



**International Foundation for Electoral Systems**

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## FY 1995 QUARTERLY REPORT

Third Quarter

Concerning the  
**A.I.D. COOPERATIVE AGREEMENTS**  
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**Third Quarter FY 1995**  
**Report for Cooperative Agreement # CCN-0007-00-A-4081-00**

## **CENTRAL ASIA**

### **I. PROGRAM ACTIVITIES**

IFES followed up last quarter's regional election-observation activity with post-election technical assessment work and continued observation of the political situation in Central Asia. During this time period IFES has had to refocus its present programming structure to better serve the realities of a changing Central Asia. Particularly concerning the situation in Kazakhstan, which experienced political turmoil in March as a result of the dissolution of Parliament, IFES has had to revise its activities to include closer contact with domestic NGO and less direct programmatic activity with the government. Included among the re-targeting of programming ideas is the planning of a domestic NGO training program to begin in the Fall of 1995, whereby IFES can serve in the role of educator and initiator of democratic thinking. The opening of the Almaty Resource Center and the publishing of the IFES Central Asia Newsletter has also provided IFES with the means to act as a bridge between the government of Kazakhstan and Kazakhstani NGOs and to act as a source of information for interested individuals on a non-partisan basis. Moreover, IFES continues to serve as a prominent member of the western NGO community, sharing information and participating in lively debates with fellow democracy groups on the ever-changing Central Asian political climate.

#### **A. Building an Institutional Memory & Promoting Transparency Survey**

##### *IFES Comprehensive Survey*

##### *Kazakhstan*

Based on close cooperation and planning with the U.S. Agency for International Development, IFES's Central Asian Regional Office located in Almaty, Kazakhstan has initiated a Comprehensive Survey of the Kazakhstani Electorate. Work on the IFES Comprehensive Survey began with a request for formal bids from prospective polling organizations in Kazakhstan. IFES selected the *Giller Institute* to be the recipient of the contract to do the survey work, as *Giller* has conducted many sociological surveys in the past and welcomed the opportunity to work with IFES on this project. *Giller* was also selected because they alone presented the unique capabilities necessary to carry out a survey of this magnitude country-wide. Aiding in the decision was the fact that *Giller* is not affiliated with the Kazakhstani government, which was a necessary precondition for selection. Among the groups *Giller* has conducted many surveys for in the past are the

World Bank, USIS and USAID, the latter for whom they have conducted work on privatization issues. IFES/Washington Deputy Director of Programs for Europe and Asia Christopher Siddall, IFES Consultant Steven Wagner and IFES/Central Asia Project Manager Gwenn Hofmann in Almaty, Kazakhstan, met with *Giller Institute* Director Dr. Leonid Gurevich to work on finalizing the survey questions and prepare for the pretest stage of the project - which began the third week of June. At IFES' request, *Giller* translated the survey questions into Kazakh language as well as Russian.

*Giller* completed the pre-test for the IFES National Survey of the Kazakhstani Electorate in June and the results were reviewed closely in order to determine which questions needed to be revised for inclusion into the final version of the survey questionnaire. After the new survey questions were finalized and printed, general surveying was set to begin and continue through the first two weeks of July, with comprehensive results to be received and analyzed before they are released at the end of July. The 1500 randomly-selected respondents will answer questions on a multitude of issues, ranging from views of the current political and economic situation in the country to opinions on the importance of election participation. Opinions will also be gauged on sufficient access to information through the media, civil society issues, and a wide variety of other democracy indicators. Progress will also be monitored via a series of follow-up tracking polls.

#### Kyrgyzstan

As in Kazakhstan, an IFES Comprehensive Survey of the National Electorate of Kyrgyzstan has been constituted which will poll a representative sample of the Kyrgyzstani population on a number of democracy indicators. From a pool of several potential survey organizations IFES selected Sociological Research Firm *RCIOM-INFOREX* directed by Vladislav Pototskii to conduct the survey in Kyrgyzstan. Preliminary results of the National Survey of the Kyrgyzstani electorate will not be known until late July, but in the interim, IFES representatives Gwenn Hofmann, Chris Siddall, and Steven Wagner met with *RCIOM* Director Vladislav Pototskii in Bishkek to modify the survey questions, finalize the questionnaire and prepare for the pretest, which was conducted using a test sample of 50 persons. The pretest was completed during the last week of June, and the schedule for the general survey remains on track to begin thereafter, which will extend into the month of July. Question revisions that might become necessary as a result of the pretest will be made with joint IFES-*INFOREX* collaboration before incorporation into the final questionnaire.

As in the Kazakhstani survey, results of the survey will be representative of voter opinions on topics such as the functioning of the electoral system, the role and effectiveness of political parties, access to mass media and the state of political and economic reform. The Survey of the Kyrgyzstani Electorate will provide extremely beneficial information from a program planning and implementation perspective because it will offer clues about the level of knowledge and awareness the electorate has about citizen responsibility in

government and democracy development. Through the survey IFES will learn what kind of change and transition skills are possessed by the population as a whole and what is further needed in order to enable them to become active participants in democracy development.

## **B. Voter Education & Outreach**

### *Kazakhstan*

During the second quarter of 1995 discussions were held with a number of domestic NGO representatives to create, with the help of IFES, a voter education program for Kazakhstani citizens, with the targeted audience to include high school students, college political science students, election officials and work collectives. The program would include an overview of electoral law and comparative electoral systems while involving the students in an interactive campaign of voter education.

## **C. NGO Consolidation**

### *Kazakhstan*

Due to continuing government ambivalence toward western NGOs, it was agreed that the focus of programming will, for the immediate future, be geared primarily toward domestic NGOs and other private groups and organizations. IFES continues to move forward and create viable programs to be conducted with Kazakhstani NGOs and democracy organizations including political parties, ethnic organizations, academics, political scientists, labor organizations, human rights bureaus, lawyers, bar association members, the judicial community, independent and government media, and persons interested in the following issues:

- Redistricting and reapportionment;
- One person - one vote principles; and
- Development of voter information and education programs

These groups will be sent information making them aware of IFES activities, programs and seminars, featuring the Seminar on Redistricting and Reapportionment and the Voter Information and Education Seminar. Both seminars will be designed to accommodate 50 invitees from the groups listed above and will feature the results of the IFES National Survey of the Kazakhstani Electorate, by which domestic NGO groups will be able to identify which segments of the population may be most receptive to participation in their programs and activities. All groups will be invited as well to use the resources of the IFES/Almaty Democracy and Education Resource Training Center.

IFES' continuing work will enable the Kazakhstani NGO community to mobilize and

address the ruling apparatus with its concerns regarding the aforementioned issues. Through the planned seminar series and the comprehensive electorate survey (results of which will be discussed at the seminars), IFES will strengthen its role as an advocate of domestic NGO interests and serve as a bridge between the non-governmental and governmental structures.

### Kyrgyzstan

IFES is working closely with domestic NGOs in Kyrgyzstan and serving to bring together these groups in working discussions with the federal government to identify and target specific areas of the election code and other laws relevant to the election process which need to be amended or revised. In addition, IFES will make appropriate suggestions for a comprehensive legislative package of revisions to the election code which were compiled after completion of the recent Kyrgyzstani election cycle.

As in Kazakhstan, IFES will be targeting a wide variety of Kyrgyzstani NGOs for its programming activities, including bar associations, ecological movements, women's organizations, doctors, human rights groups, the media, and others who will benefit from the results of the IFES election cycle work and the national survey.

## **C. Symposia, Conferences and Election Official Exchanges**

### Kazakhstan

Results from the IFES Sociological Survey of the Kazakhstani Electorate will form the foundation of IFES's Fall 1995 Seminar Series, which will take place in the months of September and October. The results will also provide the opportunity for further programming activities to augment the already-approved seminar series. Components of the projects are currently being put together and initial work on the constituent survey began in early June. In addition to educating and training NGOs on a variety of topics, the survey will allow for periodic, follow-up "tracking" polls to be conducted in order to monitor progress made in addressing voter concerns with the electoral process and the availability of relevant information to the constituency as a whole.

As part of IFES' initiatives to become more involved with the NGO community in Kazakhstan, IFES' staff has been participating in - and are planning for - several upcoming conferences and seminars. Gwenn Hofmann participated as a guest speaker at the May 18 ceremony for seven new *American Legal Consortium* grantees, giving an informative presentation on IFES and IFES' program activities in Central Asia. One of the future projects discussed with IFES/Central Asia Project Manager Gwenn Hofmann consists of a joint seminar between IFES and *Internews* designed to educate the media on election systems and political reporting. IFES will work with domestic NGO organizations to promote

education and training about democratic processes and procedures regarding election-related issues.

### Kyrgyzstan

#### *September Round Table*

Regional Project Manager Gwenn Hofmann's numerous post-election follow-up trips to Bishkek in the second quarter have been geared toward speaking with CEC officials, members of the Jogorku Kenesh, NGO groups and other individuals of private interest groups as a prelude to a post-election Round Table to be conducted September 7-9, 1995 and include 25 invitees from the governmental and non-governmental sector. This event will focus on recommendations to be made for the adjudication of grievances and the handling of the complaint and violation procedures, ballot security and counting issues, and the importance of the one-person, one-vote principle. IFES will also be prepared to address several items of concern voiced by Central Election Commission Chairman Markel Ibraev such as voter registration methods, accuracy of voters lists and means of collecting and maintaining this information. The Chairman has stated his desire to ensure participation of representatives from each of the 6 District Offices at the September Round Table. Chairman Ibraev will be working with IFES to assemble the advisory panel for the Round Table and will provide general assistance throughout the event. The IFES Round Table on election law reform will be a first in that never before have NGO groups had the opportunity to talk directly to governmental officials and make recommendations for legislative change. IFES is pleased to serve as a mediator between these groups and facilitator of constructive dialogue.

IFES has also recruited Mirgul Smanalieva, Director, *Foundation for International Legal Cooperation (UKUK)* to serve on the advisory committee for the September roundtable. The Director also has invited IFES participation in UKUK's own forthcoming election law revision seminar, which is in the process of being arranged.

#### *October Voter Information Seminar*

Asiya Saskybaeva of *Interbillim* has been contacted to help coordinate all logistics for the Voter Information and Education Seminar, which will feature the release of IFES' National Survey of the Kyrgyzstani Electorate. The results will be of use to the many NGO representatives who will be invited to attend the event, for not only will they be able to identify the segments of the population who may be most receptive to their respective messages, but they will also learn how to create fully-fledged voter information programs which they can form in conjunction with other seminar attendees to reach the widest possible audience.

### *Proposed Election Official Exchange*

A proposal is being put together by Gwenn Hofmann recommending that a delegation be sent to the U.S. for three weeks to study, monitor, and observe elections in the fall. Members of the groups may include CEC representatives, the Minister of Justice, parliamentarians who chair committees dealing with election law reform, media representatives who cover elections, and members of local district commissions, which administer elections and are responsible for voter registration and election-day activities.

