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FY 1995 QUARTERLY REPORT

Second Quarter

Concerning the  
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# CENTRAL ASIA

## I. PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

IFES activities this Winter in Central Asia have continued this quarter with a flurry of activity and in-country observations for elections in Kazakhstan as well as Kyrgyzstan, where the first free parliamentary elections of the post-Soviet period were held. The IFES On-site Almaty Office, which was opened last November, continues to be strengthened as the center of program activity for Kazakhstan and the center of operations for regional work. Furthermore, a Resource Center connected with the Almaty Office is being developed which will serve as a vital source of information and instruction for those interested in learning about democracy and democratic systems.

### A. Voter Education and Outreach

#### *Kyrgyzstan*

To help prepare the Kyrgyzstani electorate for the February 5 Parliamentary elections, a massive voter education program was undertaken through radio, television, and newspapers in the days leading up to election day. The program was designed to educate and motivate the voters and reach the Kyrgyzstani population with essential information about democracy, voting procedures and the issues facing the electorate. This was to have been accomplished by designing video, audio, and print educational and motivational materials for use in the government's civic education and voter motivation campaign.

Working together with the Kyrgyzstani Central Electoral Commission and local officials, IFES consultant and voter information specialist Henry Valentino helped develop nine television spots created around the theme of the elections, "the future of Kyrgyzstan is in your hands," which portrayed many scenes familiar to Kyrgyzstanis and targeted to all different age groups. In addition to the T.V. ads, a series of 8 radio commercials orchestrated to "get out the vote" were produced, reflecting the same themes as the television campaign. The radio productions were aired on Radio Almas seven times a day and on Radio Pyramida several times a day.

All electronic media spots were translated into Kyrgyz, Russian, and Uzbek, with radio having the highest capacity to reach the majority of the population. Three ads were also selected to appear in print, again centered around the elections' common theme. The ads urged people to vote for themselves only, and also included the date of the election. High level Kyrgyzstani collaboration was sought and obtained in this connection. The radio spots were shared with the President's press office which listened to them before release. The final versions of the newspaper ads were selected personally by the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the CEC. All the TV spots were approved by the CEC. The message of the campaign was essentially this: "The future of Kyrgyzstan is in your hands. Vote personally (your own ballot) on February 5."

Given the short time available to conduct a program of this magnitude, overall the Voter Information

and Motivation Campaign was successful and effective. The objectives of the project were accomplished. Voters were informed about the electoral process and had confidence in the results. Participation in the election, approximately 73%, was higher than expected. The cooperation received from the CEC and the media contributed to the success of the campaign.

A comprehensive multi-media campaign was developed and implemented within an extremely limited budget for this type of undertaking. The return for the money invested was extremely high. Because of the nature of the election, i.e. the large number of candidates contesting each seat and the legal requirement that the winning candidate receive more than 50% of the votes cast, it was inevitable that there would be a number of runoff elections. Arrangements were made for adjustments to the materials produced so they could be used for the runoff elections.

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

### *Tajikistan*

At the request of USAID, IFES prepared a comprehensive analysis of the Tajikistani election law and reported on the specific recommendations of IFES, the American Legal Consortium, and the Organization for the Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) that were considered but ultimately ignored by the Government of Tajikistan.

### *Kyrgyzstan*

IFES consultant and election law expert Dan Blessington provided a number of suggestions based on his observations of the February 5 elections. He indicated that in order to create an effective legal framework for holding elections the following conditions must be present: a) there must be some stability to the laws governing elections in order for them to be taken seriously and to work effectively, b) laws governing elections should clearly establish fundamental principles that will guide the regulators, and c) the laws should provide for definitive procedures and areas of jurisdiction among election commissions and the courts. Only with these principles in place can an effectively functioning legal framework be sustained.

### *Kazakhstan*

IFES Regional Project Manager Gwenn Hofmann wrote and delivered a paper titled "Experience of the Past - Looking Toward the Future: Electoral Reform in Kazakhstan" at a conference co-sponsored by IFES and the Kazakhstani Central Electoral Commission on February 13 - 14 in Almaty. This provided an opportunity for Ms. Hofmann to present her findings and recommendations on electoral legal issues to a wide audience. Designed as a follow-up to the election day observation of the January 22 interim parliamentary elections, the conference allowed for an open forum of discussion on legal issues relating to the carrying out of election day procedures. The election day IFES observation project was originally designed to oversee and monitor the interim elections and determine what, if any, changes had been made in election day procedures since the March 7, 1994 parliamentary elections. This was important because IFES presented the Central Election Commission (CEC) with a comprehensive review of the

Parliamentary elections and at that time made several concrete suggestions for needed changes in the current election law and procedures used to conduct election day activities. Based on those recommendations, the CEC developed a legislative package of revisions to the election law and said they were going to implement some of the other suggestions as well. While IFES and USAID knew the CEC had indeed submitted a legislative package to the President Nazarbayev for review, it was not known what other administrative changes had been made based on the original recommendations.

The following information was obtained on election day:

- The CEC implemented an intensive election district and election day worker training program focusing on issues of concern to IFES, USAID and the international community.
- Specific instructions were given on how to handle family voting, specifically that it was illegal, and should not be allowed.
- Candidate and domestic observers were encouraged to request credentials and observe election day procedures from the opening of the polls to the finishing of the vote counting.
- New candidate, observer, and party manuals were developed. These manuals were specifically designed to inform these groups about the process of ballot access, observer rights and responsibilities, and the law which governs these procedures.
- On election day, the CEC handled complaints of family voting by issuing special administrative rulings in districts where this issue was reported.

These observations as well as the perception that there was a serious attempt to improve ballot counting procedures at the polling place revealed that substantial efforts had been made by the CEC to improve procedures and try to meet the international standards for free and fair elections, as had been suggested by IFES.

### **C. The Independent Mass Media**

As part of an ongoing dialogue with the mass media, IFES-Almaty has kept in contact with journalists such as Sergei Duvanov, Vice-President of Radio Max and former parliamentary candidate, to discuss current political developments and keep abreast of the latest happenings in the country from the perspective of the press.

### **D. Election Official Conferences and Exchanges**

#### *Kazakhstan*

On-Site Project Manager Gwenn Hofmann made a presentation at the February 13 -14, 1995, conference in Almaty which was co-sponsored by IFES and the Kazakhstani CEC. During the conference, which was titled "The First Free Elections in Kazakhstan: Experience, Problems,

Establishment of Democracy,” many recommendations were made regarding further revision to the electoral code. The draft legislative package was revised and resubmitted to the Parliament, including and incorporating IFES recommendations. The conference on electoral reforms was a vital public forum of policy makers, election practitioners and scholars, and political activists taking place even as the Supreme Council of Kazakhstan considered revisions to the electoral code. Discussion, debate, and a willingness to compromise on the draft legislative package, as evidenced by the conference itself, further revision of the document, and requests for final critique suggested that Kazakhstan had taken requisite steps toward more free and fair elections. In the future IFES will encourage the CEC and the Government of Kazakhstan to further expand its dialogue and improve its outreach with political groups in Kazakhstan.

### *Central Asia*

On March 15, 1995 six members of IFES Central Asia project teams participated in a Capitol Hill briefing, sponsored by the Helsinki commission. The briefing had been originally slated to analyze comparative electoral reforms in the region and highlight the parliamentary elections in Kyrgyzstan and interim elections in Kazakhstan, as well as the parliamentary elections in Uzbekistan and presidential elections in Tajikistan. The unexpected developments in Kazakhstan surrounding the sudden dissolution of Parliament on March 11 made the presentation all the more timely and explained in part the large audience and extensive coverage by the Voice of America.

