1 - JUNE 30, 1994**

**Concerning the  
A.I.D. COOPERATIVE AGREEMENT  
No CCS-0007-A-00-2046-00**

Submitted to the  
**BUREAU FOR PROGRAM AND POLICY COORDINATION  
AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT**  
by the International Foundation for Electoral Systems

Providing Technical Electoral Assistance

**NEWLY INDEPENDENT STATES**

**Russia**

On 19 March 1994, IFES sent a technical team to Moscow to undertake consultations with the Central Election Commission of Russia. As part of its on-going program to support and strengthen Russia's evolving electoral system, IFES is provided training and assistance in the areas of electoral reform and administrative modification, with a focus on election law, campaign finance, districting, and organization and management of electoral structures.

The team, which included election administration expert James Douglas, former Secretary of State for Vermont, and comparative electoral law expert Robert Dahl, was tasked with collecting information on disclosure of official results from the December elections, the CEC draft laws on parliamentary elections and public referenda, and the status and conduct of local elections. Preparations were also to be undertaken to prepare for joint training activities with the CEC which are slated through June.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS	Charles T. Manatt Chairman	Patricia Hutar Secretary	Judy Fernald Victor Kamber	Sonia Picado S. Richard M. Scammon	Randal C. Teague Counsel
	David R. Jones Vice Chairman	Joseph Napolitan Treasurer	Jean-Pierre Kingsley Peter McPherson	William R. Sweeney, Jr.	Richard W. Soudriette Director

Quarterly Report  
Page Two

To better serve the day-to-day requirements of the CEC and support and strengthen democratic election structures in Russia, IFES re-opened its technical assistance office in Moscow. New office space was secured off of Red Square in a building belonging to the Teacher's Gazette Newspaper and was within a 5 minute walk to the new Central Election Commission Headquarters.

IFES' working relationship with the CEC was re-established from a strong and cooperative position, originally nurtured during the parliamentary assistance project in the fall of 1993. The CEC leadership and staff clearly sought to involve IFES more closely in internal operations and revisions of the electoral code. IFES was assigned an official liaison, Alexi Suchilian, to handle all joint consultations and events between IFES and the CEC. Previous contacts were also readily accessible and eager to discuss specific points of electoral reform.

The CEC's immediate concerns included the administration of local elections and redrafting of the federal electoral code. As reported, spring regional elections throughout Russia revealed widespread voter disillusionment, evidenced by poor voter turnout. Several places, including the relatively progressive St. Petersburg region failed to elect a working quorum in the regional дума because the participation rate was under the 25% threshold. Russian voters apparently lost interest in elections due to a lack of faith in the political system and officeholders.

Throughout the spring, the CEC worked hard to produce a voting rights act, which would serve as the conceptual framework for subsequent legislation on parliamentary and presidential elections and public referenda. IFES advisors have obtained the initial draft and offered analyses and recommendations. The first roundtable on the voters rights portion of the law was held on April 5 with a follow-up consultation on 15 April. The process of consultations on the law continued throughout the Spring.

The CEC published aggregate election results in Bulletin Number Twelve, portions of which IFES translated into English, by region for the Constitutional referendum and party list vote, and by constituency for single-member mandates, although vote totals for the winning candidates only. There was considerable suspicion by Western diplomats and Russian political activists about the CEC's failure to make available complete and comprehensive returns, down to the polling site level for verification purposes. When pressed on this issue by IFES advisors, the CEC suggested that such a level of detail was unnecessary and that the issue of whether or not to provide comprehensive results was one of logistical and practical considerations, rather than political ones.

IFES has responded to the situation by encouraging the CEC to establish and

**Quarterly Report**  
**Page Three**

maintain, as do most Western democracies, an archive of election data and documents. IFES approached the matter as one of general responsibility of central election authorities in genuine democracies to collect, organize, and make available to the public complete information about elections. IFES also suggested that setting up such an archive was a matter of professionalism and pride for the CEC, which does want to be taken as a serious institution.

**Ukraine**

IFES has assembled a team of top experts in electoral reform and Rule of Law issues for the Ukraine project. They include two federal judges and a top Washington, D.C. election lawyer: Randall R. Rader, Judge of the United States Court of Appeals for the Federal Circuit; Bohdan A. Futey, Judge of the United States Court of Federal Claims; and Stephen B. Nix, Attorney with the law firm of Baker & Hostetler. IFES Senior Program Officer, Christopher S. Siddall, and Ukraine Project Administrator, Yaropolk Kulchyckyj, also bring their area and language background to the project.

IFES staff and consultants conducted three sets of briefings for members of the diplomatic community, international and non-governmental organizations, and the international media. The following groups were represented at the IFES briefing:

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Page Four

International Media	Diplomatic Community	Non-governmental Organizations
Associated Press BBC World Service The Economist Voice of America Interfax News Agency Intelnews Attenposten Toronto Star Daily Telegraph Washington Times Yomiuri (Japan) Ukrainian Weekly The Wall Street Journal Europe Washington Times	Council of Europe/Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of Europe Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe/Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights Embassy of Austria Embassy of Canada Embassy of Finland Embassy of Greece Embassy of Hungary Embassy of Italy Embassy of Japan Embassy of the Netherlands Embassy of Norway Embassy of Switzerland Embassy of the United Kingdom/British Know How Fund European Union United Nations Mission in Ukraine U.S. Agency for International Development/WESTNIS	European Institute for the Media (Düsseldorf) Eastern European Institute International League for Human Rights International Renaissance Foundation/Soros Foundation International Republican Institute National Democratic Institute for International Affairs Ukrainian Congress Committee of America Council of Advisors to the Parliament of Ukraine American Bar Association/Central and East European Law Initiative (CEELI)

In addition to conducting briefings on the Ukrainian election process, IFES experts have held a series of meetings with Ukrainian members of parliament and those officials best positioned to amend the Ukrainian election law. The detailed IFES proposals for amending the laws provided statutory language that would enable parliament to draft a variety of amended versions on the election laws with a minimum of difficulty.

Also, IFES staff have recently visited 23 of the 27 oblasts (regions) of Ukraine to conduct a technical needs assessment of each of the oblast secretariats. Upon compilation of the needs assessment, IFES will be well prepared to train the oblast-level support staffs in the use of the IFES information network and resource center under development in Kiev.

Civic/Voter Education Programs and Materials

**NEWLY INDEPENDENT STATES**

**Ukraine**

The demand for election-related information in both Ukrainian and English has expanded rapidly since IFES' information sharing efforts began prior to the March parliamentary elections. IFES has been working with the Ukrainian Central Election Commission, parliament's Information Systems Center, and oblast (region) secretariats to make information available to the public on a timely basis and in a useful format.

The following IFES publications have been released during the last month:

- Presidential Election Guidebook - English
- Presidential Election Guidebook - Ukrainian
- Guidelines for International Observers in Ukraine: Presidential and Local Elections
- Overview of Standards for Invalidating Elections and Conducting Repeat Voting
- Proposals for Amending the Ukrainian Parliamentary Election Law - English
- Proposals for Amending the Ukrainian Parliamentary Election Law - Ukrainian
- Translations of the following documents:
  - Law on Introduction of Alterations and Additions to the Law of Ukraine on Elections of Deputies and Chairpersons of Village, Settlement, Raion, City, City raion, and Oblast Councils
  - Central Election Commission Press Releases
  - Joint Radio-Television Press Center Releases

IFES has obtained International Standard Book Number (ISBN) codes for all IFES publications in Ukraine. IFES is working to copyright all publications under both Ukrainian and international law.

IFES has been able to increase awareness of the Ukrainian election process and the activities of IFES and USAID in Ukraine by providing election information and analysis to the international and Ukrainian press. A selection of media coverage is summarized and attached to this report:

**Associated Press**

IFES' reporting of election information was circulated to 1,500 daily newspapers in the United States and newspapers in more than 120 countries. Please find attached selected press clippings.

Among the papers which picked up the AP story are: the Chicago Tribune, Washington Times, Toronto Globe and Mail, Arkansas Democrat Gazette, Minneapolis Star Tribune, Kansas City Star, and the Richmond Times-Dispatch.

**Reuters**

IFES analysis of the Ukrainian election process and results was sent out both before and after the election on the Reuters wire.

**Christian Science Monitor**

An IFES staff member was cited as a source for analysis of the electoral process in Ukraine in a June 29 article.

**Radio Liberty**

An IFES staff member conducted a 30-minute interview in Ukrainian with Radio Liberty Ukrainian service. The interview focused on IFES's work with the Central Election Commission of Ukraine.

**Ukrainian Weekly**

This largest circulation English/Ukrainian-language published a front-page story on June 26, summarizing an IFES briefing in Kiev on the election law and procedure.

**Holos Ukrainy**

Holos Ukrainy has run stories featuring IFES' work in Ukraine three times during the last two weeks. This newspaper is the official journal of the parliament of Ukraine and has the largest circulation in the country.

**The Economist**

In three separate weekly issues, IFES was listed as the source of election-related information.

**The New York Times**

In the days after the Ukrainian presidential run-off elections in July, an

IFES representative was quoted as an analyst on the political situation in Ukraine.

International Election Observation

NEWLY INDEPENDENT STATES

Russia

IFES team members met with regional election commission representatives in Vladimir and observed voting on 27 March. A local journalist reported that difficult economic conditions were the main issue in the campaign, but that none of the 106 candidates for 21 seats in the oblast дума had offered any concrete proposals on how to improve the local economy or respond to the recent closure of a tractor factory, a major employer in Vladimir. In places where voter turnout was sufficient to validate the elections, communist candidates continued to win sizable victories.

In the midst of the April mission, Izvestia published a report on Alexander Sobianin's studies which indicated fraud in the December elections, particularly in relation to the Constitutional Referendum, the party list ballot, and the dual-constituency ballot for elections to the upper house of Parliament. In a follow-up meeting with Sobianin, he indicated that malfeasance occurred at the level of the administrative working groups (district tabulation centers). This layer was added to the system to summarize vote totals. The working groups were not responsible to the Central Election Commission, but rather to executive authorities in the regions, most of whom were appointed by President Yeltsin and many of whom were also running for office (mostly the upper house of Parliament).

The refusal of the CEC to release complete results, ie. information on all candidates to the polling site level, has fueled the controversy. According to Sobianin, initial results were release by two sources: the Presidential Administration, based on reports of regional executive authorities, and by the CEC based on telegrams communicating information that was being passed up through the election administrative structures. The first protocol of results was not received by the CEC until 8 days after the election.

Efforts to verify the results of the study have been hindered. Sobianin reported being denied access to information both by the Presidential Administration and the CEC. IFES continued to pressure the CEC for a more thorough reporting of results as well as public access to election data and documents. As the ballots

have already been destroyed, IFES also urged the CEC to ensure that the election protocols are kept throughout the term of the Duma. Protocols for the single and dual mandate constituencies are currently in the hands of the regional executive authorities, as the lower level election commission have been disbanded. There are some reports that the regional executive authorities have also destroyed the protocols.

### Symposium and Election Official Exchanges

#### NEWLY INDEPENDENT STATES

##### Moldova

IFES Romania and the Independent University of Moldova have begun to organize a number of seminars together. The seminars will be on the following topics:

- a. Relations between the members of the Parliament and the electorate.
- b. Rights of the extra-Parliamentary opposition in the states of law.
- c. Local administration: between projects and reality.

There has also been verbal approval from the Presidency and the Parliament on this initiative.

IFES participated at the Regional Conference for Central Europe in Sinaia. The topic of the conference was, "Regulating Civic Society" and was supported by many international organizations, such as: International Center for Non-profit Law, the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, and the SOROS Foundation. The conference focused on the progresses of efficient legislation and regulations for the civic sector. Therefore, attention was focused on humanitarian problems, public service, charity, ecology, and education and scientific problems. The most productive work was in the framework of workshops including: 1) Formation, Registration, and Dissolution of NGOs; 2) Regulation; 3) Self-regulation; 4) Taxation and Funding. Four related documents materialized from this.

The Moldovan bureau of IFES sponsored a conference named, "Young Voters in New Democracies" at the end of June. Taking part in the forum were leaders of the Moldovan Parliament, high-ranking government officials, heads of diplomatic missions and international agencies. This international two-day conference was organized by IFES Moldova with the purpose of promoting the democratization process in Moldova. Among those who spoke at the conference were U.S.

Ambassador Mary Pendleton, Deputy Chairman of the Moldovan Parliament, Chairman of the Central Election Commission, Deputy Chairman of the Supreme Court along with various other foreign researchers and experts. In fact, over 120 people took part.

Another successful international conference sponsored by IFES Moldova was the "Mechanisms of Local Self-Government in a Decentralized State" conference during the first week of July. The conference was held for one day in Chisinau and then another three days in Balti, with 100 participants in the former and 130 in the latter. The forum was organized to render assistance in decentralizing power in the Republic. The conference received coverage on the National TV Station. It also received broad coverage on the National Radio Station including interviews with the Vice-Prime Minister of Moldova and other members of the Government.

#### Russia

As a result of discussion held during the March mission regarding the establishment of an archive of election data and documents, and the establishment of the Moscow office, IFES began planning for a series of roundtables with the Central Election Commission in mid-May. Topics for consideration included election law, campaign finance regulation, state allocation of media resources during campaigns, the role, rights and responsibilities of political parties and campaign organizations in the electoral process, and voter education.

On 23 April, Russia Project Manager Catherine Barnes joined On-Site Election Specialist James Douglas to assist in preparation for the roundtables. The CEC draft of the Voting Rights Act, which IFES reviewed and offered commentary on at several stages of the drafting process, was submitted to the Parliament the final week of May. While the voting rights act represented a good start, IFES experts concurred that the final draft was not as thorough nor as tightly written as necessary. As the CEC continued its work on the electoral code, specifically legislation on parliamentary and presidential elections and public referenda, IFES will continue to offer legal advising, pushing for greater detail, clarity, and comprehensiveness.

May was a busy month for the IFES Moscow Office, which organized an Electoral Reform Roundtable on campaign finance and a voter education conference, and co-sponsored a conference on political party law and finance with the International Republican Institute and the National Democratic Institute. The roundtable discussion with the Central Election Commission was led by comparative election law and campaign finance expert Robert Dahl and IFES On-

Site Project Manager James Douglas. Among the topics discussed were: Legal and Electoral Framework for Political Finance Regulation; Sources of Political Funding; Spending of Political Funds; Disclosure of Political Finance Information; Enforcement of Political Finance Regulation; Legal Compliance and Political Awareness.

The roundtable served as an important introduction to what is an extremely complicated issue in Russia. The CEC Director of Financial Reporting was eager to learn about American methods and practices for requiring financial disclosure, monitoring reports, and providing public access to election information. She and other CEC staff participated actively in the roundtable, asking questions from their respective concerns about political finance disclosure, enforcement and complaint processes, and election law redrafting.

Of particular concern was the question of political party involvement in commercial activities. Many political parties in Russia are active in private business and joint ventures. In a depressed economy, where party dues and political fundraising do not provide a sizable or secure source of funding, many parties are dependent on commercial activity to compete. This reality opens the door to a number of worrisome circumstances, including conflict of interest, potential buying of elections, and probable mafia involvement in elections. The CEC expressed its concern about how to deal with this issue as it revises the electoral and campaign finance code.

