

International Foundation for Electoral Systems

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QUARTERLY REPORT

Concerning the
A.I.D. COOPERATIVE AGREEMENTS
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Submitted to the

AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
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October - December 1994

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RUSSIA

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:

A. Electoral Reform

Review of Draft Federal Legislation on Elections Continues

As the final version of the Voting Rights Act moved through the Federal Assembly and was signed into law (see section II), IFES advisors continued to analyze draft election laws for presidential and parliamentary elections and public referenda. IFES advisors have provided direct consultations both through written analyses and follow-up discussions as well as through participation 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 (which has not yet been completed) is 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.

IFES/CEC Team Evaluates Use of Mixed System of Elections in Saratov Region.

In late October, IFES Election Process Consultant Steve Nix and Senior Program Officer Catherine Barnes travelled with representatives of the CEC Election Law Working Group to study the experimental use of a mixed system of representation (majoritarian and proportional) in regional elections. Saratov is viewed as a potential model for the use of single-mandate and party list balloting in other regions of Russia, although information on their experience has not been adequately disseminated in other parts of Russia. With this in mind, the team interviewed members of the Saratov Oblast Election Commission, representatives of the government administration and Duma, political party chairmen, and voters to assess the success of this system and to prepare a report which could be made available to election administrators and the public.

Among the positive observations of the team: (1) There was a consensual approach to preparation of the election law, which involved all participants in the political process; (2) There was also a strong sense that the use of a mixed system contributed to the consolidation of multi-partyism in Saratov; and, (3) The active involvement of party structures is credited with mobilizing a higher voter turn-out than average. The team was concerned, however, that

insufficient voter education and poll worker training regarding the use of a mixed system may have lead to unacceptably high numbers of invalidated ballots. Upon their return to Moscow, the team briefed the CEC. Written reports were provided to the CEC for incorporation in the its Information Bulletin and to USAID.

B. Building an Institutional Memory and Promoting Transparency

Vote Pattern Studies Continue

Throughout the Fall, the collection and analysis of election data from federal and local elections in support of the CEC/IFES Election Archive continued. Research was undertaken to identify vote patterns since the first competitive federal elections in 1989 through rolling local elections that are still underway. Comparative trends between regions and across time were also analyzed. Products of this work, thus far, include several written reports, matrices of election results by oblast, and pictorial comparisons accomplished by the use of electoral cartography. A comprehensive study of election trends in the Urals was also undertaken. Russian analysts include Nikolai Petrov, Andrei Beriozkin, Alexander Sobianin, and Anatoly Kirillov.

C. Voter Education and Outreach

Voter Education Curriculum Pilot Tested in Target Schools¹

Follow-up work to the September Retreat on Voter Education occurred in the form of bi-weekly meetings of a smaller working group of CEC members and conference participants who were tasked with bringing the ideas of the conference together in an operational document intended to form the basis of the curriculum for first time voters. Members were assigned responsibility for further development of components of the curriculum, each of which was subsequently reviewed by the entire working group. This draft document, including objectives, role-playing exercises, reading lists, assignments, lesson plans, and an implementation schedule was subsequently pilot tested in three schools, two in Moscow and one in Tartarstan.

CEC representatives worked closely with teachers at school no. 16 in Moscow's Mitichi district, which held special elections for an open Duma seat on October 30, 1994. The mock election program was titled "elections 2010." Eight student candidates ran for the office and based their campaign on issues of importance to their constituents, including educational reforms, improvement of the school cafeteria, development of constructive extracurricular activities, and the improvement of supply and service in area shops. On October 14, students provided reports to the CEC advisor on their progress in preparing for the "mock elections." On October 21, primaries were held with candidate debates, elections, and a victory party. A follow-up discussion session to evaluate the entire program and discuss the students impression of the

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

actual elections on was held on October 30. Students were energized by the activity and were more aware and better able to assess the conduct of actual elections in their district.

Student participants of the Kazan mock election project came to Moscow to speak with members of the voter education working group about their experience and to relay the lessons learned. The students and their teachers were very successful in mobilizing official support for the project. Election commissions loaned ballot boxes and other election commodities, while members of the executive and legislative branches of government served as "international observers." The mock elections were held on a Saturday and involved all of the secondary school districts in Kazan. Students learned more about their rights and responsibilities as voters and about the "practice" of conducting elections. All said they would participate in actual elections, not only as voters, but perhaps as candidates or election officials. A two-week program was also held in School 1265 in Moscow.

On the basis of these pilot tests, further revisions were made to the curriculum in preparation for submission of the final draft to the CEC leadership for review.

D. Election Official and Poll Worker Training

CEC Conference on Federalism and Elections for Regional Election Chairmen

During the third week of November, IFES and the CEC hosted an election official training conference in Moscow. The conference represented a new thrust within the CEC to initiate a regional training program for election administrators. Among the topics being discussed were changes to the electoral code; designing, conducting, and evaluating training programs; and federalism and elections. Participants included 80 regional election commission chairmen; the CEC, its advisors, and staff; the Duma Committee on Legislation and its subcommittee on election law; and representatives of the Presidential Administration. Political Party Chairmen, representing the 13 parties in the Duma were also invited to attend. IFES participants included IFES On-Site Elections Specialist Conny McCormack, and Brian Cox, the Chairman of the Australian Election Commission.

Presentations by IFES advisors were well received by the audience, members of whom had many questions during the conference. Many responded to an invitation to come to the IFES Office to browse comparative election materials on hand and for follow-up consultations. This interaction generated a number of requests for sample and training materials and direct cooperation with IFES. Parts of Brian Cox's presentation on federalism and elections were quoted by CEC Chairman Ryabov during Duma hearings on draft election legislation. During the conference, Chairman Ryabov also commented on his IFES-sponsored visit to the United States during the congressional elections. He emphasized the efficiency and openness of U.S. elections at the local level and the positive application of technology to election administration.

E. Symposia, Conferences, and Election Official Exchanges

CEC Chairman Observes US Elections²

On 2 November 1994, CEC Chairman Nikolai Ryabov arrived in the United States to observe the US congressional and gubernatorial elections. The Chairman began his visit in the District of Columbia, where he participated in training activities and consultations at the IFES Office and F. Clifton White Resource Center, the Federal Election Commission (FEC) and its Information Clearinghouse, and the DC Board of Elections and Ethics, and the former Chairmen of the Republican and Democratic National Committees. Informational meetings were also conducted with USAID, the Department of State, and the National Security Council. A reception in his honor was hosted by the Russian Embassy and attended by representatives of the diplomatic, policy, and development communities.

Chairman Ryabov then travelled to Tulsa, Oklahoma, accompanied by FEC Vice-Chairman Danny McDonald, IFES Director Richard Soudriette, and members of the Russia project team. While in Tulsa, Chairman Ryabov met with officials of the Tulsa County Election Board, the Mayor of Tulsa, representatives of the mass media, and various community and political organizations, including the League of Women Voters, the Kiwanis Club, and the Republican and Democratic parties. In addition to learning about the American electoral system, Chairman Ryabov shared his impressions of the evolving Russian electoral system with a packed audience at the University of Tulsa.

On election day, the team observed elections at polling sites throughout City of Tulsa, monitored the activity of the Tulsa County Election Board, and watched closing of the polls and the tabulation of votes. The Chairman was amazed by the efficiency and uniformity of election administration at the local level. Oklahoma is the only state with a uniform computerized vote tallying system in every precinct. Each ballot is read by a computer "brain" as it is dropped into the ballot box. At the closing of the polls, election results are printed out on tapes within a number of minutes. The chairman was also surprised at the openness of the system. As a copy of the tape was being posted on the door of the polling site, he requested a copy to take with him to Russia. It was readily provided. Chairman Ryabov wrote a report of his observations, which was published in the CEC Information Bulletin, and has incorporated his impressions into numerous conference presentations with regional election officials.

CEC Representatives Participate in ACEEEO Conference

Two representatives of the Russian CEC attended the Association of Central and Eastern European election Officials (ACEEEO) Conference in Kiev, along with Russia On-Site Project

The U.S. Election Observation Mission was funded under Cooperative Agreement Number CCS-0007-A-00-2046.

Manager Michael Caputo, On-Site Elections Specialist Connie McCormack, and IFES' USAID Project Manager in Moscow, Anne Nesterczuk. The Kiev conference provided an important opportunity for the Russians to compare the approaches of numerous European countries in responding to the challenges of election administration both in transitional and established systems. Alexi Souchilin, Head of the CEC Department of Information and Analysis, provided an overview of the new role of the CEC in a more open and competitive political environment.

Mr. Souchilin noted that CECs had previously been accessories to the Soviet system and had worked on a temporary basis. Today's CEC is very important and exists as a professional organization. A new formula for appointment to the CEC has been delineated in the recently adopted legislation on voters rights. It allows for five members each to be appointed by the State Duma, the Federation Council, and the Presidential Administration. Leadership of the new commission will be decided by secret ballot. In addition to commenting on the Voting Rights Act, he provided brief overviews of subsequent federal legislation either before the State Duma or in the development stages were also provided.

IFES Conducts Capitol Hill Briefing on the Status of Electoral Reforms

On the eve of the one-year anniversary of historic parliamentary elections and the constitutional referendum in Russia, the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) hosted a briefing on the status of electoral reforms in Russia. The Central Election Commission (CEC) has begun the challenging process of introducing necessary legal, institutional, and procedural reforms into Russia's post-Soviet electoral system. While positive gains have been made, numerous difficulties continue to impede the efficient, independent, and just administration of elections at the federal, regional and local levels. This briefing touched upon protection of voter's rights, draft legislation on federal elections currently being considered by the Duma, campaign finance reform, and initiatives to combat voter apathy. Discussants included: FEC Commissioner Danny McDonald, Election Attorney Robert Dahl, IFES On-Site Elections Specialist Conny McCormack, IFES Voter Education Consultant Terry Holcomb, and Senior Program Officer Catherine Barnes. A transcript of the briefing is available through the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, 237 Ford Office Building.

II. PROGRESS TOWARD ACHIEVING PROGRAM OBJECTIVES

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

- A. *Legal Reform:* Legislation on "The Basic Guarantees of the Citizens of the Russian Federation" was passed into law. Several recommendations made by IFES advisors were incorporated into the law including:

- * 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.

This voting rights legislation serves as the foundation for all subsequent election laws. IFES on-site advisors are now in the process of reviewing federal draft laws, including legislation on parliamentary and presidential elections as well as public referenda. In addition, IFES has been invited by the CEC to assist with the development of regional and local electoral codes.

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, 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 the CEC. Regional commissions were also established as permanent commissions.
- * 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 this formula, 5 members each will be nominated by the Duma, the Federation Council, and the Presidential Administration. Leadership will be determined internally by the CEC members according to secret ballot.

* The 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.

* 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 political parties have not always risen to the occasion to ensure that their voices are part of the debate. During a November CEC/IFES conference with 89 regional election commission chairmen on the topic of electoral reforms and the all important question of federalism and elections, each party represented in the Duma was asked to make a presentation. Only one party responded to the CEC's invitation.

* Initial progress was also 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. Numerous materials were requested by the CEC, among them Russian translations of European and U.S. state election laws, poll worker training manuals, sample ballots, forms, and voter education materials. While archiving work is currently being undertaken by the ERC, materials will be donated to the CEC, once provisions for public accessibility have been ensured.

C. *Voter Education:* Initial response to pilot testing of the official first-time voter project has been encouraging. Participating school districts are conducting classroom activities, including mock elections, using the draft curriculum outlined at the Voter Education Retreat held in September 1994. In each case, officials representing the election commissions, legislative and executive branches have participated in the activities by either loaning resources or serving as speakers or observers. CEC representatives have maintained active involvement during the classroom pilot testing and have shared information on the project with regional election chairmen. Media coverage has also been positive with inquiries about when the final program will be administered in classrooms. Several national television stations are interested in airing the entire two-week activity in order to create a special educational program on the initiative.

III. Implementation Methodology

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

* Technical Assessments of Regional/Local Elections

- * Roundtables on Electoral Reform/Topical Conferences
- * Participation in CEC Election Law Working Groups
- * Analyses of Election Law/Follow-Up Consultations
- * Vote Pattern Studies
- * CEC Participation in ACEEEO Conference in Ukraine
- * CEC Participation in US Election Observation
- * On-Site Technical Advising/Training/Serviceing of Requests
- * Building and Cataloguing of ERC/CEC Archive Materials
- * Voter Education Working Group
- * First-Time Voter Curriculum Pilot Testing

IV. Issues and Problems

A. New On-Site Advisors were deployed to the field during November and December. Michael Caputo serves as the Project Manager and advises the CEC on voter education, public outreach, and media issues. Election Specialist Conny McCormack is responsible for technical advising on election issues. The IFES Office and Election Resource Center at 13/15 Vetoshnii Pereulok, Rooms 333 and 338. The telephone number is 921 42 38. They can also be reached by fax at 928 29 62.

B. In November, USAID communicated to IFES the possibility of significant reductions in funds, already committed, for the gamut of Russia democracy projects. While specific details concerning the impact on IFES' three-year budget were not provided, a few recommendations were forwarded by USAID on reducing the program, among them the suggestion that IFES halt its current programming and return a couple of months before the December 1995 elections. Given the legal (election laws), institutional (re-organization of the CEC), and procedural (changes in administrative practice) electoral reforms underway at this time, IFES strenuously disagreed with this recommendation.

IFES stated its position that the opportunity for systemic impact would be reduced if it were to pull out now and return in the midst of the election campaign, by which time many of the important decisions would already be made. IFES is concerned that, in effect, a watering-down of the program to stretch funds in order to maintain a presence during the elections appeared inconsistent with USAID's and IFES' aim of contributing to sustainable development.

C. Russian military intervention in Chechnya in December 1994 significantly undermined the perilous political situation in Moscow. While speculation has surfaced that there may be an indefinite postponement of elections, IFES recommends that the policy and development communities watch the heightened interest and quickened pace of the Duma in regard to election legislation and the reorganization of the CEC, which may signal that the parliament is putting the

legal and institutional mechanisms into place for the conduct of a referendum on early presidential elections and/or the holding of said elections as early as the summer on in concurrence with the Duma elections slated for December 1995.

- D. 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 six-month work cycle.

V. Status of Previously Scheduled Actions

- A. Competitive bidding for infrastructure for the IFES Moscow Office and for the CEC continued throughout the fall, slowed by some difficulties in identifying vendors for some computer programs requested by the CEC, compatibility issues, and the collection of additional information from the CEC, among other reasons. In the end, however, Contracts approved the NIS equipment request, and purchase orders were placed. The delivery schedule has been adjusted to reflect a February 1995 delivery, rather than the Fall 1994 delivery, as was anticipated. IFES appreciates the assistance of USAID/Moscow in assisting the delivery and customs clearance of the equipment.³
- B. Work on the Ballot Security Task Force has been delayed as a result of the timing of the arrival of new on-site advisors, and an acceleration 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.

Infrastructure assistance is being funded under Cooperative Agreement No. CCS-0007-A-00-2046.

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:

A. Local Administration Reform -- Local Administrative Law

On September 26, Assistant to the Director, IFES/Moldova, Igor Munteanu, initiated the first general (Legal Administration Reform (LAR) meeting. Introduction of participants and meeting timetables were on the agenda.

The IFES/Moldova staff is preparing for an international conference (including representatives from Ukraine, Russia, France & Italy) scheduled for 27-28 January on *State and Local Administration: The Standards of Modernization* originally scheduled for 9-10 December 1994 (2nd quarter FY1995).

B. Building an Institutional Memory & Promoting Transparency

Several large book shipments have been donated by Houghton Mifflin Publishing Company including copies of textbooks of *The Challenge of Democracy* and other relevant titles which have been shared in seminars, conferences, and with Moldovan university departments. IFES is now delivering a shipment of office supplies, including but not limited to, a scanner, video production camera and recorder. Appropriate software is also being shipped to advance IFES' reach into the quickly expanding e-mail communications network in Eastern Europe. As part of this network, IFES/Moldova will have a direct e-mail link with IFES/Washington (and other IFES field offices) which will not only allow an clearer transmission of materials and documents, but save considerable costs as well.

C. Voter Education & Outreach

The Voter Education Working Group (VEWG), which will be comprised of CEC Commissioners (once the CEC is formed), advisors, election experts, and representatives of legal, educational, and media organizations is in the final stages of development prior to the scheduled local elections of April 16, 1995.

The VEWG will be brought into pre- and post-survey discussions to determine the content of the survey and finally the conclusions of results upon completion. IFES is ascertaining cost

estimates, organizations, and specific survey-related discussions for the IFES "*Sociological Survey*". It is anticipated that the survey will assist in evaluating project efficiency upon delivery.

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

D. NGO Consolidation

Support for an association of NGOs

IFES continues its unofficial activities related to supporting NGO development and coordination with other NGOs. The IFES/Moldova office continues to be a platform for coordinated efforts to build an association of NGOs and to serve as a support mechanism by arranging inclusion in national and international conferences, seminars and symposia. IFES' goal is to increase public awareness of the crucial role NGOs must play in a democratic society's development.

E. Symposia, Conferences, and Election Official Exchanges

Moldova Election Officials Participate in ACEEEO Conference

Two Moldovans attended the IFES-sponsored ACEEEO Conference in Kiev, along with Moldovan On-Site Project Manager Dorin Tudoran and Assistant to the Director Igor Munteanu. The Kiev conference provided an important opportunity for the Moldovans to compare the approaches of numerous European countries in responding to the challenges of election administration both in transitional and established systems. This conference may pave the way for a clearer understanding of regional electoral systems which in the case of Moldova is quite important with local elections scheduled for 16 April 1995. Moldovans were also able to participate in discussions related to the advantages of a more independent permanent electoral commission which will soon be under consideration by the Moldovan Parliament.

F. The Independent Mass Media

IFES Seminar Activity

From November 24-25, IFES/Moldova staff led the international conference on *Electoral Behavior and the Mass Media* at the National Broadcasting Station of the State Company Teleradio-Moldova after extensive work by the IFES-organized Mass Media Working Group (MMWG). The event focused on the training of groups of journalists preparing for upcoming local elections on April 16, 1995. In the past, local journalists have not played a significant role

in reporting and monitoring the electoral process and its actors. Dorin Tudoran, IFES Project Manager in Moldova, summed up the event by stating:

“...it was clear even after the session, the interest of the speakers was not to limit themselves to the way local elections took place, but to the way the journalists discovered certain public responsibilities on the degree of information available to society, always being conscience of the rights and liberties they have.”

G. Legal Assistance By Advising on Electoral Legal Issues

Legal Reform Assistance

U.S. Court of Appeals Judge Randall R. Rader arrived in October to work with the IFES/Moldova Director Dorin Tudoran on a review of the local election law. The success of his many high-level meetings encouraged Judge Rader to expect important IFES impact on election-related legislation in the future. Several significant Moldovan Laws have also been delivered to Judge Rader for analysis as a follow-up to his visit to Moldova in October.