### **E. The Independent Mass Media**

As part of an ongoing dialogue with the mass media, IFES/Almaty has kept in contact with journalists and correspondents, to discuss the present political situation with IFES and its implications on the region, particularly to discuss the Referendum on extending the term of President Nazarbayev along with its political and economic implications.

### **F. Legal Assistance by Advising on Electoral Legal Issues**

#### *Kazakhstan*

Central Asia Project Manager Gwenn Hofmann continues to meet with current and former members of the government to discuss their impressions of what the present situation is and to use the information to make recommendations to IFES/Washington on future program development. The focus of these meetings has been on Constitutional and legal questions relevant to presidential decrees, referenda, and ability to continue on present programs. Further contacts continue to be made and information collected in order to gain a deeper breadth of understanding into the current situation.

#### *Kyrgyzstan*

Based on a series of meetings and consultations held over a four-day period from May 2-5 with members of the Kyrgyzstani CEC and members of the domestic NGO community by Project Manager Gwenn Hofmann, several issues such as areas in need of reform were identified. Ms. Hofmann will conduct further consultations as a prelude to Round Table discussion, which will present a series of recommendations for the adjudication of grievances and the handling of the complaint and violation procedure as well as one-person, one-vote issues, voter registration methods, accuracy of voter lists and means of collecting and maintaining this information. Meetings will also be conducted to review laws, procedures, and administrative rulings relative to the elections process with the CEC, Office of the Minister of Justice and others responsible for the administration of elections. Recommendations will then be made for legislative and administrative revisions of the laws based on problems, complaints, violations and recommendations that were

reported by international and domestic observers during the 1995 parliamentary election cycle. From these meetings, a round table discussion has been arranged on behalf of domestic NGOs for the purpose of determining how to improve election processes and procedures and to discuss how to develop effective administrative programs for future elections. The target date for the Roundtable, as mentioned, is September 7-9, 1995.

## **G. Voter Information at Elections**

### *Kyrgyzstan*

IFES has continuously monitored the outcome of the run-off elections and eagerly awaits the opportunity to continue work in the country and make recommendations for the reform of electoral codes and procedures based on the final round of elections.

Gwenn Hofmann has traveled to Bishkek on a number of occasions to continue IFES' Technical Election Assessment wrap-up project, which will serve as the final phase of the 1995 Kyrgyzstani election cycle program. While in Bishkek, Ms. Hofmann has conducted meetings with the American Embassy and USAID staff as well as with members of the Kyrgyzstani Central Electoral Commission, Human Rights Organizations, and other governmental and non-governmental official, who participated in the current round of run off elections. Additional meetings will be conducted to finalize the seminar agenda and solve logistical questions for the event.

## **H. Reporting**

### *Kazakhstan*

In conjunction with the opening of the IFES Resource Center in the Almaty office in mid-May, IFES/Kazakhstan published the first edition of a regional newsletter dealing with various topics including voters' rights, comparative electoral systems and area-specific issues of concern to the domestic NGO community based on the current political environment. Such issues will include means by which to connect with the electorate and implement voter and civic education programs, providing reliable information, and construction of a civil society network. One of the main objectives of the newsletter, in addition to serving as a resource for NGOs, will be to educate the population's on the value of participatory democracy.

IFES has received a final edition of the English language version of the Kazakhstani Referendum Law, which will be made available in the IFES-Washington's Clifton F. White Resource Center as well as the IFES-Almaty Training and Education Resource Center. Russian and Kazakh-language versions of March 1994 Kazakhstani Technical Election Assessment reports will also be made available in the Almaty Office.

## Kyrgyzstan

Gwenn Hofmann contributed an article to the *Interbillim* monthly newsletter announcing IFES programs in Kyrgyzstan. The newsletter has a wide readership; it is distributed nationwide, delivered by hand and is received by more than 500 groups, organizations and individuals.

The final draft of the Kyrgyzstan Technical Election Assessment of March 1995 has been completed and is currently being translated into Russian and Kyrgyz for distribution in Central Asia.

## II. PROGRESS TOWARD ACHIEVING PROGRAM OBJECTIVES

- A. IFES field staff in Almaty continued to monitor the political and electoral situation in Kazakhstan and made appropriate recommendations to other American NGOs, USAID, and the United States Embassy. Though the political future of the country is clouded at present, IFES nevertheless may have the occasion to assist with the reformation of Kazakhstani electoral law. The permanent on-site presence of IFES staff in Almaty also puts the Foundation in an excellent position to monitor day-to-day developments and stay on the cutting edge of events and opportunities as they present themselves. IFES' ongoing discussions with governmental officials and former parliamentarians also serves to further the promotion of democratic objectives and increased public awareness of issues affecting Kazakhstan's democratic development.
  
- B. The IFES-Almaty Democracy Training and Education Resource Center was officially opened in May 1995, and houses an ever-growing collection of materials on subjects such as comparative election and constitutional law, leadership training, parliamentary studies, and other topics of interest that the public has now free access to read and study. It is the hope that the Center will serve as a regional resource for democracy studies and provide relevant information on topical issues as more and more information is collected in English as well as Russian languages.

Augmenting the opening of the Resource Center has been the work conducted in the compilation of, recipient lists in connection with the production and distribution of the IFES Central Asia Regional Quarterly Newsletter, which will serve as a resource for democracy issues and education on a variety of election-related topics. Once put into its final format and translated into Russian, the newsletter will be distributed to the rapidly-increasing number of IFES enthusiasts throughout Central Asia.

### III. IMPLEMENTATION METHODOLOGY

During this quarter, technical assistance and training were undertaken through the following mechanisms:

- \*National Survey of the Kazakhstani Electorate
- \*National Survey of the Kyrgyzstani Electorate
- \*Post Runoff Election Technical Assessment, Kyrgyzstan
- \*Technical Election Assessment Report, Kyrgyzstan
- \*Establishment of IFES Resource Center, Kazakhstan
- \*Planning for Redistricting/Reapportionment Seminar and Voter Information and Education Seminar, Kazakhstan
- \*Planning for Election Law Round Table and Voter Information and Education Seminar

### IV. ISSUES AND PROBLEMS

In this quarter several meetings were held among democracy contractors in Almaty discussing several recent decrees issued by the Kazakhstani Presidency, one requiring all foreign Non-Governmental Organizations to be officially registered with the Ministry of Justice. This decree also prohibits all domestic NGOs from associating with non-registered foreign democracy groups, and stipulates that visas for foreigners will not be renewed until registration has been completed. Along with a new tax code that was put into effect on July 1, these measures effectively increase the level of difficulty faced by IFES and other democracy groups to operate freely in Kazakhstan. The referendum extending President Nazarbayev's term of office until the year 2000 and a forthcoming referendum on the approval of a draft Constitution, which increases the powers of the presidency and calls for the creation of a rubber-stamp parliament, also will make it challenging for IFES to conduct its operation on a day-to-day basis without increasing resistance.

As a result of the changing political situation, IFES has been precluded from working directly with the Kazakhstani governmental apparatus and instead has turned its attention on the development of the domestic NGO community through the national survey and subsequent redistricting and reapportionment and voter information & education seminars.

While the situation in Kyrgyzstan remains relatively stable for the moment, IFES has also focused increasing energy on the development of NGO groups through a similar national survey and voter information/education seminar. These programs will follow the election law round table conducted jointly with the Kyrgyzstani Central Electoral Commission and other parties both governmental and non-governmental who played an active role in the recent election cycle. But with the overall increasing political uncertainty in the region the development of non-governmental organizations in Central Asia and the education of the voting population, especially the youth population, has taken on a particularly-increasing significance.



# MOLDOVA

## I. PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

The purpose statement in this Cooperative Agreement foresees the implementation of several types of project activities. IFES continues its work in the following areas in the Republic of Moldova:

### A. Local Administration Reform - Local Administrative Law

IFES/Moldova staff held a meeting of the Legal Administrative Reform Working Group (LARWG) during the second half of May on issues pertaining to Local and State Administration.

### B. Building an Institutional Memory and Promoting Transparency

IFES/Moldova continues to work toward promoting transparency in the electoral process of Moldova. IFES staff met with Cornel Cibotaru and Sorin Mereacre of the *Association of Young Judges NGO* to discuss IFES' potential partnership with the Association to draft a proposal to contribute to the transparency of the legislative process. The staff also is working with Oazu Nantoi, Vice Chairman of the *Socialist-Democratic Party*, to investigate the phenomena of electoral absenteeism at different social levels.

IFES also worked actively to reveal several problems concerning the inability of the National Moldovan Television in maintaining a neutral position toward all political parties during the campaign period.

IFES also assisted Romanian NGOs in their efforts to contribute to the transparency of the electoral process. Cornel Cibotaru and Sorin Mereacre, of the Association of the Young Judges brought forth a draft project proposal called "The Transparency of Adjusting the Moldovan Legislation to the Constitutional Principles" for IFES' comments and input.

#### *Book Donations*

The IFES book donation program continued this quarter with the donation of books on the administrative public sphere through the *Alliance of the Democratic Forces (ADF)*.

#### *Sociological Survey*

The IFES/*Opinia* Sociological Poll was officially released in Moldova April 8 in a press conference of more than 100 participants including the U.S. Ambassador to Moldova. Of the more than one hundred questions asked of the 1,700 citizens, one was of particular interest due to its release prior to the April 16 Local Elections.

***“If the Elections for Parliament were held tomorrow, would you vote for the same party you voted for on February 27, 1994?”***

On a 35-minute National Television Program, IFES/Moldova’s activities were discussed in depth and included a comparison between the results of the IFES poll and “reality” on the eve of the April 16, 1995 Local Elections. The release of the poll and the critical data enclosed received daily coverage in the print media and on television and radio programming.

The results of the local elections have been summarized and compared with initial results of the pre-election IFES/OPINIA poll. Initial comparisons have determined that the margin of error was only 3.1 percent with regard to the distribution of votes of the 39 percent of voters who had not yet decided for whom to vote. This statistic was of specific interest to party leaders, campaign strategists and other research groups working in Moldova and trying to formulate voter outreach strategies.

The IFES/Moldova pre-election poll has been shared with more than twenty international press agencies and television organizations, and newspapers including: CNN, ASAHI, The New York Times and others.