## **E. On-Site Technical Assessments and Observation Missions**

### *Kazakhstan*

On January 22, 1995, interim parliamentary elections were held in four districts in Kazakhstan. Elections in these districts were held to fill vacancies created by resignations, deaths, and members being appointed to other government positions. The U.S. Embassy determined that it was important to locate and train people in-country to serve as official observers. These observers were to be deployed to at least two of the four districts, where identified for the observer mission. IFES Central Asian Regional Manager Gwenn Hofmann trained the group for their election day missions and served as an observer in the Almaty district. As mentioned previously, the Kazakhstani Central Electoral Commission took steps to implement recommendations from IFES and other international groups in terms of election day processes and procedures. Among the items addressed was the encouragement by the CEC of opposition candidates and political parties to run in the elections, the additional measures taken to discourage “family voting,” and the use of new training and information manuals issued by the CEC which dealt with election district issues, candidate monitors, and other special issues.

The American observer group found that the CEC made substantial efforts to incorporate new procedures, changes, and training into their preparations for the interim elections. While many positive changes were made, it became clear that much work remains to be done with the CEC in terms of electoral law reform.

## *Kyrgyzstan*

Accompanying Central Asia On-Site Project Gwenn Hofmann to Kyrgyzstan for the February 5 Election Day Observation were election law expert and FEC attorney Dan Blessington and media specialist Henry Valentino, who both conducted debriefings at USAID on the elections and on the IFES voter information initiative. Both team members had a positive impression of the elections, noting well-trained poll workers and a substantive presence by domestic monitors, the commitment of the CEC to voter information and mobilization, and the absence of reports of any manipulation by the 40 international observers present. Concerns about gaps and inconsistencies in the election law, the limited resources of the CEC, and the prevalence of family voting were raised as concerns. Only 13 clear winners emerged out of the 105 possible seats after the first round of voting, necessitating run-off elections on February 19th and again on April 28th.

The IFES team participated in the election observation as authorized but unofficial observers. In coordination with the official observers, the IFES team covered polling places located in Bishkek and extending to an area of approximately 60 kilometers southwest of Bishkek. Thus the team was put in a position to observe both urban and rural polling places. Eight different polling places were visited, and at all locations the team met with the officers of the polling place and discussed the progress of the election and any problem areas. Conversations were also held with the local observers and representatives of candidates. Though no major problems were observed at the polling sites visited by this team outside of isolated instances of family voting, IFES legal consultant Barnabus Johnson did counter a case of poor vote counting and obvious electoral fraud at the polling site in Election District 11. The vote counting process, as exemplified by this case, was a possible trouble area in need of revision.

It appeared that the procedures for opening the polls, setting up the voting area and checking the ballot boxes were accomplished according to the methods required by the CEC. Two additional problem areas were noted by the IFES observer team, however. One was in the area of determining the numbers of ballots actually received at each polling site and the other was a misunderstanding of what domestic observer rights and responsibilities were regarding the observation of the ballots, especially pertinent given the large number of ballots received.

Overall, the IFES team believes the CEC did a credible job of training election day workers, accommodating domestic and international observers, and processing voters. The real problems were in the opening, closing, and vote counting functions, with all of these areas needing new administrative procedures, training, and legislative revision to help resolve the problems and make the election process credible and accountable.

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

- A. IFES programs, presence, and ability to act as trained observers in Kazakhstan during the interim Parliamentary elections of January 22 revealed that substantial efforts had been made by the CEC to improve procedures and try to meet the international standards for free and fair elections. IFES Central Asia Regional Manager Gwenn Hofmann trained additional

Embassy observer groups to act as professional official observers in this election. Moreover, observers were able to determine that additional work was needed in the area of election law reform, administrative procedure, and training.

Based on IFES recommendations made as a result of the March 7, 1994 parliamentary elections in Kazakhstan, a number of measures were taken by the CEC to address shortcomings in the electoral procedure, including an election day worker training program, encouraging of observers to participate, and developing new candidate, observer, and party manuals designed to inform these groups about the laws governing ballot access and observer rights and responsibilities. As a result of the IFES observer mission, the need for the recommended legislative changes was reinforced, and the information obtained throughout this process was most valuable to IFES, USAID, and the American Embassy.

- B. With limited time and resources, IFES assisted in the development of a very successful voter information and education campaign to "put the word out" about the February 5 Parliamentary elections, the first such free elections in the country's history. Via a television, radio, and print media effort it was estimated that a vast majority of the eligible Kyrgyzstani electorate was reached with messages informing them of the elections and the need and responsibility to participate in a "one person, one vote" effort.
- C. During the first quarter of 1995 the following reports were completed and distributed: Tajikistan Compendium of Reports on Technical Assistance, Election Day Observations - Interim Parliamentary Elections in Kazakhstan, 22 January 1995, and the Draft Report on the Kyrgyzstan Voter Education and Motivation Program. In addition, a report on the December 1994 IFES PETA mission to Kyrgyzstan, February OSTA and election observation, and Voter Education program will be produced during the next quarter to combine all observations and recommendations from the 1994-95 Kyrgyzstani election cycle.
- D. Progress towards building the Almaty Office Resource Center continues with the acquisition of materials useful to researchers and other interested parties dealing with comparative electoral law and voter information.
- E. A post-run-off election technical assessment is planned as a wrap-up to the Kyrgyzstani election cycle which will include meetings with CEC members, Parliamentarians, and NGO's to be followed by a series of round table discussions and clearinghouses designed to train and put forth recommendations for revisions to the electoral process. In addition, sociological assessments of both the Kazakhstani and Kyrgyzstani electorates are planned to gage voter preferences and opinions to be shared with members of the governmental and non-governmental community.

### III. IMPLEMENTATION METHODOLOGY

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

- On-Site Technical Advising, Kazakhstan
- Technical Election Report, Kazakhstan
- Kazakhstani CEC Participation in Post-Election Conference
- Election Day Observation, Kazakhstan
- On-Site Technical Assistance, Kyrgyzstan
- Voter Education and Motivation Program, Kyrgyzstan
- Election Day Observation, Kyrgyzstan
- Election Law Review and Analysis, Kyrgyzstan

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

IFES is concerned that its on-site technical assistance program in Central Asia, which was approved by USAID Washington and Almaty, has suffered considerably as a result of shifts in USAID priorities in the region during the quarter. Additionally troublesome has been the restrictions placed upon IFES due to the political changes in Kazakhstan and the difficulty in program planning and implementation that have arisen from these changes.

# MOLDOVA

## I. PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

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

#### *Legal Administration Reform Working Group*

Victor Popa, a Professor in Administrative Law, met with IFES/Moldova on several occasions to work with the Legal Administrative Reform Working Group's (LARWG) meeting earlier in the week. One of the principal activities of the LARWG this past quarter included IFES' assistance with drafting a variant of the Statute of Chisinau Municipality.

#### *Local Administration*

An extensive amount of attention and time was spent on the IFES "Local Governance" seminar in January 1995. The following meetings were held this quarter to advance this event:

- Mr. Tudor Nireanu, Director of Public Information Dept.;
- Mr. Victor Popa, Professor of Constitutional Law, Academy of Sciences;
- Gheorghe Rusnac, Rector, State University;
- Oazu Nantoi, Chairman of the Social Democratic Party;
- Tudor Danii, Director, Sociological Service, OPINIA;
- Aurel Cepoi, Member of the Executive Committee, Socialist Party of Moldova;
- Arcadie Barbarosie, Director Chief of the Dept. of Foreign Affairs; and
- Alexandru Arsenii, Co-Chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party.