H. Reporting

The official **IFES Election Results Manual** with details of the new composition of parliament, voting results at the raion-level from the February 27, 1994 Parliamentary Elections, and Resolutions were delivered throughout the NGO community and USG in the U.S.

In addition to information on the program shared by IFES/Moldova, extensive coverage in the form of television, radio and print media, has been concentrated on the project. On one occasion this past summer, IFES' Director of Programs, Juliana Pilon was interviewed on an interactive radio show which discussed the impacts of IFES' technical assistance in Moldova. In that the media plays such a large role in information dissemination in Moldova, IFES has found this medium to be the most effective method of reaching out to the voter.

I. Organizational

The IFES/Moldova office moved in October 1994 to a new office and has expanded its staff which now includes Dorin Tudoran as Project Manager, and four Moldovans including Igor Munteanu, Igor Botan, Angela Avornic, and Boris Danuta. The new address is: Str. George Meniue Nr. 3, 277009 Chisinau: Tel.: (3732) 73-34-46, (3732) 73-32-55, Telefax: (3732) 73-36-21.

II. PROGRESS TOWARD ACHIEVING PROGRAM OBJECTIVES

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

A. *Institutional Reform*

A number of positive steps have been taken by the Moldovan Parliament toward floor debate on the creation of a more independent, professional, and permanent election commission in Moldova, 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 45 days prior to elections. This basic problem has led to a certain lack of independence and diminished capability to accumulate the necessary institutional knowledge of democratic election administration. The establishment of a permanent electoral commission would contribute to on-going electoral reform and enhance the stability and institutional memory of the CEC.

- * IFES continues to be in close contact with the newly-nominated CEC Chairman (for the upcoming local elections). Initial discussions have brought forth IFES' interest in assisting this new CEC with technical and equipment support.

B. *Voter Education:*

A key component of the IFES/ Moldova voter education effort is based on close contact and interaction with the Moldovan national and local press. In particular, the television and radio mass media. Response from the IFES-organized international conference on *Electoral Behavior and the Mass Media* has been overwhelming. This forum of information dissemination must continue in its role as a means of access to the Moldovan public which relies on electronic media for the majority of its news. In addition, the Moldovan press itself continues to develop its ability to properly report and monitor the electoral process on the local level.

III. Implementation Methodology

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

- * Roundtables on Electoral Reform/Topical Conferences
- * Formation of Election Law Working Group
- * Formation of NGO Working Group
- * Formation of Mass Media Working Group
- * Analyses of Election Law/Follow-Up Consultations

- * Participation in ACEEEO Conference in Ukraine
- * Continued development of the IFES Resource Center
- * Formation of the Voter Education Working Group
- * Delivery of the official IFES Election Results Manual from the February 1994 Parliamentary Elections

IV. ISSUES AND PROBLEMS

None at this time.

V. STATUS OF PREVIOUSLY SCHEDULED ACTIONS

During spring 1995, IFES will initiate a **Sociological Poll** focussing on voter attitudes, impressions, administration and results of the April 16, 1995 local elections. This poll will utilize issues, data and knowledge gained during the recent poll performed in Ukraine this past fiscal quarter.

The IFES/Moldova staff are preparing for an international conference now scheduled for 27-28 January on *State and Local Administration: The Standards of Modernization* originally scheduled for 9-10 December 1994.

CENTRAL ASIA (divided by country within sub-directories)

I. PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

IFES activities this Fall have led to an IFES on-site presence in every Central Asian republic except Turkmenistan. In November, IFES opened an On-Site Office in Almaty which will serve not only as the hub of program activity in Kazakhstan, but also as an operations center for regional work.

A. Local Administration Reform Local Administrative Law

Kazakhstan

Following IFES recommendations, the CEC has prepared draft election procedure manuals for district election officials, poll workers, and candidates. IFES evaluated and consulted on the CEC's legislative and procedural proposals and its upcoming February Election Seminar.

B. Building an Institutional Memory & Promoting Transparency

IFES Central Asia Regional Office

Book shipments will be initiated through donations by Houghton Mifflin Publishing including texts of "*Challenge of Democracy*" and other relevant titles to be shared in upcoming seminars and conferences. IFES is now delivering a shipment of office supplies, including but not limited to, a scanner, video production camera and a recorder. Appropriate software is also being shipped to advance IFES' reach into the quickly expanding e-mail communications network in throughout the former Soviet Union. As part of this network, the IFES Central Asia Regional office will in short order have a direct e-mail link with IFES/Washington (and other IFES field offices) which will not only allow a clearer transmission of materials and documents, but have a considerable cost saving.

C. Voter Education & Outreach

Uzbekistan

As a result of urgent requests emanating from the US Embassy in Tashkent, and at the invitation of the Government of Uzbekistan, IFES provided assistance to Uzbekistan's electorate in the form of a basic voter education program in advance of the December 25 Parliamentary elections. The IFES voter education program was designed to reach the Uzbekistani voting population with essential information about democracy, voting procedures, and particular issues affecting the voter during Uzbekistan's first round of post-Soviet Parliamentary elections. The voter education information was disseminated through radio and television broadcasting, video, audio, and print

media.

IFES Consultant and former FEC election attorney, Daniel J. Blessington met with CEC Chairman Akhemedov and Deputy Chairman Abdulayev, Foreign Minister Kamilov, Head of State T.V. Yakiyayev, Head of the PDP Party Yalalov, media representatives, candidates, and representatives of political parties, amongst others, to determine the best medium and message for the IFES voter education program. IFES then worked closely with the State Radio and Television broadcasting organs to develop Public Service Announcements and programming aimed at providing information on the Parliamentary elections. IFES also assisted in designing print educational materials for use in the government's civic education campaign.

At the end of this process, Mr. Blessington met with the Chairman of the Uzbekistani State T.V. & Radio network and delivered public service announcement spots to him. He was successful in getting the public service announcements on television, which, according to the BBC, is viewed by over 83% of the Uzbekistani population. He also met with the Director of the State News Agency, in an unsuccessful effort at publishing written public service messages.

D. Pre-Election Technical Assessments and Observation Missions

Kyrgyzstan

In July, IFES submitted a proposal for a follow-up Pre-Election Technical Assessment mission to Kyrgyzstan, eventually postponed until December 1994 at USAID's request. The mission's objective was to determine the election calendar, roles of current officials, and the status of electoral legislation in Kyrgyzstan. In early September, the Parliament of Kyrgyzstan dissolved itself amid allegations of corruption and illegitimacy.

A project-planning mission led by Linda Edgeworth travelled to Kyrgyzstan to meet with U.S. Ambassador Malloy and assess the evolution of the country's electoral system and needs at the time of the October 22 Referendum. As a preliminary step toward supporting the Government's preparations for its planned December 24 Parliamentary elections, this project-planning mission was necessary in order to obtain information pertaining to the reform or adaptation of Kyrgyzstan's Electoral Code and to make a preliminary identification of the country's technical assistance needs. The assessment led to a series of proposals for possible work in Kyrgyzstan that was submitted to USAID involving voter education work with and without CEC involvement.

IFES fielded a follow-up two-person mission, consisting of IFES Central Asian Regional Project Manager Gwenn Hofmann and consultant and area expert Gregory R. Koldys, to Kyrgyzstan between December 14 and 21, 1994. The IFES team assessed Kyrgyzstan's political and electoral system's readiness for the February 5, 1995 parliamentary elections, following the dissolution of Parliament, prolonged Presidential rule, and a referendum on a Constitutional amendment providing for the creation of a bi-cameral Parliament and substantively modifying the previous Constitutional order. The mission was also aimed at making a definitive

identification of Kyrgyzstan's needs in the area of technical assistance in anticipation of the 1995 elections. Team members met with the Central Election Commission, the Minister of Justice, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, political parties, the mass media, public associations, human rights organizations, members of the Presidential Apparatus, U.S. Ambassador Malloy and her staff, and representatives of NDI, IRI, ABA, and USIA.

IFES was particularly attentive to the issue of voter education, because of the complicated nature of the upcoming elections and possible voter confusion over balloting procedures and candidates, and the lack of appropriate legislation and information regarding the new Parliament and its deputies' duties. IFES recommended fielding a two-person on-site technical assistance mission for three weeks to develop and implement a voter information and education program. The material will be non-political and centered around public service announcements in Russian, Uzbek, and Kyrgyz focusing on the importance of voting, explaining the bi-cameral Parliament, and voting procedure.

IFES also identified a need for assistance in the area of ballot security. While IFES noted that some of the suggestions in its 1993 PETA report had been incorporated into the new election law, other issues remained problematic. Particularly at the constituency and polling-site level, with respect to vote counting procedures and transparency. It was thus recommended that the IFES on-site assistance team also develop a special job-aid document to local poll workers. IFES furthermore recommended coordinating the training of international observers with the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). As IFES questioned the legal framework under which the elections are being held, IFES finally recommended conducting a technical assessment of the elections as observed on election day and throughout the counting and run-off election processes.

Tajikistan

In response to urgent requests from the U.S. Embassy in Dushanbe, IFES fielded a ten-day Pre-Election Technical Assessment mission to 6 Raions in Tajikistan in advance of the November 6, 1994 polls. The mission team was comprised of elections expert Linda Edgeworth and former Foreign Service Officer and Soviet area expert Walter Smith. The mission opened itself up to immediate technical assistance opportunities and sample poll-worker training manuals, and provided a candidate and observer information package to the Tajikistani Government. In addition, the IFES team submitted 26 pages of recommendations to the CEC.

Following up on the needs assessment by IFES, and invitations by USAID and the Government of Tajikistan, IFES prepared a Technical Election/Referendum Assessment mission which analyzed the November 6 polls. The team was comprised of IFES Consultant Linda Edgeworth, Gwenn Hofmann, IFES' Field Project Manager in Almaty, Kazakhstan, and Scott Lansell, IFES Program Officer.

After meeting with U.S. Ambassador Escudero and his staff on election-eve in Dushanbe, IFES and embassy staff divided into four "election watch groups" in an effort to cover a representative

portion of the capital city's polling sites on election day. The security of the capital continued to be in question through election-eve as four bombings occurred throughout the capital allegedly aimed at administrative offices. Fortunately few injuries were reported, however the threat of violence was present.

IFES teams were generally allowed access to the polling stations. However, they encountered varied responses to their interest in the counting process and final vote tallying at the district-level commissions later that evening.

In addition to serious election day problems, several factors led to the team's general impression that Tajikistan had missed an opportunity to become an internationally respected democratic state including, but not limited to, its state-run and dominated national media, the lack of pluralistic political parties and candidates, and the numerous alleged threats aimed at poll workers and election commissioners.

Within 48 hours of the polls closing, results were announced awarding then-Chairman Rakmonov a 60% to 35% lead over the only challenger, Karim Abdullojanov, the Tajikistani Ambassador to Russia. These results surprised many international observers, with the notable exception of the leader of the delegation from the Commonwealth of Independent States (C.I.S.). Additional controversy resulted from the fact that only days prior to the election, polls anticipated an 80% "favorable" rating for the opposition candidate Abdullojanov. In the opinion of many observers, the uncritical C.I.S. assessment of "free and fair" was politically motivated and calculated to serve as a strong indication of support for Rakmonov, the preferred candidate of the Russian Federation. In addition to the election, a Referendum on the Constitution, which effectively formulated the office of President, received overwhelming support from the electorate.

Uzbekistan

IFES fielded a late October mission to Uzbekistan at the request of the U.S. Ambassador to Tashkent in order to address concerns about Uzbekistan's first post-Soviet round of Parliamentary elections on December 25. IFES Consultant Linda Edgeworth, Gwenn Hofmann, IFES' Field Project Manager in Almaty, Kazakhstan, and Scott Lansell, IFES Program Officer, met with U.S. Ambassador Clarke and election officials to determine steps which the Foundation might take in order to foster democratization in the country.

At the urging of Ambassador Clarke, IFES fielded an On-Site Technical Assistance mission to Uzbekistan from December 13 through December 31, 1994. Under funding from USAID, IFES Central Asian Regional Project Manager Gwenn Hofmann, Project Specialist Zara Dashtamirova, and IFES consultant and election attorney Dan Blessington, worked with the Central Election Commission (CEC) of Uzbekistan to perform a technical assessment of the December 25, 1994 Parliamentary elections. The IFES team also acted as an international election observer mission to the Parliamentary elections, assessing the election day and post-

election environment in Uzbekistan.

In preparation for election day, the U.S. Embassy hosted an official briefing for all international observers. On election day, the IFES team visited local polling sites and three district offices in and around the city of Tashkent, to assess election day procedures. After a low-key campaign, focussing on personality rather than issues, the former communists won an overwhelming majority of the vote.

Although IFES noted no rampant fraud and considers the elections to have been a small step in the right direction, the IFES team noted a number of irregularities during the campaign, including: restrictions on campaign financing prohibiting use of personal finances; control of campaign and content by the State under pretense of providing "equal media access;" and a serious incident involving the removal of a candidate from the ballot and allegations of intimidation against him for advocating dual citizenship for ethnic Russians. IFES also concluded that Uzbekistan's media and public association laws seem to be restrictive at best, and improperly limit informational and ballot access. Sections of the election code which control candidate funding and campaigning also need to be revised.

Acting in their capacity of international election observers, IFES team members noted: rampant family voting; unofficial "voter assistance" in the voting booth; pressure though candidate representation in each voting station; lax ballot security; and chaotic vote counting procedures. IFES was invited to report its findings to the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions in Warsaw, the US Embassy, the United Nations, and other international organizations.

E. Election Official Conferences and Exchanges

Kazakhstan

Kazakhstani CEC members were invited to participate as observer-delegates in the December 12 Association of Central and Eastern European Election Officials (ACEEEO) Conference in Kyiv, Ukraine. Two CEC members, CEC Chairman K. Turysov and his Special Assistant K. Bukenov, were sent by IFES to the December Kyiv conference of the ACEEEO. They returned excited to organize their own regional election officials association.

F. The Independent Mass Media

Kazakhstan

In order to discuss the recently released Russian-language version of its assessment of the March 1994 election, IFES met several times with Mr. Sergei O. Duvanov, Co-Chairman of the Social Democratic Party and correspondent for Radio-Max. Mr. Duvanov eventually did a radio segment highlighting flaws in the Kazakhstani electoral process noted in the IFES report.

Further meetings on the report were held in Washington with Bakhytzhan Mukushev, a

Karaganda-based journalist, and Sergei Kozlov, a reporter for Radio Liberty/Radio Free Europe and the "Nezavisimaya Gazeta."

G. Legal Assistance By Advising on Electoral Legal Issues

Kazakhstan

Interim Project Manager Linda Edgeworth, Almaty-based Project Manager Gwenn Hofmann, and Washington-based Program Officer Jean-Paul Gauthier began on-site project follow-up to the assistance project for the March general elections in order to review IFES technical recommendations with the CEC, help the CEC identify opportunities for implementing those recommendations, and evaluate the impact of the project. Advising is being provided in the areas of election law, regulatory reform, adjudication of grievances, election management, issues of campaign financing, vote tabulation, and reporting of results.

Gwenn Hofmann, who left the U.S. to begin her job as Project Manager in Almaty on Nov. 1, is an elections expert with over 18 years of experience on federal and state levels. She spent 8 years as Public Information Specialist at the Federal Election Committee, developing the first professional election administration training program. She has been Assistant Director of the Election Center in Washington D.C., establishing the first national professional Election Administrators Association and developing the poll worker training program which became the national standard. Ms. Hofmann has been providing election administration and organizational consulting services, including the design and implementation of technical training programs for NYC voting equipment demonstrators; design and implementation of a professional certification program for Election Administrators at Auburn University, and writing a ballot security book for Business Records Corporation (Election Division).

Tajikistan

At the request of the U.S. Embassy in Dushanbe, IFES followed-up its involvement in Tajikistan's Constitutional referendum and Presidential election earlier this fall by becoming involved in the country's next round of elections, in particular through work on Tajikistan's first post-Soviet Parliamentary elections law. Previous IFES experience in the country had shown a lack of adequate procedures for the implementation of democratic ideals. The opposition boycott and numerous irregularities in the Presidential elections also weighed heavily in IFES' decision to return to Tajikistan.

Between November 26 and December 6, 1994, IFES consultant Linda Edgeworth, in close cooperation with the US Embassy, the UN, the OSCE, and the American Legal Consortium (ALC), analyzed and commented on Tajikistan's draft law on Parliamentary elections. The objectives of this mission were to review recommended changes proposed by the OSCE, provide commentary and suggestions for appropriate revisions and procedural context, and encourage officials of the Government of Tajikistan to incorporate the necessary revisions into the legislation.

Recommendations were developed reflecting the minimum standards for democracy, rule of law, and fair and open procedures for electing government officials. Time was of the essence because the draft electoral code was due to be voted upon on December 1, 1994. On November 30, just one day prior to the vote, a long and intense meeting was held with representatives of the Government of Tajikistan, OSCE, IFES, ALC, and the U.S. Embassy in Dushanbe. That meeting had no effect in persuading the Government of Tajikistan to adopt any of the proposed recommendations in its draft law the next day.

II. PROGRESS TOWARD ACHIEVING PROGRAM OBJECTIVES

A. Following IFES recommendations delivered during this quarter, the CEC of Kazakhstan has prepared draft election procedure manuals for district election officials, poll workers, and candidates. Through close work with the CEC, IFES was even able to see a significant number of its recommendations incorporated into a legislative bill. Key provisions in the bill stemming directly from IFES recommendations include:

- * Political party membership on election commissions;
- * Candidate access to registration documentation and procedures;
- * Clarification of the rules for denial of registration;
- * Liability for security of registration documentation;
- * Prohibition of State intervention in campaigning;
- * Access to all election-related procedures for foreign observers;
- * Ballot security protocols;
- * Affirmative voting, replacing traditional Soviet negative voting;
- * On-going voter education by the CEC, building on IFES-produced material aired during the 1994 campaign period and positively responded to by voters.

B. In response to unequal and inconsistent application of electoral law and procedures with regard to registration of candidates, voting, and counting, witnessed during the March 1994 general elections, IFES developed a comprehensive report recommending possible improvements to the Kazakhstani election system.

C. Following IFES recommendations, the Kazakhstani CEC has prepared draft election procedure manuals for district election officials, poll workers, and candidates.

D. On November 1, 1994, IFES opened an On-Site Technical Assistance Office and Resource Center in Almaty. Its address is: KIMEP, 4 Abai Street, Room 509, Almaty 480199, Kazakhstan.