### **C. On-Site Technical Assistance**

IFES/Moldova Office continued to support the conduct of the Local Elections in Moldova and prepared for domestic observation activities, which included more than 100 individuals. The IFES/Moldova project has promoted civic initiatives in the evolution of the electoral process in the Republic by supporting civic NGOs as local observers for these elections. After considerable effort to impress upon the CEC membership the importance of local observers through numerous meetings, the CEC concluded that the presence of local (national) observers during the elections is crucial to the continuation of electoral reform. Unfortunately, various political forces, including the majority party of the Parliament, continue to place undue pressure on observer associations to alter their plans. When the Democratic Agrarian Party, which is representative of the majority of leadership position in the Moldovan Government, initiated a formal protest to the Central Election Commission via the Supreme Court challenging the use of domestic observers, the CEC asked IFES/Moldova for its insight. IFES/Moldova respectfully requested the assistance of the U.S. Ambassador Mary Pendleton in raising the issue of local observers during the ambassador’s dialogue with Moldovan President Snegur. Two days later, President Mircea Snegur contacted the CEC and expressed his warmest support for the use of local domestic observers.

The *Association for Democracy*, supported by IFES/Moldova, supplied more than 100 domestic observers to cover the entirety of the Republic. Their observations will be outlined in a compendium which will be published in the very near future. The *Association’s* representatives publicized the results of the local elections at a press conference during the week of April 24.

#### *April 16 Election Observations*

According to initial reports received from the more than 100 IFES/Moldova-trained domestic observers,

“violations of law were observed at nearly all of the 70 ballot stations . . . where voting was observed.” According to IFES/Moldova the most frequently observed irregularities included:

- Receipt of ballots without proper identification
- Unauthorized participation in ballot distribution and counting
- Instances of “family” or group voting
- Breaches in voting confidentiality and ballot security
- Inconsistent polling station hours

Despite these observations, domestic observers concluded that these irregularities were not part of a systematic attempt to undermine the legitimacy of the elections and would not seriously affect the final results. Based on data accumulated thus far, IFES/Moldova believes that the local elections were satisfactorily administered.

However, additional violations were reported to the IFES' staff by citizens of Geamana Village in the Anenii-Noi district. Included in these violations were two separate local electoral commissions working simultaneously, hidden ballot papers and changing commission components. IFES/Moldova consulted the CEC in Chisinau on proper measures to combat these and other problems prior to the second round of elections April 30. In response, the CEC dissolved the second electoral commission, which was operating illegally.

#### *April 30 Repeat Elections*

Oazu Nantoi, Vice Chairman of the Social-Democratic Party, met with IFES/Moldova to discuss problems which may be encountered during observation activities scheduled for the repeat elections on April 30, 1995.

#### *May 14 Repeat Elections*

On May 14, members of the IFES/Moldova staff were present as domestic observers for the local elections in Copanca Village in the Slobozia District. After the elections, IFES staff met with CEC administrators to assess the CEC's progress in finalizing the results of the first and second rounds of the local elections. IFES shared with the CEC the preliminary analysis of the most flagrant violations of the Law on Local Elections listed in reports presented by domestic and foreign observers. The CEC presented a series of amendments based on IFES suggestions to the Law on the Organization of the Local Elections to Parliament at the completion of the election calendar.

#### *May 21 Repeat Elections*

Jeff Chin and Steven D. Roper, both of the University of Missouri-Columbia, were accredited on IFES/Moldova's behalf to serve as foreign observers for the repeat local elections in 9 localities in Moldova. IFES/Moldova continued to support the on-going domestic observer activities of the

*Association for Democracy* who named 5 observers for the May 21, 1995 repeat local elections.

#### *June 25 Local Elections*

Igor Grosu, Chairperson, *Association for Democracy*, reviewed members of the *Association* selected as local observers to take part in new elections scheduled for June 25, then shared his insight about the group's participation after the completion of the elections.

### **C. Voter Education and Outreach**

In conjunction with the recent local elections, IFES has undertaken several initiatives to educate the public about the elections. IFES suggested displaying electoral posters, which would provide information on correct voting procedures in localities where the voter turn out was noticeably low in the initial balloting. IFES also produced electoral spot broadcasts in the Gagauzian language. Alexandru Brenici, a CEC Commissioner, was consulted on the scheduling of IFES electoral spot broadcasts in the Gagauzian language.

IFES also served as a resource for groups that were working to promote civic education. IFES' staff met with the producer of *TELERADIO-Moldova State Company* to offer the use IFES/Moldova Resource Center materials in television programs on civic education.

IFES/Moldova also suggested that there is a specific need to issue instructional materials on election day voting procedures for posting inside all polling stations.

IFES/Moldova met with eleven representatives of local public libraries in Chisinau regarding donation of civic education materials published by IFES/Moldova.

The IFES-initiated Sociological Survey of the Moldovan population on the electoral climate was conducted in late March-early April and included more than 1700 individuals throughout the country. The scientific survey was developed and produced in an IFES/*OPINIA* (Polling Service) collaborative exercise at the beginning of the quarter. Results were released on April 8, 1995 in a press conference in Chisinau attended by more than 100 people including the U.S. Ambassador to Moldova, and a large audience of Moldovan press. A full compendium of results is in process of being translated and released. The Moldovan-language version has been shared with Moldovan media and US Embassy personnel in Chisianu.

### **D. NGO Consolidation**

#### *NGO Center*

In order to fortify the NGO sector in Moldova, IFES has played a key role in the development of an NGO Center. IFES/Moldova staff and Adrian Evtuhovici, Program Coordinator of SOROS Foundation-Moldova, completed a program proposal to TACIS to create the NGO Center in Moldova. IFES/Moldova has a significant role in this program by providing logistical assistance for NGOs that seek to increase the efficiency of civic and electoral education in Moldova. IFES also

worked in conjunction with the *Union of the Shareholders of Moldova* to create the Center. Victor Josu, Chairman of the *Union of the Shareholders of Moldova* and member of the IFES NGO Working Group detailed a project whose draft was considered eligible for *TACIS* assistance. This draft project was written with the help of IFES/Moldova. Their goal is to identify competitive NGOs in order to train them in the activities of a planned NGO Center.

#### *NGO Technical Assistance Efforts*

IFES/Moldova helped members of three Moldovan NGOs receive formal invitations to attend a CIVITAS conference in Prague in early June. IFES received warm appreciation from the participants in its assistance supporting them for this conference.

IFES/Moldova staff also met with the following people and organizations to assist with NGO development:

- Andrei Dorogan, Chairman, *Viitorul Moldovei Foundation* regarding NGO Technical Assistance efforts
- Nicolae Chirtoaca and Vadim Malahov of the *Euro-Atlantic Center* regarding a program to train military ministries in civil society programming. A comprehensive booklet is to be published which will contain information on this concept.
- Representatives of the *NGO Association for Democracy*
- Serghei Vorosilov, a member of *INTELLEGO Foundation* regarding draft amendments to the project concerning public organizations
- Edgar Vulpe, Secretary of *Mold-TIM Foundation*, regarding possible participation at an IFES-sponsored round table on the problems with legislation on NGOs
- Natalia Kozlova, a lawyer and NGO legal expert who works for Charities Aid Foundation, regarding help needed from CAF experts to strengthen the legislative process for the Moldovan NGOs.

IFES/Moldova staff organized the NGO Working Groups for a meeting on "*Improving the Legislative Framework for Moldovan NGOs.*" This discussion will be particularly timely because a draft amendment on NGO legislation is to be submitted to Parliament in September.

#### **E. Symposia, Conferences and Election Official Exchanges**

IFES/Moldova hosted two international seminars that focused on the status of domestic observers. IFES outlined appropriate observer behavior on election day, aspects of the election process that deserved special attention and specific actions and/or contacts that might be made should irregularities be noted at a polling station. IFES Election Expert Paul DeGregorio offered a number of specific recommendations concerning the instruction of observers using his extensive personal

experience from other observer missions throughout the world. He also offered specific clarifications of the Moldovan Law on Local Elections.

#### *Mass Media Cooperative Seminar*

The preparation for the IFES July 21-22 seminar on mass media began. The IFES Mass Media Seminar will produce a thorough analysis on trends on the written and electronic press including characteristic weaknesses facing the mass media during this crucial period of transition. IFES/Moldova expects the representatives from the first private CATALAN-TV in Chisinau, as well as a number of journalists representing the independent and state-owned press in Moldova and on a journalist from France, to be present at the seminar.

IFES/Moldova's staff has met with the following people to organize the seminar:

- Jean-Christophe Bas, of the *Aspen Institute*
- Herve Collet, General Delegate representing *Fonds European pour la Liberte d'Expression*
- Laurent Leblond, of *LE MONDE* (news agency) and Assistant to the General Delegate
- Timofei Blanaru of the Ungheni Radio Station

#### *NGO Seminar*

In preparation for the IFES July 28 seminar on problems of NGO legislation, IFES explored the current state of the NGO sector by means of a questionnaire, which was sent to nearly 100 NGOs in the next couple of days. The answers will be used for drafting a refined version of the recommendations for the future Law on NGOs.

The IFES NGO Seminar will be using Moldovan and international legal support to assist Moldovan NGO representatives as they formally structure basic ideas and modifications to be included in the legislation covering NGOs soon to be before Parliament. Natalia Kozlova, a local lawyer and expert on NGO issues working with *Charities Aid Foundation*, has been meeting with IFES regarding CAF's participation in the upcoming IFES NGO Seminar. Also, she will be analyzing the draft NGO Law to be formalized at the seminar July 28.

#### **F. The Independent Mass Media**

Project Director Dorin Tudoran was interviewed by TELERADIO-Moldova for Eurovision TV, an international network with several millions of viewers. The two minute interview was broadcasted the week prior to the elections. He took the opportunity to present IFES/Moldova's activities for the past year as they lead up to the local elections.

IFES/Moldova was covered by Moldovan *BASA-Press*, which provided an overview of general election day observations of the domestic and international observers. *BASA-Press* credited IFES/Moldova with organizing, training, and coordinating the efforts of the domestic observers.

Dmitri Ciubashenco, Deputy Director of *INFOTAG News Agency*, and Valeriu Turta of *MoldPress Agency* interviewed IFES staff on IFES/Moldova's election assistance and voter education activities. IFES Election Expert Paul DeGregorio was interviewed by Moldovan National Television on the administration of the local elections. He also discussed several of the most commonly observed violations of the Election Law witnessed at the 17 polling stations he visited.

Dr. Constantin Marin, of the faculty of Journalism and Sciences of Communication, at the State University of Moldova, and IFES staff examined the possibility of launching a press monitoring project in Moldova.

### **G. Legal Assistance By Advising on Electoral Legal Issues**

During a meeting with the CEC, IFES presented the initial conclusions reached by the IFES-trained observers for the local elections. These domestic observers, accredited by IFES/Moldova for the runoffs, discussed possible reasons for the high level of election day absenteeism in Chisinau Municipality and other registered localities. IFES/Moldova also consulted the CEC on the official end of runoff elections. At this point, final results remain vague despite the completion of the runoffs. IFES also discussed the large number of invalid ballots - 12 percent republic-wide. Current analysis on election day violations of the Law on Local Elections and voting procedures has concluded that the Law itself requires amendment and clarification.