The IFES-sponsored "Local Governance, Standards of Modernization" Seminar' featured speakers Gabriel Galies of the French National Center for Public Territorial Governance and Dmitri Katayev, Russian Federation State Duma. The event was opened by IFES Project Director Dorin Tudoran with nearly 90 individuals from the government, Parliament, NGOs, educators, media, and political parties in attendance which included plenary discussions and working group breakouts. Moldovan INFOTAG news service reported that "the seminar pointed out the need to elaborate a new mechanism of shaping local budgets . . . that would allow the prompt solution of the question of whether municipality or local bodies of power could become true chiefs on their [own] territory."

In addition to the 10 Moldovan and international local administration specialists' presentations and round tables, IFES distributed several hundred translated copies of books on local administration for future reference. IFES found that this information-sharing perpetuates the long-term interest and understanding of these critical issues and extends the reach of events to those outside the official conference attendees.

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

### *Textbook Donations*

The IFES book donation program continues with more than 5000 copies of literature related to democratization and elections donated to institutions, political parties and NGOs distributed throughout the region. Donation recipients included: the Chairman of the Commission for Human Rights and National Minorities - Parliament of Moldova, the INTELLEGO Foundation, and the Chief of the Europe & North America Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

## **C. Voter Education & Outreach**

### *Voter Education Through Media*

Telefilm-Chisinau (a Moldovan-run media production facility) worked closely with IFES/Moldova on production of the IFES Voter Education TV spots. IFES initiated Moldovan television and radio educational pieces focussed on the first free Local Elections in Moldova - scheduled for 16 April 1995. A producer from Chisinau National Television worked closely with IFES to assure proper broadcast schedules and distribution themes related to different regions of the country (Gagauzia). In March, Moldovan National Television began showing the IFES electoral education spots produced for the Local Elections. Their appearance schedule on television was agreed upon at a coordination meeting between IFES/Moldova, CEC members, and Moldovan Television leadership. Five spots were shown consecutively in Romanian and Russian over a several week period.

Moldovan National Radio worked with IFES/Moldova in the production and broadcast discussions for the four nationwide Radio Education spots.

Teleradio Moldova, with assistance from IFES/Moldova, developed and aired a radio show called "*Man in Politics*" based on IFES-donated books and other literature. Subjects have thus far included political systems, democracy, and local administration. This program demonstrates how IFES, through donated educational materials, gains access to larger audiences through a popular medium. An additional show was released which presented classical texts in political science and a dictionary of political ideas.

### *Voter Education Working Group*

The IFES Voter Education Working Group (VEWG) includes several representatives of political parties have met once a week for the past quarter to gather information related to IFES' ongoing work regarding television and radio broadcasts and their effectiveness.

### *Sociological Survey*

The Director of the *Sociological Public Service-OPINIA* and IFES worked together over the past

few months in preparations for the IFES/OPINIA sociological survey held in March 1995.

Initial results of the IFES/OPINIA sociological survey will be released on April 8, one week prior to the elections. More than 1700 individuals were polled throughout the country utilizing 104 questions. This information is viewed by a wide variety of political forces as nonpartisan documentation of citizens' attitudes toward the administration of the electoral process, the nation's general mood as far as the political process is concerned, as well as placing a USAID-supported organization in a strong position with the NGO community, the Moldovan government, and the international donor community.

#### **D. NGO Consolidation**

##### *NGO Working Group*

The NGO Working Group (NGOWG) is now forming groups of local observers through NGOs. This is similar to the work accomplished by the Association for Democracy in February 1994. NGOs' potential outreach to voters will make nationwide coverage possible.

The IFES Roundtable between the CEC, NGOs, and political parties was held in Chisinau at the end of January 1995. On behalf of the CEC, Judges Vasile Pascari (President) and Mircea Iuga (Vice-President) attended. The following political parties also took part in the discussions: *The Democratic Forces Bloc; The Socialist Unity Bloc; National League of the Youth from Moldova; Women's Association of Moldova; and the Agrarian Democratic Party.* Infotag News Service reported on the event where Roundtable participants noted the following problems which deserve attention prior to the April 16 local elections:

- The status of domestic observers on election day;
- Frequent electrical "brown-outs" between 7:00-9:00 p.m. (the primary political party advertisement period);
- Inconsistencies between political party priorities and issues of local importance;
- A lack of popular support of political parties within the electorate;
- Cases of broadcast time misuse by state officials for their electoral purposes; and
- Inefficient electoral campaign coverage by the mass-media.

A Roundtable between Moldovan NGOs and Government of Moldova representatives was held in February. The Roundtable was organized by IFES/Moldova. This event allowed an open dialogue between NGOs and the government under the neutral oversight of IFES. IFES remains as a nonpartisan link which allows open and substantive communication between the NGO sector and the Government.

IFES staff met with the *Young Journalists Association* in an effort to highlight attention to the ongoing debate in the Parliament regarding legislative action on NGOs. At present, NGO activity is regulated by Moldovan government decision only, thereby complicating cooperation between Moldovan and international NGOs.

#### *Support for NGO Assistance Association*

Assistant to the Director, Igor Munteanu, met with Igor Grosu, the leader of the local NGO *Association for Democracy*. The Association is drafting a project proposal which would focus efforts toward nationwide observation efforts for the Local Elections. Consultations with the CEC will be taking place in order to specify the Statute of Local Observers to facilitate the *Association for Democracy's* local observers project.

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

#### *IFES/Washington Programmatic Support*

In January 1995, IFES/Washington presented a briefing titled "*Moldova - Chechnya or Switzerland?*" with speakers Dorin Tudoran, IFES/Moldova Project Director, and Judge Randall Rader of the U.S. Court of Appeals, an IFES legal consultant. Mr. Tudoran discussed the current political climate in Moldova and the relevance of the still-entrenched Russian 14th Army. Attention was paid to the significance of the Transdnister "Republic" and the divisiveness this internal dispute has on the long-term economic and political aspirations of Moldova. Mr. Tudoran also took this opportunity to fully brief the participants of the activities which IFES/Moldova has formulated in preparation for the April Local Elections.

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

#### *Mass Media Working Group*

IFES/Moldova has been in close contact over the past few months with the *European Fund for Freedom of Expression* (EFFE). It was suggested that EFFE and IFES cooperate in future endeavors including a seminar which would include training for independent journalists, and opening a mass media press club in Chisinau.

IFES staff coordinated planning with the Chairman of the *Young Journalists Association* to include them in the IFES NGO Mass Media Working Group. These efforts have been given noted attention due to the ongoing debate in the Parliament regarding legislative action on NGOs. At present, NGO activity is regulated by Moldovan government decision only, thereby complicating cooperation between Moldovan and international NGOs.

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

### *Legal Administration Reform Working Group*

The IFES/Moldova Legal Reform Working Group has focussed much of its attention on the ongoing debate between the CEC and the *Agrarian Party* (including the President, Prime Minister, and Speaker) on the legality of local observers for the elections on April 16 via a formal complaint to the Supreme Court of Moldova. IFES, with the support of the US Embassy/Chisinau have clearly stated their position that the use of local (domestic) observers is a key step in the democratization and transparency of the electoral process.

### *Legal Reform Assistance*

Judge Randall Rader visited Moldova last quarter to develop commentary on the current electoral legal structure and pending legislation which could affect the process toward the local Elections. Rader's comments were shared with the Working Group for their discussion.

## **H. Reporting**

### *Weekly Reporting Initiated*

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 Moldovan and others 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 legislators but interested citizens of IFES activities in Europe and Asia.