In addition to the discussion, IFES provided a number of comparative materials on campaign finance systems in Russian language. Further IFES action in advising the CEC on political finance and related issues will be pursued throughout the summer and fall. The roundtable discussion also provided a valuable introduction and briefing for CEC representatives who attended the joint IFES/IRI/NDI Conference on Political Party Law and Finance. The conference provided a forum for bringing together election authorities, parliamentarians, and executive officials to identify key issues and imparting valuable information and perspectives about attempts to regulate parties and other political activities.

IFES also conducted a voter education conference, under the auspices of the Central Election Commission and the Teacher's Gazette. Approximately fifty teachers from throughout Russia were brought together to discuss the education and motivation of first-time voters. Participants were all civics and history teachers of 16 to 18 year olds, all of whom will qualify to vote for the first time either in the December 1995 Duma elections for the June 1996 Presidential elections. Representatives of the Central Election Commission, Russian education organizations, and US voter education groups gave presentations.

## Quarterly Report

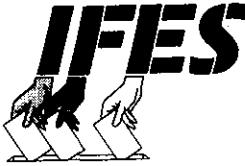
Page Eleven

IFES trainers included Terry Holcomb who spoke on the use of role-playing exercises to prepare first time voters and reduce their anxieties, Gerry Manginelli of Student Vote who shared the experience of student-led and teacher-monitored get-out-the-vote organizations, and Michael Caputo who outlined a program, whereby students and teachers could interact directly with election administrators, elected officials, and jurists as a more creative and practical approach to voter education. Perhaps the highpoint of the conference was the presentation by a group of high-school students who had participated in an IFES mock-election exercise. Students representing each "campaign organization" and the "press corps" shared with their teachers what they had learned from the simulation.

Follow-up consultations with the CEC and "Teacher's Gazette" continued throughout June. Meetings were also held with parliamentary committees and presidential administration departments responsible for some aspects of election administration, campaign finance regulation, or political party legislation. Representatives of both branches of government have requested training materials and practical educational programs on comparative electoral systems. In cooperation with the CEC and the Duma committee on legal reform, a parliamentary conference on electoral systems, election law, and campaign finance is slated for fall as are a number of highly focussed roundtables.

A voter education retreat, being sponsored by the CEC and the Ministry of Education is scheduled for 1 - 6 September 1994. Teachers from throughout Russia will brainstorm with Russian election and education to develop a 4-week voter education curriculum for 17/18 years olds who will be voting for the first time during the parliamentary elections, currently scheduled for December 1994. The official curriculum will be tested on a pilot basis in the winter and spring, and then modified and introduced nationally by the fall of 1995.

On-Site Project Manager James Douglas returned to the United States in June. A new Project Manager and Election Specialist will be deployed to the field office in August 1994.



**International Foundation for Electoral Systems**

1620 I STREET, N.W. • SUITE 611 • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006 • (202) 828-8507 • FAX (202) 452-0804

## **EIGHTH QUARTERLY REPORT**

Concerning the  
**A.I.D. COOPERATIVE AGREEMENT**  
No. CCS-0007-A-00-2046-00

Submitted to the

**AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT**  
by the International Foundation for Electoral Systems

**April 1994**

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**EIGHTH QUARTERLY REPORT**  
January 1, 1994 - March 31, 1994

Concerning  
**A.I.D. COOPERATIVE AGREEMENT**  
No. CCS-0007-A-00-2046-00

Submitted to the  
**AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT**  
by the International Foundation for Electoral Systems

**I. DESCRIPTION OF ACTIVITIES COMPLETED IN CALENDAR QUARTER**

During the eighth quarter of this Cooperative Agreement, IFES has worked toward the overall Purpose of the Cooperative Agreement to provide pre-election assessments for the New Independent State (NIS) of the former Soviet Union. Several new republics of the former Soviet Union have now scheduled elections, offering new opportunities for IFES to assist in their efforts to institute democracy. This report offers detail regarding the specific components of assistance activities by IFES under this Cooperative Agreement.

**KAZAKHSTAN**

**Project Background**

IFES initiated the first phase of its assistance plan in late January 1994 by undertaking a technical analysis of the law and the orders already published by the CEC to identify unclear or potentially contradictory articles which provided fertile ground for confusion, misapplication and, at the extreme, opportunities for manipulation. Based on its analysis of the law and observations of administrative procedures, IFES proceeded to provide the CEC with recommendations and assistance in issuing instructions for and developing standardized responses to inquiries from candidates, election workers, and media outlets. In addition, IFES provided technical support to the CEC needs in the design and delivery of meaningful and timely official voter information messages designed to inform voters about the elections and changes in the balloting process as well as to motivate voters to participate in the elections. Finally, IFES assisted in maximizing

the mission of foreign observer delegations by providing support to the CEC in servicing the international community and media organizations at a critical juncture in election preparations. Toward this end, IFES also operated an information clearinghouse from within the Central Election Commission.

### **Project Activities/Product Development**

In addition to providing technical guidance on the day-to-day aspects of election administration, on-site advisors undertook the following activities/developed the following materials:

**Election Calendar:** Based upon the electoral code, IFES produced an election calendar, which served as a concise record of important electoral events and deadlines and served as the timeline for foreign assistance.

**Sample Candidate Handbook ("What Every Candidate Wants To Know"):** Copies were distributed to all CEC commissioners. A written response to questions proposed in the handbook was provided to IFES and Area Commissions and served as the basis for candidate inquiries to the CEC. As a result of this product, IFES was offered official credentialling from the CEC.

**Overview of Vote Tabulation Problems:** A written overview of vote tabulations was forwarded to the CEC. Upon being reviewed by the commissioners, On-Site Project Manager Linda Edgeworth was called into meeting to discuss the issues and recommendations outlined in the document. Following this discussion, supplementary instructions on ballot counting were issued (initial instructions had been issued a week earlier). Additional voter instructions were also added to the ballot which were not present on the original sample, in particular clarification of how many candidates were to be selected on each of the four ballots.

**Recommendations for Access of Media and Candidates Representatives to Polling Site:** Due to confusing references in the electoral code pertaining to media and candidate representatives at the polls, IFES offered recommendations for clarification of the law. Subsequently, CEC issued orders of both categories of observers which gave them free license to be present at all stages of balloting and vote counting. The CEC also extended the deadline for registration of observers.

**Report on IFES Spot Checks of Lower Level Commissions:** IFES forwarded a report to the CEC on major problems of election administration at lower levels. In particular, significant problems were encountered in access for media and candidate observers (lower level commissions were violating CEC orders), door to door solicitation of voters (to boost turnout, some local election officials were planning to take ballots to voters and "encourage" them to vote), and registration of candidates whose cases had still not been resolved (a court hearing is pending) or who were denied access to the ballot despite

court rulings in their favor.

**16 Public Service Announcements:** At the direction of the CEC and in cooperation with the State Broadcasting Ministry, IFES produced 16 public service announcements (8 Russian and 8 Kazakh) for broadcast on a regular basis during the two weeks preceding the election on Get-Out-The-Vote and changes in the electoral code concerning balloting procedures, for example on the issue of proxy or family voting. These broadcasts were heard throughout the entire country.

**"IFES Election Observation Guidelines for International Observers, Elections in the Republic of Kazakhstan, 7 March 1994":** These guidelines, which were produced in English and Russian languages, were distributed to all 125 international observers, CEC commissioners, and foreign embassies. According to the CEC, the information in these guidelines will be used as the basis for instituting improvements in polling site procedures for future elections.

**Information Clearinghouse:** Services provided by the IFES Information Clearinghouse included a speaker's bureau, utilizing IFES and CEC experts to offer technical briefings on election law and procedures; English translations of key election documents; an international observers guide, including an overview of the Kazakhstani Electoral System; facilitation of answers from CEC personnel to inquiries and requests, ranging from clarification of official information to assisting in credentialling for foreign observers.

**Media Coverage:** IFES On-Site Advisors participated in a number of broadcast and printing interviews on Kazakhstan's electoral system and procedures including the independent magazine Caravan, Kazakhstan State Television (4 interviews for news broadcasts; and television coverage of the CEC Pre-Election Press Conference.

**Approval for Candidate Registration Task Force:** IFES was able to secure CEC approval for the conduct of a Candidate Registration Task Force, to include CEC representatives, area commission officials, procurators, and judges, all of whom played different roles in the candidate registration process. The purpose of the task force was to examine the problems encountered during the candidate registration process through a variety of perspectives and identify feasible solutions to rectifying problems in future elections. The Task Force was not implemented due to lack of time, although IFES intends to undertake this project in the near term.

**IFES Technical Report:** The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the CEC have requested that IFES submit a Russian-language report on the strengths and weaknesses of the Kazakhstani electoral system accompanied by recommendations for electoral reform and administrative modifications. This report will be issued in the near term.

According to the Secretary of the Central Election Commission, all written recommendations provided, to date, by IFES advisors have been forwarded to the Office

of the President so that they might be incorporated into amendments to or revisions of the electoral code.

Information specialist Amata Radewagon and election administrator Paul DeGregorio joined the On-Site Project Manager Linda Edgeworth in Almaty during this past quarter to assist in the final preparations for the election.

In the post-election period, IFES has been invited by the Central Election Commission and the Foreign Ministry of Kazakhstan to return to Almaty to provide guidance in the areas of electoral and legal reform.

## **MOLDOVA**

IFES opened its office in Chisinau in February, hiring local staff, in order to assist the Moldovan CEC. Some \$30,000 worth of equipment and commodities has been lent to the CEC in order to complete a nation-wide communications network and data processing facility to facilitate the administration of the election, communication with lower level commissions, and speedy reporting of results. Project Director Dorin Tudoran was joined by Project Assistant Jonathan Soros and IFES election consultant Ray James, an election official from Missouri. They are actively working with national television and civic groups in the area of voter education.

IFES has helped produce five (5) short voter education television voter education programs that were broadcast in Romanian, Russian, and Gagauz. These have been approved by the CEC, and have been airing since early February throughout the country on Moldovan TV as well as the particularly popular national rebroadcast of Ostankino television programs originating in Russia. Considering the exceptionally low voter awareness level that was documented only a few weeks earlier, especially in rural areas, this is expected to make a significant impact in voter turnout.

Program Assistant Scott Lansell left on 21 February to assist the CEC with the election observation coordination activities. Ray James worked on legal and regulatory issues and prepared materials for international observers and media representatives present at the 27 February parliamentary elections.

## **IFES Roundtable**

Two days before the election, IFES organized a program for about 30-35 people, including foreign observers and Moldovan observers asking about legal and general political questions. Ray James, election administrator from Missouri, reportedly handled every question very well. In addition, IFES worked in close cooperation with the CSCE.

Three documents were handed out by IFES to all participants: first, all 13 parties' platforms translated into English -- to document what were the differences among these

parties; second, a document that overlooked the political situation, indicating the relative chances of each party; and third, Ray James wrote a guide for international observers -- what to look out for, what is unclear in the law and what is ambiguous in the electoral administration. This material has proved to be extremely useful as IFES began receiving a significant number of phone calls about its availability upon its release. The U.N. representative in Moldova for the elections (who is with the Geneva Human Rights Commission) was very interested and impressed with the material available through the IFES/Chisinau office.

### **IFES Election Observation**

Scott Lansell, IFES Program Assistant, and Jonathan Soros, IFES Assistant to Project Manager Dorin Tudoran in Chisinau, went to Dniester (Transnistria) with an interpreter and driver and were escorted to Moldovan-held sectors on the left bank. Polling stations had been open in the area, which is not controlled by the separatists since 21 February to accommodate the voters from the disputed territories.

In addition to Lansell and Soros, Tom Carothers of the Carnegie Endowment was also involved in election observation. He and Ray James are producing a report about the election, the political context, and the performance of the CEC. On 14 March, Tom Carothers and Scott Lansell briefed USAID on the elections in Moldova and the makeup of the new parliament.

### **Final report**

IFES/Washington is currently preparing to release a report assessing the election administration and political implications of the 27 February elections.

### **RUSSIA**

IFES staff in Moscow has located office space in Moscow in anticipation of project approval for election assistance and voter education during the period March - June, 1994. IFES Project Officer Catherine Barnes was in Moscow to work with the Central Election Commission to plan several roundtables on electoral reform to take place during this period. She also worked with Piotr Poloshevitz, editor of The Teachers' Gazette, to plan for future voter education activities.

On 19 March 1994, IFES sent a technical team to Moscow to undertake consultations with the Central Election Commission of Russia. As part of an on-going program to support and strengthen Russia's evolving electoral system, IFES is providing training and assistance in the areas of electoral reform and administrative modification, with a focus on election law, campaign finance, districting, and organization and management of electoral structures.

The team, which included election administration expert James Douglas, former Secretary of State for Vermont, and comparative electoral law expert Robert Dahl, was tasked with collecting information on disclosure of official results from the 12 December elections, the CEC draft laws on parliamentary elections and public referenda, and the status and conduct of local elections. Preparations were also to be undertaken to prepare for joint training activities with the CEC slated through June.

To better serve the technical requirements of the CEC and support and strengthen democratic election structures in Russia, the technical team also assisted in establishing an IFES field office in Moscow. Office space has been secured immediately off Red Square in a building belonging to the Teacher's Gazette Newspaper, is a 5 minute walk from the new Central Election Commission headquarters.

IFES' working relationship with the CEC appears to be starting from a strong and cooperative position, which was nurtured last Fall. They are clearly positioned to involve IFES more closely in internal operations and revisions of the electoral code. IFES has been assigned an official liaison, Alexi Suchilian, to handle all joint consultations and events between IFES and the CEC. He is quite talented as well as well positioned within the CEC structure. Previous contacts have also been readily accessible and eager to discuss specific points of electoral reform.

The CEC appears to have two immediate concerns, the first being local elections, and the second the election law redrafting process. As reported, recent regional elections throughout Russia have revealed widespread voter disillusionment, evidenced by poor voter turnout. Several places, including the relatively progressive St. Petersburg region, have failed to elect a working quorum in the regional duma because the participation rate was under the 25% threshold requirement. Russian voters seem to have lost interest in elections due to a lack of faith in the political system and its officeholders.

IFES team members met with regional election commission representatives in Vladimir and observed voting on 27 March. A local journalist reported that difficult economic conditions were the main issue in the campaign, but that none of the 106 candidates for 21 seats in the oblast duma had offered any concrete proposals on how to improve the local economy or respond to the recent closure of a tractor factory, a major employer in Vladimir. In places where voter turnout was sufficient to validate the elections, communist candidates continued to win sizable victories.

The CEC is also working hard to produce a set of new draft electoral laws, pursuant to the mandate set forth in a Presidential decree of 20 December. The CEC is under pressure to provide the administration with a respectable working draft to forward to the State Duma. The Duma is also working on a new draft election law, although it may difficult for its diverse factions to agree upon and pass. Presumably the administration wants to use the CEC draft to assist in setting the agenda and to serve as the basis for revisions to the law. IFES advisors have obtained copies of the draft in its current (and

sketchy) form and have offered analyses and recommendations. The first roundtable on the voters rights portion of the law was held on 5 April with a follow-up consultation on 15 April. The process of consultations on the law will continue throughout the Spring of 1994.