IFES Project Director Dorin Tudoran consulted Judge Vasile Pascari, CEC chairman, on the importance of domestic observers' participation in the April 16, 1995 Local Elections.

Vasile Pascari, CEC Chairman, implemented the following actions pertaining to election related-issues:

- Will analyze specific ambiguities found in the current Law on Local Elections
- Will entertain discussions of the practicality of creating a permanent CEC in Moldova
- Prepare for new elections scheduled to occur in 11 localities on June 25.

### **H. Reporting**

#### *Vocea Civica Newsletter*

IFES/Moldova continues to prepare its dual language *Vocea Civica* Newsletter for publishing. This first issue of the Newsletter contained a global comparative study of electoral systems and the rights

of the voters to free and fair elections. IFES/Moldova mailed the first and second issues of the *Vocea Civica* newsletter to each of the Executive Committees and Mayoralities of the Republic, as well as nearly sixty local and town newspapers throughout Moldova, embassies in Moldova, Moldovan NGOs, political parties and parliamentary factions. The newsletter was published in Romanian and Russian versions.

### *Election Results Manual*

IFES/Moldova staff is currently developing the IFES election result compendium for the local elections. This publication will include not only results nationwide, but the specific laws and amendments utilized in these elections and general observations made by the IFES-trained domestic observers. IFES/Moldova staff continues to coordinate details as they relate to the Compendium of Election Results from the April 16 elections with Valeriu Rusnac, Director, *TISH Ld.*, a local desktop publishing company.

### *Comprehensive Observer Information Packet*

At the CEC's request, IFES/Moldova has translated into English a comprehensive observer information package which includes several key documents:

- Status of Local Observers and Foreign Observers;
- Central Election Commission (CEC) information component;
- Official list of Political Parties, Blocs, and Sociopolitical Organizations taking part in the election; and
- Detailed contact information for local commission constituency leaders throughout Moldova.

IFES/Moldova is preparing a synthesis of amendments to the current draft project of the Law on NGOs, which were completed during the last Round table meeting on problems of NGO legislation. As stated earlier, the general material will be discussed in detail at the IFES NGO Seminar scheduled for July 28.

IFES' staff met with Association for Democracy Chairman Igor Grosu to analyze the National Observation report on the way the last new elections from July 25, 1995 have been conducted. This report was presented to CEC.

### *Europe and Asia Weekly Report*

Beginning in January 1995, IFES' Europe and Asia Division began what it considers a successful weekly report which includes full field coverage of activities ongoing in Moldova and other

countries in the Europe and Asia region. These weekly reports include sections designated as: *Consultations, Meetings and Training, Publications and Information*, and most importantly *Impact Summary*. This form of reporting has been very well received by individuals from USAID, Department of State, and foreign affairs specialists from Capitol Hill. IFES believes that through the dissemination of such impact-related information, USAID will have ready information to present not only to legislators but to all interested citizens of IFES activities in Europe and Asia.

## II. PROGRESS TOWARD ACHIEVING PROGRAM OBJECTIVES

During this quarter, considerable impact was made in the following areas:

### A. Institutional Reform

Cooperation between IFES/Moldova and CEC officials through the second round of elections shows an increased interest and trust in IFES' program activities in Moldova. In addition, specific problems have been detected in organizing local elections. In his letter of resignation from MADP, President Snegur said it is imperative to modify the local election law to avoid appointments of mayors by presidential decrees, adding that such a solution is a "pressure put on the democracy." IFES Election Expert Paul DeGregorio had made a similar statement to the CEC and parliament.

The CEC is facing difficulties in managing the electoral process during the local elections. This has allowed IFES/Moldova to return to our focus of creating a permanent, and professional CEC which will have the ability to stand firm on its ideas while passing the Law on Local Elections through Parliament.

A number of IFES beneficiaries have gained positions in the local power structures since the elections and seem to more clearly represent progressive democratic ideals. IFES anticipates that this on-going training and communication will amount to greater responsiveness to IFES initiatives.

#### *Election Assistance*

IFES-Moldova provided considerable assistance to the CEC up through election day by:

- Preparing all materials shared with the domestic and international observers at the CEC's request
- Supporting the CEC with logistical and technical assistance

IFES/Moldova staff and Paul DeGregorio also offered useful and timely recommendations during each of the two IFES-sponsored training seminars for domestic observers prior to election day.

In addition to his arduous work preparing for the Local Elections, Paul DeGregorio was formally requested by the CEC to prepare a full interpretation and assessment of the Law on the Local

Elections for future reference and referral

### *Observation Activities*

Project Director Dorin Tudoran met with the following individuals to coordinate election-day activities for foreign observers, prepare for a briefing of observers, and discuss cooperation: Giorgio Fontana, Election Advisor to the Office of Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE); Thomas Bucheli of the OSCE Mission to Moldova; Riccardo Priore, Administrative Officer, Council of Europe; and Jacques-Mederic Chevrot, Chairman, Commission for International Affairs, Council of Europe.

### **III. IMPLEMENTATION METHODOLOGY**

During this quarter, technical assistance, training, and support was undertaken via the following mechanisms:

- Continued activism on the part of the IFES-initiated Legal Administration Reform Working Group, NGO Working Group, and the Mass Media Working Group;
- Roundtables including representatives of the Government of Moldova, local administrative authorities, political parties, and NGOs we held throughout the quarter to develop professional relationships and areas of interest and need;
- Extensive Television and Radio Voter Outreach productions in close coordination with the CEC and Working Group were delivered after release of the nationwide poll and the Local Elections;
- First person observation of the second-round Local Elections with Embassy reporting was supported by IFES staff;
- Technical Support through a U.S. advisor to the CEC;
- IFES is procuring a compendium of final results of the Local Elections which will be released in the summer of 1995;
- An IFES nonpartisan Sociological Survey on the electoral climate was conducted prior to the Local Elections in April included more than 1700 citizens questioned in all regions of the country. This scientific survey was developed and produced in an IFES/*OPINIA* collaborative exercise in the past quarter. Results were released on April 8, 1995 in a press conference in Chisinau attended by more than 100 people including the U.S. Ambassador to Moldova, and a large audience of Moldovan press;
- Active participation in topical conferences throughout the region expanding the knowledge

base and institutional recognition of IFES/Moldova's activities and resources available for public use; and

- Commodity Assistance to the CEC for the Local Elections was delivered.

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

No problems noted in this quarter in Moldova.

# RUSSIA

## I. PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

### A. Electoral Reform

#### *Election Law Analysis Continues*

This quarter was an active month with parliamentary consideration of draft federal election legislation that, following several defeats in the upper house and a presidential veto, was finally worked out in conference committee, passed by both houses of parliament, and signed into law by the president. As the draft legislation became law, IFES work in this area shifted toward the development of recommendations on administrative regulations and instructions necessary to adequately implement the laws, limited support of the development of regional election legislation, and the provision of information on and interpretation of the laws for members of the policy, development, and academic communities both in Russia and the United States. Information and analysis were requested by USAID, NDI, IRI, FTUI, the Kreible Institute, CSIS, OMRI, OSCE, and numerous embassies in Moscow, to name a few. In particular, a comparative grid on federal election laws, an administrative review for the purposes of development poll worker training materials, and a legal review of transparency mechanisms were undertaken this quarter.

#### *St. Petersburg Examines the Development of Local Election Legislation*

On 28-29 April 1995, IFES conducted a conference on "Legal Regulation of Election Campaigns: The St. Petersburg Experience and Development of Regional Election Law," in conjunction with the City Election Commission and the St. Petersburg Strategy Center. The program incorporated Russian and American speakers. Among the themes covered during plenary and workshop sessions were: The Constitutional Basis of the Electoral System; Problems of Developing Regional and Local Election Legislation; Legal Regulation of Elections: The View of Election Commissions; Judicial Review of Election Campaigns: The View of the Courts; Strengths and Weaknesses of Draft Federal Election Legislation; Recommendations on Improving the St. Petersburg Electoral Code; Proportional Versus Majoritarian Representation; The Impact of Election Systems on the Development of Political Structures; and The Role of Election Legislation in the Creation of a Professional Parliament.

The conference was attended by nearly 100 policy makers representing election commissions, regional legislative and executive authorities, Members of the State Duma, and representatives of political parties, the mass media, and think tanks all of whom are engaged in the development of federal or regional election legislation. During the

conference proceedings, an informal survey to determine the attitudes of decision makers concerning the evolution of Russia's electoral system:

- \* Some 76% of respondents think a mixed system of representation should be used on election the St. Petersburg Legislative Assembly
- \* As for municipal bodies of local self-governance, 63% favored a majoritarian system, while 24% endorsed a mixed system.
- \* Fully 83% of the participants called for two-stage voting for elections to the St. Petersburg Legislative Assembly.
- \* With regard to voter turn-out thresholds, 51% agreed with establishing a low threshold, ie. A minimal percentage of citizens taking in the election in order for that election to be valid. The remaining 49% wanted no threshold.
- \* Of those participants who favored a threshold requirement, 57% wanted the floor to be set at 25% turnout, while 28% wanted a 50% turnout.
- \* Some 80% of respondents wanted to introduce limitations, eg. More stringent residency requirements, on the right to elect and be elected into the St. Petersburg Legislative Assembly and the Office of Mayor. Interestingly, some of the limitations recommended by conference participants, if adopted into legislation, would violate the Federal Voting Rights Act.
- \* Concerning ballot access issues, 65% believed that the system of collecting signatures for candidates to gain access to the ballot must be improved (with fees, or a combination of fees and signature collection, primary elections, and better regulations listed a possible means of improvement).
- \* Nearly 70% of the respondents favored increased state regulation of campaign financing and 80% agreed that limitations should be set on the size of private financing of campaigns.

A publication incorporating the conference presentations, the recommendations of the working groups, St. Petersburg draft election legislation, and the complete survey results will be compiled and sent to the 289 Subject of Federation Election Commissions.

#### *Roundtable Series Explores Further Regulation of Campaign Finance*

Another in the Roundtable Series on Electoral Reforms was conducted. This followed on previous discussions, the most recent of which had been held in the United States during an IFES-sponsored training program for CEC Vice-Chairman Alexander Ivanchenko and

several of his colleagues from the Election Law Working Group and dedicated to the topic of campaign financing. The roundtable was attended by CEC commissioners and staff, members of the political factions in the State Duma, and representatives of public policy foundations and fundraising groups. IFES election law consultant Robert Dahl opened the roundtable by explaining that the discussion would focus on problems that were anticipated to occur in the upcoming elections. He noted that the draft federal election legislation contained more detailed provisions on campaign finance regulation than existing legal percent, but that significant gaps still existed in the law.