### *Election Results Manual*

Valeriu Rusnac, Director of *TISH Ltd.*, a local publishing firm, has spoken to IFES staff on the procurement of materials for publishing a manual with final results of the upcoming Local Elections. IFES anticipates this manual to be the same format as the compendium released this past year with results from the 1994 Parliamentary elections. By the end of March, the CEC will deliver IFES/Moldova legislative and electoral protocol documentation to be translated into English and attached to the Final Results Manual for U.S. release in May 1995.

## II. PROGRESS TOWARD ACHIEVING PROGRAM OBJECTIVES

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

### A. Institutional Reform

The IFES/Moldova staff met with the Central Electoral Commission regarding their anxiety toward possible irregularities in vote counting which may appear during procedures by the local electoral commissions. The meeting between the CEC and IFES/Moldova was aimed at finding concrete areas where IFES could assist.

#### *Observation Activities*

Several observers from IFES/Moldova took part in the March 5, 1995 Referendum held in the southern part of Moldova for the new territorial-administrative unit called Gagauz-Ieri. The IFES observer team informed the local press of a number of irregularities which occurred during the Referendum. Observers noted irregularities in conducting the referendum then presented the findings in written form to the United States Embassy in Moldova. Several of the violations included:

- Citizens voting without proper identification in a large number of villages;
- "Volunteer" lobbyists were seen persuading voters to support the self-styled republic; and
- Voters completing their ballots on both sides (in Romanian and Russian) which would have technically nullified the forms, however, most were considered valid - a gross violation of voting procedures.

In preparation for the April 16 Local Elections, IFES has worked closely with the *Association for Democracy* NGO preparing more than 100 local domestic observers in their role nationwide. This training comes at an opportune time due to the ongoing confrontation between segments of the Democratic-Agrarian Party and the CEC with regard to the legality of domestic observers. Not only does IFES believe that these observers play a crucial role, but that proper training will provide them with a skill which may be passed on for future elections.

#### *Commodity and Technical Support*

Commodities, including desktop computers, peripherals, and a photocopier, were lent to the CEC as part of the technical assistance provided by IFES/Moldova for the Local Election period. Such equipment support has proven to be one of the most appreciated forms of assistance due to the high pressure under which election authorities must work to arrange the new and more complicated multi-party elections. Through such lent equipment, the technology shared not only speeds the process of administrative activities during the intense pre-election period, but allows election results to be released in a shorter time frame following the closing of polling sites on

election day.

IFES will also train more than 100 local domestic observers in their role as objective, non-political overseers of democratic processes in coordination with the NGO *Association for Democracy*. CEC officials continue to express gratitude for IFES' work in Moldova - clearly demonstrating the importance of technical assistance in election preparation.

#### **B. Voter Education:**

Voter Education outreach in Moldova through IFES programming reached an all-time high this quarter due to the following project activities:

- IFES Voter Education television spots in Romanian, Russian, and Gagauz languages were broadcast nationally discussing the importance of participation in the upcoming local elections;
- Four radio spots in Romanian and Russian were broadcast in March-April nationwide; and
- A nationwide weekly radio program *Man in Politics*, has been supported by IFES/Moldova, utilizing IFES voter education materials, and has found a considerable listening audience.

### **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, the Voter Education 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 Mass Media Working Group were delivered prior to the Local Elections;
- More than 2000 "Get-out-the-Vote" election posters were delivered throughout the country with the support and assistance of the CEC and local NGO groups;
- First-person observation of the Gagauzian Referendum with Embassy reporting was supported by IFES staff;

- Technical Support through U.S. advisors to the CEC;
- Training and Materials for more than 100 Domestic Observers for the April 16 Local Elections;
- IFES is procuring a compendium of final results of the Local Elections which will be released in May 1995;
- A nonpartisan Sociological Survey on the electoral climate prior to the Local Elections was conducted which included 1700 people questioned in all regions of the country. This scientific survey was developed and produced in an IFES/OPINIA collaborative exercise in the spring of 1995. The 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;
- Commodity Assistance to the CEC for the Local Elections was delivered with a short information piece presented on National TV; and
- Thousands of books from the *Houghton Mifflin, Inc.* have been donated and translated by IFES to NGOs, local administrators, Moldovan government representatives, local libraries, and other interested parties.

#### IV. ISSUES AND PROBLEMS

The issue surrounding the legality of domestic observers presented IFES with a crucial problem once contacted by the CEC. Since February 1994, IFES/Moldova has fully supported the use of local (domestic) observers as a method to "open" the electoral process to the general public. Observers would have to be registered with the CEC and it has been IFES' intention all along to properly train these individuals on proper poll-watching techniques, regulations, limitations, and report documentation procedures. *The Democratic-Agrarian Party* has presented the CEC and itself with a challenge to prior legitimacy (the February 27, 1994 Parliamentary elections) and may have endangered its reputation as a reformist party.

# UKRAINE

## I. PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

### A. Electoral Reform

#### *New Draft of Election Law in Progress*

In late December 1994, Deputy Oleksandr Lavrynovych (former Acting Chairman of the CEC, a member of the Rada's Legal Reform Committee, and a former IFES intern) was selected by Deputy Stretovych (the Chairman of the Legal Reform Committee) to draft news laws on parliamentary, presidential, and local elections, an appointment approved by Parliamentary Speaker Oleksandr Moroz. In February, in addition to providing Deputy Lavrynovych with comparative electoral law resources and consultation by IFES' legal team, IFES responded to a request by Deputy Lavrynovych for the loan of a computer to assist him in drafting these new laws. In late March, IFES' computer specialist Yaroslav Hryhorov assisted a specialist from the Supreme Rada's Computer Center in hooking the loaned computer directly to the facilities offered by the Computer Center to allow Deputy Lavrynovych direct access to printing and database support offered by the Center. Mr. Hryhorov then trained Deputy Lavrynovych on the use of the computer hardware and software.

Although Deputy Lavrynovych will be the final author of the draft laws due in late June 1995, there has been a significant development concerning IFES' status with the Legal Reform Committee. The Committee has submitted a draft Memorandum of Understanding to IFES which will formalize the informal working group relationship IFES already enjoys with the Committee's members. More importantly, the Memorandum will make IFES' legal team the official consultative body to the Legal Reform Committee on matters involving reform of Ukraine's election laws and judicial oversight of the execution of these laws. As the title suggests, upon approval IFES will now have access to the actual meetings of the Committee to act as consultants in the Committee's review of Deputy Lavrynovych's draft laws and may be called upon to offer professional opinion on the floor of the Supreme Rada to support the decisions of the Committee regarding the final substance of the draft laws.

As requested by Deputy Speaker of Parliament Dyomin, IFES' legal team has reviewed the draft and is now preparing its own draft version of the Memorandum, which will be submitted to the Rada sometime before the end of June 1995.

#### *Constitutional Conference*

IFES joined the Union of Ukrainian Jurists, the Ukrainian Legal Foundation, and the Regional and Local Self-Government Development Foundation in providing organizational and technical support for the scientific-practical conference *Problems in the Reform of Government Power* (March 10 - 11). Participants in the conference included high-ranking members of each branch of the government. The conference largely focused on the concept and practical application of

the separation of powers, a judiciary with equal status with the executive and legislative branches, the need for vertical lines of authority within each branch of government, and theoretical and practical approaches to administrative reform in Ukraine using various western models. Judge Futey was well received in his presentation on judicial oversight of the other two branches of government and copies of his remarks were made available to all participants in both Ukrainian and English.