The CEC has published aggregate elections results in Bulletin Number Twelve (12), portions of which IFES is currently translating into English, by region for the Constitutional referendum and party list vote, and by constituency for single-member mandates, although vote totals are for the winning candidates only. There remains considerable suspicion by Western diplomats and Russian political activists about the CEC's failure to make available complete and comprehensive returns, down to the polling site level for verification purposes. When pressed on this issue by IFES advisors, the CEC suggests that this detail is unnecessary and that the issue of whether or not to provide it is one of logistical and practical considerations, rather than political ones.

IFES is responding to this situation by encouraging the CEC to establish and maintain, as do most Western democracies, an archive of election data and documents. IFES is approaching the matter as one of general responsibility of central election authorities in genuine democracies to -- collect, organize, and make available to the public complete information about elections. Hopefully, setting up such an archive can be made a matter of professionalism and pride for the CEC, which does not seem to want to be taken as a serious institution.

As a result of discussion held during the March mission and the establishment of the Moscow office, IFES will be conducting a series of roundtables with the Central Election Commission in mid-May. Topics include election law, campaign finance regulation, state allocation of media resources during campaigns, the role, rights and responsibilities of political parties and campaign organizations in the electoral process, and voter education.

## UKRAINE

IFES has opened its office in Kiev as of mid-January. Project Director Sonia Sluzar, on leave from the State Department, is coordinating election administration and voter education activities, in cooperation with the Central Election Commission of Ukraine. Yaro Kulchyckyj, Deputy Project Director, worked with the information systems center of parliament to finalize the list of equipment and commodities necessary for the efficient administration of the 27 March parliamentary elections. The list (worth about \$140,000) was approved by the NIS Task Force. IFES continues to work with Elections Canada to share the assistance to the Ukrainian Election Commission. At IFES's suggestion, Elections Canada has already supplied over \$1 million worth of secure ballot paper.

## **Project Background**

Since February of 1993, IFES worked with the Central Election Commission of Ukraine and local governments in an effort to identify organizational requirements for establishing an efficient and transparent electoral process in that country.

Since the outset of IFES' cooperation with national and local bodies, the following has transpired: parliamentary and presidential elections have been called, an election law passed, a new Central Election Commission (CEC) formed, and election regulations promulgated. IFES has been involved with CEC members and staff at each stage of the process.

IFES has established an on-site presence in Ukraine and continues to work closely with the CEC. IFES assisted the CEC, subordinate commissions and local governing councils throughout Ukraine in the implementation of the election law by providing technical and legal advisory services, video training materials, as well as providing equipment essential for the efficient and transparent administration of the upcoming parliamentary and presidential elections.

After receiving final project approval by A.I.D., IFES began implementing its plan to install a computer and communications system to allow regional authorities and the CEC to send and receive vital information related to preparations for the elections.

The IFES equipment was shipped to Kiev and cleared by the airport militia on 12 March and by customs on 16 March.

## **Information Sharing Meetings: Donors and NGOs**

Since 8 March 1994, IFES has organized three election information sharing meetings at the IFES offices in Kiev with the following groups in attendance:

Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe/Office for  
Democratic Institutions and Human Rights  
Elections Canada  
European Community  
International Republican Institute  
National Democratic Institute  
National Endowment for Democracy Election Project  
National Forum Foundation  
Ukrainian Congress Committee of America  
Ukrainian Legal Foundation  
U.S. Embassy/Kiev Political Section  
USAID Regional Mission/WESTNIS

These meetings have been very useful and have shed considerable light on the evolving election process in Ukraine.

As a result of its ongoing work with the Central Election Commission (CEC) in Ukraine, IFES has served as a center of coordination for foreign donors, international observer groups, and the international media interested in Ukraine's elections. In this capacity, IFES has enhanced the mission of the international community during the parliamentary elections by providing a comprehensive collection of key CEC documents in English and Ukrainian. Also, IFES staff and legal experts have:

- conducted and provided legal analysis on the Ukrainian election law;
- distributed copies of IFES Guidelines for International Observers in Ukraine to the approximately 500 international observers and the diplomatic corps in Kiev; and
- distributed lists of the nearly 6,000 first-round candidates; addresses and telephone numbers of the 450 constituency election commissions, and pertinent data on political parties, poll worker training and election law.

With days after the first round on 27 March, IFES provided:

- voter turnout figures;
- an English-language list of the 49 newly-elected deputies and 801 candidates in the second round;
- locations of April 2nd, 3rd and 9th second-round elections; and
- graphical representations of second-round candidate affiliations in all 27 administrative regions of Ukraine.

During preparations for the conduct of second-round elections on April 2nd, 3rd, 9th, and 10th IFES continued its assistance efforts. The departure of the vast majority of election observers soon after the 27 March first round created an even greater demand for IFES' monitoring and reporting on the evolving election process. The IFES office operated during extended hours to ensure the accuracy and timeliness of information.

Within hours after the second-round elections, IFES released:

- graphical representations voter turnout figures by administrative region;
- an English-language list of the newly-elected deputies; and
- English-language translations of CEC announcements on the second-round.

The distribution list for IFES briefing packages and daily faxed reports included nearly 40 embassies, multi-lateral organizations, media outlets and NGOs in Kiev. The IFES information was widely recognized as some of the most authoritative data and analysis

on the elections in Ukraine. In fact, IFES was cited as an authority on the elections in the Christian Science Monitor and The Economist as well as a great number of Ukrainian dailies and the Ukrainian electronic media. In Washington, too, IFES distributed the information to A.I.D., Department of State, interested NGOs, and Congressional committees.

By encouraging the Central Election Commission to share information with IFES that would otherwise be unavailable, IFES significantly contributed to the understanding of the conduct of the elections and facilitated the analysis and rapid reporting of many embassies, media outlets, and NGOs working in Kiev.

As the Central Election Commission prepares for upcoming presidential and local elections, IFES continues its technical and legal support role. By building on its strong relationship with the CEC and other governmental institutions, IFES is well positioned to encourage further transparency and reform of the Ukrainian election process.

## **II. PROGRESS TOWARD ACHIEVING PROGRAM OBJECTIVES**

The purpose statement in this Cooperative Agreement foresees the implementation of several types of project activities. IFES will continue work in the following countries, as follows:

### **Kazakhstan**

IFES will be sending two consultants, including Linda Edgeworth, in May 1994 to assist with electoral legal reform, to build on the constructive relationship established during the March election period.

### **Russia**

IFES has made considerable progress this quarter by: Opening an office in Moscow; offering legal advice on the Russian draft election law; organizing an initial roundtable on election law and voters rights; and offering on-site advice on voter education and electoral reform.

Activities for the next 30 days include: series of roundtables, campaign finance legislation, allocation of media resources for campaign, voter education, political party legislation, follow-up on election law advising.

### **Moldova**

During the following quarter, IFES intends to continue advising Moldovan government officials regarding local elections, conducting roundtables on election related topics, and

voter education activities involving local NGOs such as ProDemocracy.

## Ukraine

The ongoing follow-up and second round elections in Ukraine, as well as local elections, will require that IFES continue its current activities. The office, which is staffed by both IFES consultants and local hires, will continue to offer technical assistance as needed.

To date, pre-election assessments have been conducted or planned in the following countries:

Georgia	(conducted)
Ukraine	(conducted)
Kyrgyzstan	(conducted)
Russia	(conducted)
Moldova	(conducted)
Uzbekistan	(planned)
Kazakhstan	(planned)
Belarus	(conducted)

On-site technical assistance projects, including poll worker training and voter/civic education have been conducted or are being planned in the following countries:

Russia	(conducted, and planned)
Ukraine	(conducted, and planned)
Moldova	(conducted, and planned)
Kazakhstan	(conducted, and planned)
Uzbekistan	(planned)
Belarus	(planned)

### III. IMPLEMENTATION METHODOLOGY

Last year as part of a Cooperative Agreement with the A.I.D. Bureau for Research and Development, IFES developed in-house manuals which guide five (5) types of IFES projects. The manuals detail the start-to-finish implementation of the following categories of IFES work:

- 1) Pre-election Technical Assessment
- 2) On-site Technical Assistance
- 3) Poll Worker Training
- 4) Civic Education
- 5) Election Observation

Since 15 December 1992, these manuals have served as the implementation methodology

for the two categories of project funded under this Cooperative Agreement: Pre-election Technical Assessment and On-site Technical Assistance. IFES Program staff and consultants have found that, though the NIS presents many challenges and differs greatly from many of the traditional sites of IFES work (Eastern Europe, Latin America, Asia and Africa), the methodology outlined in the manuals for pre-election assessment and on-site technical assistance has proven to be sound.

#### **IV. ISSUES AND PROBLEMS**

IFES has now conducted pre-election assessments in eight countries in the NIS. Based on reporting by the IFES staff and technical consultants, it appears that there will be significant material needs in these countries even after national elections have been held, in the course of local elections. In addition, as the countries make the transition to true multi-party elections, there will be vast needs for training of election officials and for voter education in each of these countries.

The problems presented by unmet needs and lack of resources for conducting smooth multi-party elections may be exacerbated by the timing of elections in many of the NIS nations. National elections have been held recently in Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Moldova. Elections are expected in Belarus as early as June. A pre-election assessment is expected in Uzbekistan, although the status of elections there is still rather unclear.

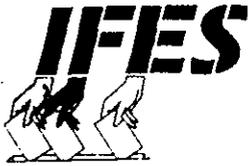
#### **V. STATUS OF PREVIOUSLY SCHEDULED ACTIONS**

##### **Belarus**

IFES will be distributing the final Belarus pre-election assessment report, which has been completed this quarter, during late April.

##### **Moldova**

During late April, IFES will be distributing the Moldova technical assessment of the national elections that were held in February.



**QUARTERLY REPORT**

Concerning the  
**A.I.D. COOPERATIVE AGREEMENT**  
No. CCS-0007-A-00-2046-00

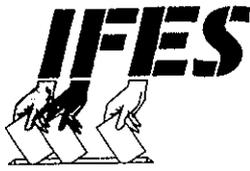
Submitted to the

**AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT**  
by the International Foundation for Electoral Systems

**October 1, 1993 - December 31, 1993**

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BOARD OF DIRECTORS	Charles T. Manatt Chairman	Patricia Hutar Secretary	Judy Fernald Victor Kamber	Sonia Picado S. Richard M. Scammon	Randal C. Teague Counsel
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**QUARTERLY REPORT**  
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**I. DESCRIPTION OF ACTIVITIES COMPLETED IN CALENDAR QUARTER**

During the fifth quarter of this Cooperative Agreement, IFES has worked toward the overall Purpose of the Cooperative Agreement to provide pre-election assessments for the New Independent State (NIS) of the former Soviet Union. Several new republics of the former Soviet Union have now scheduled elections, offering new opportunities for IFES to assist in their efforts to institute democracy. This report offers detail regarding the specific components of assistance activities by IFES under this Cooperative Agreement.

**Moldova Pre-Election Assessment**

At the request of Victor Puscas, Vice Chairman of the Moldovan Parliament IFES sent a team of three experts to perform a pre-election assessment in Moldova August 6-18, 1993. The team members were:

**Christopher Stiles Siddall** -- The IFES Senior Program Officer for East-Central Europe and the Former Soviet Union; he has managed several technical election assistance projects, and speaks Russian.

**Raymond Shelden James** -- The Principal Director of the Kansas City Board of Election Commissioners, and former Director of the Division of Elections for the State of Missouri.

**James Lloyd Huffmann II** -- Acting Dean of the Lewis and Clark University School of Law; he has written widely on constitutional issues.

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At the request of the parliamentary leadership, IFES met with key players in Moldovan politics and has analyzed the two election law drafts then under discussion. Parliament requested a preliminary IFES report by the beginning of the legislative session on September 14. After the recommendations and the preliminary report were faxed and widely distributed within Parliament at the end of September, it was learned that the decision was made to hold elections on February 27, 1994. The draft electoral law that was adopted was the one that accommodated more of IFES' recommendations. It appears that the IFES preliminary report was instrumental in helping break the parliamentary deadlock regarding the calling of elections.

IFES reworked the pre-election technical assessment report to include a comprehensive analysis of the new Moldovan electoral law. The report was cleared for public release in December.

In addition, following an invitation from the office of the President, IFES sent a Project Director to Chisinau to explore both on-site technical assistance to the Central Election Commission and a voter/civic education program involving Moldovan nongovernmental organizations.

#### **Work Toward Kazakhstan Pre-Election Assessment and On-Site Technical Assistance**

During the IFES pre-election assessment mission to Kyrgyzstan May 20-June 3, 1993, members of the IFES team took advantage of their routing through Almaty, Kazakhstan to make preliminary contacts with election officials and representatives of the government of Kazakhstan.

Through its initial contacts developed over the course of less than two days, the team gained some preliminary insight as to the status of democratization efforts in Kazakhstan in the post-soviet environment. In addition, the team initiated a dialogue with government officials specifically involved in the development of a new election process, introduced IFES, and assessed the degree to which proposals for future cooperation or offers of technical assistance might be appropriate.

The team held meetings with Kapar Bukenov, Chairman of the Central Election Commission; members of the Committee on Deputies' Powers and Human Rights; with Konstantin Kolpakov, the Vice President's Chief of Staff who was also a drafter of both the Constitution and the election law which was

under revision; and Sabit Jusupov from the Office of the President.

Given the very short time available to the team in which to pursue their primary objectives in Kazakhstan, the rewards were great. IFES' presence, at least at this introductory stage, appeared to have been received and even endorsed at the highest level. In addition, the team was encouraged by the substantive nature of the meetings and by the candor of the exchanges.

In September 1993, IFES hosted a delegation from Kazakhstan at a luncheon in the foundation's Washington offices. The following delegation members attended:

**Murat K. Rayev**, Chairman, Commission on Election Laws and of the Committee on Deputies' Powers and Human Rights  
**Alexander G Peregrin**, Member, Supreme Soviet Committee on Human Rights  
**Nigmat R. Zhotobayev**, Member, Supreme Soviet Committee on Public Health and Social Protection  
**Askar Dzumadilayev**, Member of parliament

The delegation members expressed interest in the work of IFES and indicated that, though elections were not yet scheduled, IFES should begin planning to travel to Almaty to conduct an assessment mission.

Once elections were called in Kazakhstan (during early December) for March of 1994, IFES proposed a pre-election technical assessment mission, which was to be conducted in early 1994, to AID. Given the vital need for rapid response leading up to these important elections, AID Almaty responded positively to IFES involvement, but recommended the mission be adapted to a project planning mission, which would lead immediately into the project implementation stage. IFES experts were requested to remain on the ground through the March elections, to provide assistance (see attached telegram).

IFES has been in touch with Sabit Jusupov, from the Office of the President, who is arranging for IFES to obtain an official letter of invitation through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

### **Russia**

During September, IFES released the report of its pre-election assessment team. It was disseminated to a sizeable number of USAID and State Department officials, and has since been cleared by the U.S. Embassy in

Moscow for wider public dissemination.

In late September/early October 1993, IFES representatives met with officials of the newly formed Central Election Commission of the State Duma of the Federal Assembly to discuss the accelerated election calendar in Russia. Alexander Ivanchenko, the Vice Chairman of the CEC, expressed interest and enthusiasm in the possibility of cooperative efforts between IFES and the CEC. At that time, Mr. Ivanchenko invited IFES to forward a proposal outlining the services which could be provided to the Central Election Commission members, technical staff, and various levels of election commissions. On October 15, IFES submitted a Russian-language proposal outlining potential IFES assistance to the CEC. As a result of follow-up consultations with Vice-Chairman Ivanchenko and with Chairman Nikolai Ryabov, IFES was formally invited to establish a technical assistance office inside the Central Election Commission.