Four issues were identified as focal points of the discussion. These included disclosure, enforcement, compliance, and public awareness. Reporting on the source of campaign contributions, questions of regulating "in kind" contributions, and assessing penalties, e.g. on whether violations were considered civil or criminal and on graduated fines, were of particular interest to the participants. Questions on how to deal with the involvement of organized crime and the raising of campaign funds prior to the official opening of the official campaign period were also raised.

As an introduction to the broader audience, the head of the CEC Department of Campaign Finance, Tamara Petronavichus, was asked to provide some information on reform of the campaign finance system in Russia. She noted that in 1993, the CEC did provide instructions on campaign finance reporting. At that time, there were not limits on donations. She added that there were 2,100 candidates in the 1993 election and that the CEC received disclosure reports from all but 78 of them. It should be noted however, that questions were raised about the accuracy of some of the reports provided by certain campaigns. According to Petronavichus, the new legislation stresses greater openness. Post-election reporting is stipulated in the law regarding fund raising and campaign expenditures, although candidates are also expected to supply information on the sources of funds throughout the campaign. This information is to be published by the electoral commissions. She admitted, however, that the CEC's problem in this area was a technical one, as the banks in Russia are not adequately equipped, eg. lack of computers, to provide information on a timely basis.

Dahl indicated that the question of the role of banks was an important one in terms of monitoring the cash flow. While banks were indicated as a starting point for regulating the system, he also noted the role of political parties, the press, and other governmental bodies. He also stressed the issue of timing. Dahl observed that the election commission may not be able to get comprehensive information on expenditures until after the election was over, but that a penalty system could be employed if violations were discovered after the election. Reporting on the sources of campaign donations, i.e., contributions made during the election campaign, was critical throughout the entire process. In addition, he raised the issue of "in-kind" contributions of goods and services that were just as valuable as money. Such goods or services might include very low office rental costs, printing costs, etc. Dahl raised this as a serious concern for the upcoming elections as there is no

reference to such contributions in the new election legislation. On-Site Elections Specialist Conny McCormack then spent some time explaining the process of assessing a fair market value for in-kind contributions as a means of controlling such contributions.

Dahl mentioned that when the political system in Russian becomes more sophisticated, the system will become more self-policing. In other words, the press and the political campaigns would monitor each other. On-Site Project Manager Michael Caputo then gave some real life examples of how this worked in the United States. Interestingly, representatives of the political parties present were not enthusiastic about monitoring their competition. Dahl added that it is unrealistic and unreasonable to assume that the CEC and the electoral commission structure could be effective in monitoring all the instances of campaign finance abuse.

The discussion then turned to punishing violators and the circumstances under which violations would be treated as civil or criminal in nature. Alexi Souchillin, head of the CEC Department of Information and leader of the Election Law Working Group, reported that both the Duma and the Federation Council had approved changes to the criminal code that would impose fines upon campaign violators. These changes, which addressed the failure to provide or failure to publish reports on spending campaign funds during the conduct of elections and the unlawful receipt of funds by a candidate or election coalition, are awaiting signature by President Yeltsin. These proposed provisions encompass 20 different amendments to articles in the criminal code. According to these amendments, if candidates or campaign organizations fail to provide information on the amount or source of contributions a fine will be assessed. Mr. Souchillin added, however, that separate legislation on the issue of campaign financing was needed to clarify references in the electoral code and to make regulations more comprehensive. He hopes that such a law could be passed prior to the Presidential Elections in 1996.

## **B. Building an Institutional Memory and Promoting Transparency**

### *IFES Asked to Develop Operational Strategy for CEC Candidate Information Office*

At the request of the CEC, IFES set about developing an operational strategy for a CEC Candidate Information Office, slated for opening sometime in late August 1995. The aim of the Candidate Information Office (CIO) will be to provide information to candidates and other political entities on the rights, restrictions, requirements, and timetables, and continuing interpretation of the electoral code. Disseminating information in a clear and useful manner will enable participants to comply with the law and lessen the need for official enforcement measures. Broader knowledge of the law also helps the entire election system function more efficiently. The CEC must assess potential methods for distributing informational materials and match them to specific objectives. To implement communications through a candidate information office, the CEC can either seek to communicate directly with political entities or indirectly through lower level election

commissions, or by some cooperative effort.

In the first installment of the operational strategy, Election Law Expert Robert Dahl advised the CEC that the CIO should, ultimately, be able to provide the following essential products and services:

- \* Campaign Guides: Create and make available informational materials which describe rights, restrictions, requirements, timetables, and CEC interpretation of elections laws in clear and relatively simple terms.
- \* Periodic Notices: Create a mailing list of candidates and other political participants and determine a means for regular distribution of routine and emergency notices; periodically send to this distribution list information about new regulatory developments and "reminder notices of important deadlines and legal obligations.
- \* Information Network: Utilize an information officer network through the election commission structure to provide a contact point for inquiries and for organizing informational seminars.
- \* Telephone and Fax Assistance: Create a "hotline" for receiving requests for information and giving advice and assistance.

While IFES recognizes that this plan is ambitious, is perhaps beyond the technological capacity of the CEC at this juncture, and cannot be fully implemented in time for the Parliamentary elections, it does serve as a long term blueprint for making the CEC more accessible to and supportive of political participants in the process. IFES is pursuing a three phased implementation plan with fundamental objectives being established for the December 1995 elections, to be followed on by further enhancements for the June 1996 elections, and ultimately the on-going services of the permanent commission. In addition to the provision of this installment of the operational strategy during this quarter, IFES worked with CEC personnel to strive for as much openness as possible in the upcoming elections, in particular a wider distribution of existing information documents.

#### *IFES and CEC Institute International Media Advisories*

In preparation for the upcoming Parliamentary elections, IFES has encouraged the CEC to initiate a series of press briefings for the international media in Moscow. The first advisory was held on 29 June 1995 with the New York Times, the Wall Street Journal, Associated Press, and Reuters. The briefing proved insightful, as journalists received up to the minute information ranging from the status of election legislation in the parliament and awaiting signature by the president to the process of constituency delimitation. A story was carried on Associated Press on election readiness. Through a regular series of

advisories, IFES is hoping to further open the process and to establish a more routinized flow of information between the mass media and the CEC during the campaign period that continue on election day, during the tabulation process, and in the aftermath of the elections.

### *Work Begins on Transparency Primer*

In response to concerns over the openness and accountability of the election process, and to familiarize political activists as well as USG-funded groups in Russia with the legally sanctioned mechanisms of participation in and oversight of the process, IFES has undertaken a review of all federal election legislation relative to transparency issues and is preparing a primer for distribution in the fall. The primer, drafting of which began this quarter, will address such topics as the means of obtaining an appointment to an election commission both for voting and consultative members, rights to information on the activities and decisions of election commissions, categories of observers entitled to credentials according to the law, the right of parties to be present at the adjudication of disputes involving them, access provided to the mass media, and the introduction of a third copy of the protocol of results for review by candidate and media representatives, among other things. This straightforward document should assist political participants and the media in fulfilling their oversight function while staying within the parameters of the law, while guiding foreign NGOs in the development of programming during the campaign period.

## **C. Voter Education and Outreach**

### *Meetings of the Voter Education Working Group Continue in Moscow and Regions*

During this quarter, meetings of the Voter Education Working Group were conducted in Moscow, St. Petersburg, Novosibirsk, Nizhy Novgorod, and Voronezh. During these meetings representatives of the CEC and regional election commissions met with educators, media representatives, and activists to discuss means of communicating non-partisan informational, educational, and mobilizational messages to the general electorate and to target groups. Feedback from these meetings is being used by the CEC in the development and implementation of a national voter education strategy as mandated by Presidential Decree for future elections.

### *Conference Evaluates Pilot Testing of Mock Election Exercises and Finalizes Young and First Time Voters Curriculum for Introduction in Russian Schools*

On Friday 21 April, another mock election, part of the IFES/CEC pilot program for educating first time voters, was held with Mitychi area school students, grades 9 - 12 participated in a candidate debate, press conference, and voting. Five students, four girls and one boy, ran for the office of "president," presented their programs, answered

questions from the "press corps" and their "constituents." Additional students served as "election commissioners" and "domestic monitors." IFES Senior Program Officer Catherine Barnes was invited to participate as an "international observer." Two history teachers supervised the events and one of the school's math teachers, who has also served as Chairman of the District Election Commission, assisted with registration lists, ballots, and vote counting. Considerable efforts were undertaken to mimic real elections in Russia. Each ballot, for example, was validated with the school stamp. One voter showed up at the polling site with two pieces of identification claiming that his brother was sick and had asked him to vote on his behalf. The "chairman" of the commission explained the proper procedure for applying to vote via the portable ballot box. He also noted that proxy voting was not allowed according to the law. The dissatisfied voter then submitted a complaint in writing which was submitted to a higher election authority, in this case, the math teacher, who ruled in favor of the lower commission. An evaluation of the event was provided by IFES with recommendations for further follow-on activities.

The results and practical experience of pilot tests, such as the one mentioned above, were shared and evaluated at the second Yelochka Conference conducted 23 - 25 June 1995. Senior representatives from the CEC, Presidential Administration, Ministry of Education, State Duma, and other agencies met with nearly 30 teachers from across the federation who have been implementing the pilot test of the mock election exercise and voter education curriculum. During the first day of the conference, CEC representatives reemphasized their commitment to educating the future voters of Russia on the importance of free and fair elections. During the second day, participants rotated between three working groups which were tasked with editing articles to be included in the curriculum, evaluating the success of the pilot tests, and developing creative means of implementing the curriculum to suit the individual needs of the school and to best utilize the current election campaign climate. Based on the reports of the working groups, final edits are being made to the curriculum so that the finished product can be submitted to the CEC and the Ministry of Education this fall. Copies of the curriculum should emerge by late summer. Distribution is to be sponsored by the Ministry of Education.

#### *IFES and the CEC Hold Conference on Young Voter Participation in Elections*

On 6 - 7, June IFES and the CEC conducted a conference on youth mobilization for and participation in the upcoming parliamentary elections. Youth activists from 28 Russian cities came to Moscow for information and training and a tour of the CEC offices. Vice-Chairman Alexander Ivanchenko and other high-level staff members addressed the groups and took questions on the new election process. Strategy sessions on increasing voter turn-out among youth in the regions were also conducted.

#### *IFES Prepares Pilot Video Program for Young Voters for Use By the CEC*

During this quarter, IFES developed and produced a pilot video for the CEC to consider

as a model for targeted mass media programs directed at young voters. It is also expected that the pilot, itself, may be aired on national television in the fall. The program was approximately thirty minutes in length and feature representatives from the CEC and the Duma Committee on Legal Reform. The format of the pilot program mixed politics and information with popular music, which generated greater appeal for young views than the bureaucratic "talking head," which has been the symbol of official, non-partisan voter education messages in the past.