III. IMPLEMENTATION METHODOLOGY

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

- * On-Site Technical Advising, Kazakhstan
- * Election Law Review, Kazakhstan
- * Technical Election Report, Kazakhstan
- * Kazakhstani CEC Participation in ACEEEO Conference
- * PETA, Tajikistan
- * Election Law Analysis, Tajikistan
- * Election Observation, Tajikistan
- * PETA, Uzbekistan
- * On-Site Technical Assistance, Uzbekistan
- * Voter Education Program, Uzbekistan
- * Election Observation, Uzbekistan
- * PETA Kyrgyzstan

IV. ISSUES AND PROBLEMS

- A. IFES is concerned that its on-site technical assistance program in Kazakhstan, which was approved by USAID Washington and Almaty, has suffered considerably as a result of shifts in USAID priorities in Central Asia during the quarter. As IFES has noted, significant legal, institutional, and procedural electoral reforms are currently underway in Kazakhstan, for example the extensive overhaul of Kazakhstan's election code. Due to the pressures of a heavy election cycle in the region and the pursuant demands of USAID Almaty and the Embassies, work of a systemic nature in Kazakhstan has fallen by the wayside. If current circumstances continue, i.e. if the planned resources are not to be devoted to the Kazakhstan project, it will be difficult for IFES to meet its project objectives as outlined in the Kazakhstan proposal.
- B. In regard to the significant pressure placed on IFES to become involved in Uzbekistan and Tajikistan in spite of its concerns about the host governments' commitment to democratic reforms, and in light of limited resources, IFES is requesting some indication of USAID's apparent reorganization of priorities in Central Asia. Such information is vital to making wise programming and budgetary decisions as well as in designing objectives which will be attainable.
- C. While wishing to uphold its reputation of rapid response to "shock" elections and to maintain the flexibility to deal with an unstable regional political situation, IFES has some concerns about being obliged to undertake activities in the field, which have not

been previously authorized either by USAID/Washington or IFES/Washington. This is especially true in cases where on-going projects were not outlined in the proposal. While money was set aside in the IFES NIS proposal in anticipation of elections in the Central Asia Region, more detailed project authorizations with budgets are required to undertake project activities, as are travel authorizations, country clearances, requests to sub-contract, contracts, etc. In keeping with IFES standard operating procedure, the Foundation would prefer not to initiate activities before IFES Washington has agreed to undertake the project and the appropriate authorizing documents have been signed by USAID Washington or a written waiver of such documents is provided by USAID to IFES.

V. STATUS OF PREVIOUSLY SCHEDULED ACTIONS

A. As noted above, IFES has not been able to fully comply with the Kazakhstan work plan as a result of its staff, both in Washington and in the field, being obliged to meet the requests of U.S. Ambassadors in the region and to undertake work in other parts of Central Asia.

B. A proposed Fall conference with the CEC was postponed, as a result of their defense of proposed reforms to the electoral code before the Kazakhstani Parliament, until February 1995.

UKRAINE

I. Program Activities

A. Electoral Reform

Since February 1993, IFES has continued in its role as the most effective international provider of information and expertise on election reform and the evolving election process in Ukraine. Up to and after the official public admission that Ukraine's election law is a disaster in need of immediate reform, IFES intensified its promotion of reform of Ukraine's cumbersome and outmoded post-Soviet election system and laws by establishing or bolstering strong working relationships with the most important actors in the political process of Ukraine and with those in the best position to enact positive legal and administrative change in the period after Ukraine's "year of elections." IFES' persistent advocacy of change has taken discussion of reform of the Ukrainian election law from a cry in the wilderness more than two years ago to the floor of parliament today.

B. Building an Institutional Memory and Promoting Transparency

Electoral Results for Year Summarized and Published

As with past repeat elections in 1994, IFES produced a *Guide to November 20, 1994 Repeat Parliamentary Elections in Ukraine*. As part of a pilot pre-election information distribution program, approximately 3,000 copies were printed (in Ukrainian) and distributed to political parties, the media, and 60% of the polling stations involved in the repeat elections in 54 constituencies. Such information, which included a constituency-by-constituency breakdown of past election results as well as the candidate lists for each constituency participating in the November 20, and December 7, 1994 repeat elections, had never previously been released so widely and in such a complete manner. Many party and polling station officials expressed their astonishment not only as to the existence of such a collection of useful information on elections in Ukraine, but to the relatively unceremonious and even-handed distribution of such information.

Concurrent with the Association of Central and Eastern European Election Officials (ACEEEO) Kyiv Conference, IFES published a full compendium of all elections results in Ukraine to include information on the deputies occupying seats in Parliament. The compendium, *Elections in Ukraine 1994*, was distributed to the domestic and international media, political parties, embassies, ministries and other government institutions. The comprehensiveness of both the Guide and Compendium represent an unprecedented willingness of the CEC to share information on the electoral process in Ukraine with all interested bodies in a timely manner. The success and positive reaction by all parties receiving this information has convinced the CEC that sharing information on Ukraine's electoral system can only serve to benefit the CEC and that their previous reluctance to provide such information in timely way and in a useful format only

contributed to a negative perception of their work.

C. Voter Education and Outreach

IFES Positioned to Begin Long-Range Voter Education Project

1994 was no year to begin a substantial voter education campaign due to the growing apathy of the electorate following repeated calls to the polls; calls necessitated by a flawed election law. Rather than push a beleaguered CEC to implement some sort of program which would only serve to further irritate an already disenchanting electorate, IFES chose to support the CEC through the year of elections until change and new efforts became feasible. As a result, IFES finds itself in a trusted and respected position with the appropriate government institution to act as initiator of such a project.

With the IFES/Ukraine office now headed by a true voter education specialist, Terry Holcomb, IFES is now in a position to begin working on a substantial and carefully planned voter education program in partnership with the CEC and the Ministry of Education. Using the detailed information on target groups (analyzed both demographically, geographically, and by a variety of key attitudes) made available through the IFES Nationwide Survey of the Ukrainian Electorate, IFES can not only engage in an effectively broad-based national mass communications activities, but also target messages and materials to specified sectors of the (currently more receptive) Ukrainian electorate.

D. Election Official and Poll Worker Training

IFES has worked with the Central Election Commission to increase their training capability and outreach to regional election officials in a number of ways, including:

- *providing IFES materials in response to specific requests from the CEC and for both their use and for use at the regional and local levels.
- *encouraging the CEC to include regional and local election officials in the training and education activities of the CEC in Kyiv.
- *providing sample poll-worker training materials to the CEC for review and translation and adaptation by IFES/Ukraine.
- *providing on-site service and support for CEC and regional election officials in their use of IFES' data-processing and communications equipment.

E. Symposia, Conferences, and Election Official Exchanges

UN/OSCE Roundtable on the Election Law of Ukraine

The United Nations and Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) sponsored a roundtable on Ukraine's election laws from October 13 - 15, 1994. At the request of both multi-lateral institutions, the IFES legal spent an entire day covering many of the reforms

outlined in IFES' well-circulated proposal including: lowering or eliminating turnout and vote total standards, amending the laws governing the nomination and registration of candidates, the resolution of complaints and allegations of fraud, improving ballot security, establishing the independent authority of the Central Election Commission, and revamping provisions of the laws regarding campaign financing. IFES provided sound proposals and statutory language for procedural solutions and detailed explanations of problems of election day administration such as the issuance of multiple ballots, group voting, pre-stamping of ballots, the absence of verification documents in the ballot boxes, mobile ballot box voting, absentee voting, and the failure to properly post required information on candidates and election results. The Chairman and Secretary of the CEC went on record at the conference that the CEC favored many of the reforms proposed by IFES.

A representative of the National Democratic Institute participating in the event commented later at USAID/Kyiv that, though participants were grateful for the UN/OSCE sponsorship, without IFES' involvement the conference would have been yet another missed opportunity to promote meaningful democratic reform of elections in Ukraine.

The Meeting of the Association of Ukrainian Judges

During the Judicial Conference hosted by the Ukrainian Supreme Court and amid the general call for a reformed and stronger legal system with an independent judiciary, IFES' legal team of Judges and attorneys was granted unique access to discuss the importance of the role of the courts in the resolution of election-related disputes with members of the Supreme Court, regional courts, and local courts. During the meeting, a member of the IFES team was personally approached and personally recognized by President Leonid Kuchma.

The Meeting of the Association of Ukrainian Jurists

IFES' legal team also attended the World Congress of Ukrainian Jurists, where, in a high-profile setting, they found another opportunity to stress the need for election law reform and an increased role for the an independent judiciary in the adjudication of electoral disputes.

The State Visit of President Leonid Kuchma to the United States

In only the third State Visit since U.S. President Clinton took office, President Kuchma visited the United States to discuss denuclearization and the crucial nature of continued U.S. aid to the Ukrainian people. IFES/Washington staff were honored to visit with President and Mrs. Clinton and President and Mrs. Kuchma at White House and Blair House events on this occasion.

During the visit, Judge Bohdan A. Futey, a member of the IFES legal team was recognized by President Leonid Kuchma at a Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) meeting as an expert on the draft Constitution of Ukraine and asked publicly to continue his assistance work in Ukraine. Earlier in the week, Futey had also been requested to brief the National Security Council staff on Ukrainian affairs prior to the visit of President Kuchma.

The ACEEEO Kyiv Conference

From December 15-17, 1994 the Association of Central and Eastern European Election Officials (ACEEEO) held its annual conference in Kyiv upon the invitation of the Ukrainian CEC and an impressive Ukrainian organizational committee tasked by the Presidium of the Supreme Rada to ensure the success of the Conference. Leading members of the Supreme Rada, CEC members, as well as IFES/Ukraine staff were members of the committee.

The conference gathered representatives of 18 East-Central European and Western countries to discuss the development of democratic electoral systems in the region. Regional officials (6 countries were represented by their individual CECs) and specialists re-affirmed their commitment to provide mutual assistance and cooperate in the exchange of information and consultation in achieving their mutual goal of efficient democratic systems. The Head of the Hungarian National Elections Office and Secretary of the ACEEEO, Dr. Zoltán Tóth, noted that the Association would be a useful and necessary institution for some time to come as only contacts and coordinated action by professionals and professional institutions will be able to assure the continued adherence to regional self-imposed democratic electoral standards.

For members of the CEC of Ukraine and the 27 oblast secretariat officials in attendance, the conference provided the opportunity to exchange opinions with regional peers on the difficulties of administering new democratic elections with increased demands, scarce resources and little experience. Above all, the CEC of Ukraine was made aware of their country's part in an overall common regional struggle to ensure impartial and efficient elections. For the CEC of Ukraine, the Conference symbolized the metamorphosis of the CEC from an ill-equipped, ad hoc, ill-prepared government-designated organization into a confident and experienced institution, prepared to hear-out critics and admit short-comings in the conduct of elections in Ukraine for the sake of building consensus for reform of Ukraine's election laws and improving election administration.

II. Progress Toward Achieving Program Objectives

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

- A. *Legal Reform:* Proposals for the reform of Ukraine's election laws became one of the most publicly discussed topics besides the law on separation of power in political circles by year's end. Even if IFES did not persuade all bodies involved that its own proposal was the best solution to inherent problems in Ukraine's election laws, then at the very least the Foundation caused all involved to recognize the necessity of election reform. With the realization that a year of elections had failed to fill all seats in the Supreme Rada, there were no less than four major reform proposals in progress to join the proposal of IFES. As it now stands, CEC Chairman Ivan Yemets will formally submit the IFES proposal with the CEC's own findings and suggestions based on interviews conducted with local election officials to the Chairman of the Supreme Rada, Oleksandr Moroz for imminent consideration on the floor of the Supreme Rada.

- B. *Institutional Reform/Institution Building*: Beginning the year as a weak and inexperienced institution fearful in the uncertainty of its continued existence, the CEC has emerged as confident and highly experienced through administering an extremely flawed election law with surprisingly few serious mishaps. As mentor of the CEC, IFES has gradually persuaded the CEC of its own need to lobby for reform of the election laws which have made the basic functions of the CEC so difficult and untenable under close scrutiny. In addition, through helping the CEC to improve its image by offering greater amounts of information on the development of the Ukrainian electoral system and results of past elections to a wide audience, IFES has won the institution some deserved respect and recognition for the difficult societal function it has been tasked to perform. More importantly, the increased publicity of the CEC and the capacity to produce and distribute information on Ukraine's elections and electoral system has increased not only the institution's self-imposed standards and expectations, but those of the political parties and the public at large. It is doubtful that the CEC will have the desire or be allowed to shirk these standards and expectations in the future.
- C. *Voter Education*: Having kept all interested groups well informed of the progress of the December 1994 Nationwide Survey of the Ukrainian Electorate, IFES can now expect a great deal of interest and cooperation in exploiting the findings to work out a comprehensive development plan for a voter education project in partnership with the CEC, the Ministry of Education, and interested NGO's. As predicted by IFES experts, the Ukrainian electorate itself acknowledged a general lack of information on democracy and the desire to learn more.

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
- * Supreme Rada/CEC Collaboration in ACEEEO Conference in Ukraine
- * On-Site Technical Advising/Training/Service of Requests
- * Nationwide Survey of the Ukrainian Electorate

IV. Issues and Problems

A. The new IFES/Ukraine Project Manager, Terry Holcomb, deployed as of January 16, 1994 and is quickly making rounds meeting with members of the CEC and the media regarding IFES survey findings. Terry is currently looking for larger office space to better serve the needs of our resources, equipment, and personnel.

B. IFES is routinely approached by members of parliament and top political party officials to carry out projects that may not be interpreted as part of IFES' mandate but that of another organization. As the fulfillment of these requests for assistance directly affect IFES' own projects, we note to requesters that we are more than eager to play a part in organizing assistance in cooperation with those organizations definitely mandated to work in these areas.

C. Finally, IFES feels that it can make a very important contribution to areas that are currently not covered in its workplan, and will offer suggestions in expanding staff to deal with these issues.

VI. IFES REGIONAL ACTIVITY SUMMARY

To date, Pre-election Technical Assessments (PETAs) have been conducted or planned in the following countries:

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

On-site Technical Assistance projects (OSTAs), including poll worker training and voter/civic education have been conducted or are being planned in the following countries:

Belarus ⁴	(under discussion)
Kazakhstan	(conducted and underway)
Kyrgyzstan	(underway)
Moldova	(conducted and underway)
Russia	(conducted and underway)
Tajikistan	(conducted)
Ukraine	(conducted and underway)
Uzbekistan	(conducted and underway)

⁴The Central Committee for Elections and Nationwide Referenda published on January 9, 1995 (FBIS-Belapan) that nominations and other important electoral events will commence on prior to February 22. However, U.S. wire services reported on January 31, 1995 that 30,000 people demonstrated in Minsk demanding the resignation of the Government of Belarus and early elections. Importantly, demonstrations also took place in three other Belarusan cities.

QUARTERLY REPORT

Concerning the
A.I.D. COOPERATIVE AGREEMENT
No. CCS-0007-A-00-4081-00

ATTACHMENTS

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

October - December 1994

FROM : IFES Ukraine

PHONE NO. : 2938029

**International Foundation for Electoral Systems*****Міжнародна Фундація Виборчих Систем***

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Holos Ukrainy (Supreme Rada edition)

№ 249 (December 30, 1994)

In the Central Election Commission**Information announcement****regarding the conduction of the conference of Association
of Central and Eastern European Election Officials**

A few days ago the annual conference of the Association of Central and Eastern European Election Officials has been conducted in Kyiv. It was the third one from the international meetings where Central and Eastern European Election Officials were assembled to exchange information, discuss and strengthen the cooperation.

The conference was organized by the Central Election Commission on elections of peoples' deputies of Ukraine, Supreme Rada's corresponding services, some Ministries and governmental departments together with the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (Washington), non-governmental, non-profit organization, which provides consultative and technical assistance to the electoral process in many countries all over the World.

The Ukrainian side was represented by the members of the Central Election Commission, peoples' deputies of Ukraine, senior officers of the Secretariat of the Supreme Rada of Ukraine, Ukrainian Presidential Administration, the Supreme Court of Ukraine, the machinery of the Supreme Rada of Republic of Crimea, oblast and city executive committees, famous scholars, political parties' and public organizations' representatives.

Near two hundred of participants from twenty countries took part in this conference.

Deputy Chairman of the Supreme Rada of Ukraine O. Diomin has opened the conference; the Head of the Presidential Administration D. Tabachnyk greeted the conference's participants on behalf of the President of Ukraine L. Kuchma. The first day of the conference was dedicated to discussion of the election-related problems in Ukraine. The Chairman of the Central Election



*Unofficial translation
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Commission I.Yemets, Chairmen and Deputy Chairmen of Supreme Rada's standing Commissions and Sub-commissions O.Steschenko, V.Butkevych, M.Kostytskiy, O.Lavrynovych, peoples' deputy of Ukraine V.Kostytskiy, Deputy Chairman of the Supreme Court of Ukraine P.Shevchuk, Judge of the United States Court of Appeals for the Federal Circuit R.Rader, Legal Counsel of the International Foundation for Electoral Systems S.Nix made their speeches.

The second and third days of the conference were dedicated to speeches of Dr. Z.Toth (Hungary), representatives of countries-participants and also to discussing the ways of solving the legal and the other problems in elections administration.

According to the different impressions and reaction of mass-media the conference had a great success; it assisted to make everybody familiar with the last achievements in elections administration, to have fruitful discussions, to establish personal contacts between the specialists, to strengthen the cooperation and informational exchange. As it was stressed from the Ukrainian side the conducting of this conference was especially favorable in this particular period, when the electoral campaign generally is over, its experience is in the process of comprehension, and the ways of electoral legislation improvement are determining. All conference materials, review of foreign legislation, speeches and reports will be published further; this will give a chance to create deep understanding of legal measures of solving problems of the electoral process for Ukrainian members of parliament, scholars, practical specialists, officials of local powers, political parties and public organizations.

The important financial assistance in organizing and conducting of this conference was provided by the United States Agency for International Development, the Charles Stuart Mott Foundation, the International Renaissance Foundation, the International Research and Exchange Board, as well as some other firms and companies producing the election-related equipment.

The next conference should be held next year in Budapest.



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У Центральній виборчій комісії Інформаційне повідомлення

про проведення конференції Асоціації
працівників виборчих органів

Центральної та Східної Європи

Днями у Києві проходила щорічна конференція Асоціації працівників виборчих органів Центральної та Східної Європи. Це був ажурний і серйозно-гатований подальших зустрічей, де працівники виборчих органів Центральної та Східної Європи збираються разом, щоб обмінятися інформацією, порадами та зміцнити співробітництво.

Конференція була організована Центральним виборчим комітетом України, відповідальним службою Верховної Ради України та відомим міністерствами. Це була перша конференція цього типу в Україні, яку організувала не урядова, не міжурядова організація, яка надає консультативну і технічну допомогу для забезпечення виборчого процесу у багатьох країнах світу.

Українська сторона була представлена членами Центральної виборчої комісії, народними депутатами України, керівниками працівниками секретаріату та управління справами Верховної Ради України, адміністрації Президента України, Верховного суду України, адміністрації Верховної Ради Республіки Крим, обласними адміністраціями, відомими науковцями, представниками політичних партій, громадських організацій.

В цілому конференція вибрала близько 40охох учасників з 20 країн світу.

На відкритті конференції виступив заступник Голови Верховної Ради України О. Дрозд, привітавши учасників від Президента України Л. Кучми, одолевши адміністрації Президента та України. Д. Дрозд сказав, що першим днем конференції була проведена обговорення питань проведення виборів в Україні. Доповідаючи на цю тему зробили Голова Центральної виборчої комісії С. Сидор, голова держуправління з питань виборчих органів та виборчої комісії парламенту О. Співачко, М. Бугнач, М. Крестницький, О. Давридович, народний депутат України В. Крестницький, заступник Голови Верховного суду України П. Шевчук, суддя Осереднього апеляційного суду в США Р. Рейдер, юристи виборчих систем США.