At the conclusion of the conference many recommendations were made. Summarizing them by four categories, the main areas directly affecting IFES' program are as follows: I. Main Tasks of Constitutional Reform in Ukraine - overcome the current constitutional and legal crisis in Ukraine through the adoption of a new constitution to be approved by the people in a national referendum, and complete reform of the legislative branch by creating a new election system which involves multiparty elections and professional standards for members of parliament; III. Judicial Reform - guarantee judicial independence, introduce a court structure based upon different levels of jurisdiction, creation of a system of appellate courts, creation of a system of administrative courts and guarantee the rights of citizens due process in proceedings against the government and government officials, guarantee the enforcement of court decisions (contempt power); IV. Administrative Reform - adoption of a civil-servant code to combat corruption within the government (abuse of power).

The desire to take the constitution to the people in a referendum and the overall reform of the electoral system leaves little doubt as to the role of IFES in supporting these efforts. Judicial reforms include long-held IFES concerns regarding the development of a multi-jurisdictional court system which offers an appeal process, upholds the right of the individual citizen to bring suit against the government or an official for violation of their right to vote and be elected, and the enforcement of court decisions prescribing punishment for individuals or groups deemed to have maliciously interfered in the electoral process. Administrative reform regarding the abuse of power involves those individuals who use their office to influence elections be it by providing the possibility for certain candidates to obtain an unfair advantage during campaigns or to influence the outcome of elections. While none of the recommendations were binding, there was little dissent regarding the need to ensure that these issues are eventually addressed by the legislative body (which may be very shortly since Deputy Lavrynovych has incorporated all the recommendations into the draft Power Bill). In short, bringing representatives of the three branches of government together to discuss such issues was a significant development in initiating long overdue government and electoral reform.

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

### *Reprinting of the Compendium of 1994 Elections Results*

Due to the immense popularity of IFES' *Elections in Ukraine 1994* the Kyiv office has sent an updated version back to the printer to produce a second edition in Ukrainian and English for the consumption of interested individuals and groups. It must be noted that this effort is to temporarily satisfy demand for such information and comes at the request of the CEC which has

been greatly influenced by the results of IFES' nationwide baseline survey indicating the electorate's desire for more information about their electoral system. IFES continues to work on a comprehensive electoral guide which will include the platforms, biographies, and photos of those deputies elected to parliament, a list of all presidential and parliamentary candidates and their limited background information, and the charters of all political parties in Ukraine to date (our poll indicates a good deal of the electorate feel that they have inadequate information to make an informed choice on candidates). This is admittedly an enormous task and has been an on-going project for IFES since the first round of elections in 1994. It is hoped that this comprehensive publication will be ready for the printer prior to the completion of this semi-annual workplan period. Its release will set an important precedent for future elections and the parliamentary process.

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

#### *Planning a Long-Range Voter Education Project*

In late March, the Secretary of the Central Election Commission of Ukraine, Ihor Tseluiko, traveled with Steven Nix and Juliana Geran Pilon to attend an IFES and Jaan Tonisson Institute sponsored, Pew Charitable Trusts funded symposium on developing civic education curricula for secondary school students. Attended by members of Estonia's National Election Office and the Estonian Ministry of Education, Secretary Tseluiko was exposed to how other former Soviet states are addressing the issue of voter education at a secondary school level through a cooperative effort between the national elections office and the ministry of education. Mr. Tseluiko is optimistic about the possibility for similar cooperation between his own institution and the Ukrainian Ministry of Education. The Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee on Science and Education, Deputy Ihor Yukhnovskiy, was unable to attend the conference. However, he also supports a coordinated approach between his committee, the Ministry of Education, the CEC, and IFES. Activity on the part of the CEC to promote voter education (other than announcing dates of elections and results) will represent the first time that the CEC has taken on this responsibility, a responsibility which is commonly undertaken by comparable electoral bodies in western democracies.

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

#### *Technical Seminar Set*

In late March, IFES Project Manager, Terry Holcomb and Legal Consultant, Steve Nix, met with members of the CEC to discuss the final scheduling of the Technical Seminar to train 52 operators of USAID loaned-equipment on the proper use and maintenance of computer hardware and software used in reporting election information and results. The Seminar, now scheduled for May 17 - 18, will provide the first opportunity for operators to meet and understand the larger reporting mechanism the group represents. They will be able to exchange views on the current problems of the reporting system and offer ideas on improvement of procedures which can then be developed by the CEC into procedural standards, or, where the difficulty lies within the reporting schedule derived from the current electoral law (such as the ability to register candidacy

up to 20 days prior to an election), discuss possible changes in the law which will make reporting more efficient and timely. It is hoped that the seminar will provide the impetus for establishing institutional normative standards in the reporting of election information and returns thereby encouraging overall institutional standards to be developed for administration of elections at the local level once new electoral laws have been adopted.

#### *Improved Contacts Between Ukrainian CEC and Crimean CEC*

In late February, IFES was approached by Crimean Central Election Commission Chairman Sakharov for the loan of a computer to assist in collecting and recording election information and returns for scheduled local elections in April of this year. In consideration of IFES' relationship with the CEC of Ukraine, the matter was referred to Chairman Ivan Yemets whereupon he agreed that one of the computers on loan to his institution according to the Memorandum of Understanding signed in 1994 could be temporarily transferred to the Autonomous Republic of Crimea to alleviate equipment shortages for the up-coming election. After an initial hold on the project due to troublesome political developments, the CEC of Ukraine has now given IFES assurances that the transfer of equipment is still appropriate and respects the relationship between the CEC of Ukraine and the Autonomous Republic of Crimea. The transfer will take place in late April in preparation for the re-scheduled June 25 local elections in Crimea. While eager to assist the Crimean CEC in its administration of the Autonomous Republic's elections, IFES used the opportunity to allow the CEC of Ukraine to reaffirm its important supervisory relationship with the CEC of Crimea.

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

##### *The Constitutional Conference*

As mentioned, IFES supported the constitutional conference technically and through active participation. While by no means conclusive, IFES' concerns regarding general judicial and legal reform as being germane to the electoral process were adequately addressed to high-ranking representatives of all three branches of the Ukrainian government and were positively received. IFES' participation in the conference is indicative of a gradual program of promoting reform of the Ukrainian electoral system (beginning with the CSCE/UN Roundtable on Human Rights and Electoral Reform in early October of 1994) to increasingly higher levels of policy makers in Ukraine.

##### *Roundtable on Problems of Political Parties*

In March IFES sponsored a briefing by Ukrainian Republican Party Chairman Mykhailo M. Horyn on the problems of political parties in Ukraine. Although the discussion focused on a wide spectrum of problems faced by political parties in Ukraine, Mr. Horyn did focus on the importance of party representation in comprising constituency electoral commissions and polling station administrations as providing greater oversight of the credibility of elections at the regional and local level, and allows political parties themselves to monitor their own behavior during the conduct of elections. The roundtable demonstrated that some political parties in Ukraine realize

that the viability and credibility of their country's developing electoral process depends as much on their own initiatives as strictly government institutions, the law, and society.

## **F. Monitoring Public Opinion on Electoral Reform**

### *Nationwide Baseline Poll Results*

To serve the needs of IFES, USAID/Washington, USAID/Kiev and the non-governmental community, IFES conducted a comprehensive survey of public opinion on electoral, voter education and other democratization issues to develop a database of information to be used in voter education, promote electoral reform and strengthen the Foundation's program design and evaluation capacity. The nationwide baseline survey of public opinion has since been supplemented with nationwide tracking poll.