The program opened with live music and then turned to introductions of the guests and audience. Throughout the program, the young moderator facilitated questions and answers between the election official and parliamentarians and the audience on the upcoming elections and issues of concern to young voters. About half way through the show, the band returned with another performance. Following the second question and answer segment, the show closed with the band doing another song, as the election officials and parliamentarians mingled with audience members. Feedback from the audience was positive both in terms of enjoyment and educational value. It appears that this approach will prove an excellent tool in helping young Russians learn about their rights and responsibilities in the election process and the democratic system.

#### *IFES Initiates Baseline Survey of Voter Awareness*

Upon a special project authorization from USAID, IFES began work on a baseline survey of voter awareness designed to measure the electorate's familiarity with the new electoral process, their attitude toward election and government authorities, and their feelings about a multi-party system in general, and politicians, more specifically. The survey, which was highly technical, asked respondents how to properly mark ballots, to identify actual from fictitious limitations on voting rights, and to identify types of election law violations they might have witnessed in the 1993 elections or anticipate occurring in the 1995 elections. The 100 question survey was designed by IFES Consultant Gary Ferguson and pre-tested by CESSI, a Russian firm contracted by IFES. Pre-testing was monitored by IFES consultant Rich Raquet, who also oversaw revisions to the wording of some survey questions. The 4,000 person survey was completed in July with results currently being entered and analyzed. IFES anticipates release of the results sometime in September.

#### **D. Election Official and Poll Worker Training**

##### *IFES and CEC Develop Comprehensive Election Official and Poll Worker Training Program*

Following initial discussions in the month of March, this May IFES initiated a special Working Group on Poll Worker Training with CEC staff and tasked with developing a comprehensive election official and poll worker training program for the upcoming elections and in compliance with the Presidential Decree on this topic. Copies of the IFES

designed precinct flip guide were provided to the commissioners for their input and commentary. At the March meeting, IFES offered to develop an election official training manual and an easy reference precinct flip guide. These materials were developed and translated into Russian language for submission to the CEC at a meeting on 25 May, which included Dr. Victor Klimov, Abraham Direnik, and Larisa Zagulieve.

While a training manual provided to the CEC was designed to assist election officials in the implementation of the election laws during the campaign period, on election day, and during the tabulation of results, while the "What To Do If" flipguide is intended for use by poll workers on election day when confronting specific situations that are likely to occur and which will require an immediate decision. At the suggestion of the CEC, IFES also met with the Chairman and Secretary of the St. Petersburg Election Commission to solicit input and commentary from these representatives of a subordinate election commission, which is closer to the daily administrative tasks involved in the election. This meeting was held on Monday 29 May and included On-Site Elections Specialist Conny McCormack and Ingrid Gonzales, Registrar of Voters for San Bernardino County, CA and Germain Wong, Registrar of Voters for San Francisco, CA.

On 16 June, IFES Election Specialist Conny McCormack attended the third meeting of the Poll Worker Training Group to review the development of training materials for the December 1995 parliamentary elections. The CEC now plans to publish its own training manual based, in part, on input by IFES. In addition, the CEC committed to publishing and distributing IFES' version of a precinct flip-chart for easy reference by poll workers. The flip guide will be used as a companion document to the more formal manual and instruction that the CEC will provide. A tentative timetable was discussed for production of the training and reference materials. Victor Klimov, Director of the Information and Analytical Department indicated that the training materials should be completed by early October. The target date for distribution was set for late October or early November. An election preparation conference has been by the CEC for September in St. Petersburg. In attendance will be the Chairmen of the Subject and Constituency level election commissions. This will be followed by a series of approximately 8 regional seminars for Territorial Election Commissions. Poll Worker Training will be included on the agenda of each event and IFES has been invited to participate.

Also on 16 June, IFES provided Direnik Abramin, CEC Division Head of Poll Worker Training, training videos from Australia, Great Britain, and the US. Upon reviewing these videos, Abramin indicated that he was impressed with the manner in which they covered a host of issues during a short time frame. He is considering dubbing one or more of the videos into Russian to show to other members of the CEC with the possibility that, at some point in the future, the CEC may develop a video training program.

Another Working Group meeting was held on 24 June at which On-Site Elections Specialist Conny McCormack advised CEC Commissioner Juri Vedeneev, CEC Bulliten

Editor Tamara Lazarava, and Education Director Derenik Abryamyan on essential poll worker issues. According to Ms. Lazarava, the CEC Bulliten, which is likely to include poll worker training materials, is currently produced monthly, but will occur more regularly during the campaign period. Its print run will also grow from 27,000 copies to 100,000 copies. During a discussion of production of distribution deadlines for the election official and poll worker training materials, it was discovered that the CEC had not developed an election calendar of legal deadlines. At that time, IFES offered to assist in the development of such a calendar as an essential management tool for election authorities. It was determined that the final draft of the flip guide be ready in early September with distribution in October. The publication run was set at 100,000 copies.

#### **E. Symposia, Conferences, and Election Official Exchanges**

No regional conferences or international exchanges were conducted this quarter.

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

During this quarter, considerable impact was made in the following areas:

- A. *Legal Reform:* Legislation on elections to the State Duma and the Russian Presidency were signed into law. Several recommendations made by IFES advisors were incorporated into the law, these in addition to the previous suggestions included in the Voting Rights Act:
- \* Elaboration of language on the formation of election commissions at the Subject of the Russian Federation level, including the size of commissions, the deadline for their formation, and basis for selection of membership and leadership of the commission. And, specification of grounds for removal of members of commission.
  - \* Clear identification of where and when printed election materials may be displayed.
  - \* Inclusion of language allowing for political affiliation of candidates running for single mandate seats to be listed on the ballot, thereby contributing to the name identification of political parties and providing another means of institutionalization.
  - \* Clarification of definition of the number of voters having participated in the election, which will be based on the number of ballots issued rather than the number of ballots cast. This was a significant controversy in the 12 December 1993 elections.
  - \* Identification of precise timetables/deadlines for reporting of information and

election results by electoral commissions and enforcement procedures and mechanisms pertaining to political party and electoral association compliance with the law as well as the redress of grievances.

- \* Expansion of language pertaining to the sources, disposition, reporting, monitoring of campaign finances as well as punitive measures in response to non-compliance.
- \* Further delineation of requirements for registration with the CEC of political parties seeking access to the ballot and disclosure of candidate nomination procedures.
- \* Inclusion of language barring candidates from running for office under more than one political party or election bloc on the party list ballot.

B. *Institutional Reform:* A number of positive steps were taken toward the creation of a more independent and professional election commission in Russia, which reflect recommendations of IFES advisors and further support advances made during the last two quarters, among them:

- \* To better facilitate political party and candidate organization compliance with election laws and provide timely provision of information of issues that affect their participation in the election process, the CEC is planning to open a Candidate Information Office on the first floor of the CEC Building for the December 1995 elections. This office is based, in part, on its counterpart in the FEC, which has been toured on several training missions for CEC officials sponsored by IFES.
- \* Transparency has actually been built into the system according to Article 28 of the draft federal law "On Elections to the State Duma of the Russian Federation." According to this article, "The activities of election commissions shall be open and public. Candidates and their official agents, representatives of electoral associations (civic groups and political parties) and electoral blocs (coalitions) and the mass media are entitled to attend meetings of election commissions. Decisions of the election commission shall be published in the press and submitted to other mass media." In addition, representatives of political parties concerned with complaints brought to the committees' attention are entitled to attend sessions which the grievance is addressed.

Furthermore, the draft federal law introduces a third protocol of results specifically for review of domestic monitors and media representatives.

- \* Initial progress has also been made in establishing a CEC election archive, which is currently being organized through the IFES Election Resource Center. Nearly 500 English-language election sources and 230 Russian-language election

documents have been catalogued and are available to federal and regional election authorities in Russia.

Provisions for the creation of an institutional memory have also been built into the new election laws, e.g. Article 23 of the draft federal law on elections to the State Duma stipulates that election commissions must "Provide submission of documents related to the conduct and administration of the election to the archive."

- \* With regard to the professionalism and integrity of election commissions, the CEC has been mandated by the President's Administration to develop a uniform training program for election officials and poll workers. The CEC has already drafted a strategy paper for poll worker training, has conducted several conferences with IFES for regional election commission chairmen on new laws and procedures, and is drafting a poll worker training manual and reference flip-guide for precinct election commissions, also with the help of IFES, for the 17 December 1995 elections. The comprehensive training program must be operational by August 1995 to ensure implementation and the CEC and IFES staffs are working vigorously to ensure that this deadline is met.
- \* In another exciting development, IFES has been informed that the CEC has initiated discussions with the Ministry of Defense on reforming the process of voting by military personnel. The CEC is investigating the possibility of introducing absentee balloting so that military personnel can remain registered in their home districts rather than voting on closed military installations under the supervision of their commanding officers and without the oversight function of domestic monitors. The catalyst for these discussions was training conducted for CEC representatives on the US on the Federal Voter's Assistance Act, which provides for absentee voting by military and diplomatic personnel and their dependents. CEC representatives toured the support office for this program in the Pentagon and were so impressed by the services provided, that this dialogue was opened with the Ministry of Defense.

C. *Voter Education:* Efforts to design and introduce an official national program for the non-partisan education of first-time voters on the basics of their electoral rights and responsibilities, balloting procedures, and the new system of elections in Russia system has moved from the development to the pilot testing stage and yielded encouraging results:

- \* The conceptual framework for a four-week curriculum on voter education, developed by CEC and Ministry of Education staff and a regional teacher's working group been developed into a teacher's guide including informational articles by the CEC leadership; the voter education curriculum including lesson plans, student assignments, instructions on conducting mock elections, visual aides, and suggested reading; commentary by teacher's who participated in the pilot

testing the program; and a glossary of election terms developed by the CEC Editorial Department. The guide has been submitted to the CEC for technical review and has already been endorsed for use in secondary school classrooms by the Ministry of Education. The curriculum is to be published and distributed in August by the CEC and the Ministry of Education in time for the 1995-1996 school year.