With a fully functional office by late mid-November, the IFES project proceeded along two lines: offering technical assistance to the Central Election Commission and information clearinghouse services for foreign donors, international observer groups, and the foreign press. Clearinghouse services provided by the IFES office included: an international observer guide tailored to the elections in Russia; technical briefings on election law and procedures by IFES and CEC experts; English translations of key CEC documents and Presidential decrees pertaining to the elections; up-to-date information on international observer and NGO activity; facilitating answers from CEC personnel to inquiries as well as observer credentials; and serving as a resource center for briefing materials prepared by various groups.

Simultaneously, IFES' multi-national team, which was comprised of experts in electoral law and election administration as well as mass information and voter education, offered technical advice and instructions in response to routine needs of the commission as it prepared for elections. IFES also capitalized on the large number of election and parliamentary experts representing more than 60 countries who were on-site for the Russian elections by organizing a roundtable series. The purpose of the series was to discuss the lessons learned during the preparations for the December 12, 1993 elections, to identify areas for improvement, and to discuss, in practical terms, what changes could be instituted for future elections. Written materials on elections in the West were also provided upon request. In the area of voter education initiatives, IFES assisted the official voter information efforts and non-governmental voter education activities. Working through nearly one dozen radio stations and an educational newspaper, "Teachers' Gazette," IFES collaborated with Russian

experts to develop public service announcements and articles explaining the new governing structures, election system, and balloting process. IFES also worked closely with other NGO's; for example, Internews, IRI, and NDI, to provide much needed information on election law and procedure, for poll watcher and media training programs. (See also section 5 of this Report, on civic education.)

IFES also played an important role in coordinating international donors of commodities and equipment in an attempt to leverage assistance and provided some much needed equipment to CEC department heads. IFES worked closely with the department of statistics to develop the only CEC equipment request which clearly delineated what equipment was needed according to priority, for what purposes, by which department. Copies of this list were provided to all interested international donors. On the basis of this list and recommendations of the IFES team, the Japanese government donated approximately \$ 56,000.00 worth of equipment to the CEC. Donations of equipment to the CEC proved a vital first step in improving the technical capability, political independence, and administrative efficiency of the CEC. As a result of the success of this cooperation, IFES was invited by the CEC and by several Russian non-governmental organizations to continue its work in Russia. It is on the basis of their recommendations, in conjunction with IFES' assessment, that this proposal is forwarded.

Regarding civic education, on November 4, IFES project staff met with Peter Polozhevitz, editor of the educational newspaper, "Teachers' Gazette." The 24-page, independent weekly newspaper, established in 1924, addresses life in the Russian schools and issues of importance to teachers. The format includes basic information about education events and activities, an analysis of new teaching programs and methodologies, as well as a review of government policy toward education and the problems faced by teachers. The print run is 250,000 copies per week. The audience includes all 66,000 schools in Russia and first-tier readership is comprised of Russia's nearly 3 million teachers. In addition, the paper also has subscribers in Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan. The Gazette's readers are an active audience, responding to articles and issues via telephone and mail. The paper is supported by a staff of 52 people, 20 of which are journalists.

A follow-up meeting was held on November 16, to discuss possibilities for cooperation between IFES and the "Teachers' Gazette," including several proposals forwarded by Mr. Polozhevitz concerning training activities, a weekly column, and the development of instructional materials, all pertaining to voter education. IFES representatives were particularly interested in several

mechanisms inherent to the organization which were particularly well-suited to IFES assistance. Among these were the possibility of running a weekly column on voter education issues, the impact of which could be monitored through a reader response coupon. Utilization of the response coupon would allow IFES to take into consideration the evaluation and commentary of the target audience in developing the themes, direction, and sophistication level of the voter education series. In addition, the newspaper was already holding bi-weekly meetings of teachers and journalists at its press center. The meetings appeared to provide an excellent forum for IFES training activities. Mr. Polozhevitz concurred, requesting the training be diversified to incorporate not only presentations, but also interactive workshops, role-playing, visuals aids, and the development and introduction of new training materials. Such an approach is consistent with the IFES training methodology.

Based on the creativity and enthusiasm of Mr. Polozhevitz and his colleagues, as well as an endorsement from Dr. Alexander Asmolov, Deputy Minister of Education, IFES proposed a cooperative initiative directed toward voter education for the December 12 elections. A series of articles, explaining the new governing structures, election system, and balloting process would run in the newspaper. Articles were authored by members of the IFES team and by Russian experts to ensure cultural sensitivity and accuracy. Reader response was positive, with calls flooding into the "Teachers' Gazette" offices requesting more articles dedicated to voter information and civic education. Due to the quality and quantity of ideas being put forward by representatives of the paper, IFES representatives suggested that the establishment of an educational foundation within the "Teachers' Gazette" structures might be the best way to effectively and comprehensively address the needs for information on the components of democratic processes among educators and Russia's young voters.

Due in part to the encouragement of IFES, the Teachers' Gazette announced in December the formation of a foundation, "Democracy, Education, Teacher," dedicated to voter and democracy education.

On election day, the IFES technical assistance team were also joined by Patricia Hutar to conduct technical election observation for the December 12 parliamentary elections in Russia. In addition to Moscow, two team members also visited several sites in Mordavia.

## Ukraine

IFES is working closely with Ukraine's Central Election Commission in providing technical and expert assistance to assure a transparent electoral process in the March 27, 1994 elections. IFES selected Sophia Sluzar, Project Director, and Yaropolk Kulchyckyj, Deputy, as in-country staff to manage IFES assistance activities in the areas of technical election assistance and voter education. Both consultants are fluent in Ukrainian and/or Russian, U.S. nationals, and well versed in the country's politics.

IFES began assisting Ukraine in February, 1993. Christopher Siddall, Senior Program Officer Former Soviet Union and East-Central Europe, travelled to Kiev and Kharkiv to pre-assess Ukraine's election system. During the summer of 1993, IFES sponsored the former acting chairman of the Central Election Commission of Ukraine, Alexander Lavrynovych, to Washington, D.C. to familiarize him with IFES's non-partisan programs on election law analysis, election implementation, and the importance of building a civil society.

IFES's Election Administration and Voter Education Project for Ukraine began full force in November, when IFES Senior Program Officer Chris Siddall travelled to Kiev with the Honorable Judge Bohdan Futey, United States Court of Federal Claims, to testify before the Supreme Rada on the proposed election law. President Kravchuk signed the Election Law on November 18 and the law went into effect on November 28, 1993.

One week later, the IFES on-site project team departed Washington, D.C. While in Ukraine, the team worked with the Central Election Commission and several NGOs. In conjunction with other international and U.S. groups in Ukraine, the IFES team intends to focus on voter education and the involvement Ukrainian NGOs in the electoral process. IFES will also accredit domestic monitors whose task will be to track whether the electoral law is fairly applied, and propagate the value of participation in the elections among the public at large.

## Belarus

A three-member delegation sponsored by the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) visited the Republic of Belarus from December 12-21, 1993 to assess the situation in advance of the nationwide elections now tentatively set for March 1994. The trip was prompted by Secretary of State Warren Christopher's October 26th meeting in Minsk with Stanislav Shushkevich, head of the Belarusan state, when the two agreed that the

United States would provide assistance for the elections. The Agency for International Development asked IFES to review preparations for the elections and recommend what type of aid was needed. Team members included:

**Linda Edgeworth**

Ms. Linda Edgeworth is a top IFES consultant and was formerly with the Office of the Governor of Alaska, Division of Elections. Over the past two years, Ms. Edgeworth has served on five IFES pre-election assessment teams (Sierra Leone, Mali, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, and Ukraine). She has also served as the IFES technical advisor to the national election commissions of Albania and Yemen as part of IFES election training, voter education, and technical assistance projects.

**Richard Messick**

Mr. Richard Messick is a Washington-based attorney specializing in election law and public policy. Mr. Messick is the former Chief Counsel of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and a member of the American Bar Association/CEELI Working Group on Election Law.

**Dr. Jan Zaprudnik**

Dr. Jan Zaprudnik is one of the foremost authorities on Belarusan history, politics, and cultural issues. He has served as a Senior Program Specialist at Radio Liberty and will be teaching "History and Politics of Belarus" at Columbia University in January of 1994. His most recent book, Belarus at a Crossroads in History has just been published by Westview Press.

The team will be preparing a preliminary report to be released in ample time before President Clinton's trip to Belarus in mid-January.

## II. PROGRESS TOWARD ACHIEVING PROGRAM OBJECTIVES

The purpose statement in this Cooperative Agreement foresees the implementation of several types of project activities. IFES will continue work in the following countries:

**Kazakhstan**

As Ms. Paula Feeney noted in her meeting with IFES in August, the principal obstacle to U.S.-based NGOs in Kazakhstan is the absence of an NGO law. It appears, however,

that this law is no longer an obstacle to IFES working there. While IFES expected to be sending a team during this quarter, it appears that they will be going during the coming quarter, particularly since Kazakhstan will be holding parliamentary elections in mid-March, 1994.

### **Russia, Moldova, and Ukraine**

In addition, several other countries -- Russia, Moldova, and Ukraine -- where IFES has conducted pre-election assessments, have also announced during the last quarter that they will be holding elections (local elections in June, 1994; February 27, 1994; and March 27, 1994, respectively). This means that IFES' expertise in on-site technical assistance, poll worker training, voter education, and other activities will be in great demand.

To date, pre-election assessments have been conducted or planned in the following countries:

Georgia	(conducted)
Ukraine	(conducted)
Kyrgyzstan	(conducted)
Russia	(conducted)
Moldova	(conducted)
Uzbekistan	(planned)
Kazakhstan	(planned)

On-site technical assistance projects, including poll worker training and voter/civic education, have been conducted or are being planned in the following countries:

Russia	(conducted, and planned)
Ukraine	(planned)
Moldova	(planned)
Kazakhstan	(planned)
Uzbekistan	(planned)

### **III. IMPLEMENTATION METHODOLOGY**

Last year, as part of a Cooperative Agreement with the A.I.D. Bureau for Research and Development, IFES developed in-house manuals which guide five types of IFES projects. The manuals detail the start-to-finish implementation of the following categories of IFES work:

- 1) Pre-election Technical Assessment
- 2) On-site Technical Assistance

- 3) Poll Worker Training
- 4) Civic Education
- 5) Election Observation

Since December 15, 1992, these manuals have served as the implementation methodology for the two categories of project funded under this Cooperative Agreement: Pre-election Technical Assessment and On-site Technical Assistance. IFES Program staff and consultants have found that, though the NIS presents many challenges and differs greatly from many of the traditional sites of IFES work (Eastern Europe, Latin America, Asia and Africa), the methodology outlined in the manuals for pre-election assessment and on-site technical assistance has proven to be sound.

#### **IV. ISSUES AND PROBLEMS**

IFES has now conducted pre-election assessments in five countries in the NIS. Based on reporting by the IFES staff and technical consultants, it appears that there will be significant material needs in these countries prior to the next round of elections. In addition, as the countries make the transition to true multi-party elections, there will be vast poll worker training and voter education needs in each of these countries.

The problems presented by unmet needs and lack of resources for conducting smooth multi-party elections may be exacerbated by the timing of elections in many of the NIS nations. Elections have been called in Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Moldova. Within the year, national elections can be expected in Belarus, Kyrgyzstan, and Armenia.

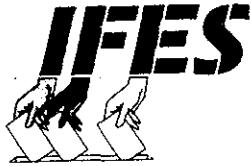
#### **V. STATUS OF PREVIOUSLY SCHEDULED ACTIONS**

##### **Russia Pre-Election Technical Assessment**

During September, IFES released the report of its pre-election assessment team. It was disseminated to a sizeable number of USAID and State Department officials. It was cleared during December by the U.S. Embassy in Moscow for wider public dissemination.

##### **Moldova Pre-Election Technical Assessment**

During September, IFES released a preliminary pre-election assessment report. It was then revised after the Moldovan parliament adopted an electoral law. The full report was cleared and then released in December 1993.



**International Foundation for Electoral Systems**

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## FIFTH QUARTERLY REPORT

Concerning the  
A.I.D. COOPERATIVE AGREEMENT  
No. CCS-0007-A-00-2046-00

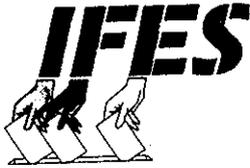
Submitted to the

AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT  
by the International Foundation for Electoral Systems

October 1993

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			Peter McPherson	William R. Sweeney, Jr.	

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**FIFTH QUARTERLY REPORT  
July 1, 1993 - September 30, 1993**

Concerning  
**A.I.D. COOPERATIVE AGREEMENT**  
No. CCS-0007-A-00-2046-00

Submitted to the

**AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT**

by the International Foundation for Electoral Systems

**I. DESCRIPTION OF ACTIVITIES COMPLETED IN CALENDAR QUARTER**

During the fifth quarter of this Cooperative Agreement, IFES has worked toward the overall Purpose of the Cooperative Agreement to provide pre-election assessments for the New Independent State (NIS) of the former Soviet Union. Several new republics of the former Soviet Union have now scheduled elections, offering new opportunities for IFES to assist in their efforts to institute democracy. This report offers detail regarding the specific components of assistance activities by IFES under this Cooperative Agreement.

**Moldova Pre-Election Assessment**

At the request of Victor Puscas, Vice Chairman of the Moldovan Parliament (letter is attached), IFES sent a team of three experts to perform a pre-election assessment in Moldova August 6-18, 1993. The team members were:

**Christopher Stiles Siddall** -- The IFES Senior Program Officer for East-Central Europe and the Former Soviet Union; he has managed several technical election assistance projects, and speaks Russian.

**Raymond Shelden James** -- The Principal Director of the Kansas City Board of Election Commissioners, and former Director of the Division of Elections for the State of Missouri.

**James Lloyd Huffmann II** -- Acting Dean of the Lewis and Clark University School of Law; he has written widely on constitutional issues.

At the request of the parliamentary leadership, IFES met with key players in Moldovan politics and has analyzed the two election law drafts then under discussion. Parliament

BOARD OF DIRECTORS	Charles T. Manatt Chairman	Patricia Hutar Secretary	Judy Fernald Victor Kamber	Sonia Picado S. Richard M. Scammon	Randal C. Teague Counsel
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		James M. Cannon			

requested a preliminary IFES report by the beginning of the legislative session on September 14. After the recommendations and the preliminary report were faxed and widely distributed within Parliament, at the end of September it was learned that the decision was made to hold elections on February 27, 1994. The draft electoral law that was adopted was the one that accommodated more of IFES' recommendations. It appears that the IFES preliminary report was instrumental in helping break the parliamentary deadlock regarding the calling of elections.

The list of contacts for the Moldovan pre-election project is attached. Also attached is a letter from the U.S. Embassy commending the IFES team's efforts in this project.

### **Work Toward Kazakhstan Pre-Election Assessment**

In August, IFES met with Ms. Paula Feeney, General Development Officer, USAID, Regional Mission for Central Asia. IFES forwarded to her a trip report regarding consultations between the IFES team and several members of the government of Kazakhstan. A copy of this report is attached.