Другий та третій дні конференції було відведено для доповідей секретаря Асоціації працівників виборчих органів Центральної та Східної Європи доктора З. Гутта (Угорщина), представників держав-учасниць, а також для обговорення шляхів розв'язання правових і інших проблем, що виникають під час організації виборів.

Як висловили обидві думками та роками представників виборчих систем Центральної та Східної Європи, конференція мала неабиякий успіх, дозволила всім учасникам ознайомитися з останнім досвідом щодо проведення виборів, провела плідні дискусії, встановити особисті контакти між фахівцями, розширити співробітництво та обмін інформацією. Як підсумок багато українських учасників, проведених конференції в Україні було найбільш сприятливим саме в цей період, коли в основному завершена виборча кампанія, осмислюється її досвід, розглядаються шляхи вдосконалення виборчого законодавства. Усі матеріали конференції, згідно із загальним завданням, доповіді і дискусії будуть додані до розуміння правових засобів вирішення проблем виборчого процесу на українських парламентаріах, так званих фахівцям-практикам, працівникам місцевих Рад народних депутатів, політичним партіям та об'єднанням громадян.

Значну фінансову допомогу для організації і проведення конференції надали Агентство міжнародного розвитку США, фундація Ч.С.Мотта, Міжнародна фундація «Відродження», Міжнародна рада з досліджень та об'єднує ряд інших фірм і компаній, що випускають виборче обладнання.

Наступну конференцію вирішено провести майбутнього року в Будапешті.

30 грудня 1994 року. № 249 (999)

Kievskie Vedomosti (Kiev Records)¹
December 16, 1944

"Europe is Interested in the Effectiveness of the Ukrainian Electoral System"

"In order to become a member of various international organizations, Ukraine must not only accept a new democratic constitution, but also elaborate an effective system of free and fair elections" - said Bohdan Futey, Judge of U.S. Court of Federal Claims at a press conference devoted to the opening of the International Conference of the Association of Central and Eastern European Election Officials (ACEEEO) in Kiev. An annual conference of the Association is for the first time taking place in Ukraine. According to Juliana Pilon, IFES Director of Programs for Europe and Asia, IFES has connected this event with the fact that, "Ukraine is in the epicenter of world attention now."

The three-day Conference of ACEEEO, organized by the Central Election Commission of Ukraine and the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES), has gathered in Kiev more than 140 delegates from 20 countries. The Ukrainian side is represented by representatives of the Presidential Administration, Peoples' Deputies, different political parties and organizations, and political scientists. As Chairman of CEC of Ukraine Ivan Yemets has stated, the Conference will discuss the Ukrainian Electoral System, Adjudication of Electoral Disputes, and other technical aspects of elections.

Yesterday, during the first day of the Conference, presentations were made by: Ivan Yemets, Chairman of CEC of Ukraine; Alexander Steshenko, Chairman, Supreme Rada Commission on State-Building and Local Self-Government; Volodymyr Butkevich, Chairman, Supreme Rada Commission on Human Rights, National Minorities and International Relations.

¹Kiev Records is one of the most widely read newspapers in the City of Kiev and environs.

ЕВРОПА ЗАИНТЕРЕСОВАНА В ЭФФЕКТИВНОСТИ ИЗБИРАТЕЛЬНОЙ СИСТЕМЫ УКРАИНЫ

Татьяна СИЛИНА

«ВЕДОМОСТИ»

«Для того, чтобы Украина могла стать членом различных международных организаций, ей необходимо не только принять новую демократическую Конституцию, но и разработать эффективную систему свободных и справедливых выборов», — заявил судья федерального суда претензий США Богдан Фудей на пресс-конференции, посвященной открытию в Киеве международной конференции Ассоциации работников избирательных органов Центральной и Восточной Европы (АСЕЕЕО). Ежегодная конференция ассоциации впервые проводится в Украине. Джулиано Пилон, директор программ Международной фондации избирательных систем, связала этот факт с тем, что «Украина сейчас находится в эпицентре внимания мира».

Трехдневная конференция АСЕЕЕО, организованная Центральной избирательной комиссией Украины и Международной фондацией избирательных систем (IFES), собрала в Киеве более 140 делегатов из 20 стран. С украинской стороны в конференции принимают участие представители администрации Президента, народные депутаты, представители различных партий и организаций, ученые-политологи. Как сообщил председатель Центральной избирательной комиссии Украины Иван Емец, на конференции будут рассмотрены избирательное законодательство Украины, судебное рассмотрение спорных вопросов, возникающих во время выборов, технические аспекты выборов.

Вчера, в первый день форума, перед делегатами с подробными докладами выступили председатель ЦИК Украины Иван Емец, председатель парламентской комиссии по вопросам государственного строительства, деятельности местных Советов и органов самоуправления Александр Стешенко, председатель комиссии ВС Украины по правам человека, национальных меньшинств и межнациональным отношениям Владимир Буткевич.

Holos Ukrainy (Voice of Ukraine)²
December 17, 1994
"The Electoral System as a Political Tool"

During December 15-17, the Conference of the Association of Central and Eastern European Election Officials is taking place in Kiev. Its organizers - the Central Election Commission on Elections of Peoples' Deputies of Ukraine, the President of Ukraine, and the International Foundation for Electoral Systems - have set an objective to discuss a common link between Central and Eastern European election officials in the so-called transition period, to exchange the experience of democratic elections, and to crystalize proposals regarding the further improvement of electoral systems, and their practical application in Central and Eastern European countries.

Participants of the Conference - the representatives of electoral bodies - were greeted by Leonid Kuchma, the President of Ukraine. The message from the President was announced at the first panel discussion, December 15, by Dmytro Tabachnik, the Head of President of Ukraine's Administration. In his message, President Kuchma expressed confidence that the Conference will contribute to the further improvement of member states' election legislation, and the strengthening of democracy, liberty, and human rights.

²Voice of Ukraine is the most widely circulated newspaper in Ukraine. It is the official daily of the Supreme Rada of Ukraine.

Виборча система — інструмент політичний

15 — 17 грудня у Києві триває конференція Асоціації працівників виборчих органів Центральної та Східної Європи. Її організатори — Центральна виборча комісія з виборів народних депутатів України і Президента України, Міжнародна фундація виборчих систем — поставили собі за мету обговорити спільні для представників виборчих органів певних регіонів Європи проблеми так званого перехідного періоду, обмінятися набутим у ході проведення демократичних виборів досвідом, узагальнити пропозиції щодо подальшого вдосконалення виборчих систем, їх застосування в країнах Центральної та Східної Європи.

Учасників конференції — представників виборчих органів — привітав Президент України Леонід Кучма. Текст привітання на першому ж засіданні 15 грудня оголосив глава Адміністрації Президента України Дмитро Табачник. У ньому Л.Кучма висловив упевненість, що робота конференції сприятиме подальшому вдосконаленню виборчого законодавства держав-учасниць, утвердженню демократії, свободи, прав людини.

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Uryadoviy Kur'er (Town Courier)³

December 17, 1994

"Problems of Free Elections"

Today in Kyiv, concludes the annual three-day Conference of the Association of Central and Eastern European Election Officials, conducted at the initiative of the Central Election Commission of Ukraine and the American nonprofit organization, the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) which promotes free and open elections around the world.

On behalf of the President of Ukraine, the Head of the Presidential Administration, Dmitro Tabachnyk, welcomed the participants and the Deputy Chairman of the Supreme Rada, Oleh Dyomin, IFES Director Richard Soudriette, and the Head of the Ukrainian Central Election Commission Ivan Yemets spoke to participants.

³Town Courier is one of the top Kiev-based private dailies.

УРЯДОВИЙ КУР'ЄР
№ 195
17 ГРУДНЯ 1994

ПРОБЛЕМИ ВІЛЬНИХ ВИБОРІВ

Сьогодні у Києві завершує свою роботу триденна щорічна конференція працівників виборчих систем Центральної та Східної Європи, проведена з ініціативи та за сприяння Центральної виборчої комісії України, а також відомої некомерційної американської організації — Міжнародної Фундації Виборчих Систем (IFES), котра покликає сприяти вільним та відкритим виборам у світі.

Від імені Президента України учасників конференції прийняв глава Адміністрації Президента Дмитро Табачник, з вітаннями виступили заступник голови Верховної Ради Олег Дьомін, директор IFES Річард Судрієтт і голова Центральної виборчої комісії України Іван Ємець.

Інформація «Урядового кур'єра»

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INTELNEWS Fax and E-mail News Service ⁴
December 14, 1994
"Electoral System to be Studied at Conference"

⁴INTELNEWS is an English-language fax and e-mail news service based in Kiev which is distributed daily on a world-wide basis.

doomed to fail.

"I think the recent compromise proposals have been inadequate, because it is impossible to divide power and push for an agreement, without even knowing what kind of an agreement it is," the presidential advisor said.

According to Hryniiov, the draft law on state power and local self-government will divide power and gradually do away with the Soviet system of power. "That is why the president will to the end stand behind his idea of power reform," Hryniiov said.--(31)

KHARKIV UNIONS BLAST KUCHMA

KHARKIV, Dec. 13. President Leonid Kuchma is backtracking on his campaign promises, according to the Kharkiv oblast trade unions association.

"Instead of the constructive approach we heard in Kuchma's speeches during the presidential campaign, the president leads a policy of ruining the strong industrial complex of Ukraine and its regions, including Kharkiv oblast," says the open letter to president Kuchma, issued by the association.

"Shielding itself with lofty words about reforms, the government is leading our country to economic collapse. The skyrocketing prices have pushed nearly 95 percent of Ukrainian people under the level of physical survival," reads the letter.

The association blames the current administration for the current economic crisis. "This December has brought an energy crisis -- many industrial enterprises are forced to work only two days a week. Workers collectives wonder why they are placed in such appalling conditions. Where is the promised economic cooperation with CIS countries? the Ukrainian-Russian treaty?" the letter continues.

The trade unions association appealed to the president to find time to speak to Kharkiv oblast residents and explain the causes of the crisis and possible solutions.--(UNIAN)

* ELECTORAL SYSTEM TO BE STUDIED AT CONFERENCE

KYIV, Dec. 14. The International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) and the Central Electoral Commission are organizing in Kyiv on Dec. 15-17 a three-day conference on Central and Eastern European election systems.

The debate on Thursday will focus on the Ukrainian electoral

system with speakers from the IFES, the CEC, the Justice Ministry, Parliament, and the presidential administration. The recent decision by Parliament to suspend the current parliamentary elections for one year will be discussed along with the role of political parties and the courts in the electoral process.

The conference will review Friday and Saturday other Central and eastern European countries, including Albania and Belarus.--(53)

YOUTH, SALVADOR ALLENDE ACCIDENT COMMITTEES CREATED

KYIV, Dec. 14. The government created Wednesday a youth committee to be chaired by Deputy Prime Minister Ivan Kuras.

A special committee was also established to investigate the accident of the Salvador Allende, a Ukrainian ship which sank off the coast of Canada Dec. 9. The committee is headed by State Sea Control Committee chair Stepan Tkachuk. --(80)

ECONOMICS

COAL MINERS SUFFER STRIKE AFTEREFFECTS

KYIV, Dec. 13. Twenty coal miners were hospitalized after a 50-day strike and a 24-day hunger strike. The patients include coal miners from 15 coal mines from Kriviy Rih and the Northern coal-enriching plant and coal mine association, Independent Trade Unions officials said Monday.

The strike was suspended Dec. 5 after the presidential committee headed by Oleh Bondarchuk, presidential domestic policy advisor, concluded negotiations with miners.

Coal miners are seeking a meeting with First Deputy Prime Minister Victor Puzhenyk, after meeting his demand to suspend the strike, to demand the government lift the ceiling on enterprise consumption funds. --(UNIAN)

KUCHMA FIRES TOP ENERGY OFFICIAL

KYIV, Dec. 14. President Leonid Kuchma sacked Monday State Oil and Gas Committee Chairman Mykhailo Kovalko for failing to make gas debt payments to Turkmenistan in line with an agreement reached in November with the Central Asian republic, according to Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty.

Kuchma told a meeting of regional leaders that he had been misled to believe that payment on arrears of the debt, totaling US\$713.5 mn. had been made. He noted that situation was rectified when

INTELNEWS Fax and E-mail News Service ⁵
December 15, 1994
"Parliament Election Suspension Criticized"
by Phillippe Coumarianous

⁵INTELNEWS is an English-language fax and e-mail news service based in Kiev which is distributed daily on a world-wide basis.

non-partisan member of parliament, told IntelNews Thursday. "Legislators only want to have a mechanism to influence the president and clear separation of the functions of the Parliament and president," he added.

The final version of the law should be resubmitted to Parliament by next Friday.--(UNIAN)

PARLIAMENT ELECTION SUSPENSION CRITICIZED

by Philippe Coumarios Special to IntelNews

KYIV, Dec. 15. The recent decision by the Central Electoral Commission to suspend the parliamentary election process is causing a great stir among political parties and reveals the need to change the current electoral law.

This controversial decision stems from the fact that voters have failed in several constituencies to elect a candidate despite a series of repeat elections since March 27. As a result, 43 parliamentary seats -- out of 450 -- remain empty, leaving several constituencies, including most of Kyiv, without representation.

The commission's resolution states that parliamentary elections will be postponed for a year in those constituencies that failed to elect a candidate, Petro Goncharuk, deputy chairman of the CEC, said Thursday.

"The state spent KBV9 bn in each constituency on parliamentary elections," he said. "A lot of work has been done for nothing."

"From a practical point of view, it was a good decision," said Anatoliy Shibiko, deputy leader of the Republican Party. "We won't waste money anymore. After such a series of repeat elections, people are disenchanted and pessimistic," he added.

The debate has focused not only on how to solve the problem of under-representation but also on the legality of the CEC decision.

According to Goncharuk, the decision is based on two constitutional articles: First, the one allowing Parliament to amend a law; and second, the article stipulating that parliamentary elections may be postponed for one year in those constituencies where no candidate has run in two consecutive elections.

But several party leaders have challenged this interpretation.

"The resolution is a violation of the constitution," said Dmitro

Zakharuk, a leader of the Rukh Party. "Our party will seek a review of the decision.

Rukh argues that the law -- which was written for the current parliamentary election -- could only be changed for the next general parliamentary election and not in the middle of the present electoral process.

Legal advisers from the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) have also expressed concerns. *

"The suspension suggests inconsistencies with Parliament election law, which does not include any provision for suspension," said Randall R. Baker, judge on the United States Court of Appeals and legal adviser to IFES. "But the courts in this country have very limited jurisdiction to oversee election affairs. So there is no official way to challenge this decision," he added.

Although Socialist leaders consider the decision to be legal, they also oppose it.

"The electoral law is not working and it is impossible to continue like this," said Joseph Vinskiy, a leader of the Socialist Party. "But from all the possible solutions, the decision to suspend the elections was the worst. It discredits the Parliament," he added.

Whether legal or not, the decision reveals that there are problems with the election law and politicians of all shades agree on the necessity of changing it. Officials from IFES back their point of view. *

"The law needs to be changed -- the empty seats are proof of that," said IFES Senior Program Officer Christopher Sieddall.

The problem is that the law sets two difficult standards to be met in order for a parliamentary election to be validated. First, more than 50 percent of the registered voters must turn out on election day. Second, the candidate must be elected by absolute majority voting -- at least 50 percent of the vote plus one.

"Most democratic countries don't operate on such principles," said Sieddall.

CRIMEAN AFFAIRS

CRIMEANS DEBATE UKRAINIAN ARMY SERVICE

SIMFEROPOL, Dec. 15. The Crimean Parliament debated Thursday the question of whether its citizens ought to be compelled to military service beyond Crimean territory. This comes in the wake of a

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Annual Conference of the Association of Central and
Eastern European Election Officials

Щорічна Конференція Асоціації працівників
виборчих органів Центральної та Східної Європи



ЦВК

DECEMBER 15-17, 1994
KYIV, UKRAINE



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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Слова подяки



Conference of the Association of Central and Eastern European Election Officials (ACEEEO)

1994 has been a crossroads for many of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe as the initial euphoria of revitalized democracy has faded and the difficult questions of transition must now be answered. Election systems are also in great flux as they are forced to cope with new realities. For these reasons, the leading practitioners of elections in Ukraine and from 18 other nations have come together in Kyiv to discuss common problems and solutions.

The annual conference of the Association of Central and Eastern European Election Officials (ACEEEO) is being held December 15-17, 1994 in the historic and beautiful city of Kyiv. This is the third in a series of multinational election meetings in which top electoral administrators from Central and Eastern Europe join together to provide for the mutual exchange of information, consultation, and cooperation in building transparent, efficient, and impartial electoral systems.

During the three-day conference, election administrators will have the opportunity to discuss such issues as election law, adjudication of election disputes, problems associated with election administration and prospects for democracy in the region. Special emphasis will be given to case studies of the elections that have taken place within the last two years. Topics outlined during the panel presentations will be discussed in extensive question and answer sessions.

The mechanics of modern election administration will also be emphasized as participants are also encouraged to familiarize themselves with election commodities and equipment on display just outside the conference hall.

Conference Organizers

The ACEEEO conference has been organized by the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) and the Central Election Commission of Ukraine with the generous support of the Ukrainian Organizational Committee. IFES is a private non-profit education and research foundation dedicated to monitoring and supporting the mechanics of the technical and administrative electoral process worldwide. For more information about IFES or the Central Election Commission of Ukraine, contact:

IFES
1101 15th St., N.W.
Third Floor,
Washington, D.C.
20005 USA
Tel: (202) 828-8507
Fax: (202) 452-0804

Central Election
Commission of Ukraine
252196, Kyiv, 1, Lesia
Ukrainka Sq., Ukraine
Tel: (7044) 296-1375
Fax: (7044) 296-8636

Конференція Асоціації працівників виборчих органів у Центральній та Східній Європі (АСЕЕЕО)

1994 рік був роздоріжжям для багатьох країн Центральної та Східної Європи: згасла перша ейфорія ожилої демократії, і постали складні питання перехідного періоду, що чекають на відповідь. У стані плину перебувають й виборчі системи, які змушені зійти до рівня нових вимог часу. Саме з цією метою, для обговорення спільних проблем та рішень, до Києва з'їхалися провідні організатори виборів в Україні та в інших 18 країнах.

Щорічна конференція Асоціації працівників виборчих органів Центральної та Східної Європи (АСЕЕЕО) проводиться 15-17 грудня 1994 року в історичному і чудовому місті Києві. Це вже третя з серії багатонаціональних зустрічей, присвячена питанням виборів, де керівники виборів із Центральної та Східної Європи збираються разом, щоб обмінятися інформацією, проконсультуватися та зміцнити співробітництво заради розбудови прозорих, ефективних та неупереджених виборчих систем.