- \* While a select number of schools in the Capitol and provincial cities were identified for pilot testing of the program, news of the curriculum has spread quickly as a result of positive media coverage, promotion by the CEC and the Ministry of Education, and word of mouth within professional teachers' associations. This has fueled the momentum of the pilot testing with additional schools participating in the program of their own volition. Given its growth at this stage of the process, IFES is encouraged that upon introduction through the school system a sustainable program will have been achieved which will impact generations of young people in Russia.
- \* CEC representatives continue their active involvement in the pilot testing of the program, attending and monitoring classroom activities, and have shared information on the program with regional election chairmen. In addition, regional and local election officials have been supportive of mock election exercises in their districts lending election commodities, ex. ballot boxes, giving presentations, and serving as "official observers" during the "balloting process."
- \* Due to the success of cooperative initiatives in this area, IFES and the CEC are embarking on a major voter education and mobilization effort targeted toward Russia's youth which combines mass mediated messages and coordinated activities by grass-roots youth organization's (NGOs). Initial activities, including a CEC conference on get out the vote with young activists and a pilot video program during which CEC Vice-Chairman Alexander Ivanchenko answered questions posed by young voters, has generated significant enthusiasm and interest. The program is to be funded by a combination of public and private sources both from the United States and Russia.
- \* In response to a Presidential mandate that they provide fundamental non-partisan election information to the voters, the CEC developed a strategy paper which highlights youth oriented voter education programs like these one implemented through Russia's 66,000 school districts, institutions of higher learning, grass-roots NGOs, and the mass media. IFES On-Site Project Manager Michael Caputo has been the only foreigner nominated to sit on the official working group coordinating official voter education initiatives.

### III. IMPLEMENTATION METHODOLOGY

During this quarter, technical assistance and training was undertaken via the following mechanisms:

- \* Roundtables on Electoral Reform/Topical Conferences
- \* Working Group on Poll Worker Training /Product Development
- \* Analyses of Election Law
- \* Baseline Survey of Voter Awareness
- \* Voter Education Working Group
- \* Operational Strategy for Candidate Information Office
- \* On-Site Technical Advising/Training/Servicing of Requests
- \* Building and Cataloguing of ERC/CEC Archive Materials
- \* Development of Pilot Video on Youth Voter Education
- \* First Time Voter Curriculum Pilot Testing/Evaluation Conference
- \* CEC Media Advisories

### IV. ISSUES AND PROBLEMS

- A. To secure more office space at a more reasonable price, IFES has moved its offices from the center of town and near the CEC to a location more proximate to USAID and the US Embassy (this is the former space of NDI). The new address is Mali Kakovinsky Per, dom. 2/6, kv. 11. The phone numbers of 232 38 29 and 232 3820. The fax number is 241 2366 and the E-mail address is ifes\_mow@redline.ru.
- B. During this quarter, significant time and effort were devoted to resolving the funding dilemma for Year II of the IFES Russia Project following the decision by USAID -- in light of reduced congressional appropriations -- to "zero out" FY 95 funds for Year II of the IFES Russia Project, despite the occurrence of both parliamentary and presidential elections during that implementation cycle. It was assumed by USAID that IFES Year I Russia funding could be stretched to last through the Presidential Elections three-fourths of the way into Year II. This was, in fact, unrealistic. IFES was encouraged, on several occasions, to apply for performance funds for its Russia Project and did so, although the availability of performance funds for Russia were subsequently called into question by USAID and, to date, IFES has not been notified whether or not such an award would be likely.

IFES has, however, been assured by ENI/DG/PSP and USAID Moscow that they support the IFES program in Russia through February 1996 and, at that time, may consider extending the program through the Presidential Elections in June 1996. For its part, IFES has identified \$501,841 in program cost and

indirect cost savings from NIS countries in FY94 and has requested that those funds be reprogrammed/made available for use in Russia Year II. IFES is awaiting a response from USAID Contracts Office. According to the revised Russia Year II budget submitted to USAID, \$601,811 will be required to sustain the program through February 1996.

- C. With regard to funding cuts and programmatic adjustments, USAID Moscow favors a narrowing of IFES' focus to include only issues of transparency and accountability, poll worker training, and support of the candidate information office. It should be noted that USAID Moscow gives the candidate information office a low priority despite the fact that it would provide greater access to the CEC by political parties and candidates and would significantly enhance the flow of information to these entities as well as assist them in issues of legal compliance and which supports the top priority of USAID Moscow, that being the transparency and accountability of the process. Only at the direction of USAID Moscow is IFES reducing its role in this CEC initiative.

With this narrowing of focus, it is not clear to IFES how it is to respond to requests by the CEC that may represent its current needs but fall outside of the newly established parameters of the IFES program as defined by USAID Moscow although the Cooperative Agreement would allow for such activities. Is this a question of cost or of function? Moreover, there is confusion over how IFES is to proceed with commitments undertaken in Year I which flow into Year II and were previously authorized by USAID, but again fall outside of the newly established parameters of the IFES program (for example the baseline survey of voter awareness, the field work for which was conducted in Year I but the analysis of and reporting on results will occur in Year II).

IFES has asked USAID Moscow to communicate all significant changes in the nature and scope of the IFES program, relative to that which USAID committed in the Cooperative Agreement to the IFES Board of Directors in writing. IFES Moscow has also asked that it be provided -- in writing -- with those objectives that USAID Moscow expects to be met relative to those priorities which it has established or backed, so that IFES can clearly communicate this set of expectations to the CEC, in the hope that these expectations can be met. Thus, far, IFES has received no such written notifications.

- D. IFES appreciates the feedback that it has received from USAID Moscow that they are pleased with the impacts of the IFES project and that funding and programmatic adjustments are, rather, a result of concerns over allegations of fraud in the upcoming elections, which have led USAID to pull away from its original commitment to the electoral reform. With regard to those impacts and concerns about the CEC, IFES would ask that USAID consider that if the CEC

were not amenable to IFES recommendations and suggestions as well as those made by the observer groups during the 1993 elections, the impacts achieved thus far would not be as significant. The CEC remains one of the best vehicles for systemic reforms of the democratic process, as opposed to case by case successes, or no impact whatsoever.

IFES, while conceding that in a country of 95,000 polling sites, instances of localized malfeasance and mistakes will happen, has consistently urged USAID to be cautious in the current political environment of making accusations of systemic fraud six months out from the election and based on speculation rather than evidence. IFES has also pointed out the weakness of the argument that if systemic fraud were to occur, it would be committed by the communists and fascists. According to polling data, it would appear that conservative forces will fare well in the elections without having to stuff ballot boxes. It should also be considered that the party in power would have equal, if not greater, means and incentive, to manipulate election returns.

Finally, IFES is also concerned by the preoccupation with falsification of election returns during the tabulation process by election or other administrative personnel relative to abuses of the law during the campaign period by political parties and candidate organizations, for example with regard to campaign financing.

- E. One issue that has been at the forefront of discussions during the USAID NGO Roundtables in Moscow has been the possibility of conducting a parallel vote count or observing by indigenous NGO monitors with or without foreign financing. IFES has repeatedly communicated that under any circumstances such an activity is not permissible under federal election legislation. While partisan and international observers can be credentialed according to the law and have been welcomed by the CEC, there is no provision for NGO monitors. With regard to parallel vote counts, which for reasons of integrity must be conducted by non-partisan groups, there remains an absence of language on NGO observers and prohibitions on election forecasting on election day.
- F. In order to improve its outreach with members of parliament and the executive branch, as well as political parties, the CEC has requested that some of the proposed roundtables (depending upon the topic) be expanded to incorporate more participants. As a result, some roundtables were "upgraded" to the status of conferences or retreats. IFES will keep USAID informed about the possible change in approach of the CEC and whether this has an effect on the number of "roundtables" versus the number of "conference" conducted during any 6-month work cycle.



# UKRAINE

## I. PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

### A. Electoral Reform

*IFES Legal Team and CEC Chairman Appointed to Draft Election Laws Working Group of the Committee on Legal Policy and Law and Judicial Reform of the Supreme Rada<sup>1</sup>*

As of June 1995, Judge Bohdan A. Futey (US Court of Federal Claims) and Steven B. Nix were formally appointed to the *Draft Election Laws Working Group* along with CEC Chairman Ivan Yemets, deputies Oleksandr Lavrynovych, Victor Shishkin and Ihor Koliushko. The Working Group has been tasked by Committee Chairman Volodymyr Stretovych with analyzing, offering suggestions, and supporting the content of the draft election laws (presidential, parliamentary, local) to be presented on the floor of the Supreme Rada for ratification. The Working Group is only part of an overall Memorandum of Understanding presented to IFES by the Committee inviting IFES to function as the Committee's outside legal counsel in drafting 5 laws. The Memorandum was signed as of July 20, 1995. The overall objective of joint activity is to assist Parliament in the legislative process, the continuation of Parliament's efforts to improve its level of professionalism, its quality of legislative drafting and to assist with appropriate changes in the following laws:

- \* Parliamentary Election Law of Ukraine (first reading completed, second by September 95);
- \* Presidential Election Law of Ukraine (initiation of draft still undecided);
- \* Local Election Law of Ukraine (work on draft to begin in September 1995, first reading October 95);
- \* Law on Political Parties of Ukraine (work on draft to begin in September 1995, first reading October 1995);
- \* Law on Judicial Building in Ukraine (work on draft to begin in October 1995, first reading November 1995)

Recently, the Committee on Legal Policy and Law and Judicial Reform has asked IFES to expand its activities to include work on the draft "Law on Citizens' Organizations" and additional laws to be considered this fall.

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<sup>1</sup>Committee previously referred to as the Legal Reform Committee



## **B. Building an Institutional Memory and Promoting Transparency**

### *Gathering Elections Data for Online Server and Future Publications*

Influenced by the popularity of IFES' *Elections in Ukraine 1994* and the general thirst for information related to elections and representatives in Parliament, the IFES/Kyiv office has been updating information on election returns, candidate lists, and gathering elected deputy platforms, biographies, photos, committee rosters and party charters to place (in English and Ukrainian) on an online server for the consumption of individuals and institutions both domestically and internationally. Although still under construction the IFES/Ukraine home page can be accessed on the World Wide Web (WWW) at the address: <http://WWW.FreeNet.Kiev.UA/IFES/IFES.HTML>.

The online server is intended to provide the CEC and other governmental and non-governmental institutions with an example of a useful public access information service under the premise that knowledge that greater understanding of the democratic electoral process by the population allows them to better participate in elections.

Realizing that many individuals within Ukraine would still be incapable of accessing such information, IFES will continue to use the data collected in a series of publications targeted for these individuals.

### *Publication of Election Law Compendium of Central and Eastern Europe*

After a lengthy process of gathering presidential and parliamentary election laws of Central and Eastern Europe, updating, translating and editing them in Ukrainian, Russian, and English, IFES has received the first edition the *Election Law Compendium of Central and Eastern Europe* from the printer as of July 31, 1995. As a product of the December 1994 ACEEEO Kyiv Conference, the publication was intended for use by students, scholars, legislators, international observers, and other individuals interested in understanding and comparing the laws of the region's democratic electoral processes. IFES intends to distribute the publication to government institutions, universities, public libraries, and political parties. There has already been a great deal of enthusiasm expressed for this unique resource on election law in Central and Eastern Europe both within and without Ukraine. Governments around the world considering the initiation of a system of democratic elections or in reforming their current systems now have an authoritative source to explore the Central and Eastern European experience for useful suggestions on how to proceed.