In addition, IFES staff met on September 21 with a parliamentary delegation from Kazakhstan which included:

**Murat K. Rayev**, Chairman, Commission on Election Laws.

**Alexander G. Peregrin**, Member, Supreme Soviet Committee on Human Rights.

**Nigmat R. Zhotobayev**, Member, Supreme Soviet Committee on Public Health and Social Protection.

**Askar Dzhumadilayev**.

The members of this delegation expressed strong interest in IFES sending a team on a pre-election assessment at the earliest possible opportunity. A proposal to conduct this assessment was faxed to Paul Feeney, USAID Regional Mission/Almaty, on September 27, 1993.

## **II. PROGRESS TOWARD ACHIEVING PROGRAM OBJECTIVES**

The purpose statement in this Cooperative Agreement foresees the implementation of several types of project activities. IFES was restricted in implementing the following activities in certain countries:

### **Azerbaijan**

While a letter dated August 23, 1993, signed by the Permanent Representative of Azerbaijan to the United Nations, invited IFES to assist with electoral activities involved in the August 28 referendum, this assistance could not be offered due to restrictions on foreign assistance to Azerbaijan.

## Kazakhstan

As Ms. Paula Feeney noted in her meeting with IFES in August, the principal obstacle to U.S.-based NGOs in Kazakhstan is the absence of an NGO law. It appears however that this law is in the process of finalization.

On the other hand, several countries -- Russia, Moldova, and Ukraine -- where IFES has conducted pre-election assessments announced during this quarter that they will be holding elections (on December 12, 1993; February 27, 1994; and March 27, 1994, respectively). This means that IFES' expertise in on-site technical assistance, poll worker training, voter education, and other activities will be in great demand.

To date, pre-election assessments have been conducted or planned in the following countries:

Georgia	(conducted)
Ukraine	(conducted)
Kyrgyzstan	(conducted)
Russia	(conducted)
Moldova	(conducted)
Uzbekistan	(planned)

On-site technical assistance projects, including poll worker training and voter/civic education are planned in the following countries:

Russia  
Ukraine  
Moldova

### III. IMPLEMENTATION METHODOLOGY

Last year as part of a Cooperative Agreement with the A.I.D. Bureau for Research and Development, IFES developed in-house manuals which guide five types of IFES projects. The manuals detail the start-to-finish implementation of the following categories of IFES work:

- 1) Pre-election Technical Assessment
- 2) On-site Technical Assistance
- 3) Poll Worker Training
- 4) Civic Education
- 5) Election Observation

Since December 15, 1992, these manuals have served as the implementation methodology for the two categories of project funded under this Cooperative Agreement: Pre-election Technical Assessment and On-site Technical Assistance. IFES Program staff and consultants have found that, though the NIS presents many challenges and differs greatly from many of the traditional sites of IFES work (Eastern Europe, Latin America, Asia and Africa), the methodology outlined in the manuals for pre-election assessment and on-site technical assistance has proven to be

sound.

#### **IV. ISSUES AND PROBLEMS**

IFES has now conducted pre-election assessments in five countries in the NIS. Based on reporting by the IFES staff and technical consultants, it appears that there will be significant material needs in these countries prior to the next round of elections. In addition, as the countries make the transition to true multi-party elections, there will be vast poll worker training and voter education needs in each of these countries.

The problems presented by unmet needs and lack of resources for conducting smooth multi-party elections may be exacerbated by the timing of elections in many of the NIS nations. Elections have been called in Russia, Ukraine and Moldova. Within the year national elections can be expected in Belarus, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan and Armenia.

#### **V. STATUS OF PREVIOUSLY SCHEDULED ACTIONS**

##### **Ukraine Pre-Election Technical Assessment**

During September, IFES' PETA report was translated into Ukrainian and distributed widely, with 2,000 copies produced for dissemination throughout the country. IFES Chief of Staff Jeff Fisher met with USAID staff and with representatives of U.S. NGOs (NDI, IRI, ABA-CEELI, and others) to coordinate assistance to Ukraine during the upcoming elections. The IFES PETA report formed the basis for discussion and as the planning document for election-related assistance to Ukraine.

##### **Kyrgyzstan Pre-Election Technical Assessment**

During this quarter, IFES released its report completed after the pre-election assessment conducted May 20 - June 4, 1993. Details of the project were provided in the Fourth Quarterly Report. Letters praising the report from both the Acting Assistant Secretary for Intelligence and Research and the Office Director for Bilateral Affairs in the Bureau of Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs are attached.

##### **Russia Pre-Election Technical Assessment**

During September, IFES released the report of its pre-election assessment team. It was disseminated to a sizeable number of USAID and State Department officials, but awaits clearance by the U.S. Embassy in Moscow for wider public dissemination.

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**A.I.D. Cooperative Agreement CCS-0007-A-00-2046-00**  
**Fourth Quarterly Report: April 1-June 30, 1993**

<b>BOARD OF DIRECTORS</b>	Charles T. Manatt Chairman	Patricia Hutar Secretary	James M. Cannon Jean-Pierre Kingsley	Richard M. Scammon L. Ronald Scheman	Randal C. Teague Counsel
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**FOURTH QUARTERLY REPORT  
April 1-June 30, 1993**

**Concerning  
A.I.D. COOPERATIVE AGREEMENT  
No. CCS-0007-A-00-2046-00**

**Submitted to the**

**AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT**

**by the International Foundation for Electoral Systems**

**I. DESCRIPTION OF ACTIVITIES COMPLETED IN CALENDAR QUARTER**

During the fourth quarter of this Cooperative Agreement, IFES has worked toward the overall Purpose of the Cooperative Agreement to provide "(1) pre-election assessments and (2) on-site assistance to the New Independent States (NIS) of the former Soviet Union." This report offers detail regarding the specific components of assistance activities by IFES under this Cooperative Agreement.

**Kyrgyzstan Pre-election Assessment**

In March, IFES was approached by the First Secretary of the Embassy of Kyrgyzstan, Almas Chukin, to explore the possibility of conducting a pre-election technical assessment in Kyrgyzstan. Mr. Chukin became aware of IFES capabilities during the joint IFES-D.C. Board of Elections and Ethics "Election Day Project" for members of the diplomatic corps and visiting foreign delegations. Over two hundred foreign nationals were briefed by IFES and D.C. election officials on the issues surrounding the 1992 election before visiting polling sites in five wards of the District. IFES has found such U.S.-based programming an effective way to raise both domestic and international awareness of Foundation capabilities.

The initial contact with the Kyrgyz Embassy was followed by a letter from the Chairman of the Central Electoral Commission of Parliament inviting IFES to conduct a pre-election technical assessment during May, anticipating the drafting of a new constitution and the conduct of elections within the year. The assessment took place May 20 - June 4, 1993. Team members included:

Dr. Chitra Tiwari, former Director of the Nepalese National Election Survey Project and Foreign Service National in the U.S. Embassy in Nepal.

Ms. Linda Edgeworth, independent election consultant, formerly of the Office of the Governor of Alaska, Division of Elections. Over the past two years, Ms. Edgeworth has served on four IFES pre-election teams: Ukraine, Sierra Leone, Mali, and Kenya. She has provided direct election assistance as an IFES on-site technical advisor to the national election commissions of Albania and Yemen.

Dr. William Fierman, Associate Professor in the Department of Uralic and Altaic Studies at Indiana University. Dr. Fierman is a noted scholar of Central Asia. He speaks fluent Russian and Uzbek.

The IFES pre-election assessment team was met with great interest and traditional Kyrgyz hospitality. The team was provided with full organizational support by the Central Election Commission (CEC). The Chairman of CEC, Mr. Markil Ibraev, and Chief of the Elections Department, Mr. Nurlan Chekirov, were both very helpful in arranging meetings for the IFES team in Bishkek, Alamedin and Balashagun rayons, and Karagikaz districts with the following individuals:

Mikhail I. Logvinov  
Deputy Chairman of the Supreme Soviet  
Supreme Soviet Of Kyrgyzstan

Alikbek Djekshenkulov  
Chairman of the Standing Commission for  
Inter-parliamentarian Relations of People's Deputies  
Supreme Soviet Of Kyrgyzstan

Kurmanbek Osmonov  
Deputy Minister of Justice

Anarbek Ismailov  
Chief of International Law Department  
Ministry of Justice

Markil Ibraev  
Chairman  
Central Election Commission

Nurlan K. Chekirov  
Chief of the Department  
Central Election Commission

Djanish Sultankulovich Rustenbekov  
Administration Head  
May 1 Rayon

**Temirbek Abdyraevich Kanimetov**  
Chairman of May 1 Rayon Council of People's Deputies

**Absalbek Nurkulovich Nurkulov**  
Chairman of Precinct Election Commission  
May 1 Rayon

**Nelli Ivanovna Vecalova**  
Secretary of Precinct Election Commission  
May 1 Rayon

**Bakshygul Beyshevovna Akumova**  
Secretary of Precinct Election Commission  
May 1 Rayon

**Zinaida Grigorievna Busaeva**  
Director of Apparatus of Head of Administration and  
Secretary of Rayon Territorial Election Commission

**Erkin Mukhtarov**  
Deputy Akim of Alamedin Rayon

**Valery Nikolaevich Kim**  
Chairman of Alamedin Rayon Soviet

**Anatoly Grigorevich Prokhorov**  
Head of Administration  
Alamedin Rayon

**Akgol Imanaliev**  
Deputy of Karagigach Supreme Soviet

**Baty Tulekova**  
Secretary of Village Soviet  
Alamedin Rayon

**Ormon Sh. Sharshenov**  
Aakim and People's Deputy of Supreme Soviet  
Balashagun Rayon

**Chaprashty Bazarbaev**  
Chairman  
The Asaba Party

**Chekir Majrambek Asanali-ulu**  
Deputy Chairman  
The Asaba Party

**Turat Karybai-ulu Duishe**  
Chief Specialist of Chui Region  
The Asaba Party

**Larissa Demina**  
Secretary  
Slavonic Fund

**Kamilya Kenenbaeva**  
Chairperson  
Ata-Meken Party

**Omurbek Tekebayev**  
Leader of Ata-Meken Party and  
Deputy of the Supreme Soviet

**Abdukadyr Orusbaev**  
Professor of Sociology  
Vice-Rector of Kyrgyz-Russian University  
and one of the leaders of Bishkek city organization of the party

**Jumabek Kenjebek**  
Member of the Ata-Meken Party and  
Teacher at the Kyrgyz State Pedagogical Institute

**Rispek Apasov**  
Lecturer of Philosophy at Polytechnic Institute  
one of the coordinators of the Ata-Meken party

**Jenish Tunushabiev**  
Central Committee Member  
Communist Party of Kyrgyzstan  
(Previously Vice-President of banned party);  
Professor of History at the Academy of Sciences

Abulgazier Vladislav  
Central Committee Member  
Communist Party of Kyrgyzstan

Tursunbay Bakir-ulu  
Vice-Chairman  
Erkin Kyrgyzstan Party

Anarkol Alymbayev  
Chief of Party at Karakul city  
Erkin Kyrgyzstan Party

Jyanebek Sharshenaliev  
President  
Republican Party

Ms. Aripa Turdalieva  
Vice-President  
Republican Party

Jyspar Jeksheev  
Chairman  
Democratic Movement of Kyrgyzstan

Shamsidin Alahverdi Mamedov  
Member  
Democratic Movement of Kyrgyzstan

Kubanichbek Kasimbaev  
Member  
Democratic Movement of Kyrgyzstan

Temirkan Konkoshev  
Member  
Democratic Movement of Kyrgyzstan

Tursunbek Akunov  
Chairman  
Human Rights Movement of Kyrgyzstan

Oskan Dani  
State Prize Laureate  
People's Writer of Kyrgyzstan and President of the Peace Fund

Michael G. Wygant  
Deputy Chief of Mission  
U.S. Embassy/Bishkek

Alex Martschenko  
Political Officer  
U.S. Embassy/Bishkek

Lisa Batey  
Central and East European Law Initiative Liaison  
American Bar Association

The following topics were examined during the team's visit to Kyrgyzstan:

1. Internal Political Climate;
2. Electoral Law and the Electoral Commission;
3. Voter Registration;
4. Role and Duties of Poll Workers;
5. Act of Voting;
6. Distribution, Collection, and Counting of Ballots;
7. Use of Election Commodities and Equipment;
8. Status and Role of Political Parties;
9. Role of Election Observers;
10. Civic Education and Training;
11. Election Official Training; and
12. Process of Adjudication of Election Infractions.

The team report will be issued in draft form for review by staff of the NIS Task Force, USAID/Almaty, and the U.S. Embassies in Almaty and Bishkek in early August 1993. At the IFES meeting on August 9 with USAID/Almaty Representative Paula Feeney and NIS Task Force staff, draft copies of the report will be made available by IFES for review.

#### **Russian Federation Pre-election Assessment**

In early June, IFES sent staff and consultants to three sites in the Russian Federation (Moscow, Voronezh, and Novosibirsk) to conduct a pre-election assessment in anticipation of national elections as early as Fall of 1993. The project partner was Interlegal, an NGO with close connections with the Constitutional Committee of Parliament. Interlegal has cooperated with a number of NIS Task Force grantees in the implementation of projects in the NIS. The elements of the political system, described in the section above were examined by the project team.

The IFES team consisted of the following staff and consultants:

**Paul DeGregorio**

DeGregorio is the Director of Elections in St. Louis County and has extensive experience in the administration of elections. He is also a valuable resource with regard to determining electoral data processing needs.

**Joshua Dorosin**

Dorosin is a Summer Associate at Patton, Boggs and Blow, a Washington-based law firm. In 1989 and 1990 he served as an IFES consultant on the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation-funded U.S. Federal Election Commission-Soviet Central Election Commission Exchange. In 1992, he served as a Dante Fascell fellow for one year at the U.S. Embassy in Moscow. Most recently, he completed an externship with the Office of the Legal Adviser at the U.S. Department of State. He speaks Russian.

**Jeff Fischer**

Fischer is the Acting Director of IFES. He has extensive experience in election administration, use of election equipment and commodities and the on-site management of large technical election assistance projects.

**Joe Johnson III**

Johnson is an independent political consultant. He is an expert in electoral issues, political message development, and media relations.

**Thomas Khan**

Khan is the Chief Counsel for the Commerce, Consumer, and Monetary Affairs Subcommittee of the House Committee on Government Operations. He has acted as a consultant in electoral matters for both the National Democratic Institute and the International Republican Institute. He speaks Russian.

**Christopher S. Siddall**

Siddall is the IFES Senior Program Officer for East-Central Europe and former Soviet Union. As an IFES staff member, he has implemented many civic education and technical election assistance projects throughout the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Mr. Siddall also has served as a consultant on former Soviet Union issues to the W.K. Kellogg Foundation and World Learning. He speaks Russian.

**Darrell Slider**

Slider is Professor of Eurasian studies at South Florida University. He has extensive experience in Soviet political studies and served as a team member for the IFES pre-election assessment and election observation projects in Georgia in

1992. Dr. Slider has written widely on both Soviet politics and international electoral issues. He speaks Russian.

**Paige Sullivan**

Sullivan is the Research Associate for Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington. She speaks Russian.

IFES Program staff is in the process of editing the report which will be issues in both English and Russian versions.

#### **Ukraine Pre-election Technical Assessment (follow-up activities)**

Over the last quarter, IFES was able to build on its successful pre-election technical assessment in Ukraine. From the end of May to mid-July, IFES hosted the Acting Chairman of the Ukrainian Central Election Commission, Oleksandr Lavrynovych, as an IFES Electoral Fellow. Mr. Lavrynovych was recommended for the internship by IFES and placed with IFES through a grant from the National Forum Foundation.