Протягом трьох днів роботи конференції керівники виборів матимуть нагоду обговорити такі питання, як виборчий закон, судовий розгляд суперечливих питань виборів, пов'язані з проведенням виборів проблеми, та перспективи розвитку демократії у регіоні. Окремі засідання будуть присвячені вивченню конкретних справ виборів, що мали місце протягом останніх двох років. Проблеми, що будуть поставлені у доповідях на пленарних засіданнях, обговорюватимуться у вигляді питань та відповідей під час "круглих столів".

Також звертатиметься увага на питання сучасних механізмів проведення виборів. Цьому сприятиме ознайомлення учасників з виборчим обладнанням та устаткуванням, що будуть виставлені у фойє залу засідань.

Організатори конференції

Конференція АСЕЕЕО організована Міжнародною Фундацією Виборчих Систем (IFES) та Центральною виборчою комісією України. Щедра підтримка була надана з боку Організаційного Комітету в Україні. IFES - некомерційна просвітницька та дослідницька фундація, що надає постійну допомогу у справі технічного забезпечення виборчого процесу у різних країнах світу. За додатковою інформацією про роботу IFES або Центральної Виборчої Комісії України звертатися за адресою:

IFES
1101 15th St., N.W.
Third Floor,
Washington, D.C.
20005 USA
Тел: (202) 828-8507
Fax: (202) 452-0804

Центральна виборча
комісія України
252196, Київ,
Площа Лесі Українки, 1
Україна.
Тел: (7044) 296-1375
Fax: (7044) 296-8636



**Message from Ivan Yemets
Chairman of the Central Election
Commission of Ukraine**

Dear participants and conference guests:

It is my pleasure to extend a warm welcome from the hospitable land of Ukraine on behalf of the Central Election Commission of Ukraine.

Thank you for the great attention which you have given to the process of the democratization of Ukraine, which is seeking the maximum development and protection of the rights and freedom of its citizens. I am certain that the wide exchange of thoughts will contribute to this in every possible way and will assist in the enrichment of our electoral system through useful legislative experience.

I hope that the conference will be a memorable one thanks to the generosity, friendliness of communication and the warmth of our hearts and feelings.

Sincerely yours,

I. Yemets

**Звернення Івана Ємця
Голови Центральної виборчої комісії
України**

Шановні учасники та гості конференції!

Я радий нагоді сердечно привітати Вас від імені Центральної виборчої комісії на гостинній землі України.

Дякую за ту велику увагу, яку приділяєте Ви процесам демократизації української держави, котра широко прагне максимально розвивати і захищати права і свободи своїх громадян. Упевнений, що широкий обмін думками всемірно посприє цьому, допоможе удосконалювати і розвивати нашу виборчу систему, збагатить Україну корисним законодавчим досвідом.

Хочу вірити, що ця зустріч запам'ятається ще й ширістю, приязню людського спілкування, теплом наших сердець та почуттів.

Щиро Ваш

Іван Ємець

**Message from Dr. Zoltan Toth,
Secretary of the Association of Central
and Eastern European Election Officials
(ACEEEO)**

Dear Participants:

As Secretary of the Association of Central and Eastern European Election Officials, it is a great honor to welcome you to the annual conference of the ACEEEO.

The ACEEEO was founded to encourage and assist election officials in the transition from authoritarian-style government to democracies with free, fair and transparent elections. Recognizing this transformation as a challenging one, the ACEEEO is pleased to provide the countries of the region with technical and educational assistance in the area of election administration.

During the conference, it is my hope that all participants will gain invaluable information and ideas by sharing common experiences, success and even frustrations as we continue to take advantage of advances in the administration of elections.

I look forward to being with all you in the next three days and know that you will all contribute to and benefit from the conference.

Sincerely,



Dr. Zoltan Toth

**Звернення Док. Золтана Тота
Секретаря Асоціації працівників
виборчих органів у Центральній та
Східній Європі
(ACEEEO)**

Шановні учасники:

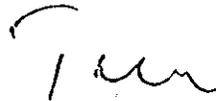
Як для секретаря Асоціації працівників виборчих органів у Центральній та Східній Європі, для мене є великою честю вітати вас на щорічній конференції ACEEEO.

Метою заснування ACEEEO було заохотити та допомогти працівникам виборчих органів у процесі переходу від авторитарного режиму влади до демократії з вільними, справедливими і чесними виборами. Визнаючи цей перехід важким процесом, ACEEEO з радістю пропонує свою допомогу країнам-членам у вигляді технічної та освітньої допомоги в регіоні проведення виборів.

Сподіваюся, що під час конференції учасники здобудуть безцінну інформацію та ідеї, поділяться загальним досвідом, успіхом і, навіть, невдачами. У свою чергу ми продовжуємо сприяти розвитку ефективного проведення виборів.

Очікую з нетерпінням зустрічі з усіма вами протягом наступних трьох днів і знаю, що ви зробите свій внесок у конференцію та отримаєте багато корисного з неї.

З повагою,



Док. Золтан Тот



Message from Richard W. Soudriette Director of IFES

Dear conference participants:

As Director of the International Foundation for Electoral Systems, I would like to welcome you to the annual meeting of the Association of Central and Eastern European Election Officials. It is a great honor for me to be a part of this important event, which has brought together key election officials from countries throughout Central and Eastern Europe in order to provide a forum for the discussion and exchange of ideas which will be crucial in the continued development of democracy in the region.

It is my sincere hope that in the course of the next several days we will all benefit from the experience of learning from one another and return to our respective countries with a renewed sense of energy and spirit for the creation of free, fair and efficient electoral systems.

I look forward to being with each and every one of you as we work together to achieve the goal of making democratic principles a crucial element in the electoral process.

Sincerely,  Richard W. Soudriette

Звернення Річарда Судрієтта Директора IFES

Шановні учасники конференції:

Як Директор Міжнародної Фундації Виборчих Систем, я хочу привітати вас на щорічній конференції Асоціації працівників виборчих органів Центральної та Східної Європи. Для мене є великою честю бути причетним до такої важливої події, що зібрала керівництво виборчих органів країн Центральної та Східної Європи з метою організувати форум для обговорення та обміну ідеями, які стануть вирішальними у подальшому розвитку демократії у цьому регіоні.

Щиро сподіваюсь, що за ці кілька днів ми обміняємося власним досвідом і повернемося до наших країн з оновленим відчуттям духу та енергії для створення вільних, справедливих та ефективних виборчих систем.

Чекаю з нетерпінням зустрітися з кожним з вас та усіма разом, оскільки всі ми працюємо для досягнення однієї мети - зробити демократичні принципи найголовнішим елементом у виборчому процесі.

З повагою,  Річард Судрієтт



**MEETING OF UKRAINIAN ELECTION ADMINISTRATORS WITH
THE ASSOCIATION OF CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPEAN ELECTION OFFICIALS
KYIV, UKRAINE**

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 15, 1994

Meeting of Ukrainian Election Administrators

- 9:00 - 9:30 Registration of Participants (Parliamentary Commission Building Auditorium, 6/8 Bankova Street)
- 9:30 - 9:40 Opening Remarks
Ivan Yemets, Chairman of the Central Election Commission of Ukraine
- 9:40 - 10:00 Representative of the Supreme Rada of Ukraine
Representative of the Presidential Administration (on behalf of the President of Ukraine, Leonid Kuchma)
Richard Soudriette, Director of IFES
- 10:00 - 11:30 *Panel Discussion on the Ukrainian Electoral System*
Moderator: Judge Bohdan Futey, Judge, United States Court of Federal Claims, Washington D.C.
Speakers:
Ivan Yemets, Chairman, Central Election Commission of Ukraine: Challenges of Election Administration in Ukraine
Vasyl' Onopenko, Minister, Ministry of Justice of Ukraine: The Role of Political Parties in the Electoral System of Ukraine
Volodymyr Butkevych, Chairman, Commission on Human Rights, National Minorities and International Relations: Human Rights and Elections in Ukraine
- 11:30 - 12:00 Break (Review of Election Vendor Materials)
- 12:00 - 13:00 Oleksandr Steshenko, Chairman, Supreme Rada Commission on State-Building and Local Self-Government: Elections of Council Deputies and Chairpersons of Councils
Mykhailo Kostytskiy, Deputy, Chairman, Subcommittee of the Commission on Legal Politics, State-Building, Councils' Activity and Local Self-Government: Parliamentary Strategies for Ukrainian Electoral Reform
- 13:00 - 14:00 Question and Answer Session
- 14:15 - 15:30 Lunch (Parliamentary Dining Hall)
Sponsor: Code, Inc.
- 15:45 - 16:45 *Panel Discussion: Adjudication of Electoral Disputes and Local Elections in Ukraine*
Moderator: Ivan Yemets, Chairman, Central Election Commission of Ukraine
Speakers:
Petro Shevchuk, First Deputy Chairman, Supreme Court of Ukraine: Role of the Courts in Adjudication of the Election Grievances
Randall Rader, Judge, United States Court of Appeals for the Federal Circuit, Washington D.C.: Election Adjudication Problems in Ukraine and the U.S.
Steve Nix, IFES Legal Counsel: Election Reform in Ukraine - Some Key Ideas
- 16:45 - 17:30 Question and Answer Session
- 19:00 - 21:00 Reception and Dinner Hosted by the Central Election Commission of Ukraine and IFES (Hrushevsky Str. 22)
Sponsors: American Information Systems, Inc. and the International Renaissance Foundation



**ЗУСТРІЧ
АДМІНІСТРАТОРІВ ВИБОРІВ УКРАЇНИ
З АСОЦІАЦІЄЮ ПРАЦІВНИКІВ ВИБОРЧИХ ОРГАНІВ ЦЕНТРАЛЬНОЇ ТА СХІДНОЇ
ЄВРОПИ
КИЇВ, УКРАЇНА**

ЧЕТВЕР, 15 ГРУДНЯ 1994

Зустріч працівників виборчих органів в Україні

- 9:00 - 9:30 Реєстрація учасників (приміщення постійних комісій Верховної Ради, вул. Банкова, 6/8)
- 9:30 - 9:40 Відкриття зустрічі
Іван Ємець - Голова Центральної виборчої комісії України
- 9:40 - 10:00 Представник Верховної Ради України
Представник Адміністрації Президента України (від імені Леоніда Кучми - Президента України)
Річард Судріетт - Директор IFES
- 10:00 - 11:30 Тема обговорення: Виборча система України
Головуючий: Богдан Футей - Суддя федерального Суду Претензій США
Промовці:
Іван Ємець - Голова Центральної виборчої комісії України: *Труднощі проведення виборів в Україні*
Василь Онопенко - Міністр юстиції України: *Політичні партії у виборчій системі України*
Володимир Буткевич - Голова постійної Комісії Верховної Ради України з прав людини, національних меншин та міжнародних відносин: *Права людини та вибори в Україні*
- 11:30 - 12:00 Перерва (ознайомлення з виставкою матеріалів та обладнання для потреб виборчого процесу)
- 12:00 - 13:00 Олександр Стешенко - Голова постійної Комісії Верховної Ради України з державного будівництва, діяльності місцевих Рад та органів самоврядування: *Вибори депутатів і голів місцевих Рад*
Михайло Костицький - Голова підкомісії постійної Комісії Верховної Ради України з правової політики, державного будівництва, діяльності місцевих Рад та органів самоврядування: *Діяльність Парламенту щодо вдосконалення виборчої системи в Україні*
- 13:00 - 14:00 Запитання і відповіді
- 14:00 - 15:30 Обід (їдальня Верховної Ради України)
- 15:30 - 16:45 Тема обговорення: Вирішення юридичних питань у галузі виборів та місцеві вибори в Україні
Головуючий: Іван Ємець - Голова Центральної виборчої комісії України
Промовці:
Петро Шевчук - Перший заступник Голови Верховного Суду України: *Практика застосування судами України законодавства, що регулює правовідносини, пов'язані з проведенням виборів*
Рендалл Рейдер - Суддя апеляційного Суду США (Федеральний Судовий Округ, Вашингтон): *Проблеми вирішення судових справ у галузі виборчої системи в Україні і США*
Стівен Нікс - Радник з правових питань, IFES: *Реформа виборів в Україні - ключові ідеї*
- 16:45 - 17:30 Запитання і відповіді
- 19:00 - 21:00 Офіційний прийом та вечеря Центральної виборчої комісії України та IFES (вул. Грушевського, 22)

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 16, 1994

Meeting of the Association of Central and Eastern European Election Administrators

- 9:00 - 10:30 *ACEEEO Association Agenda Meeting* (Parliamentary Commission Building Auditorium, 6/8 Bankova Street)
Welcome and overview of ACEEEO by Dr. Zoltan Toth, ACEEEO Secretary
Review of ACEEEO Minutes from April, 1993 Meeting
Report of ACEEEO Election Observation in the United Kingdom
ACEEEO Financial and Structural Outlook (Seeking Contributions, Increased Cooperation & Information Exchange through Home-country Centers)
- 10:30 - 12:00 *Reports from Central & Eastern European Election Officials*
Moderator: Jacques Girard, General Counsel and Executive Director, Elections Canada
Speakers:
Albania (Antela Prifti, Judge, District Justice of Korce)
Belarus (Vladimir Ansulevich, Popular Front of Belarus)
Bulgaria (Tatiana Kostadinova, Research Fellow, Center for the Study of Democracy)
Croatia (Marta Vidakovic-Mukic, Secretary, Central Election Commission)
Estonia (Agu Laius, Executive Director, Jaan Tonisson Institute)
- 12:00 - 12:15 Question and Answer Session
- 12:15 - 12:45 Break
- 12:45 - 14:15 *Reports from Central & Eastern European Election Officials (continued)*
Hungary (Dr. Zoltan Toth, Secretary, National Election Office & ACEEEO Secretary)
Kazakhstan (Karatai Turysov, Chairman, Central Election Commission)
Latvia (Atis Kramins, Chairman, Central Election Commission)
Lithuania (Zanonas Vaigauskas, Chairman, Main Elections Commissions)
Macedonia (Vasil Petkovskiy, Member of the Republican Electoral Committee)
- 14:15 - 14:30 Question and Answer Session
- 14:30 - 15:30 Lunch (Parliamentary Dining Hall)
Sponsor: Thomas Identity Systems, Ltd.
De La Rue.
- 15:45- 17:00 *Reports from Central & Eastern European Election Officials (continued)*
Moderator: Dorin Tudoran, Project Manager, IFES Romania/Moldova
Speakers:
Moldova (Georhiy Susarenco, Judge, Supreme Court)
Poland (Bohdan Szczesniak, Deputy Chief Electoral Officer)
Romania (Ovidiu Zarnesku, Judge, Supreme Court)
- 17:00 - 17:15 Question and Answer Session
- 17:15 - 17:45 Break
- 17:45 - 18:30 *Reports from Central & Eastern European Election Officials (continued)*
Moderator: Richard Soudriette, Director IFES
Speakers:
Russia (Vadim Zhdanovich, Counsellor, Foreign Affairs Department, Central Election Commission)
Slovenia (Marko Golobic, Secretary, National Election Commission)
Slovakia (Representative of the Embassy of Slovakia in Ukraine)
- 19:30- 21:30 Dinner (Hotel Kyiv, Main Dining Room)
Sponsor: Douglas Manufacturing
Key-note speaker: The Honorable William G. Miller, U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine



П'ЯТНИЦЯ, 16 ГРУДНЯ 1994

Зустріч Асоціації працівників виборчих органів Центральної та Східної Європи

- 9:00 - 10:30 Зустріч АСЕЕЕО з приводу порядку денного (приміщення постійних комісій Верховної Ради, вул. Банкова, 6/8)
Привітання та огляд діяльності АСЕЕЕО, Доктор Золтан Тотт - Секретар АСЕЕЕО
Огляд протоколів зустрічі АСЕЕЕО у квітні 1993 року
Звіт спостерігачів АСЕЕЕО про вибори у Великобританії
Фінансовий і структурний огляд АСЕЕЕО (Пошук співробітництва і посилення кооперації та інформаційного обміну через інформаційні центри країн-учасниць)
- 10:30 - 12:00 Доповіді працівників виборчих органів Центральної і Східної Європи:
Головуючий: Жак Жірар - Головний консультант та виконавчий директор, Вибори Канада
Промовці:
Албанія (Антела Прифті - Суддя, Окружний Суд м. Корса)
Беларусь (Володимир Ансулевич - "Народний фронт")
Болгарія (Тетяна Костадінова - Науковий співробітник, Центр вивчення демократії)
Хорватія (Марта Відакович-Мукич - секретар, Центральна виборча комісія)
Естонія (Агу Лаіус - Виконавчий директор інституту Яаана Тоніссона)
- 12:00 - 12:15 Запитання і відповіді
- 12:15 - 12:45 Перерва
- 12:45 - 14:45 Доповіді працівників виборчих органів Центральної і Східної Європи (продовження)
Головуючий: Дорін Тудоран - Керівник проекту IFES у Румунії та Молдові
Промовці:
Угорщина (Доктор Золтан Тотт - Директор Національної виборчої комісії, Секретар АСЕЕЕО)
Казахстан (Каратай Турисов - Голова ЦВК)
Латвія (Атис Крамінш - Голова ЦВК)
Литва (Занонас Ваїгаускас - Голова Головної виборчої комісії)
Македонія (Василь Петковський - Член Республіканського виборчого комітету)
- 14:15 - 14:30 Запитання і відповіді
- 14:30 - 15:30 Обід (їдальня Верховної Ради України)
- 15:45 - 17:00 Доповіді працівників виборчих органів Центральної і Східної Європи (продовження)
Головуючий: Річард Судрієтт - Директор IFES
Промовці:
Молдова (Георгій Сусаренко - колишній член ЦВК, Суддя Верховного Суду)
Польща (Богдан Жчежняк - Заступник Голови ЦВК)
Румунія (Овідіу Зарнеску - Суддя, Верховний Суд Румунії)
- 17:00 - 17:15 Запитання і відповіді
- 17:15 - 17:45 Перерва
- 17:45 - 18:30 Доповіді працівників виборчих органів Центральної і Східної Європи (продовження)
Головуючий: Річард Судрієтт - Директор IFES
Промовці:
Росія (Вадим Жданович - Радник міжнародного відділу ЦВК Росії)
Словенія (Марко Голобіч - Секретар ЦВК)
Словаччина (Представник посольства Словенії в Україні)
- 19:30 - 21:30 Вечеря (готель Київ):
Головний промовець: Повноважний Посол США в Україні Уїлліам Г. Міллер



SATURDAY, DECEMBER 17, 1994

- 9:00 - 10:30 *The Role of Elections in Promoting Democratic Change*
Moderator: Conny McCormack, Elections Specialist, IFES/Moscow
Speakers:
Charles Lasham, Association of Election Officials, United Kingdom: Election Administration as a
Crucial Component in Democracy
Bernard Owen: Electoral Systems and Election Law to Implement Democratic Self-rule
Vadim Zhdanovich, Counsellor, Foreign Affairs Department, Central Election Commission: The
Changing Role of Post-Soviet CECs
- 10:30 - 11:00 Break
- 11:00 - 12:15 *The Role of Voter Education*
Roundtable Discussion
Discussion Leader: Dr. Juliana Geran Pilon, Director of Programs, East-Central Europe,
Former Soviet Union and Asia
- 12:15 - 12:45 Closing Session
- 15:00 - 17:00 Tour of the City



СУБОТА, 17 ГРУДНЯ 1994

- 9:00 - 10:30 *Тема обговорення: Роль виборів у здійсненні демократичних змін*
Головуючий: Конні МакКормак - IFES/Москва
Промовці:
Чарльз Лашам - Асоціація виборчих органів: *Проведення виборів як вирішальний компонент демократії*
Бернард Оуен: *Виборчі системи і виборчий закон у демократичному самоврядуванні*
Вадим Жданович - Радник міжнародного відділу ЦВК Росії: *Зміна ролі пострадянських ЦВК*
- 10:30 - 11:00 Перерва
- 11:00 - 12:15 *Тема обговорення: Роль освіти виборців та громадськості у питаннях проведення виборів*
Зустріч за круглим столом
Ведуча дискусії: Джуліана Пілон - Директор програм IFES для Європи та Азії
- 12:15 - 12:45 *Заклучна зустріч*
- 15:00 - 17:00 Екскурсія по місту Києву

AN OVERVIEW OF THE ACEEEO

The Symposium of Central and Eastern European Electoral Systems

Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, countries in Central and Eastern Europe began the long process of institutionalizing multi-party elections. Realizing the common lack of experience in the administration of multi-party elections, election officials from Central and Eastern Europe agreed to gather in Budapest at the Symposium of Central and Eastern European Electoral Systems from 30 July to 2 August 1991. Organized by the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) and the Hungarian National Election Office, the Symposium sought to provide a forum for discussions between high-ranking election officials from Central and Eastern Europe and various Western experts concerning the difficulties faced by the region's emerging electoral systems.