By design, IFES initiates comprehensive surveys of target countries' populations to help gauge the effectiveness of IFES assistance and track the attitudes of the people toward voter education and democratic election reform. Through IFES' unique relationship with top officials, resulting from the extensive non-partisan technical election and civic education support provided by the Foundation, IFES is well-placed to capture the attention of the decision makers with opinion poll results, analysis and policy recommendations. IFES, as one of the only non-partisan, non-governmental, and non-profit international organizations conducting international polling, has established itself as a top provider of polling and election-related information in the region.

IFES has been invited by the U.S. Department of State, U.S. Information Agency, Agency for International Development and other U.S. Government agencies to provide background briefings on IFES polling results and their implications for IFES and other democratization efforts in Ukraine. IFES has also been called on by top members of parliament, representatives of the presidential administration and the election commission to provide individualized private advance briefings on polling results. In addition to personal briefings, IFES' strong connections with governmental officials, the non-governmental sector, and media allow for maximum dissemination and impact of IFES polling information.

The IFES Ukraine poll has distinguished itself from other public opinion polling in the following ways:

- IFES polls are consistent from country to country and lend themselves to comparative analysis. IFES always uses common demographic variables and a component of standardized questions.
- IFES polls have a reputation of being non-partisan and reliable. IFES has built strong relationships with in-country contractors with proven records of success. Quality and credibility of data are assured through IFES technical oversight of each step of the process -- from questionnaire design to data entry and presentation of results.

- IFES performs its detailed analysis according to pre-determined specifications using a combination of in-country and international experts.
- IFES polls are not simply sociological studies but *tools* which enable IFES and USAID to track the development of awareness of specific demographic segments with regards to political stability, market transition and rule of law.
- By using only truly national samples and face-to-face (rather than much less representative telephone surveys), IFES polls reflect both elite views and broader public opinion.
- IFES never initiates a polling project without a long-term commitment to the subject country. In order to maximize the value of such polling, IFES seeks to ensure that long-term longitudinal analysis over a series of years is carried out by the Foundation.

Through USAID Project Authorization of the Activity, USAID will receive reliable sociological research information which will contain *democratization indicators* by which progress in the area of electoral and democratic reform can be measured. All data would be available as a statistical database which is easily accessed to reveal the attitudes of the demographic segments of greatest interest. IFES oversight of every step of the polling process ensures reliability of data.

Through its polling efforts, IFES has found that risk can be reduced by acquiring and understanding of the attitudes of the people with whom you need to work and that political stability in transitional societies is actually increased when leaders know the public's opinion about their policies and situation in the country.

## G. 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.

## II. PROGRESS TOWARD ACHIEVING PROGRAM OBJECTIVES

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

- A. *Legal Reform*: Largely through IFES' persistent efforts in the field of promoting and

facilitating electoral reform, IFES has been recognized by the Supreme Rada as one of the only international NGOs prepared to offer expert official counsel on the drafting and presentation of new laws governing elections in Ukraine. Subsequently, IFES has been offered the chance to upgrade a long-standing informal working relationship with the Rada's Legal Reform Committee an official consultant position.

Significant impact on the reform of the electoral process (and democratic reform in general) was achieved through the circulation of IFES' poll findings. Most importantly, the poll indicated that a significant portion of the electorate is aware that the problem with elections in Ukraine lies with the inadequacies of the current election laws and that the laws are in need reform.

- B. *Institutional Reform/Institution Building*: Poll results convinced the CEC that while the electorate is largely positive about the administration of the electoral process, they are largely unfamiliar with the process of elections beyond the polling station level (the sample indicated many are unaware of the existence of the CEC and most are totally unaware of the existence of constituency electoral commissions). The CEC and local electoral administrators are now convinced that a lack of information on the overall process of elections in Ukraine increases public skepticism regarding the reliability of local bodies and officials in Kyiv in ensuring a level playing field for all candidates and for the electorate. In the cases where skepticism can be attributed to the observance of irregular practices of the local authorities by the electorate, the CEC is now convinced that a comprehensive standardization of procedures under new election laws will go a long way to decrease the lack of faith in local officials and allow the electorate to more clearly identify possible malfeasance. In addition, the survey provided the CEC and local election officials with vital feedback on how the electoral system actually functions and where it falters (such as with the receipt of election announcements by mail).
- C. *Voter Education*: Planning has begun in the area of devising a long-range voter education project through enlisting the cooperation of both the CEC, the Parliamentary Committee on Science and Education, and the Ministry of Education. All were highly encouraged by the desire of the Ukrainian electorate to increase its understanding of the democratic process as expressed in the baseline poll findings. The poll also indicates the correct media for targeting the electorate in voter education campaigns thereby providing an excellent tool in planning such campaigns.

### III. IMPLEMENTATION METHODOLOGY

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

- Technical Assessments of Repeat Elections
- Consultations on Electoral Reform/Topical Conferences

- Participation in off-the-record CEC and Supreme Rada Election Law Reform meetings
- Collaboration with All Branches of Government and Ukrainian NGOs' in Supporting the Constitutional Conference
- On-Site Technical Advising/Training/Servicing of Requests
- Sharing the Results of the Nationwide Survey of the Ukrainian Electorate

## **RUSSIA**

### **I. Program Activities**

#### **A. Electoral Reform**

##### **Review of Draft Federal Legislation on Elections Continues**

During the quarter work continued on revision of Russia's electoral code, particularly the Draft Federal Law "On Elections to the State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation," but also Draft Federal Legislation "On Election of the President of the Russian Federation, which incorporates entire sections of the Federal Law on the Basic Guarantees of Electoral Rights of Citizens of the Russian Federation" and the draft parliamentary law. IFES advisors offered written analyses of the draft laws, conducted consultations and training, and participated in the CEC election Law Working Group, an internal task force consisting of CEC commissioners, legal advisors, and staff members responsible for preparation of draft legislation. The analysis of these drafts was conducted in terms of compliance with legal precedent (as outlined in the Constitution and the Voting Rights Act), consistency within and between drafts of the federal election laws, thoroughness, and responsiveness to the weaknesses in recent federal and local elections as raised by election administrators, political parties, and domestic and international observers.

Among the written materials and guidelines prepared by IFES advisors during the quarter were:

"Comments Regarding the Draft Law "On Elections of Deputies of the State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation," No. 1, by Conny McCormack;

"Comments Regarding the Draft Law "On Elections of Deputies of the State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation," No. 2, by Conny McCormack;

"Mass Media in the New Electoral Process: A Topical Review of Draft Federal Election Laws," by Michael Caputo;

"Political Parties in the New Electoral Process: A Topical Review of Draft Federal Election Laws," by Alex Yurin;

"What Enforcement Measures Electoral Associations and Political Parties Can Expect From Electoral Commissions," based in draft election legislation, by Conny McCormack;

"Guidelines for Compliance with Draft Federal Election Laws of the Russian Federation, by Steven Nix;

Comparative Grid of Draft Federal Election Legislation in the Russian Federation, by Conny McCormack.

*IFES and the CEC Host Conference on the Role of Political Parties in the New Electoral Process*

On 31 January, IFES and the CEC conducted a conference for members select parliamentary committees, deputies from each political party represented in the State Duma, representatives of the Presidential Administration, and the mass media to discuss the treatment of political parties and electoral associations in the draft federal election administration.

IFES advisors offered presentations on the issues of compliance and enforcement as outlined in the draft laws. Presenters included:

Conny McCormack, On-Site Elections Specialist, IFES Moscow

Steven Nix, Regional Electoral Process Expert, IFES Ukraine

Due to the consideration given to comparative models of party participation in elections and the decidedly political nature of some of the issues, IFES coordinated with other international donors to further diversify and strengthen the panel of experts. Additional presenters included:

Dr. Mangred Huterer, Political Department of the German Embassy in Moscow;

Brian Christianson, Political Party Campaign Strategist, on behalf of the International Republican Institute;

Audrey McLaughlin, Member of the Canadian Parliament, representing the National Democratic Institute.