While at IFES, Mr. Lavrynovych reviewed the IFES Ukraine report, researched and conceptualized potential electoral assistance for Ukraine, and met with election experts and administrators on the local and national level. As Ukraine is facing profound change in the area of election reform, Mr. Lavrynovich worked closely with both IFES Program and Resource Center staff to identify informational materials that could play a role in stimulating discussion of key electoral issues among opinion makers and legislators in Ukraine. He made extensive use of the IFES Resource Center to research issues surrounding choice of electoral systems, ballot security, and ballot design to accommodate the new multi-party system. Actual samples of ballots and a wide range of research materials from around the world were shipped to the Central Election Commission in Kiev for use by Ukrainian electoral authorities and legislators.

Upon return to Kiev this July, Mr. Lavrynovich informed IFES that he had met with Vasyl V. Durdinets, First Deputy Chairman of the parliament of Ukraine, to discuss the referendum which has been scheduled for September 26, 1993. After his meeting with Mr. Durdinets, one of the most powerful legislators in Ukraine, Lavrynovich was left with the impression that there would not be a referendum before new elections were called.

However, new elections can be expected within the next several months. Mr. Lavrynovich, after consulting with members of the Central Election Commission and parliament, requested that an IFES project team visit Ukraine "to undertake a joint effort to complete plans for a project to train election officials in Ukraine." IFES, in anticipation of fulfilling this request, has submitted a request for project funding to the NIS Task Force.

### **Kazakhstan stopover after Kyrgyzstan pre-election technical assessment**

The most direct and expeditious route to Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan is a direct flight to Almaty, Kazakhstan with travel by car to Bishkek. Since the team was scheduled to be in Almaty, it took advantage of its stopover to conduct preliminary meetings with key players in the legislative and electoral process in Kazakhstan in anticipation of conducting a pre-election technical assessment in that country. The team also met and debriefed Jim Bigus, Second Secretary, U.S. Embassy/Almaty, on the Kyrgyzstan pre-election assessment mission and conducted positive meetings with the following individuals:

**Kapar Bukenov**  
Chairman  
Central Election Commission of Kazakhstan

**Murat K. Raev**  
Chairman of Committee on Human Rights  
Supreme Soviet of Kazakhstan

**Vitaly I. Voronov**  
Vice-Chairman of Committee on Human Rights  
Supreme Soviet of Kazakhstan

**Sabit Jusupov**  
Sociologist  
President's Apparatus

**Konstantin Kolpakov**  
Vice-President's Apparatus

Based upon the guidance provided by USAID/Almaty, IFES expects to conduct the pre-election technical assessment in Kazakhstan upon resolution of the NGO registration issue in Kazakhstan and approval by USAID/Almaty.

## **II. PROGRESS TOWARD ACHIEVING PROGRAM OBJECTIVES**

As stated above, the purpose statement in this Cooperative Agreement (CA) foresees the implementation of two types of project activities: (1) pre-election assessments and (2) on-site assistance to the New Independent States (NIS) of the former Soviet Union." However in the original CA, IFES was restricted to implementing the following activities in certain countries:

Pre-election assessment activities to "establish the needs of each electoral process and associated electoral association" in Georgia, Tajikistan and Ukraine.

On-site assistance "by placing one project manager in-country for two to three months to work with each Central Election Commission, to organize training seminars for election administrators, and to assist in the procurement of election commodities."

The program description also allows for the submission of proposals, to be reviewed on a case-by-case basis, for "additional technical elections support activities for all states of the former Soviet Union."

To date, pre-election assessments have been conducted or planned in 6 countries (3 more than originally anticipated):

- |                       |                           |
|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| 1) Georgia            | (conducted)               |
| 2) Ukraine            | (conducted)               |
| 3) Kyrgyzstan         | (conducted)               |
| 4) Russian Federation | (conducted)               |
| 5) Moldova            | (planned for August 7-20) |
| 6) Kazakhstan         | (planned -- on hold)      |

Due to lack of elections scheduled during the life of this CA, on-site technical assistance has been provided to only one country to date: Georgia.

### III. IMPLEMENTATION METHODOLOGY

Last year as part of a Cooperative Agreement with the A.I.D. Bureau for Research and Development, IFES developed in-house manuals which guide five types of IFES projects. The manuals detail the start-to-finish implementation of the following categories of IFES work:

- 1) Pre-election Technical Assessment
- 2) On-site Technical Assistance
- 3) Poll Worker Training
- 4) Civic Education
- 5) Election Observation

Since December 15, 1992, these manuals have served as the implementation methodology for the two categories of project funded under this Cooperative Agreement: Pre-election Technical Assessment and On-site Technical Assistance. IFES Program staff and consultants have found that, though the NIS presents many challenges and differs greatly from many of the traditional sites of IFES work (Eastern Europe, Latin America, Asia and Africa), the methodology outlined in the manuals for pre-election assessment and on-site technical assistance has proven to be sound.

#### **IV. ISSUES AND PROBLEMS**

IFES has now conducted pre-election assessments in four countries in the NIS. Based on reporting by the IFES staff and technical consultants, it appears that there will be significant material needs in these countries prior to the next round of elections. In addition, as the countries make the transition to true multi-party elections, there will be vast poll worker training and voter education needs in each of these countries.

The problems presented by unmet needs and lack of resources for conducting smooth multi-party elections may be exacerbated by the timing of elections in many of the NIS nations. Spring of 1994 is the anticipated season for elections in several NIS nations.

#### **V. STATUS OF PREVIOUSLY SCHEDULED ACTIONS**

##### **Ukraine Pre-Election Technical Assessment**

At the request of the Central Election Commission of Ukraine, a four-member IFES team conducted a comprehensive pre-election technical assessment of the evolving Ukrainian electoral system in February 1993. The English-language assessment report has been widely distributed and is available from the IFES Resource Center. The Ukrainian-language version of the report is currently being translated in Kiev.

##### **Tajikistan Pre-Election Technical Assessment**

It is unlikely that there will be elections in Tajikistan before the scheduled date in 1995. However, in order to be prepared for the unlikely event of elections in the near term in Tajikistan, IFES has continued to monitor the situation in that country.

On July 29, 1993, IFES Senior Program Officer, Christopher Siddall, attended a briefing with National Democratic Institute representative, James Chavin, who had just returned from a stay of several months in Central Asia. Chavin reported that there are no democratic political parties or associations left in Tajikistan and that the apparatus of the former Communist Party and its affiliates are the only structures of political and civil life remaining in Tajikistan.

In light of this grim assessment by the NDI representative and others familiar with the situation in Tajikistan, as well as the renewed fighting on the Afghan-Tajik border, IFES does not expect to provide any election-related assistance in Tajikistan before the current end date of this Cooperative Agreement.

### **Georgia Pre-Election Technical Assessment and On-Site Technical Assistance**

Both project activities in Georgia were completed on schedule and ended on October 25, 1992. A final report was submitted in November 1992 to USAID and other institutions in both Washington, D.C. and Tbilisi.

### **Belarus On-Site Technical Assistance**

Following the refusal of the Belarusian government to accept the validity of the petition of 400,000 signatures collected by opposition parties to hold a referendum on early elections, elections are tentatively scheduled to take place in March 1994.

IFES has recently rekindled contacts with the Belarusian leadership. During the recent visit of Supreme Soviet Chairman Shushkevich to the United States, IFES Acting Director Jeff Fischer and IFES Senior Program Officer Christopher Siddall spoke with Belarusian Ambassador Martynov. Ambassador Martynov indicated that the timing for election-related assistance was good as the election law will soon be under consideration by the Belarusian parliament.

IFES has submitted an unsolicited concept paper with illustrative budgets to the NIS Task Force for review by A.I.D./Washington, USAID/Kiev and U.S. Embassy/Minsk staff. Should funding be made available, IFES will conduct a pre-election assessment in the Fall of 1993 and provide two months of on-site monitoring and technical assistance prior to the conduct of national elections.

## **VI. REVISION OF WORKPLAN**

IFES applied for an extension of the current Cooperative Agreement on June 10, 1993 to conduct pre-election assessments in four additional countries that did not appear to be planning elections before 1995 at the time IFES entered into the current CA with the NIS Task Force. Reprogramming of remaining funds from the following completed two projects was requested:

Georgia on-site technical assistance  
Ukraine pre-election technical assessment

For the reasons described elsewhere in this document and in earlier Quarterly Reports, reprogramming of all funds slated for the following two projects was requested:

Belarus on-site technical assistance  
Tajikistan pre-election technical assessment

The reprogrammed funds are to be used for pre-election assessments in the following countries:

Kyrgyzstan (approved by Project Officer, granted country clearance and conducted May 20-June 4, 1993)

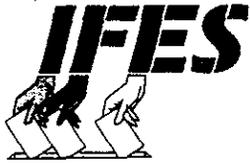
Russian Federation (approved by Project Officer, granted country clearance and conducted June 12-22, 1993)

Moldova (approved by Project Officer and granted country clearance, to be conducted August 7-20, 1993)

Kazakhstan (on hold pending resolution of NGO registration issue per request for postponement of activity by USAID/Almaty)

In order to conduct all of these activities with current funds on hand, on June 17, 1993, IFES requested a no-cost extension through September 30, 1993.

Ukraine PETA Sub, 1993



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**Quarterly Report**  
**for Cooperative Agreement CCS-0007-A-00-2046-00**  
**January 1-March 31, 1993**

BOARD OF DIRECTORS	F. Clifton White Chairman	Patricia Hutar Secretary	James M. Cannon	Jean-Pierre Kingsley	Randal C. Teague Counsel
	Charles Manatt Vice Chairman	David Jones Treasurer	Richard M. Scammon	Joseph Napolitan	Richard W. Soudriette Director
			Robert C. Walker	Sonia Picado S.	

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IFES THIRD QUARTERLY REPORT  
FOR COOPERATIVE AGREEMENT CCS-0007-A-00-2046-00

January 1 - March 31, 1993

**I. DESCRIPTION OF ACTIVITIES COMPLETED IN CALENDAR QUARTER**

**IFES Ukraine Pre-Election Technical Assessment**

At the request of the Central Election Commission of Ukraine, a four-member IFES team conducted a comprehensive pre-election technical assessment of the evolving Ukrainian electoral system.

**II. PROGRESS TOWARD ACHIEVING PROGRAM OBJECTIVES**

**IFES Ukraine Pre-Election Technical Assessment**

The following topics were examined during the team's visit to Ukraine:

1. Internal Political Climate;
2. Electoral Law and the Electoral Commission;
3. Voter Registration;
4. Role and Duties of Poll Workers;
5. Act of Voting;
6. Distribution, Collection, and Counting of Ballots;
7. Use of Election Commodities and Equipment;
8. Status and Role of Political Parties;
9. Role of Election Observers;
10. Civic Education and Training;
11. Election Official Training; and
12. Process of Adjudication of Election Infractions.

The final report will be issued by IFES in Washington, D.C. and Ukraine within the next two weeks.

**III. IMPLEMENTATION METHODOLOGY**

**IFES Ukraine Pre-Election Technical Assessment**

**Activity Background**

New parliamentary elections in Ukraine are not scheduled until 1995. And recently the major opposition party, Rukh, failed in its campaign to gather three million signatures to force a referendum on new elections. However, the choice of election systems and

their proper management have continued to be of great interest to the Central Election Commission, President Kravchuk's staff, and members of parliament working on the new election law and constitution.

For these reasons IFES proposed to the then Chairman of the Central Election Commission, V. Boiko, that IFES conduct a pre-election assessment to take place well before the announcement of a date for parliamentary elections in order to determine possible areas of need and forms of targeted assistance. After several months of polite correspondence with Chairman Boiko, IFES learned in early January 1993 that he had been named Ukrainian Ambassador to Moldova. CEC Vice Chairman Oleksander Lavrynovich, who is affiliated with Rukh, assumed the position of Acting Chairman.

In late January 1993, IFES Senior Program Officer Christopher Siddall met with Mr. Lavrynovich during his visit to Washington, D.C. in order to outline IFES capabilities and the objectives of the proposed project. Mr. Lavrynovich indicated that IFES technical assistance would be especially important to Ukraine as the country moves from a Soviet-style multi-candidate election system to a multi-party process and that a pre-election assessment would be a good first step. One week later, IFES received a request to send a technical election team to meet with the Central Election Commission and other key persons in the electoral process in order to produce a technical report.

In order to assess the political environment and election process in Ukraine, IFES assembled a project team with expertise in regional issues, technical assistance, and electoral processes.

The project team included the following individuals:

**Team Leader:** Christopher S. Siddall, IFES Senior Program Officer for East-Central Europe and former Soviet Union. Mr. Siddall has served as IFES Program Officer for the past two-and-a-half years. He has worked on many civic education and technical assistance projects throughout the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Mr. Siddall also has served as a consultant on former Soviet Union issues to the W.K. Kellogg Foundation and World Learning (founded in 1932 as the U.S. Experiment in International Living). He speaks Russian.

**Team Members:**

Richard D. Balasko, Chief Electoral Officer of Manitoba, Canada and Steering Committee Member of the Council on Government Ethics Laws. Mr. Balasko has broad experience in election administration and international election observation. Since 1987, he has observed the conduct of elections in five

countries (Georgia, CSFR, Nepal, Haiti and El Salvador).

Linda Edgeworth, Independent Election Consultant, formerly of the Office of the Governor of Alaska, Division of Elections. Over the past two years, Ms. Edgeworth has served on three IFES pre-election teams (Sierra Leone, Mali, and Kenya). In March of 1992, she served as the technical advisor to the Central Election Commission of Albania as part of the IFES election training and commodity assistance project. Most recently, she served as part of the IFES technical election assistance team working with the Government of Yemen.

Donald J. Slobodzian, Former Returning Officer, Electoral Division of Swan River, Manitoba, Canada. Mr. Slobodzian has experience in election administration, entrepreneurial activity and education. He also has a working knowledge of Ukrainian.

The four-member IFES team arrived in Kiev on Sunday, February 14, 1993 for three days of meetings with Central Election Commission Members, CEC staff, political party representatives, civic leaders, members of parliament and advisors to President Kravchuk. A visit to nearby Brovari was made to meet with members of the local council, city administration and local election commission preparing for an April bi-election.

On February 16, 1993, the team's second working day in Ukraine, President Kravchuk called for a new constitution and new parliamentary and presidential elections should the people desire them. According to UKRINFORM, the President stated:

It is necessary to adopt a new constitution and, according to the new main law, hold new elections, including those of the president, if the people wish so. What people say will determine our policy.

On Wednesday, February 17, two of the team members travelled overnight to Kharkov for two days of meetings with members of the Kharkov Oblast and City councils, the Mayor of Kharkov, professors involved in the drafting of the election law and constitution from the Kharkov Academy of Law, representatives of President Kravchuk and Kharkov city and Lenin District election commission members and council representatives. During this time, the other two team members took two day-long trips, one to Chernigiv and one to Zhitomir, to consult with local authorities and election commission members preparing for bi-elections to fill vacant parliamentary seats.