Formation of the ACEEEO

Due to the productive nature of the three-day meeting, the participants, official representatives of Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, and Yugoslavia, drafted a protocol for the creation of a regional body of electoral officials which would ensure regular and systematic exchange of information among member countries. The Protocol establishing the Association of Central and Eastern European Electoral Officials (ACEEEO) was later signed by Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Ukraine and was strongly supported by the Office of Democratic Institutions and Human Rights of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) in Warsaw, Poland and the United Nations Electoral Assistance Unit.

The ACEEEO's charter defined the objectives of the Association as follows: to further international cooperation, to support democracy by ensuring the inviolability of voting rights, to strengthen the development of efficient and transparent electoral systems, to hold joint consultations on the problems that may emerge in the institutionalization of electoral systems, to exchange invitations among member countries to observe each other's elections in order to inculcate a common professional experience, and to share information on how to further develop the democratic electoral process.

The participating countries also agreed to hold an annual conference on theoretical and practical issues of elections and determined that membership in the Association should remain open to all countries of the region wishing to join. The Secretariat of the ACEEEO as well as a documentation center (to act as a clearinghouse of information for regional electoral experts and the location of all Association records) were

ОГЛЯД ДІЯЛЬНОСТІ АСЕЕЕО

Симпозіум Центрально- та Східноєвропейських виборчих систем

Після розвалу Радянського Союзу, країни Центральної та Східної Європи розпочали тривалий процес становлення виборів на багатопартійній основі. Усвідомлюючи загальну відсутність досвіду у реалізації запитів демократичної системи, адміністратори виборів з більшості Центрально- та Східноєвропейських країн домовились провести з 30 липня по 2 серпня 1991 року симпозіум Центрально- та Східноєвропейських виборчих систем у Будапешті. Організований Міжнародною Фундацією Виборчих Систем (IFES) та Відділом національних виборів Угорщини симпозіум мав за мету скликати форум для дискусії між високоповажними керівниками виборів у Центральній та Східній Європі та різними західними експертами, стосовно труднощів, з якими зіткнулися виборчі системи регіону.

Формування АСЕЕЕО

Завдяки продуктивному характеру триденної зустрічі, учасники та офіційні представники Албанії, Болгарії, Словаччини, Угорщини, Польщі та Югославії склали протокол про створення регіонального органу керівників виборами з метою забезпечити регулярний і систематичний обмін інформацією між країнами-членами. Протокол про створення АСЕЕЕО був підписаний представниками Естонії, Латвії, Литви і України і підтриманий Службою Демократичних Закладів та Прав Людини на Конференції з Питань Безпеки та Співробітництва в Європі (CSCE) у Варшаві (Польща) і Відділом сприяння виборам Організації Об'єднаних націй.

Статут Асоціації працівників виборчих органів країн Центральної та Східної Європи (АСЕЕЕО) визначає цілі діяльності Асоціації: продовжувати міжнародне співробітництво; підтримувати демократію шляхом гарантування свободи та конфіденційності виборчого права; посилити розвиток ефективних виборчих систем та чесності виборчого процесу; проводити спільні наради з проблем, що можуть виникнути при проведенні виборчого процесу; запрошувати представників-спостерігачів з інших країн на час проведення виборів з метою застосування професійного досвіду, ділитися інформацією про розвиток демократичного виборчого процесу. Секретаріат АСЕЕЕО, так само, як і Документаційний Центр (статистичний та інформаційний центр для регіональних експертів виборів) був створений у Будапешті за допомогою підтримки Відділу національних виборів Угорщини.

Країни-члени Асоціації також погодилися проводити щорічно конференцію з теоретичних та практичних питань, що виникають у виборчому процесі, і проголосили Асоціацію відкритою для всіх країн регіону, що бажають приєднатися. Було



established in Budapest with positions occupied (and funded) by members of the Hungarian National Election Council until otherwise specified.

Support for the Elections Documentation Center

Having contributed a large quantity of election materials to the Documentation Center, the head of Elections Canada, a participant of the original Symposium, pledged assistance from the Canadian Government to make the Center a modern data-processing body. With the assistance of IFES Director Richard Soudriette, the political project director of the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation (USA) visited Budapest in May of 1992 and deemed the Association's objectives and activities worthy of support. After submitting a grant application, a two-year program funded by the Mott Foundation commenced. The ACEEEO hopes to continue to benefit from the financial support of such foundations, international organizations as well as election commissions throughout Central and Eastern Europe.



The ACEEEO's 1993 Conference

Pursuant to the Association's charter, an annual conference took place in Budapest from 22 to 23 April 1993 and was attended by the official representatives of 10 Central and Eastern European countries (Albania, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, and Ukraine). By now familiar with the main features of the electoral systems of their respective countries, the officials turned to those issues and problems which had arisen in the recent past and required the immediate attention of all participants. In turn, invited lecturers discussed the essential aspects of a model electoral process and representation of ethnic minorities, voter education, as well as the duties of election observers. In addition to addressing past accomplishments, future plans and needs of the Association, the Secretary of the ACEEEO, Dr. Zoltan Toth announced the formation of a Hungarian non-governmental organization, the Foundation for Elections, to serve as Hungary's single point of contact with the Association's Secretariat and Documentation Center with the objective of augmenting and facilitating international exchanges of election information, statistics, and expertise for Hungary. It was proposed by Dr. Toth that member

запропоновано створити документаційний центр, як інформаційний центр для регіональних експертів. За допомогою підтримки Відділу національних виборів Угорщини, Документаційний Центр зберігатиме матеріали про вибори, інформацію та статистику, передаватиме країнами-членами.

Підтримка Документаційного Центру виборів

Беручи до уваги те, що до документаційного центру надійшло дуже багато матеріалів, пов'язаних з виборами, голова організації Вибори Канада, будучи членом симпозиуму, пообіцяв допомогу від уряду Канади у створенні сучасного центру обробки інформації. Завдяки підтримці Директора IFES Річарда Судрієтта, директор Політичного проекту фундації Чарльза Стюарта Мотта (США), відвідав Будапешт у травні 1992 року та визнав діяльність та цілі Асоціації гідними і, такими що, дійсно, потребують підтримки. В результаті, Фундація Мотта задовільнила прохання IFES про виділення коштів на дворічну програму. ACEEEO сподівається на подальшу фінансову допомогу з боку таких фундацій, міжнародних

організацій та виборчих комісій Центральної і Східної Європи.

Конференція Асоціації працівників виборчих органів у Центральній та Східній Європі (ACEEEO) 1993 р.

Згідно з Установчими документами Асоціації, 22-23 квітня 1993 року відбулася щорічна конференція в Будапешті. У ній брали участь представники десяти країн Східної та Центральної Європи (Албанії, Естонії, Угорщини, Латвії, Литви, Польщі, Румунії, Словаччини, Словенії, України). Будучи знайомими з виборчими системами у своїх країнах, учасники конференції розглянули положення та проблеми, які виникли останнім часом і вимагають термінової уваги.

Запрошені лектори висловили свої погляди стосовно діючих положень виборчого процесу, включаючи представництво етнічних меншин, ознайомлення виборців з виборчим процесом та діяльність спостерігачів. Доктор Тотт також проголосив про створення угорської "Виборчої Фундації", що здійснює зв'язок з Секретаріатом Асоціації і Документаційним Центром з метою сприяти обміну інформацією і статистичними даними по виборах, і досвідом для Угорщини. Доктор Тотт

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countries follow suit by the formation of similar organizations. At the end of the conference, Mr. Charles Lasham, an official of the British Association for Electoral Administrators (AEA), expressed an interest in strengthening relations between the two associations.

The British AEA Joins the ACEEEO

In August of 1993, the British Association of Election Administrators (AEA) announced its intention to join the ACEEEO as an associate member. The AEA then sent invitations requesting 18 electoral administrators from Central and Eastern Europe to take part as observers in the European Parliamentary Elections in England in June 1994. After consultations, members of IFES and the AEA made recommendations for the selection of participants to the ACEEEO, which then made the final decision, issued invitations and assigned observation sites to the region's participants. At the end of the mission, all observers remarked on the productive experience the opportunity provided them.

Recent Developments

The Documentation Center of the ACEEEO has worked to improve the scope of its data gathering, processing, and dissemination services at a pace commensurate with its financial capabilities. Since the agreement to make Budapest the Center's permanent home, the Association's Secretariat has made every effort to supply suitable space for the gathering and storing of election materials, as well as the technical and human resources to ensure the Center's success. Because the objective of creating a modern information facility is beyond the capacity of any one country in the region, collective assistance will be essential in the further development of the Center.

Although the stock of the Documentation Center has increased dramatically, so too has the availability of new documents and information, thereby making the task of manually filing and disseminating the information increasingly daunting. In order for reliable and up-to-date information to be readily available, the Center must also maintain regular contacts with the electoral administrators of member states, a process made difficult by poor telecommunications and frequent changes in member countries' personnel. Computerization is one of the Center's many objectives for the year ahead to facilitate information processing and exchanges, as well as to begin the publication efforts of the Center.

запропонував створити подібні фундації у країнах-учасниках. По закінченню конференції пан Чарльз Лашам, співробітник Британської Асоціації Керівників Виборами (АЕА), будучи учасником конференції 1993 року, виявив свій інтерес до зміцнення взаємин між двома асоціаціями з метою зробити можливим співробітництво між ними.

Британська Асоціація Керівників Виборами (АЕА) приєднується до АСЕЕЕО

У серпні 1993 року британська АЕА проголосила свій намір приєднатися до АСЕЕЕО. Згодом АЕА надіслала запрошення до 18 виборчих керівників Центрального та Східноєвропейського регіонів взяти участь в Європейських Парламентських виборах у червні 1994 року в Англії, в ролі спостерігачів. З метою відбору учасників члени IFES та АЕА подали свої рекомендації до Асоціації, відповідно до яких Асоціація винесла остаточне рішення щодо видачі запрошення і розподілу обов'язків регіональних учасників. У кінці цієї місії, всі спостерігачі зазначили можливість придбання корисного досвіду протягом візиту.

Подальші плани

Документаційний Центр доклав усіх зусиль для вдосконалення мережі збирання даних, обробки і обслуговування відповідно до своїх фінансових можливостей. Згідно з домовленням зробити Будапешт постійною резиденцією Центру, Секретаріат Асоціації доклав усіх зусиль, щоб знайти належне місце для збирання та зберігання матеріалів по виборах, а також технічних та людських ресурсів для успіху в роботі Центру. Позаяк створення сучасного інформаційного центру є поза можливостями будь-якої з країн регіону, міжнародна підтримка конче необхідна для подальшого розвитку Центру.

Хоча резерви Документаційного Центру значно зросли, але в той же час також зросла доступність нових документів та інформації, що є в розпорядженні, і це значно ускладнило завдання збирання всіх документів та обробки інформації. Для того щоб об'єктивна і свіжа інформація була завжди доступною, Документаційний Центр також повинен мати постійні контакти з виборчими керівниками країн-учасниць, що ускладнюється поганим телефонним зв'язком, частими змінами персоналу. Однією з багатьох цілей Центру на наступний рік є комп'ютеризація, яка допомогла б, значною мірою, в обробці інформації і видавничій діяльності Центру, а також відкрила б нові можливості до перспектив обміну інформацією.



Secretary's Update on ACEEEO Activities

The ACEEEO was formed in 1991 in Budapest and can point to numerous achievements over the past three years. The ACEEEO is pleased to report on the following ongoing and future activities:

- Organization of annual conferences of top election officials and experts from almost every country of the region;
- Conduct of bilateral and multilateral meetings between election experts from various Central and Eastern European countries and Western countries;
- Facilitation of election observation exchanges between member states;
- Publication of materials on election systems of the countries of the region;
- Conducting an ongoing assessment of the changes in the election systems of the region and willingness of regional governments to cooperate and provide election information to the international community;
- Creation of the Documentation Center of election-related information in Budapest;
- Installation of a computer network in the Documentation Center's offices;
- The joining of the British Association of Election Administrators (AEA) to the ACEEEO;
- The fielding of 18 regional election officials as international election observers in Great Britain during the June 1994 European Parliamentary elections.

These achievements, while not inconsiderable, lay the ground for more efficient cooperation in the future. To achieve greater heights, the ACEEEO must redouble its efforts to encourage the mutual cooperation of the countries of the region in the year ahead.

The Secretariat proposes the following long-term plan, accepted at earlier conferences to be confirmed:

- Development of a practical logistical and financial plan for the continuous and mutual exchange of information among election experts;
- Further development of the Documentation Center, making it suitable for education and training purposes. For this purpose, the Association plans to establish institutional links with the Central European University based in Budapest.;
- Development of a newsletter to be published in both printed and electronic format to provide information on elections and referenda;

Поточний звіт секретаря про роботу ACEEEO

ACEEEO була створена у 1991 році у м. Будапешті і може заявити про свої численні досягнення за останні три роки. ACEEEO із задоволенням повідомляє про поточну та майбутню діяльність:

- організація щорічних конференцій провідних працівників та експертів виборчих органів майже для кожної країни регіону;
- проведення двосторонніх та багатосторонніх зустрічей експертів з виборчих питань із різних країн Центральної і Східної Європи та Західних країн;
- сприяння обміну спостерігачів на виборах між різними країнами-учасницями;
- друкування матеріалів про виборчі системи країн регіону;
- проведення постійної оцінки змін у виборчих системах регіону та бажання урядів регіону співпрацювати і надавати інформацію про вибори міжнародній спільноті;
- створення у Будапешті Центру документації з питань інформації виборчого характеру;
- встановлення комп'ютерної мережі у приміщеннях Документаційного Центру;
- залучення Британської Асоціації Керівників виборів (ASA) до ACEEEO;
- організація участі 18-ти регіональних працівників виборчих органів як міжнародних спостерігачів на виборах у Великобританії під час виборів до Європарламенту у червні 1994 року.

Ці досягнення, попри їхню невелику вагу, все ж створюють підґрунтя для ефективної співпраці у майбутньому. Для досягнення більш вагомих цілей, ACEEEO має подвоїти свої зусилля у справі заохочення взаємної співпраці країн регіону у найближчі роки.

Секретаріат пропонує наступний перспективний план для затвердження на найближчій конференції:

- складання конкретного плану роботи та фінансування тривалого і взаємного обміну інформацією між експертами з питань виборів;
- подальший розвиток Документаційного Центру з метою зручності його використання для просвіти та отримання практичних навичок; маючи це на увазі, Асоціація планує налагодити робочі зв'язки з Центрально-Європейським Університетом у м. Будапешті.
- створення бюлетеня, що видавався б у друкованій та комп'ютерній формах і надавав інформацію з питань виборів та референдумів.

- Organization of seminars and a series of presentations on issues related to election procedures, education of the electorate, increasing voter turnout in elections and other issues of common interest in individual countries. Interest in the following topics has been made clear in past conferences:
 - Use of computers to summarize election results;
 - Common applicability of software used by election commissions in the region;
 - Problems of compiling lists of voters;
 - Experience with the operation of permanent election offices and commissions;
 - Trends in the development of election systems;
 - Issues of voter education and promoting increased voter turnout.

As you can see, the important goals of the Association can be achieved only through the support of the participants of the 1994 Kyiv Conference. I hope that you share my enthusiasm for the future of the ACEEO and will make every effort to support the Association in the coming year.

- організація семінарів і серії презентацій з питань виборчих процедур, просвіти виборців, збільшення участі виборців у виборах та інших проблем, що мають спільний інтерес для окремих країн. На минулих конференціях були з'ясовані наступні теми, що викликають зацікавленість:
 - використання комп'ютерів для узагальнення результатів виборів;
 - спільного застосування комп'ютерних програм виборчими комісіями у регіоні;
 - проблеми складання списку виборців;
 - досвід використання постійних приміщень для виборів та роботи комісій;
 - тенденції розвитку виборчих систем;
 - проблеми просвіти виборців та сприяння зростанню участі виборців у виборах.

Ви помітили, що важливі цілі Асоціації можуть бути досягнуті лише за умови їх підтримки з боку учасників Київської конференції 1994 року. Я сподіваюся, що ви поділяєте мій ентузіазм з приводу майбутнього ACEEO і докладете всіх зусиль для підтримки Асоціації у наступному році.

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IFES Activities in Ukraine

Since the opening of its office in Kyiv in January 1994, IFES has had the opportunity to play a significant role in the electoral process of Ukraine. Some of the highlights of the first year of IFES' program include:

- Publication of pre-election guides to the parliamentary and presidential elections, including lists of candidates, political parties and constituency election commission office addresses and phone numbers.
- Publication of results of each round of parliamentary and presidential elections, as well as a recent compendium on all elections, repeat votes and repeat elections held in Ukraine in 1994.
- Publication of IFES' Election Law Proposals, which include proposed statutory language to amend the election law of Ukraine and proposals to improve administrative procedures in polling stations.
- Development of an electronic information network within Central Election Commission of Ukraine (CEC) and in certain regional government centers and a database for election commissions, candidates and political parties.
- Organization of an election law working group to work with judges, attorneys, members of parliament and political scientists to assist in efforts to amend the election laws of Ukraine.
- Development of a database and system for monitoring the filing and adjudication of election law disputes, including allegations of fraud, violations of election law and attempts to void elections.
- Briefing of international observer delegations during the various rounds of presidential and parliamentary elections on the election laws of Ukraine and observation techniques.
- Sending IFES observers to participate in each round of presidential, parliamentary and local elections in Ukraine.