The conference opened with a morning press conference, attended by 18 reporters from the Russian media, include 4 television crews. Following opening statements by IFES On-Site Project Manager Michael Caputo and CEC Vice-Chairman Alexander Ivanchenko, questions were taken and the press were invited to attend all sessions of the day long conference.

Mr. Ivanchenko opened the conference by reviewing the status of all draft electoral laws, Duma, Presidential, and Referenda. He then welcomed comments

from the 13 Duma Deputies in the audience, three of whom were committee chairmen, and noted "we are here to listen to the views and attitudes of political parties [concerning the draft legislation] and to learn of the practical experience of their campaigns."

Political party reaction to the draft laws (based on excerpts of the minutes from the conference hit upon a number of major themes:

Representatives of parties of every political hue, among them the Democratic Party, the Social Democratic Party, the Liberal Democratic Party, and the Communist Party criticized the reduction of the Duma seats to be determined by proportional representation (party list) from 225 to 150 [as was allotted according to the initial draft of the law submitted by the Presidential Administration, but subsequently returned to 225 in a later draft].

A representative of the Democratic Party also noted that the word "political party" was never mentioned in the draft electoral laws, but rather "electoral association." She noted that all efforts, both symbolic and substantive must be taken to reinforce the development of a multi-party system in Russia.

Choice of Russia members were gravely concerned about financial accountability in campaigns. This was also raised by representatives of the YABLOKO Bloc who noted that "there is no effective measures to control campaign finance." The CEC shared these concerns.

The Social Democratic Party and YABLOKO Bloc identified the requirement of gather 2 million signatures to gain access to the presidential ballot as excessive (this was eventually lowered to 1.5 million signatures. The representative of the SDP suggested that a presidential primary system be used to determine a reasonable field of viable candidates.

Republican Party members also stressed the need for voter education to inform voters about changes to the electoral and political systems and encourage their participation in the election process.

The closing session of the conference was pure question and answer with the CEC senior staff remaining at the conference to discuss, with great emotion and detail, their concerns with how the election system in Russia is evolving. Concerns about campaign finance dominated the afternoon with quite a bit of curiosity about the Canadian system.

To encourage further dialogue following the conference, IFES Moscow opened its Resource Center to the participants. Quality discussions with representatives from eight institutes and organizations arrived with a series of questions.

Supplementary written materials, in Russian language, were provided to the conference participants, among them:

FEC trifolds on "Local Party Activity," "Filing a Complaint," "Candidate Registration," "Public Funding for Presidential Campaigns," and "Contributions."

An Elections Canada publication "Elections and You."

IFES training materials on issues of compliance and enforcement, election law analyses, and overview of provisions of the draft laws pertaining to political parties and the mass media.

In all, some 80 participants attended representing:

CEC Office of the Vice-Chairman  
CEC Office of the Secretary  
CEC Department of Organization  
CEC Financial Department  
CEC Editorial Department  
CEC Judicial Department  
CEC Department of Adjudication  
CEC Office of the Press Secretary  
CEC Foreign Observers Department  
The Duma Committee on Local Self-Government  
The Duma Committee on Public Associations  
The Duma Committee for Legal and Judicial Reform  
Advisors to the Speaker of the Duma;  
The New Regional Policy Faction  
Russia's Choice  
The Communist Party  
YABLOCO Bloc  
The Democratic Party  
Union of 12 December  
The Republican Party  
The Party of Unity and Accord  
The Social Democratic Party  
The Presidential Administration  
The Ministry of Justice  
The Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
The Office of the Mayor of Moscow  
The Embassy of Italy  
The Embassy of Canada  
The International Republican Institute  
The National Democratic Institute  
USAID

The Canadian Parliament  
The Russian University of Archives  
Moscow State University  
Institute of Law and Legislation of the RF  
The Russian Academy of Sciences (geocartography);  
The Scientific Center on Legislation  
The Urals Foundation  
The Russian Political Center  
The Weekly "Vek"  
The "Saint Petersburg Vedomosti"  
IMA Press  
The radio station "Mayak"  
The newspaper "Rossijskie Vesti" "  
Partinform"  
"Segodnya"  
The Russian Television Channel "2x2,"  
Radio "Golos of Russia"  
"Vesti"  
ITAR-Tass  
"New York Times"  
"Novosti"  
ABC News  
CNN News  
"The Wall Street Journal"  
Nachala Press

*IFES and CEC Conduct Roundtable Series on Election Technology*

In February, a series of three roundtable discussions were held with the CEC in Moscow and the DEC in St. Petersburg. The discussions were conducted by Michael Caputo and Conny McCormack of IFES and Harry Neufeld and Peter Bracegirdle of Elections Canada and focussed on the automation of voter registration, ballot counting, and election result compilation as well as electoral mapping systems. Following overviews of computer applications in the US and Canada, representatives of the CEC presented their concept paper for pilot testing election administrative technologies in Russia. The CEC's experience with automating the voter registry in the Krasnodar Region, in which 3.5 voters were entered into the system in 1.5 months, was also discussed. IFES and Elections Canada representatives shared some of the pros and cons of computerization; attempted to assist the CEC to establish priorities for automation and identify means of improving manual systems that will be retained; addressed issues of cost, implementation schedule, maintenance, security, performance standards, and training. During the same visit, a similar discussion was conducted with the City Election Commission of St. Petersburg.

B. Voter Education and Outreach

*Voter Education Curriculum Pilot Tested in Target Schools<sup>1</sup>*

During March, a series of meetings were also held on the young and first-time voters program designed in cooperation with the CEC and a working group of Russia's secondary school teachers. The latest draft of the curriculum with teaching guides for the mock election exercise, and supplementary reading materials was submitted to the CEC for technical review. A copy was also forwarded to the Ministry of Education, which is planning to assist the CEC in the distribution of the program to secondary schools, institutions of higher learning, and regional and local officials. Pilot testing of the program continues in select schools throughout Russia, largely of its own momentum, with some oversight by IFES advisors.

IFES Moscow has learned that the next pilot test is slated for May in a secondary school in Darya, a suburb of Moscow. The results of the pilot testing will be evaluated at a follow-up conference with the teacher's working group and the CEC in June. Final revisions to the curriculum are to be made at that time, with all curriculum documents, including introductory articles by the leadership of the CEC and the Ministry of Education, the actual curriculum, articles by several teachers involved in the pilot testing of the mock elections, and the CEC glossary of election terms. The materials will be put into book form, with publishing slated for July, just in time for the up-coming school year and the Duma election campaign. Portions of the curriculum will also be reproduced in the CEC Information Bulletin. Based on the draft materials provided, the book has already received an official endorsement from the Ministry of Education.

C. Election Official and Poll Worker Training

*CEC and IFES Begin Design of National Poll Worker Training Program*

*In late March, consultations were held with the CEC on the design and implementation of a national election official and poll worker training program in preparation for the upcoming Duma elections, as mandated by Presidential Decree No. 228 "On the Federal Program of Improvement of the Civic Education of Voters and*

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<sup>1</sup> Voter Education activities were funded under Cooperative Agreement No. CCS-0007-A-00-2046.