The team reconvened on Sunday, February 21, 1993 to draft a detailed outline of the IFES Ukraine assessment and to determine additional areas of emphasis for the remaining day-and-half in Ukraine. On Monday, meetings were held on the draft election law with representatives of President Kravchuk and party representatives. Meetings were also held with Serhij Holowaty, member of parliament, and Chairman of the Ukrainian Legal Foundation and with CEC Chairman Oleksander Lavrynovich. On the team's last day in Ukraine, February 24, the team debriefed the Counsellor of the Embassy of Canada, USAID/Kiev Program Assistant Felix Shklyaruk and Vassyl V. Durdinets, First Deputy Chairman of the Parliament of Ukraine. For a complete list of IFES meetings see attached contact list in the appendices.

The IFES election assessment team was met with open arms and great interest in Ukraine. The team was fortunate to take full advantage of the organizational support of the both the Central Election Commission staff and Sarah Farnsworth, the in-country representative of the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI). Acting CEC Chairman Oleksander Lavrynovich was very helpful in organizing key meetings for the IFES team in Kiev, Brovari, Kharkov, Zhitomir and Chernigiv.

In an effort to share information between members of the democracy initiative community, IFES team members debriefed Sarah Farnsworth on the findings of the team. During the first week of April, IFES Senior Program Officer Chris Siddall held a two-hour briefing for the IRI Ukraine Field Program Officer, John Dalton, prior to his departure for Kiev.

While in Ukraine, the IFES team was able to gather the vast majority of information necessary to draft the technical report. There are several important laws which have not yet been translated into English. These laws include the law on the election of the President of Ukraine, the law on political parties and social organizations, and the law on elections for local councils. While in Kiev, IFES contracted with a Ukrainian translator to translate these laws into English. The translations will be included in the report.

Though an analysis of some aspects of these laws is important to the technical report, the IFES team has drafted report sections not dependent on the laws. By May 15, 1993, IFES will have finalized the report and sent copies to appropriate individuals. After the English-language version is released, IFES intends to have the report translated into Ukrainian for dissemination to appropriate Ukrainian speakers. Advance copies will also be made available to English-speakers in Ukraine.

IFES is pleased to report that relationships with CEC Chairman Oleksander Lavrynovich and Serhij Holowaty have been strengthened further over the past few weeks through their involvement in

privately-funded initiatives. On April 22-24, 1993, IFES convened a seminar in Budapest, Hungary on electoral reform for election officials and legal experts from throughout Eastern and Central Europe. Ukraine was represented by Oleksander Lavrynovich and Serhij Holowaty, M.P. and Chairman of the Ukrainian Legal Foundation.

IFES also recommended that the National Forum Foundation fund an internship for Oleksander Lavrynovich in the United States. The National Forum Foundation responded positively and will place Lavrynovich with IFES as an in-house fellow focusing on electoral systems for part of his three-month stay in the U.S. While at IFES, Mr. Lavrynovich will have the opportunity to use resource center materials which include voter education and electoral procedures from countries around the world. As Ukraine seeks to define its election system, many of the materials should prove useful to the Central Election Commission.

#### **IV. ISSUES AND PROBLEMS**

The Cooperative Agreement between IFES and the NIS Task Force will expire on July 31, 1993. As there are considerable needs in the area of election administration, electoral reform and civic education in NIS, IFES would recommend that the NIS Task force consider modifying the current Cooperative Agreement to include an end date of July 31, 1996 with a provision to add funds incrementally to support additional programs as A.I.D. and IFES identify them and as funds become available.

#### **V. STATUS OF PREVIOUSLY SCHEDULED ACTIONS**

##### **Tajikistan Pre-Election Technical Assessment Activity**

During the last reporting period there was a state of civil war in Tajikistan. It now appears that the Government of Tajikistan has reestablished control. It is extremely unlikely that there will be elections in Tajikistan before the scheduled date in 1995.

However, in order to be prepared for the unlikely event of elections before 1995 in Tajikistan IFES has continued to monitor the situation in that country. In late March IFES Senior Program Officer for East-Central Europe and former Soviet Union, Christopher Siddall spoke with Jack Zetkulic, Deputy Director of the CSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights in Warsaw, Poland, about possible IFES activities in Tajikistan. Prior to his departure from Warsaw, Poland for Dushanbe, Tajikistan, on March 31, 1993, IFES briefed Mr. Zetkulic, a U.S. Foreign Officer attached to the CSCE, on the IFES possible initiative.

While in Dushanbe, Mr. Zetkulic had the opportunity to assess the situation and in a April 16 letter to IFES stated the following:

As you know, some people in Dushanbe were talking in December about the possibility of elections this year. But now that the current government has consolidated its control and driven the opposition either underground or abroad, elections are no longer a topic of discussion. All the people I spoke with in the Supreme Soviet said they fully intended to stay on for the full length of their mandate, which won't expire until 1995.

Zetkulic's office will be sending experts in the months ahead to provide assistance to the Supreme Soviet in the drafting a new constitution. IFES will consult with the CSCE experts to determine interest in election assistance after their return. It is anticipated that any pre-election assistance provided by IFES could only be provided after July 31, 1993.

#### **Georgia Pre-Election Technical Assessment and On-Site Technical Assistance Activities**

The project in Georgia was completed on schedule and ended on October 25, 1992. A final report was submitted in November 1992 to USAID and other institutions in both Washington, D.C. and Tbilisi.

#### **Ukraine Pre-Election Technical Assessment Activity**

This activity was carried out February 14-24, 1993. English and Ukrainian-language technical assessment reports are forthcoming.

#### **Belarus On-Site Technical Assistance**

Following the refusal of the Belarusian government to accept the validity of the signatures collected by opposition parties to hold a referendum on early elections, elections are now scheduled to take place in March 1994. Therefore there is no prospect of IFES carrying out appropriate on-site technical assistance until some time after July 31, 1993.

### **VI REVISION OF WORKPLAN**

With no election dates before 1994 in Tajikistan and Belarus, IFES has submitted a request to the NIS Task Force for re-programming of funds previously granted for work in Belarus and Tajikistan as well as unexpended funds from other completed activities to conduct activities in the Russian Federation and Kyrgyzstan.

IFES plans to send three teams of election and area experts to three different sites in the Russian Federation and one team to Kyrgyzstan to conduct an assessment of needs prior to the next round of elections in those countries. Two comprehensive reports

will be produced containing recommendations for technical assistance requirements prior to future elections.

Recently, IFES was requested by the parliament of Moldova to conduct a pre-election assessment in that country. IFES is considering various options with regard to providing this assistance and has initiated development of a reprogramming request to the NIS task Force. Also, IFES is considering its options with regard to sending a pre-election assessment team to one other NIS country with balance of funds from the Cooperative Agreement.

## **VII. Other**

### **Generating Awareness of IFES Capabilities**

IFES completed a mailing to each of the U.S. embassies in the New Independent States when the Cooperative Agreement with the NIS Task Force was signed in July of 1992 in order to inform the missions of IFES capabilities in the area of civic education and technical election assistance. IFES is preparing to issue another mailing describing past IFES activities in NIS and requesting that USAID Representatives and embassy staff, where USAID missions are not present consider IFES as a resource for assistance should such needs come to their attention.

## CONTACT LIST

IFES Pre-Election Technical Assessment in Ukraine  
Kiev, Brovari, Kharkov, Chernigiv, and Zhitomir  
February 14-24, 1993

### IFES Pre-Election Assessment Team

#### Team Leader:

Christopher S. Siddall  
Program Officer  
East-Central Europe and  
former Soviet Union  
International Foundation for  
Electoral Systems

#### Other Team Members:

Richard Balasko  
Chief Electoral Officer for the Province of Manitoba  
Winnipeg, Manitoba  
Tel.: 204-945-3225  
Fax: 204-945-6011

Linda Edgeworth  
Independent Consultant,  
formerly of the Office of the Governor of Alaska  
Division of Elections  
2620-D Barnett Road  
Medford, Oregon 97504  
Tel.: 503-779-2491  
Fax: 503-779-2549

Donald Slobozian, former Returning Officer, Swan River, Manitoba  
Box 38 Swan River Manitoba  
canada ROL120  
Tel.: 204-734-3700

### Meetings in Kiev

Valentin Krinenko  
Staffer of the Central Election Committee of Ukraine  
Bulvar Lesi Ukrainki, 1  
Kiev, 252196, Ukraine

Tel.:7-044-296-13-75; 7-044-296-86-36

Elizaveta Nazenko  
Staffer of the Central Election Committee of Ukraine  
Bulvar Lesi Ukrainki, 1  
Kiev, 252196, Ukraine  
Tel.:7-044-296-13-75; 7-044-296-86-36

Svetlana Kretsova  
Staffer of the Central Election Committee of Ukraine  
Bulvar Lesi Ukrainki, 1  
Kiev, 252196, Ukraine  
Tel.:7-044-296-13-75; 7-044-296-86-36

Stepan Hamanyuk  
Staffer of the Central Election Committee of Ukraine  
Bulvar Lesi Ukrainki, 1  
Kiev, 252196, Ukraine  
Tel.:7-044-296-13-75; 7-044-296-86-36

Sergei Sereda  
Chief Consultant to the Presidential Advisor on Internal Affairs  
Responsible for Political Parties and Social Organizations  
Bankova 11  
Room 504  
Kiev, Ukraine

Sergei Odarich  
Campaign Chief  
Rukh  
People's Movement of Ukraine  
Kiev, Ukraine

Bogdan Tornopilski  
Campaign Chief  
Ukrainian Republican Party

Vyacheslav Chornovil  
Chairman of Rukh People's Movement of Ukraine  
Former Presidential Candidate  
Member of Parliament

Natalia Maussienko  
International Secretary of the  
Christian Democratic Party of Ukraine  
20 Pushkin Av. Apartment 53  
Kiev, Ukraine 252004  
Tel.(h): 7-044-229-32-72  
Fax:(h) 7-044-517-26-18; (o): 7-044-546-76-76

Jaroslav Pilinsky  
Secretary of the Christian Democratic Party of Ukraine  
Tel. (h): 7-044-419-48-73  
Fax:(h) 7-044-517-26-18; (o): 7-044-546-76-76

Vitaly Zhuravsky  
President  
Christian Democratic Party of Ukraine  
11 Driser Street, Apartment 85  
Kiev-217, 253217

Petro Borsuk  
Member of the Ukrainian Republican Party (URP) Provid (Leadership)  
Secretary of Organization Department of the URP  
Ukrainian Republican Party  
27 Prorisna Street  
25034, Kiev, Ukraine  
Tel. (o): 7-044-228-03-06; (h) 7-044-477-92-69  
Fax: 7-044-228-04-09

Oleh Danylejko  
Head of the Ukrainian Republican Party (URP) Secretariat  
Member of the URP Provid (Leadership)  
Ukrainian Republican Party  
27 Prorisna Street  
25034, Kiev, Ukraine  
Tel.:7-044-229-47-02  
Fax: 7-044-228-04-09

Vassyl V. Durdinets  
First Deputy Chairman of the Parliament (Verhovna Rada) of Ukraine  
Verhovna Rada of Ukraine

Kiev, Ukraine

Anatoliy Fedorovich Tkachuk  
People's Deputy of Ukraine  
Acting Chairman of the Commission on  
Questions of Legislation and Law  
Vulitsa Grushevskovo 18/2  
252019 Kiev, Ukraine  
Tel.: (o) 7-044-293-26-68; (o) 7-044-291-84-45;  
(h) 7-044-413-58-54

Danylo Savyckyj  
Research Assistant  
Council of Advisors to the Parliament of Ukraine  
1 Lesia Ukrainka Sq.  
Room 602  
252196 Kiev, Ukraine  
Tel.(o): 7-044-294-6661; (h): 7-044-244-6740  
Fax: 7-044-296-1360  
Sprint Mail: (C:USSR,A:SOVMAIL,O:CUSTOMERS,UN:POPPER.KIEV)

Francois A. Mathys  
Ambassador of Canada to Ukraine  
Embassy of Canada  
31, Yaroslaviv Val Str.  
Kiev, 252034, Ukraine  
Tel.: (o) 7-044-291-88-33; (h) 7-044-291-89-62

P. Roman Lishchynski  
Counsellor and Consul  
Embassy of Canada  
31, Yaroslaviv Val Str.  
Kiev, 252034, Ukraine  
Tel.: (o) 7-044-2121-0212; 7-044-212-3550  
Fax: 7-044-291-8958

Serhiy Holovaty  
Member of Parliament of Ukraine  
Commission for Foreign Affairs  
Chairman of the Ukrainian Legal Foundation

OFFICE:

Hrushevsky Str. 5  
Kiev, 252019, Ukraine  
Tel.: 7-044-291-55-34  
Fax: 7-044-291-53-36

HOME:

Borschahivska Str. 143/30  
Kiev, 252056, Ukraine  
Tel.: 7-044-488-92-66

Mikahil Pogrebinskii  
Senior Advisor to the Deputy Chairman  
of the Verkhovna Rada (Parliament) of Ukraine  
Kiev, Ukraine  
Tel.: 7-044-2933439  
Fax: 7-044-2446070; 7-044-2918479

Dr. Galina F. Grigorash (Ph.D.)  
Reader  
Romance and Germanic Studies  
University of Kiev  
Home:  
1/24, Sholom-Aleyhema  
Kiev, 252156, Ukraine  
Tel.: 7-044-544-13-82

Dr. Valery Rubstov (Ph.D.)  
Vice-President  
Association of Democratic Councils of Ukraine  
Deputy of Kiev's Council  
98, Chervoarmiyska Street  
Kiev, 252005, Ukraine  
Tel.: 7-044-268-62-75  
7-044-226-27-28  
Fax: 7-044-269-08-64

Dr. Natalia Shymanska (Ph.D. in Physics)

Executive Director  
Association of Democratic Councils of Ukraine  
98, Chervoarmiyska Street  
Kiev, 252005, Ukraine  
Tel.: 7-044-268-62-75  
7-044-226-27-28  
Fax: 7-044-269-08-64

Sarah Farnsworth  
Field Program Officer  
National Democratic Institute for  
International Affairs  
Chervoarmiyska Street  
Kiev, Ukraine  
Tel.: 7-044-269-01-67

Oleksander Lavrynovych  
Acting Chairman  
Central Election Commission of Ukraine  
Bulvar Lesi Ukrainki, 1  
Kiev, 252196, Ukraine  
Tel.: 7-044-296-13-75; 7-044-296-86-36  
Fax: 7-044-274-3257  
HOME:  
Ul. Natilii Uzhiy, 10  
Kv. 160  
Kiev, 254058, Ukraine

E. H. Smith  
Project Officer  
Regional USAID Mission for Ukraine, Belarus, and Moldova  
19th Floor Kuibysheva St.  
Kiev, Ukraine  
Tel.: 7-044-220-7079  
Fax: 7-044-220-5589

Felix Shklyaruk  
Program Assistant  
Regional USAID Mission for Ukraine, Belarus, and Moldova

19th Floor Kuibysheva St.; Kiev, Ukraine  
Tel.: 7-044-220-7079  
Fax: 7-044-220-5589

Meetings in Kharkov

Vasiliy Ya. Tatsy  
Rector of the Ukrainian Law Academy  
Academician and President of the Academy of  
Law Sciences of Ukraine  
Honored Science Worker of Ukraine  
Doctor of Law, Professor  
Pushkinskaya Str. 77  
Tel.: (o) 572-43-01-06; 572-45-10-16  
Fax: 572-47-58-25