IFES looks forward to its continued cooperation with the CEC in election law reform, development of the Ukrainian election database and information system, education of the electorate and training of election officials.

Діяльність IFES в Україні

Від часу відкриття свого представництва у Києві (січень, 1994) IFES мала змогу відіграти важливу роль у виборчому процесі України. Деякі аспекти діяльності програми IFES свого першого року існування включають:

- публікації матеріалів до парламентських та президентських виборів, що включали списки кандидатів, політичних партій, адреси та телефони окружних виборчих комісій;
- публікації результатів кожного раунду парламентських та президентських виборів, та збірника інформації про вибори, повторні голосування та повторні вибори, що проводилися в Україні у 1994 році;
- публікація пропозицій IFES щодо зміни виборчого законодавства України, що включає запропоновані згідно з законодавством зміни до Закону про Вибори в Україні і пропозиції покращити адміністративну діяльність на виборчих дільницях;
- розвиток електронної інформаційної мережі між Центральною виборчою комісією України (ЦВК) і місцевими владними структурами, а також створення бази даних виборчих комісій, кандидатів та політичних партій;
- організація групи фахівців з виборів для роботи з судьями, юристами, парламентарями і політологами, з метою спільної праці у зміні виборчого законодавства України;
- створення бази даних і системи для зберігання рішень комісій та судів по скаргах, включаючи скарги щодо неправомірних дій та порушень виборчого законодавства і щодо спроб зробити вибори недійсними;
- інформування делегацій міжнародних спостерігачів під час раундів президентських та парламентських виборів про виборчі закони України та правила для спостережень за виборами;
- участь спостерігачів від IFES в кожному з раундів президентських, парламентських та місцевих виборів в Україні.

IFES сподівається на подальшу співпрацю з ЦВК у питаннях виборчого законодавства, розвитку бази даних та інформаційних систем по виборах в Україні, освіти виборців та консультуванні представників виборчих органів.



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**Central Asia Election Administration
and Voter Education**

Second Semi-annual Workplan: January 1 - June 30, 1995

Cooperative Agreement No. CCN-0007-A-00-4081-00
Between the United States Agency for International Development
and the International Foundation for Electoral Systems

I. PROGRAM GOALS

The goal of the International Foundation for Electoral Systems program in countries of the former Soviet Union is to support and strengthen democratic processes by fostering honest, impartial, and efficient election administration according to law and by promoting public understanding, confidence and willingness to participate in post-Soviet electoral systems.

In Kazakhstan, IFES assistance will focus on promoting a firm legal and procedural basis for the administration of elections based on democratic principles. IFES will also direct its attention on building of a sound election system through the development of a professional, independent and coordinated election commission structure at all levels throughout the Republic. In keeping with this objective, work will also be undertaken to bridge communication gaps between electoral commissions and political parties, movements and civic activists. Work must also be undertaken to expand voter awareness with emphasis on the development of a voter education program for first time voters.

To date, IFES assistance has attempted to introduce some technical improvements in Kazakhstan's transitional electoral system, while enhancing the transparency of the permanent commission by building its information and instructional capacity.

A significant amount of work remains to be done in order to institute a sound election system free from incompetence and malfeasance, which is essential if Kazakhstan is to meet international standards for free and fair elections beginning with appropriate amendment of an electoral law which can be uniformly and consistently applied. This workplan outlines project activities for the period of January 1, 1995 - June 30, 1995 and reinforces previous IFES initiatives in Kazakhstan.

In addition to planned activities in Kazakhstan, IFES expects to continue to offer ad hoc assistance to electoral processes throughout Central Asia. In Central Asia, as in the other NIS, the electoral process tends to be more spontaneous than planned. Predictions, therefore, could be made on two levels: 1) assistance provided based on election-specific needs; and, 2) assistance based on programs designed to meet long-term objectives. The following projections can be made in an attempt to foresee IFES activities in the coming months.

Kyrgyzstan

The first presidential election took place in 1991. President A. Akaev was elected for a 5 year term. The Republic's post-Soviet era constitution was adopted by the parliament in May 1993. In January 1994, Akaev won the referendum on the continuation of his presidency with an impressive majority of more than 90%.

The parliament of Kyrgyzstan was elected in 1990 for a 5 year term which would normally have expired in February 1995. Parliamentary elections were originally expected to take place in October 1994. However, a month and a half before the expiration of their normal term, parliament was dissolved. Immediately thereafter, on October 22, 1994, a referendum election was called in which voters were asked to vote on 2 issues: 1) did they agree that an amendment to the constitution and legislative acts could be subject to referenda; and, 2) did they agree that there should be a bicameral parliament. Although the questions were both open ended and lacked detail as to what would result from an affirmative vote, both questions were passed by a wide margin. With no parliament currently in session, it is expected that the configuration of the new legislative body and the new parliamentary electoral law will be adopted by presidential decree. Depending on the date selected for the elections for the new parliament, IFES can offer programs designed to achieve an improved electoral system and voter awareness in view of the extensive changes which will take effect as a result of the recent referendum and programs designed to improve voter information relevant to the new election law.

Tajikistan

IFES recently completed a pre-election assessment and provided technical assistance to the Central Election Commission of Tajikistan as requested by the U. S. Embassy in Dushanbe and the USAID mission in Almaty, for the November 6, 1994 referendum on the new constitution and election of the President. Based on IFES findings during its follow-up observation of election day and ballot counting procedures during that election, it is obvious that there is need for extensive project assistance if the deficiencies noted are to be adequately corrected for the parliamentary elections scheduled in the near future. Much assistance could be offered in the area of election law reform and procedure development.

Uzbekistan

Uzbekistan adopted a new post-Soviet constitution on December 8, 1992. Although it provided basic democratic rights, the actual document had not changed much since the Soviet era. The country is largely run by former Communists, a cadre which has violated civil rights, shown an intolerance for dissention, and repressed free speech and the development of a political opposition.

IFES received a specific invitation for assistance by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and has been requested by the US Embassy in Tashkent to provide technical election assistance to Uzbekistan. In response, IFES met with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, a representative of the Central Election Commission, a member of the Department of Interparliamentary Relations and other officials to discuss potential programs which might be accomplished in Uzbekistan. Of primary concern to Uzbek officials was the issue of voter education and the

prospects for IFES involvement in developing an innovative strategy to promote public understanding of democratization and the role of the citizen in the election process.

The Turkmenistani parliament adopted the independence declaration following a referendum on the issue on October 27, 1991. Over 94% of the voters favored an independent Turkmenistan.

The Parliament (Mejlis) adopted the new post-Soviet constitution on May 18, 1992. President S. Niyazov was reelected to the office on June 21, 1992. He was the only registered candidate and was elected with 99.8% voter turnout and 99.5% of the voters casting their ballots for him.

In December 1994, elections will be held to replace members of the Mejlis whose current terms expire on January 1, 1995. Future IFES projects in this country would be predicated on the completion of a technical assessment of the election laws and administrative procedures.

II. Region-Wide Program Goals

Program Goal I: To promote honest, impartial, and efficient election administration in Central Asia through professional and independent election commissions according to democratic electoral laws.

Program Goal II: To promote public understanding of Central Asia's electoral systems and confidence in the democratic process.

Program Goal III: To increase the capacity of independent institutions, such as parliament, the courts, and nongovernmental organizations to support democratic electoral processes.

III. Evaluation Plan/Impact Evaluation Monitoring

The anticipated frequency of electoral events and opportunities for on-site technical assistance during the projected period allows for on-going assessments of the Kazakhstan Central Election Commission's, and other Central Asian States,' commitment to the advancement of democratic principles and the effectiveness of their performance in implementing positive change.

Through the establishment of an on-going presence, the IFES on-site Project Manager will be able monitor the impact of project activities and respond effectively to rapid shifts in the political and electoral environments in Kazakhstan and throughout the region.

IFES Central Asia Workplan

January 1 - June 30, 1995

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IFES will establish markers by which election reform can be tracked. IFES will be in a position to demonstrate a progression beginning with its critique of the proposed legislative amendments, and the responsiveness of the CEC and lawmakers to its recommendations. In addition, IFES will establish evaluation standards for separate program activities undertaken.

IV. Project Activities

The proposed IFES activities for Central Asia are organized according to the narrative of projected activities provided by IFES in support of its proposal requesting funds for activities in Kazakhstan, Central Asia, and the NIS, granted under Cooperative Agreement No. CCS-0007-A-00-2046-00.

Component I. On-Site Technical Assistance:

IFES provides on-site technical assistance to accomplish any of several possible objectives, most importantly, to advance the electoral process in evolving free and democratic societies. Modules for on-site technical assistance include:

1. Commodity Assistance - provision of election equipment, supplies, and services from ballot boxes, ballot paper, and staining ink, to transportation of commodities or data processing. With this activity comes the responsibility of seeing that equipment and supplies are properly purchased, shipped, inventoried, warehoused, deployed, used, and recovered.
2. Communications Assistance - development of a communication strategy for an election authority, which may include recommendations on specific applications, equipment, protocol, deployment, and technology mix, and acquisition of equipment approved by the funder.
3. Data Processing Assistance - analysis, support, or administration of the data processing functions of an election authority, including voter registration, vote tabulation, geographical mapping, inventory, logistical tracking, personnel planning, and polling station reference information.
4. Logistical Planning - analysis, planning or management of the movement of people and supplies in the administration of the electoral process. This includes recommendations on an election calendar, packing and shipping techniques, shipment security, polling station identification, polling station configuration, polling station workflow, methods of transportation, inventory, supply tracking, and budgets.

IFES Central Asia Workplan

January 1 - June 30, 1995

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5. Procedural Planning - development of forms and administrative procedures which provide controls on the electoral process, which may include voter and candidate registration or streamlining older, cumbersome procedures which may inhibit the flow of voters in and out of a polling station.

6. Statutory Planning - on-going assistance in the development of a statutory framework for the holding of elections, covering areas such as procedures for voter registration, identification of offices to be filled through elections, type of ballot and vote tabulation process, declaration of winners, recount procedures, and election certification.

7. Poll Worker or Election Administrator Training - analysis and support of an election authority's training program. This can include recommendations on poll worker or staff recruitment, the development of print, audio, and video training materials, or curriculum, methods, timetable, recruitment objectives, and budgets. The management and conduct of poll worker training programs are often funded as a separate project.

8. Voter Education - assistance in developing a variety of non-partisan informational messages in print and video media concerning the voting process, much as how to vote, where to vote, procedural instruction, and motivating voters to go to the polls.

9. Observation - assistance in the logistical and technical aspects of having international observer teams present. This may include assistance to the electoral administration in resolving last-minute problems by having on-site technical assistance project staff present on election day.

10. Donor Coordination/Solicitation - establish and maintain relationships with other donor organizations, supporting or potentially interested in supporting the election process.

Contribution to Project Objectives: Throughout the course of the project, IFES has one on-site advisor in its new Almaty-based regional Mission to Central Asia. The on-site advisor is responsible for day-to-day guidance, training, and support activities as outlined below as well as the maintenance of the IFES Election Resource Center. Her work will be complimented by additional trainers and project staff as required to meet the needs of project implementation. In addition to the provision of services to the CEC and election administrative structures at lower levels, the presence of an on-site advisor allows IFES to collect and disseminate election information to the policy and development communities, which is particularly important as the electoral systems of Central Asia evolve. Establishing an on-going presence also allows the Foundation to better monitor the impact of project activities as well as respond more effectively and rapidly to shifts in the political and electoral environments.

A. Kazakhstan Project Objectives

Objective One: To continue to assist the CEC in finalizing a comprehensive legislative package based on the recommendations of the IFES Technical Assessment following the 7 March 1994 elections, and assist the CEC in garnering parliamentary support for its adoption.

Objective Two: To assist the CEC in analyzing the impact and interpreting the legislative changes and formalizing the administrative procedures for implementation.

Objective Three: To develop team work and management coordination between the CEC, regional election commissions, and executive level officials to develop management strategies for implementation of uniform and consistently applied procedures for future elections.

Objective Four: To stimulate interest in the creation of a uniform training program and assist in the preparation of written guidelines and instructional seminars for election officials and poll workers designed to reduce the possibility of arbitrary decision making, incompetence and malfeasance.

Objective Five: To develop advisory groups representing political parties, various branches of government, and organizations interested in the election process, with the intent of creating on-going substantive dialogue in the areas of uniform, inclusive and transparent conditions for electoral reform and fair and timely adjudication of grievances.

These objectives will be met through the following components of on-site technical assistance.

1. IFES will continue to provide technical advising, training, and support designed to meet the day-to-day needs of the CEC. IFES advisors will assist the CEC in a comprehensive review of its organization and performance during the last election cycle. This constitutes a first step in an on-going evaluation of Kazakhstan's evolving electoral system, which will require a series of reforms across time in order to improve the efficiency, professionalism, and accountability of election commissions in Kazakhstan. IFES will provide a forum for discussing weak points in the administrative structure and CEC operation, prioritizing its work in the near term, and devising mechanisms and procedures for improvements.
2. Work will be undertaken in the area of consultation and recommendations provided in writing as the CEC continues its work on its legislative package and supplementary regulations. The focus will be to ensure that difficult lessons learned during the last parliamentary elections are fully incorporated in a more comprehensive election process which reflects clarity and consistency and better anticipates the challenges of election administration within a truly competitive political climate.

3. Taking into consideration the demonstrated weaknesses of Kazakhstan's electoral system, IFES cooperation with and assistance to the CEC is designed to strengthen the overall system by focussing on the following components, which have been identified by the permanent commission and IFES technical advisors as priorities during the transition period, when Kazakhstan strives to meet international standards for free and fair elections:

Electoral Law

Election Management Structural Reorganization and Administrative Procedures

Election Official Polling Site Procedures Training

Candidate Nomination Ballot Security/Vote Fraud and Registration

Voter Education

Campaign Finance, Candidate Access to the Media and Campaign Voter Registration Opportunities

Adjudication of Vote Tabulation Grievances

In addition, it is essential that the CEC establish a new system of accounting for ballots, one which provides a sufficient audit trail. Beyond the day to day guidance and support provided by IFES technical advisers, IFES will establish a number of mechanisms to better implement assistance and meet the requests and needs of the Central Election Commission:

4. Task Forces on Ballot Access and Election Administration: IFES will encourage the establishment of special task forces to address a number of priority areas including candidate registration, ballot security, vote tabulation, and adjudication of grievances. The purpose of each task force will be to bring together various participants in the process to discuss administrative problems from varying perspectives. The task force format will encourage problem solving and serve to heighten awareness and understanding of specific problems, propose feasible solutions, and pursue concrete courses of action. Beyond establishing several new task forces, IFES advisors will continue to work closely with the working group on election law. Solutions, strategies and remedies resulting from task force work will be incorporated into appropriate reports and informational materials such as a definitive handbook for candidates.

5. Election Management Training Program: IFES will provide supplementary and intensive training for CEC level election administrators and staff through an election management training program. In particular, the election management training program will seek to tighten CEC management of elections and enhance uniform election administration at all

levels, by focussing on structural organization, internal communication and coordination, administrative procedure, instruction and diversification of election officials, polling site procedures, and institutional monitoring and evaluation. The specific agenda for each training activity will be developed in coordination with the CEC and reflect its priorities. Once the agenda has been adopted, IFES will select trainers and develop the appropriate instructional materials. All seminar training activities will focus on practical rather than theoretical solutions. The establishment of attainable goals and assignment of concrete tasks is expected of each seminar. Emphasis will be placed on the generation of materials including written guidelines, handbooks, and training manuals. Follow-up consultations will be conducted by IFES trainers and on-site advisors to provide necessary clarification And monitor practical application and product development. Election management training seminars will be conducted quarterly throughout the course of the project.

B. Regional Project Objectives

Rendering appropriate technical assistance to requesting countries is a basic tenet of the IFES philosophy. Assistance should be considered appropriate when it is tailored to the specific needs of each country, when it takes into consideration the long-term goal of building a sustainable institutional base for a democratic electoral system, and when it is provided at the request of the host government. It is not the policy of IFES to provide on-site technical assistance to a country whose government has not extended an invitation, either through the US Embassy or the USAID mission, through another organization which will be co-sponsoring or funding the project, or to IFES itself. IFES must also be assured of the host government's demonstrated and continued commitment to the implementation of free and fair elections before beginning any substantive project. There should be sufficient time prior to the elections for the project to succeed. It is also IFES' general policy not to provide on-site technical assistance without the benefit of a pre-election technical assessment, although limited requests for specific commodities or consulting assistance on specific topics may be accepted on a case-by-case basis if evidence is readily available that would justify such assistance.

Objective One: Develop tailored programs to meet specific needs appropriate to individual countries on a case by case basis.

Objective Two: Develop symposia and exchange programs for election officials throughout the Central Asia Region.

These objectives will be met through the following projects:

1. The IFES on-site manager will track and maintain files and distribute information regarding election activities throughout the region. The On-site manager will also maintain contact with appropriate authorities and will relay all invitations extended to IFES from

hosting countries through the Embassies or the USAID Mission to IFES Washington for appropriate consideration, funding, approval and application.

2. Association of Election Administrators, Symposium and Exchange Program: IFES will expand the exchange of information and experience among election administrators in the NIS region. Through its symposium and exchange program, IFES will encourage the creation of a regional association designed to promote constructive, voluntary links between election commissions in the NIS.

Component II. Regional Resource Center, Archives and Information Clearinghouse:

Contribution to Project Objectives: The IFES Central Asia Regional Election Resource Center will be established in Almaty to house IFES on-site advisors, serve as the base of operations for technical election assistance projects, and to support IFES projects throughout Central Asia. IFES will work with election officials to consolidate and operate a central collection of election data and documents. IFES will provide reference and training materials on a variety of election management and administrative topics including election law, records management, procedural analysis and implementation and human resource development and training. The archiving aspect will be designed to create and institutional memory within the permanent commissions and to safeguard against the loss of vital information on the evolution of democratization efforts in the region. The establishment of an archive for the collection and storage of election related data is an important component of election monitoring and significantly enhances the transparency and credibility of any election system.

Library of Democratic Election Sources: The IFES Election Resource Center will develop original educational and training materials for Kazakhstan and the Central Asian region both independently and jointly with cooperating institutions such as the CECs on issues of election administration and voter education. These original materials will be supplemented by additional written and video sources on democracy and elections from the IFES Resource Center in Washington and through a privately funded book donation program. The Election Resource Center will also provide English and Russian translations of timely documents of interest to the CECs, election scholars, and the international donor and policy community.

International E-Mail Capacity: The center will be equipped with international E-Mail capacity to provide links to the IFES Resource Center in Washington and Election Resource Centers throughout the NIS as well as well as educational and legal foundations, and election commissions. This significantly enhances the election information database which IFES can offer and allows for rapid retrieval of information.