[Training] of Election Administrators in the Russian Federation." These consultations were conducted by IFES On-Site Election Specialist Conny McCormack and IFES On-Site (Kazakhstan) Project Manager Gwenn Hofmann and focused on the preparation of a comprehensive and uniform training program for poll workers to ensure the practical application of the electoral codes and to reduce incidence of incompetence and malfeasance by poll workers relative to those reported by domestic and international observers in the December 1993 Duma elections. Representatives of the CEC departments of information and analysis, poll worker training, and computerization and statistics participated. Initial work on a flip guide for poll workers will begin in May.

E. Symposia, Conferences, and Election Official Exchanges

CEC Vice-Chairman and Staff Receive Intensive Election Training in the US<sup>2</sup>

US-based training for newly re-elected CEC Vice-Chairman Alexander Ivanchenko and representatives of the Election Law Working Group was conducted the week of 27 March 1995.

While in the US, the Russian delegation received training in the following areas:

**Federalism and Elections:** Consultations with the Federal Election Commission and State and Local Election Boards in Virginia and the District of Columbia to discuss the federal system of election administration in the United States. The team also observed elections for the Board of Supervisors in Fairfax County, Virginia.

**The Federal Election Commission and Public Disclosure in the United States:** Meetings with the Federal Election Commission and the Office of Public Disclosure, and attendance at an open hearing on in-kind campaign contributions designed to demonstrate the transparent nature of campaign financing in the US.

**Election Fraud and Ballot Security:** Discussion with representatives of the Elections Crimes Branch of the Justice Department to explore types of election fraud including corruption of the election process, patronage crimes, and campaign financing fraud as well as the regulations, mechanisms, and institutions designed to combat election crimes in the US.

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<sup>2</sup> The US Election Observation Mission was funded under Cooperative Agreement Number CCS-0007-A-00-2046.

*Campaign Financing -- Ensuring Compliance and Enforcement in Russia's New System:* A training session designed to review provisions in the draft federal election laws pertaining to campaign financing, to identify loopholes that may require further regulation, and to consider the necessary procedures and mechanisms to ensure the practical application of these laws.

*Federal Voter Assistance Programs --* Discussion of non-partisan voter education and information as well as facilitation of absentee balloting for government and military personnel and their dependents according to the Federal Voters Assistance Act.

*Application of Modern Technology to the Election Process:* Consultations on the pros and cons of automating the balloting process, auditing and oversight issues, and US standards for election equipment vendors.

*The Role of Political Parties in the Electoral Process:* Meetings with representatives of national party organizations to discuss political party, campaign organization, and PAC activities in US elections with a focus on issues of compliance with the electoral code and campaign finance regulations.

*The Role of the Media in the Election Process:* A roundtable of prominent American journalists including David Broder of the Washington Post and representatives of AP, Night-Ridder, VOA, RFE/RL, and others to discuss issues pertaining to the coverage of election campaigns in Russia and the US.

Informational meetings on the newly constituted CEC, the draft electoral code, and election developments in Russia were held for the editorial boards of the Washington Post, the Washington Times, USAID and the Department of State, and the staff of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

## **II. Progress Toward Achieving Program Objectives**

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

### **I. INSTITUTIONAL REFORM**

A number of positive steps were taken toward the creation of a more independent, professional, and transparent election commission in Russia, which reflect recommendations of IFES advisors, among them:

\* The establishment of the CEC as a permanent body through legislation. Previously the status of the CEC was determined by presidential decree. During the soviet period, the CEC functioned as a temporary committee rather than a permanent commission. The establishment of permanent commissions improves the prospect that due attention will be paid to on-going electoral reform and enhances the stability and institutional memory of CEC.

\* The adoption of a more equitable nomination formula for the CEC which improves the political diversity of the commission and enhances its independence from any one government body. According to the formula selected, 5 members each are nominated by the Duma, the Federation Council, and the Presidential Administration. Leadership is determined internally by the CEC members according to secret ballot. The new 15 member commission was seated in March 1995.

\* In addition, election commissions at the level of the Subjects of the Federation have been established as permanent commissions, responsible for the facilitation and oversight of elections at the district and precinct levels and accountable to the Russian electorate both during and between electoral events. Dissenting opinions on decisions made by lower level commissions are to be put into writing and brought to the attention of superior commissions.

\* Legal reinforcement of the right of political parties (seated in the Duma or registered to forward candidates in federal elections) to assign "deliberative" vote representatives to election commissions at all levels.

\* IFES would also like to recognize the concerted effort made by the CEC to more actively involve political party and civic group representatives, independent electoral experts, and officials, in a constructive and open debate on election law reform. This represents a positive first step in improving the overall transparency of the commission. IFES would also like to note, that the initial response by political parties to participate in public conferences and offer tangible solutions and compromises was poor. In the first such event hosted by IFES and the CEC in November 1994 only one party sent a representative. During a similar conference in January 1995 members of every party in the Duma participated.

\* 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.

\* 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. Provision for the creation of an institutional memory have also been built into the new election laws, eg. 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." Vice-Chairman Ivanchenko's visit to the FEC Public Records Office also proved valuable in demonstrating how to establish, manage, and operate such an 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 guide, also with the help of IFES, for the 12 December 1994 elections.

## II. LEGAL REFORM

Numerous recommendations made by IFES advisors were incorporated into the federal and draft federal election laws:

\* Incorporation of further language on fair districting procedures;

\* Delineation of mechanisms and procedures to ensure ballot secrecy;

- \* Clarification of the rights of party and candidate representatives given a deliberative vote on election commissions;
- \* Expansion of language on access and rights afforded to domestic and international observers;
- \* Elaboration of articles pertaining to the right of voters to information including more complete election returns to the precinct level;
- \* Creation of a consistent method for marking ballots;
- \* Incorporation of language on party tickets, providing for continued use of a system of proportional representation;
- \* Addition of language on campaign contributions from individuals and legal entities;
- \* Prohibition of use of official resources for campaign purposes;
- \* Inclusion of language requiring periodic reporting on campaign financing during the campaign period and expansion of reporting requirements after elections and public access to such reports;
- \* Addition of language declaring specifically illegal actions by members of election commissions or government authorities intended to manipulate or improperly affect voting procedures.
- \* Provision of language on control mechanisms ensuring improved oversight and monitoring of lower level commissions by federal election authorities.
- \* 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.

### III. 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 has 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 and the December 12 Parliamentary elections.

\* 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 this one implemented through Russia's 66,000 school districts as well as institutions of higher learning.

\* 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 teacher's associations. This has fueled the momentum of the pilot testing with additional schools participating in the program of their own volition. Given the 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 have maintained active involvement during the pilot testing of the program... 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."

\* An unanticipated result of initial regional working group of teachers was the formation of a voter education NGO called "School and Democracy" dedicated to educating and energizing young people for their civic responsibilities, including participation in elections.

### III. Implementation Methodology

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

- \* Roundtables on Electoral Reform/Topical Conferences
- \* Participation in CEC Election Law Working Group
- \* Analyses of Election Law/follow-up Consultations
- \* Vote Pattern Studies
- \* US Based Training in Electoral Systems and Processes
- \* On-Site Technical Advising/Training/Servicing of Requests
- \* Building and Cataloguing of ERC/CEC Archive Materials

- \* Voter Education Working Group
- \* First Time Voter Curriculum Pilot Testing

#### IV. Issues and Problems

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 "up-graded" 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.

#### V. Status of Previously Scheduled Actions

Work on the Ballot Security Task Force has been delayed as a result of an upsurge in the pace of work on election laws in the Fall and Winter, as well as a hectic training schedule. IFES has undertaken some planning discussions on the issue of ballot security and ballot fraud and considers the passage of new election laws as an opportune starting point for the development of regulations intended to reduce the possibility of manipulation and malfeasance during elections.