Vladimir V. Stashis  
First Vice-Rector of the Ukrainian Law Academy  
Academician and Member of the  
Academy of Law Sciences of Ukraine  
Pushkinskaya Str. 77  
310024, Kharkov, Ukraine  
Tel. (o): 572-47-00-26; 47-36-47; (h): 572-43-18-65  
Fax: 572-47-58-25

Vyatcheslav V. Komarov  
Professor  
Vice Rector of the Ukrainian Academy of Law  
Head of the Department of Civil Procedure  
Pushkinskaya Str. 77  
310024, Kharkov, Ukraine  
Tel.: (o) 572-45-41-36; (h) 572-68-39-90

Professor Vsevolod Rechitsky  
Associate Professor, Cand Sc. (Law)  
Department of State Law  
Ukrainian Law Academy  
Member of Board of the Association of Ukrainian Lawyers  
OFFICE:  
310024, Kharkov, Ukraine  
Pushkinskaya Str. 77  
Tel.: 572-47-36-89

HOME:

310100, Kharkov, Ukraine  
Sadovy Proezd  
11-A, kv. 9

Leonid D. Timchenko  
International Lawyer  
Ul. Gv. Shionintsev-40, kv. 184  
310123, Kharkov, Ukraine  
Tel.: (o): 572-47-36-19; (h): 572-66-28-35

Eugeny Kushnaryov  
Chairman of the City Soviet  
Kharkov City Soviet of People's Deputies  
Member of the Parliament of Ukraine  
Soviet Ukraine Square, 7  
Kharkov, 310003, Ukraine  
Tel.: 572-23-51-47  
Fax: 572-27-49-10  
Telex: 115233 OZERO SU

Valdimir Nikolaevich Tiaglo  
Chairman  
Kharkov Regional Soviet of People's Deputies  
House of Soviets  
Sumskaya Str., 64  
Kharkov, Ukraine  
Tel.: 572-43-40-57

Anatoly K. Zdorovy  
First Deputy Head of the Regional State Administration  
Kharkov Regional State Administration  
Entrance 8, Derzprom, Kharkov-22  
310022, Kharkov, Ukraine  
Tel.: 572-43-22-89  
Fax: 572-40-83-65

Meetings with the Kharkov Oblast Council of People's Deputies and the Kharkov City Election Committee

Aleksander I. Krestyaninov  
Department Head

Industry and Power Engineering Committee  
Kharkov Oblast State Administration  
of the Representative of the President of Ukraine  
Gosprom Building  
8th Entrance; Second Floor, Room 205  
310022, Kharkov, Ukraine  
Tel.: (o) 572-47-18-62; (h) 572-51-36-42

Nikolai Seleznyov  
Consultant of the Oblast Council  
in Charge of Holding Elections of Deputies

Viktor Zinkovsky  
Vice Deputy of the Organizational  
Department of the Kharkov Oblast Council

Vitaly Onishchenko  
Secretary of the Kharkov Oblast Election Committee

Boris Olhovshy  
Member of the Kharkov Oblast Election Committee

Leonid Shutenko  
People's Deputy of the Kharkov Oblast Council

Aleksander Povolyaev  
Secretary of the Kharkov City Election Committee

Aleksander Gorbach  
Consultant to the Kharkov City Council of People's Deputies

Meetings with the Kharkov Leninsky District Council of People's Deputies

Boris Obozny  
Chairman of the Leninsky District Council and Executive Committee

Lidiya Skripka  
Vice Chairman of the Leninsky District Council

Vladimir Zakrutny  
Vice Deputy of the Organizational Department of the Leninsky District Executive Committee

Mikhail Tomarovsky  
Chairman of the Leninsky District Election Committee

Nina Chernova  
Editor in Chief of Leninsky District News

Aleksei Zamkovoy  
Deputy of the Leninsky District Council

Meetings in Zhitomir

Stanislav Rashevsky  
Chairman of Zhitomir Oblast Council  
Pred. 65  
Council of People's Deputies  
Zhitomir, Ukraine

Stanislav Rabetsky  
Deputy Chairman of the Zhitomir Council of People's Deputies  
Pred. 65  
Council of People's Deputies  
Zhitomir, Ukraine

Alla Nikonchuk  
Chairman of the Zhitomir Oblast Election Commission  
Pred. 65  
Council of People's Deputies  
Zhitomir, Ukraine

Meetings in Chernigiv

Aleksander Lysenko  
Deputy of the Chernigiv Oblast Council of People's Deputies  
Chernigiv, Ukraine

Anatoly Zhovtoplas  
Chairman of the Chernigiv Oblast Election Committee  
Chernigiv, Ukraine

Alexandra Bogomaz  
Deputy Chairman of the Chernigiv Election Committee  
Chernigiv, Ukraine

Vladimir Belov  
Chairman of the District Constituency Election Committee  
Chernigiv, Ukraine

Meetings in Brovari

Alexey Ishenko  
Mayor of Brovari  
Brovari, Ukraine

Olga Rachinskay  
Chairman of District Council of People's Deputies  
Brovari, Ukraine



**International Foundation for Electoral Systems**

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**Quarterly Report**  
**for Cooperative Agreement CCS-0007-A-00-2046-00**  
**October 1 - December 31, 1992**

<b>BOARD OF DIRECTORS</b>	F. Clifton White Chairman	Patricia Hutar Secretary	James M. Cannon	Jean-Pierre Kingsley	Randal C. Teague Counsel
	Charles Manatt Vice Chairman	David Jones Treasurer	Richard M. Scammon	Joseph Napolitan	Richard W. Soudriette Director
			Robert C. Walker	Sonia Picado S.	

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**MONITORING AND EVALUATION OF  
COOPERATIVE AGREEMENT CCS-0007-A00-2046-00**

**OCTOBER 1 - DECEMBER 31, 1992**

<b>GOAL:</b>	<b>To create the capacity to administer the elections in Georgia, on October 11, 1992 and in Ukraine and Russia in 1993.</b>	<b>The elections took/take place and are judged to be more effectively administered than past elections.</b>
<b>PURPOSE:</b>	<b>To enable the Central Electoral Commissions in Georgia, Ukraine and Russia to carry out elections with minimal technical problems.</b>	<b>The elections take place with minimal technical problems as verified by independent international and domestic observers.</b>
<b>OUTPUTS:</b>	<b>Full range of on-site technical assistance provided to Georgia. Similar plans for Ukraine and Russia. Includes guidelines for election officials and provision of election commodities.</b>	<b>Pre-election assessment in Georgia provided basis for identification of actual technical needs and feasibility of IFES project. Similar plans for Ukraine and Russia. Provision of limited election commodities as needed.</b>
<b>INPUTS:</b>	<b>Pre-election assessments planned for Ukraine and Russia.</b>	<b>Travel schedules, budget, reporting deadlines and evaluation outlines established. Georgia final report published and distributed in Georgia and Washington, D.C.</b>

## QUARTERLY REPORT

FOR COOPERATIVE AGREEMENT CCS-0007-A-00-2046-00

October 1 - December 31, 1992

### I DESCRIPTION OF ACTIVITIES COMPLETED IN CALENDAR QUARTER

#### Georgia

##### On-Site Technical Assistance

During the month of October 1992, IFES project manager, Clive Kimber completed his three-month assignment working with the Georgian Central Electoral Commission (CEC).

The guidelines for election officials which Mr. Kimber had drafted, were translated into Georgian and distributed to polling stations in the week preceding the elections. On election day, October 11, international observers reported that these guidelines were in widespread use in the polling stations they visited.

Susan Atwood, IFES Senior Program Officer, arrived in Tbilisi on October 7 with other international observers including IFES representatives Michael Meadowcroft, Chairman of the Electoral Reform Society, UK and Darrell Slider, Professor of Soviet Studies, South Florida University. Both these two IFES representatives had been members of the original IFES pre-election technical assessment team in July 1992.

On October 8, Clive Kimber and Susan Atwood presented the Deputy Chairman of the CEC with the computer hardware requested. This hardware was intended to speed up the vote counting process. Indeed two days after the elections as observers left Georgia, they were handed computer print-out sheets with preliminary results as a result of memory upgrade hardware donated by A.I.D. via IFES.

##### Election Observation

On election day, October 11, Darrell Slider and Michael Meadowcroft were sent with two different NDI teams, to Batumi in the South West and to Kutaisi in the north of the country. Susan Atwood and Clive Kimber remained in the Tbilisi area in order to check in at regular intervals with the CEC. On one of their visits to the CEC on election day they were interviewed by the local press concerning the IFES technical assistance project.

IFES concurred with the NDI delegation statement that, despite some minor irregularities on election day, the process was free and fair and the results reflected the will of the Georgian people. This will was translated into a massive vote of confidence - over 90% voted for Eduard Shevardnadze as Chairman of the Parliament.

### **Conclusion of the technical assistance project**

Clive Kimber remained in Georgia until October 25 to observe the final counting of the ballots and issuing of results. He received a letter of thanks from the CEC on his departure (appendix I).

## **II PROGRESS TOWARD ACHIEVING PROGRAM OBJECTIVES**

At the completion of the Georgia on-site technical assistance project the following outputs were realized:

- o a comprehensive technical pre-election report containing recommendations on on-site technical assistance and international election observers
- o production and distribution of widely-used guidelines for election officials
- o procurement, delivery and oversight of installation of selected computer hardware as requested by the CEC
- o a comprehensive final report of the on-site technical assistance project by the IFES project manager containing detailed recommendations for the conduct of future elections.

The experience of conducting this project, which represents the first full-scale election assistance project that IFES has carried out in the former Soviet Union, will stand IFES in very good stead in its on-going work in other former Soviet republics in the coming year. The project achieved its goals despite the difficult circumstances in which this election was carried out, including fighting among Georgian and secessionist forces in the North West of the country and the consequent refugee exodus. IFES was enormously impressed by the work of the CEC under these taxing circumstances and encouraged by the openness of the CEC members to ask the IFES project manager for help and advice on a broad range of issues which arose during the pre-election period.

## **III IMPLEMENTATION METHODOLOGY**

As mentioned in more detail in the first quarterly report, IFES adopted a methodology which appeared best-suited to the needs of the Georgian election officials themselves. Some of the training initiatives that IFES had originally planned did not take place on

the express advice of the CEC which was concerned about security risks involved in having election officials from all over the country travel to Tbilisi.

Project manager Clive Kimber was available each day for consultation with the CEC and was asked for his advice on a broad range of election administration issues. Good coordination took place between two National Democratic Institute (NDI) and Clive Kimber who assisted with the organization of initial meetings for the NDI representatives.

## VI ISSUES AND PROBLEMS

As mentioned in the first quarterly report, the difficulties of communication with the project manager in-country, as well as the issue of security arising from the conflicts in Abkhazia and South Ossetia made some aspects of this project very challenging.

However, despite fears to the contrary, election day passed off peacefully with a high turnout of voters in most areas of over 80%. Even in those areas of unrest where voting was not suspended, the turnout was an impressive 60%. The atmosphere among the voters was calm and enthusiastic. Most of the voters appeared to understand the crucial nature of these elections, even if the election resembled a referendum on Shevarnadze more than a multi-party election.

## V STATUS OF PREVIOUSLY SCHEDULED ACTIONS

### Georgia

The project in Georgia was completed on schedule and ended on October 25, 1992. A final report was submitted in November 1992 to USAID and other institutions in both Washington, D.C. and Tbilisi.

### Ukraine

On January 11, 1993, IFES met the acting head of the Ukrainian Central Electoral Commission, Mr. Oleksander Lavrynovych. Mr. Lavrynovych invited IFES to send a team of election experts to Kiev in February 1993 to conduct a pre-election assessment. IFES had been trying for some months, without success, to obtain an invitation from his predecessor and will now proceed to implement a pre-election technical assessment in Ukraine in February 1993. (Letter of invitation attached, Appendix II).

Mr. Lavrynovych anticipates that early elections are likely to take place in the fall of 1993 and expressed an interest in all levels of IFES technical assistance, including the provision of election commodities and the training of election officials. He informed

IFES that the CEC currently does not possess a single fax machine or computer.

### **Belarus**

Following the refusal of the Belarusian government to accept the validity of the signatures collected by opposition parties to hold a referendum on early elections, elections are now scheduled to take place in March 1994. Therefore there is no prospect of IFES carrying out on-site technical assistance until the end of 1993.

### **Tajikistan**

The situation in Tajikistan remains extremely unstable with continued violent clashes between government and opposition forces. There is no prospect of election-related work in the near future in Tajikistan.

VI REVISION OF WORKPLAN (please see attached timetable for details)

With a constitutional referendum scheduled in Russia on April 11, 1993, IFES has submitted a request to the NIS Task Force for re-programming of funds previously granted for work in Belarus and Tajikistan.

IFES plans to send three teams of election experts to three different republics within the Russian Federation in the last week of March to assess the pre-referendum situation. These teams will remain in-country to observe the referendum on April 11. A comprehensive report will be produced concerning the administration of the referendum in the three regions visited containing recommendations for technical assistance requirements prior to the parliamentary elections.

APPENDIX 7

Dear Mrs. Atwood,

The Central Electoral Commission of the Republic of Georgia wishes to thank IFES & you personally for your help in conducting of the Parliamentary elections in Georgia. We highly appreciate your participation in pre-election missions as well as in observation & monitoring of the elections.

Special thanks to the Board of Directors of IFES for sending Mr. Clive Kimber as an observer of the Parliamentary Elections in Georgia . His assistance , based on his own experience , was of great value for us . The Central Electoral Commission highly appreciates his willingness to help us in the holding of the elections and deep interest of the processes taking place in Georgia. Mr. Kimber's knowledge in such fields as pollworkers' training , design of the ballots , design of the information posters for voters , registration of the voters resulted in the Handbook for District & Precinct Electoral Commissions , which was then translated into Georgian & distributed among the members of the above mentioned commissions. There were also such aspects & details which weren't included in the Handbook as they couldn't be used by the election officials upon our Regulations , but their discussion with Mr. Kimber was very useful for the Central Electoral Commission ( overseas voting , voting by mail , etc.) .

The Central Electoral Commission also wishes to thank you very much for the technical help -- sending us the requested computer equipment like VGA ( Advanced Graphics Board ) & memory , which is of great use for us.

The Central Electoral Commission looks forward to working in contact with you .

Yours sincerely,  
Vice Chairman  
of the Central Electoral Commission  
Giorgi Zesashvili



**ЦЕНТРАЛЬНА ВИБОРЧА КОМІСІЯ**  
**по виборах народних депутатів України**

ВСТІНО, м. Київ, вулиця Гоголя, Україна, 1 тел. 290-80-38

№ 01-2/4-12

199 р.

January 18, 1993

Mr. Richard W. Soudriette  
Director  
International Foundation  
for Electoral Systems  
1620 Eye Street NW  
Suite 611  
Washington, DC 20006  
USA

Dear Mr. Soudriette:

On behalf of the Central Election Commission of Ukraine, I would like to extend an invitation to you and your team of election analysts and consultants to come to Ukraine during the period of February 1, 1993 - April 30, 1993. We appreciate your interest in doing a technical election assessment and look forward to your report. Please contact me at /044/ 296 13 75 - tel. or /044/ 274 32 57 - tel./fax if you have any questions.

Sincerely,

Olexandr Lavrynovych  
Vice-Chairman,  
Central Election Commission