## **C. Voter Education and Outreach**

### *Initiating the Voter Education/Information Project*

IFES/Ukraine Project Manager Terry Holcomb has established two working groups to help develop the projects outlined in IFES' next workplan period. The working groups are the Voter Education Working Group (VEWG) and the Mass Media Working Group (MMWG). Representatives of the Presidential Administration, the Library Association of Kyiv, the Ukrainian Academy of Science's Sociology Department, the CEC, the Academy of Political Science, the Association of Democratic Councils of Ukraine, the Christian Democratic Party of Ukraine, and the Democratic Party of Ukraine have all expressed interest in assisting IFES in initiating both voter education and information programs through these working groups and to help distribute materials developed through the project. Already a thorough distribution network involving public libraries in Ukraine has been developed with the assistance of Dr. Valentyna Pashkova, President of the Ukrainian Library Association. In June 48 libraries participating in the Association received shipments of thirteen IFES publications produced both this and last year.

IFES continues to use the nationwide survey conducted in December 1994 to shape voter education and outreach projects according to the Ukrainian electorate's frustration with a lack of information on the meaning of democratic reform and the progress Ukraine has made to date. Using existing institutions such as public libraries to disseminate useful information on the development, process and results of democratic elections is a fundamental precept of IFES' projects to increase voter awareness.

IFES has been cited by the *Washington Post* ("Ukraine Votes Austerity Spending Bill: Action Designed to Free IMF Loan," 4/7/95, "Ukraine's Lawmakers Vote to Boost President's Power," 5/19/95, "Ukrainians Asked to Settle Paralyzing Political Crisis' With National Ballot," 6/1/95, *The Ukrainian Weekly* ("Poll Results: Ukraine's people support reform, distrust parliament," 4/23/95) and by *USIA Russia/NIS Opinion Alert* ("Ukrainians Confident in Kuchma's Reform Package, Awaiting Results," 4/6/95) for the December poll and the March 1995 tracking poll. IFES President, Richard W. Soudriette also received a letter of appreciation from USAID Administrator, J. Brian Atwood, commending IFES on the poll and poll briefings that "have contributed to a better understanding of the political and social climate of the countries in which we are working."

#### **D. Election Official and Poll Worker Training**

##### *Technical Seminar*

The May 17 - 18 seminar on technology used in compiling and transmitting electoral information and election returns provided IFES with the opportunity to ascertain the use, maintenance, and safeguarding of equipment lent to the CEC and oblast administrations in March of 1994. Most importantly it gave IFES and the CEC rare opportunity to review the current status of the development of data collection and transmission at the local level. The Seminar was attended by technicians and administrators from the 24 oblasts, 2 city councils and one autonomous republic involved in the electoral process in Ukraine who

discussed problems encountered during the administration of the 1994 elections.

Training and discussion sessions for both administrators and technicians took place in both the CEC and the Supreme Rada. Technicians were treated to a full explanation of the functions of the CEC Computer Center, the difficulties experienced in communications and receipt of information from the oblasts. In turn, technicians were allowed to explain the functions, equipment, and staff of their own computer centers and the problems encountered in collecting information on elections and transmitting them to the CEC.

The technicians were briefed on the hope to initiate the program *Elections* developed by a consultant to the CEC. The program allows for a rapid configuration of election returns from the oblasts into the format of statistics used to determine the winning candidate and release final results. The program also automatically checks figures to determine if the needed threshold of registered voters has been achieved to validate the elections, to validate that a candidate has received the simple majority of a 50% voter turn-out to validate a winner, and determines if the number of ballots cast exceeds the number of registered voters for any single constituency. Due to the lack of a directive from the Supreme Rada to authorize the use of electronic communications in transmitting final results to the CEC, the program has little benefit at this point. Subsequently, the formation of final results consumes a great deal of time and money as the CEC technicians are forced to laboriously reenter information faxed, or transmitted by telephone. As a member of the *Draft Election Laws Working Group*, IFES intends to suggest language permitting the transmission of returns by electronic means and their immediate publication as unofficial results (actual protocols from the oblasts are received up to 10 days later).

Technicians were then taken on a tour of the Supreme Rada's Computer Center. Specialists there described the Rada's program which registers activities of all deputies both on the floor of the Rada and in their respective committees (including legislation introduced) in a key word search database. The new CRS-donated 3-server database connection of the Presidential Administration, Rada and Cabinet of Ministers was also explained as well as the server relationship between the CEC and the Rada. The future availability of oblast administrations to the *Internet* through Rada access provided by the UN *Freenet* was explained as well. At the conclusion of the tour technicians were provided with all Rada programs explained to set up similar computer access relationships at the oblast level.

Technicians were then given individual training sessions on the software and hardware lent by USAID on an as needed basis (most were very highly qualified with computers). Software was distributed to support the upgrading of systems at the oblast level. Overall the ability to meet and interact with all technicians involved in the electoral process face-to-face was very important since it was the first such instance in the short history of Ukraine's democratic electoral system.

In a separate session, administrators discussed the problems of administration of the 1994 elections from the inadequacy of finances provided to support elections and their late disbursement to the inordinate amount of candidates participating in elections due to the low threshold of signature requirements by law to register as a candidate. Deputy Lavrynovych, the main architect of the new election laws, explained the fundamental problems of the old law as addressed by the draft legislation. Administrators were generally supportive and enthusiastic about the discussion of the draft law and the need for overall improvement of the legal aspects of the electoral system.

At the conclusion of the Seminar, all participants thanked IFES for the opportunity to meet in Kyiv and discuss the future development of the democratic electoral system in Ukraine and expressed the hope that IFES' scope of developmental support will only increase in the future.

#### **E. Symposia, Conferences, and Election Official Exchanges**

##### *Rukh Secretary Boyko Discusses Importance of Agreement on Power Sharing/Election Reform*

In Washington, IFES hosted a seven-member delegation from *Rukh* at a briefing for representatives of U.S. Government agencies and NGOs active in Ukrainian political development. The leader of the delegation, Bohdan Boyko, is a member of the Supreme Rada and Chairman of the *Rukh* Secretariat. Boyko provided a political breakdown of the current Rada's membership and spoke of the necessity for an agreement between the Rada and President Kuchma on power sharing. Boyko warned that unless such an agreement is reached, Ukraine's "budgetary structure will collapse" and the Rada may be boycotted by center and right-wing parties thereby causing the effective dissolution of the body. Deputy Boyko also stressed the need for comprehensive election reform prior to any new elections.

##### *IFES Legal Counsel Addresses Harvard Seminar on Ukraine*

Stephen B. Nix, Legal Counsel to IFES, addressed a seminar organized by Harvard University's Ukrainian Research Institute ("Ukraine: Trends and Future Prospects"). The topic of Mr. Nix's lecture was "The Law and the Process of Legal Reform in Ukraine." It covered the major areas of legal reform currently underway in Ukraine, including: the constitutional accord between Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma and Parliament, the planned new constitution, the election law and judicial reform.

The lecture described the jurisdiction of the Parliamentary Committee on Legal Policy and Law and Judicial Reform and provided background summaries of Chairman Volodymyr Stretovych, Oleksandr Lavrynovych, Victor Shishkin and other members of the Committee.

Copies of the analyses of IFES nationwide survey and tracking poll of the Ukrainian electorate were provided to attendees, as well as copies of the constitutional accord.

## **F. Reporting**

### *Europe and Asia Weekly Report*

Beginning in January 1995, IFES' Europe and Asia Division began what it considers a successful weekly report which includes full field coverage of activities ongoing in Ukraine and other countries in the Europe and Asia region. These weekly reports include sections designated as: *Consultations, Meetings and Training, Publications and Information*, and most importantly *Impact Summary*. This form of reporting has been very well received by individuals from USAID, Department of State, and foreign affairs specialists from Capitol Hill. IFES believes that through the dissemination of such impact-related information, USAID will have ready information to present not only to legislators but to all interested citizens of IFES activities in Europe and Asia.

### *IFES/Ukraine Newsletter*

Developed as a quarterly letter, *News from Ukraine* attempts to sum-up important political developments and election-related news in Ukraine every month. The newsletter is produced both in English and Ukrainian and is distributed to Ukrainian institutions and political parties as well as the international community. In recent issues, *News from Ukraine* reported on such events as the formation of President Kuchma's new government and the results of the Crimean local elections on June 25.

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

During this quarter, considerable impact was made in the following areas:

- A. *Legal Reform:* IFES has been selected to serve as outside legal counsel to the Supreme Rada's Committee on Legal Policy and Law and Judicial Reform after a great deal of effort in support of electoral reform in Ukraine. IFES will be directly involved in the Committee's review of draft election laws before they are presented on the floor of Parliament for final adoption, and may be called upon as international legal experts to support the final drafts of the Committee. In addition, IFES has been asked by the Committee to become involved in the development and review of other draft laws including the draft "Law on Political Parties," "Law on Organizations of Citizens," and the "Law on Judicial Building."

IFES considers the *Election Law Compendium of Central and Eastern Europe* a benchmark in support of electoral reform not only for Ukraine but for all countries considering the development, reform or amendment of their own democratic electoral systems. Using the laws adopted by fellow nascent democracies, legislators, officials, experts and academicians can demonstrate these countries' experience to support their own endeavors in creating or reforming their respective democratic systems of elections.

- B. *Institutional Reform/Institution Building*: The CEC continues to work with IFES in developing information dissemination networks to increase institutional transparency.

Through IFES' cooperation with the CEC, the institution's inclusion as a member Draft Election Laws Working Group ensures direct involvement in the development and review of the laws which will govern the administration of future elections.

The May Technical Seminar was instrumental in demonstrating to the CEC the need to bring in key administrators and technicians for training and consultations on the direction and needs of administrative and institutional development of the Ukrainian election system on a regular basis. This was the first time that regional personnel had an opportunity to ask questions and make comments and suggestions in a purely institutional setting thereby affording both administrators and technicians the rare opportunity to view how information systems in the capital were developed in order to supply them with the information to establish similar networks at the local level.

- C. *Voter Education*: The VEWG and the MMWG enlist the ideas and assistance of elected officials, political parties, governmental and non-governmental organizations in informing the public and instructing future generations of voters about the development and process of Ukraine's electoral system according to law. Through a better understanding of their electoral system and how democracy and Ukraine's future depends upon their participation in the democratic process, IFES hopes to increase the turnout of a more informed electorate

### III. IMPLEMENTATION METHODOLOGY

During this quarter, technical assistance and training was undertaken via the following mechanisms:

- Technical assessment of elections reporting/information systems
- Consultations on electoral reform/participation in topical conferences
- Participation in with the CEC and deputies of the Committee on Legal Policy and Law and Judicial Reform on the review and submission for first reading of the draft parliamentary election law as member of the Draft Election Laws Working Group.
- Collection and dissemination of information vital to institutional transparency and developing an informed electorate.