IFES Newsletter on Democracy and Elections in Central Asia: The Election Resource Center will produce a quarterly newsletter covering such topics as electoral reform measures, results of electoral events, overviews of IFES training activities, a calendar of upcoming

events, political and economic issues impacting elections, and articles from Central Asian election experts. The newsletter will be distributed to international NGOs, the CECs, news organizations, the policy and development communities, including American and foreign embassies, and the region's USAID Missions.

IFES Election Briefings and Working Groups: The Resource Center will also provide briefings on electoral reform and election activity throughout Central Asia to visiting delegations, and the NGO and diplomatic communities. Regular briefings and working groups, on such issues as voter education will also be conducted for Central Asian election practitioners, scholars, and interested observers

Operation of the resource center and support for project implementation will necessitate the contracting of two local hire staff, one full time project assistant and one part-time project translator. IFES will require two (2) computer work stations, laser printers, fax modem and appropriate software.

Evaluation Criteria:

1. Tangible work product to be delivered to USAID during the relevant period will include:

- * Bibliography of all materials contained in the Resource Center to be updated and delivered on a quarterly basis;
- * Issues of Clearinghouse Newsletter

2. Impact criteria will include:

- * Maintenance of visitor list to the Resource Center and number of request for information and material.

Component III: Regional Pre-election Technical Assessments:

Contribution to project Objectives: IFES conducts Pre-Election Technical Assessment missions based upon the satisfaction of several pre-conditions, among them: (1) Invitation of the host government; (2) Democratizing country; and, (3) Available funding. Offering appropriate technical assistance to requesting countries is a fundamental purpose of IFES and is consistent with its philosophy of assisting democratic change. Assistance should be considered appropriate when it is tailored to the specific needs of each country, when it takes into consideration the country's longterm goal of building a sustainable institutional base for a democratic electoral system, and when it is provided at the request of the host government. A request from an indigenous organization should be ratified by the host government.

A Pre-Election Technical Assessment (PETA) is the primary tool which IFES uses to analyze a country's democratic transition and its short- and long-term needs in organizing and sustaining a credible electoral process. The two principle objectives of an assessment are: (1) To assure the donor/funder that subsequent assistance is necessary, and (2) To gather information that will facilitate design of an appropriate and effective program of assistance.

Since IFES must also assess the extent of the host government's demonstrated and continued commitment to the implementation of a democratic transition process before beginning any substantive project, it may be one of the objectives of the assessment mission to determine the degree to which the government is abiding by internationally recognized standards in its preparation for multiparty elections. At the very least, IFES must be assured that the government will welcome an independent, objective technical assessment, that the assessment team will be given access to all relevant information and people, that the assessment team's presence will not be used in bad faith for propaganda purposes, and that the results of the assessment will be disseminated to all interested parties. A third condition to be fulfilled in the development of a project is the identification of a funding source, such as USAID, the National Endowment for Democracy, the United Nations, or private foundations or corporations.

Between January 1 and June 30, 1995 the following countries can be considered as potential recipients of pre-election assessments: Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan. In addition, based on recent election events in Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan, post-election and follow-up assessments may be requested.

Evaluation Criteria:

1. Tangible work product to be delivered to USAID during the relevant period will include:

- * Comprehensive written reports reflecting the analysis, conclusions and recommendations based on the assessment exercise.

2. Impact criteria will include:

- * Information and dialogue with the relevant Central Election Commission regarding assessment findings through which a blueprint will be established for future assistance and action for upcoming elections.

- * Feedback on reports distributed to foreign embassies in the Central Asian republics, the foreign policy and donor communities, and governments planning to field observers to elections in the region.

Component IV. Technical Assistance to the Central Election Commission - Kazakhstan:

A. Technical Assistance Regarding Amendments to Current Election Code: IFES will review and evaluate the CEC's legislative package and their strategy for garnering support by the Parliament. The analysis and review will be based on a comparison of the CEC's draft proposal with the comprehensive recommendations formalized by IFES and presented to the CEC in November 1994.

IFES will engage in a series of work sessions with the CEC to assist them in identifying commissions and deficiencies not fully covered in their proposal. Through these sessions, IFES will encourage the CEC to address specific problems encountered in the 1994 elections, and develop potential remedies which can be accomplished through appropriate amendments to the law. The work sessions will focus on technical amendments to address administrative issues, IFES will also consult with the CEC on other substantive issues such as repeal of the State List Ballot, nomination and registration of candidates, campaign financing and state intervention in candidate campaigns.

B. Round Tables - Task Force Problem Resolution: IFES will organize and facilitate a series of round table work sessions designed to introduce creative problem solving and conflict resolution techniques for tackling complex issues and implementing improved administrative policies and procedures. As part of facilitation responsibilities, the IFES on-site Project Manager will provide administrative and resource support as necessary.

Evaluation Criteria:

1. Tangible work product to be delivered to USAID during the relevant period will include:

- * Development of calendar of project events;
- * Written reference materials to be prepared for consideration by the CEC during the legislative drafting process;
- * Written reviews of successive drafts of election legislation;
- * Written reports of findings of Round Table Task Forces that will be used to support the adoption of election reform legislation and procedural development;

2. Impact criteria will include:

- * Degree to which the CEC responds to IFES recommendations;
- * The success with which the CEC garners parliamentary support for its legislative proposal and achieves adoption of its amendments.
- * Level of progress made by the CEC in formalizing procedures in consistent with law.

Component V. Voter Education and Outreach - Kazakhstan:

Contribution to Project Objectives: In response to voter confusion about the new election law, system of representation, and voting procedures that affected their participation, IFES will work with the CEC in developing official voter education outreach programs. The 1994 elections provided a clear example of what can happen when voters are not adequately prepared to participate in elections according to the law and make an informed choice. Until Kazakhstani voters clearly understand their rights and responsibilities as well as breaks in their electoral tradition, election officials may be hard pressed to ensure uniform application of the law. IFES will work with the commission in developing a voter education and outreach program for the transitional period.

IFES will work with the CEC to encourage them to cooperate with the Ministry of Education, the State Broadcasting corporation, and other appropriate information outlets in designing and implementing a comprehensive voter education program, which:

Helps Kazakhstanis better understand the vital role which the electoral process plays in a democratic system of governance;

Eliminates confusion, fear, or intimidation that might otherwise deter voters from participating in the electoral process;

Provides channels through which the CEC can reach the community at large and generate enthusiasm concerning the value of each individual's vote;

Instructs voters about their role in democratic elections, the significance of the one voter/one vote principle, and the impact of a more open and competitive system of multi-party elections; and,

Updates voters on changes to the electoral code which ultimately impact local and national election procedures.

IFES Central Asia Workplan

January 1 - June 30, 1995

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IFES will establish a voter education talking group through the IFES Election Resource Center, comprised of CEC commissioners, advisors, election experts, and representatives of legal, educational, and media organizations. The purpose of the working group will be to focus the commission on its duty to inform and educate the public about elections and civic participation not only at the time of elections but also as part of its on-going work and to encourage the development of a coherent program of voter education. The IFES on-site manager will work with CEC officials in the formulation of a coherent voter education strategy which not only elaborates CEC objectives and guidelines, but addresses the needs of general and targeted audiences, theme and message development, and preferred media, as well as presenting a plan of action for official voter education. The IFES on-site manager will work with CEC experts to develop informational and instructional printed and audio-visual materials to be utilized in the voter education program. CEC voter education materials will be made available through the election administrative structure and official organizations; and for use by legal and academic foundations. Copies will also be available at the IFES Election Resource Center.

In implementing this joint project, the IFES project manager and CEC representatives will meet with educators and offer them voter education workshops geared to the development of appropriate curriculum and activities for students particularly in those age groups who will soon be first time voters. Components of this program will include fundamentals of democratic principles, importance of participation in the process, and mechanics of registering as voters and voting at the polls.

Evaluation Criteria:

1. Tangible work product to be delivered to USAID during the relevant period will include:

- * Calendar of meetings with educators and educational institutions;
- * Draft proposal for voter education curricula for schools.

2. Impact evaluation criteria:

- * Receptiveness of educational institutions to integrate proposed curricula into school programs;
- * Development of one pilot program in Almaty for implementation at the secondary school level.

IFES PROJECT IMPLEMENTATION WORKPLAN: 1 JAN. - 30 JUNE, 1994
 Cooperative Agreement CCN-0007-4081-00

	Week 1	Week 2	Week 3	Week 4
Jan.	Kyr. OSTA NGO Roundtable	Kyr. OSTA Almaty RC Openhouse Subm. of TS, AR, & XR	Kyr. OSTA Kaz. Elec. Code Rdtble. Newsletter	Kyr. OSTA Subm. of TS, AR, & XR Kaz. DEC Mtg.
Feb.	Kyr. TEA (2/5) Kaz. pol. party mtg. NGO Roundtable	Subm. of TS, AR, & XR Kaz. pol. party mtg. Kyr. Election Follow-up	Mid Project Debriefing	Mid Project Debriefing Subm. of TS, AR, & XR
March	Mid Project Debriefing	Subm. of TS, AR, & XR Plan EAMD Workshop	Plan EAMD Workshop Newsletter	Subm. of TS, AR, & XR Plan EAMD Workshop
April	CEC EAMD Workshop NGO Roundtable Plan Voter Ed. Progr.	DEC EAMD Workshop Subm. of TS, AR, & XR Subm. of QR Plan Voter Ed. Progr.	Plan Voter Ed. Progr. DEC EAMD Workshop	Subm. of TS, AR, & XR Plan Voter Ed. Progr. DEC EAMD Workshop
May	NGO Roundtable Pilot Voter Ed. Progr. Plan PWT Progr.	Subm. of TS, AR, & XR Plan PWT Progr.	Plan PWT Progr.	Subm. of TS, AR, & XR Plan PWT Progr.
June	NGO Roundtable Pilot PWT Progr. Plan CAR CEC Conf.	Subm. of TS, AR, & XR Plan CAR CEC Conf.	Plan CAR CEC Conf. Newsletter	Subm. of TS, AR, & XR Plan CAR CEC Conf.

WORKPLAN ABBREVIATION KEY:

CEC: Central Election Commission DEC: District Election Commission EAMD: Election Administration & Management Development Kaz: Kazakhstan Kyr: Kyrgyzstan OSTA: On-Site Technical Assistance	OSTA: On-Site Technical Assistance PWT: Poll Worker Training QR: Quarterly Report TS, AR, & XR: Timesheet, Activities Report, & Expense Report TEA: Technical Election Assessment
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**Moldova Election Administration
and
Voter Education Project**

Second Semi-annual Workplan: January 1 - June 30, 1995

**Cooperative Agreement No. CNN-0007-A-00-4081-00
Between the United States Agency for International Development
and the International Foundation for Electoral Systems**

I. Program Goals (August 1, 1994 - July 30, 1996)

The International Foundation for Electoral Systems' goals in the countries of the former Soviet Union are to support and strengthen democratic processes by fostering honest, impartial, and efficient election administration according to the law, and promote public understanding of, and confidence and participation in the post-Soviet electoral systems.

In Moldova, IFES assistance will continue to focus primarily on the building of a sound election system free from malfeasance and the expansion and deepening of voter awareness through official and non-governmental initiatives.

Program Goal I: To promote honest, impartial, and efficient election administration in Moldova through a professional and independent election commission according to democratic electoral law.

Program Goal II: To promote public understanding of, and confidence and participation in Moldova's post-Soviet electoral system.

Program Goal III: To increase the capacity of independent institutions, such as parliament, the courts, and non-governmental organizations to support democratic electoral processes.

In the implementation of its programs, and toward the realization of the established goals, IFES's primary cooperating partner should be a permanent Central Election Commission¹ of Moldova and its lower level administrative structures. To the extent that various parliamentary committees and executive departments have jurisdiction in matters of electoral reform and election administration, IFES will involve representatives of each branch in its programming activities and encourage a constructive dialogue with a permanent CEC. This dialogue will include a continued

¹ Unlike most NIS and East European countries, Moldova has yet to formalize a full-time Central Election Commission (CEC). As is noted throughout this Proposal, the CEC is expected to re-convene prior to each election.

presence of discussion on the value of an independent, sustainable and ultimately permanent CEC.

It should be emphasized, however, that while the IFES program goals have been endorsed by a variety of political forces in Moldova, many specific activities outlined in this workplan are subject to approval by various agencies of the Government of Moldova, Parliamentary committees and/or local administrative leadership.

II. Project Activities (January 1 - June 30, 1995)

Component I. - Voter Education and Outreach

Overview of Activities

A. Outreach

1. Coordinate access to the IFES E-mail linkages with all IFES regional offices, Moldovan NGOs and the international democratic and donor community;
2. Upon obtaining required official registration as an "organization" in Moldova support and distribute the *IFES Moldovan Quarterly Newsletter* for distribution both in print and electronic form; and
3. Develop regular radio programs in cooperation with the Moldovan National radio stations focussed on voter education and outreach efforts.

Contribution to Project Objectives

Much of the work that IFES will do with official bodies will be of interest to the general electorate. In order to contribute to voter education and transparency of the reform process, IFES will cooperate with in-country partners to communicate directly with the Moldovan electorate as well as those opinion makers who are in a position to serve as "multipliers".

In addition to the normal reporting from the IFES/Chisinau Resource Center to IFES Washington

and U.S. Embassy/Chisinau, the IFES/Chisinau Resource Center will produce a quarterly newsletter covering such topics as electoral reform measures, results of electoral events, overviews of IFES/Chisinau and select regional IFES offices and IFES/W activities, a calendar of parliamentary events, political and economic issues impacting elections, and articles from Moldovan election experts. The newsletter will be distributed to the international donor community, Parliament, news organizations, and NGOs (after official registration).

The IFES/Chisinau office is equipped with international E-mail capacity to provide links to the IFES Resource Center in Washington and educational and legal foundations, and election commissions. This has significantly enhanced the election information database which IFES can offer and allows for rapid retrieval of information.

IFES/Chisinau Resource Center provides briefings on electoral reform and election activity in Moldova to visiting delegations, the NGO donor community, and the diplomatic community.

B. Voter Education

1. Implement baseline voter education survey with local polling group; and
2. Continue to foster the activities of the IFES Voter Education Working Group (VEWG).

Contribution to the Project Objectives

The level of sophistication shown by the electorate in the parliamentary elections of 27 February has left much room for improvement. Local elections provide an important opportunity for IFES to assure that the electorate is better informed. Moldovans will elect local administrators on 16 April, 1995. In November 1994, there was public conflict between the two wings of the Democratic Agrarian Party, which leads the country. Taking into consideration the problems spotted by election observers concerning election administration -- ballot security, multiple voting, and vote counting irregularities -- **IFES is prepared to:**

1. Assist in the production of voter education spots on television and radio -- in Romanian, Russian and Gagauz -- targeted at local electoral issues;
2. Foster the efforts of the Voter Education Working Group (VEWG), comprised of former CEC commissioners, advisors, election experts, and representatives of legal, educational, and (if appropriate) media organizations;
3. Provide, through its Chisinau-based Resource Center, comparative election legislation, election analysis, mock election drills, extensive written/audio/video information on electoral techniques, temporary use of appropriate computer and software equipment, advice in various mapping technologies, etc.
4. Encourage local election observer training throughout the entirety of Moldova (upon official support and approval from local authorities);
5. Organize candidate and debates (in the style of *The League of Women Voters*) involved in local elections, through NGOs;
6. Utilize existing E-mail linkages with IFES regional offices, Moldovan NGOs and the international democratic initiative and donor community;
7. Develop -- in cooperation with Moldovan NGOs -- evaluations measuring voter awareness. Results of the evaluations have been discussed at the IFES Voter Education Working Group (VEWG) with the intent of assisting Moldovan government and parliamentary officials in developing an effective voter education and media strategy, which takes into account the election calendar, budgetary considerations, audience, message, medium of communication, as well as goals established by the Republic of Moldova.

Based on the absence of solid research on the Moldovan electorate during the transition period and the importance of demonstrating project impact, IFES will conduct a baseline voter survey measuring voter awareness. The baseline survey will serve as a strategic framework upon which IFES can develop effective voter education initiatives. The survey will be developed by a

Moldovan firm similar to "Opinia", in cooperation with IFES, and will be prepared prior to or after the 16 April local elections. Public opinion experts will include a series of questions with a sample size of approximately 750 respondents. The survey will be conducted once more during the course of the full project. Results of the survey will be presented and discussed at the IFES/Voter Education Working Group with the intent of assisting election officials in the development of an effective voter education and media strategy or to determine the value of IFES-assistance efforts. Given the uniqueness and value of such a survey, results will also be made available to all groups, Moldovan-based or foreign, who wish to develop effective voter information initiatives. IFES is now determining the inherent value and feasibility of a pre- or post-election survey.

Component II. - Local Administration Reform & Local Administration Law

A. Election Law Proposals

1. Distribute IFES Election Law reform Proposals and cover letters to key target groups including:
 - Members of parliament
 - Political parties
 - Media representatives
 - Constituency chairmen
 - President Snegur's office
 - Prime Minister Sangheli's office
 - Speaker Lucinschi's office
 - Public Policy NGOs
 - Other organizations capable of urging reform;
2. Conduct follow-up consultations on proposals with key target groups;
3. Promote the adjudication process on electoral and administrative reform;
4. Produce a summary report of interviews with key target groups; and

5. Conduct on-going consultations with CEC, political parties, legal experts and other members of key target groups.

Contribution to Project Objectives

The Moldovan Parliament passed a new Local Administration Law in December 1994. During the IFES-sponsored July 7 - 9 *"The Local Self-Administration in a Decentralized State"* international conference in Chisinau and Balti, many local and foreign participants expressed their concern with regard to the work of the Special Commission empowered by the Moldovan Parliament to draft the law. Many in the donor community consider that the main characteristics of this special body's work have been twofold: (1) secrecy/lack of transparency and (2) slowness/perpetual procrastination. The independent Moldovan press shares in this opinion. Moreover, in the fall of 1994, it was considered that the passing of this law would not only present a tough parliamentary battle, but one involving the media establishment since the current political power does not seem to have an interest in administratively re-mapping the country. This has since transpired as anticipated. The Parliament in essence gave up on their promise to re-district the country which was seen by many observers as an alarming sign -- a step back on the transitional road towards a democratic society. The Law has been criticized by both sides of the political spectrum including former allies of the Democratic Agrarian Party and by opposition forces.

Sharing some of these concerns, IFES is prepared to:

1. Encourage activities of the IFES Legal Administration Reform Working Group (LARWG) comprised of experts in local administration, mayors, current and former members of the Moldovan Department for Local Administration, representatives of NGOs and (if appropriate) media organizations;
2. Continue to present -- via translations, document dissemination and seminars -- assorted local administration materials. Materials have been presented by IFES, as in July and August 1994 - including over 2,500 copies of two books explaining the French and Swiss local administration systems;

3. Produce regularly scheduled radio programs dedicated to local administration issues and electoral reform which IFES has found to be an essential avenue in reaching the voter to accomplish the long-term goal of this project; and
4. Provide -- through its Chisinau-based Resource Center -- assistance in organizing conferences, seminars and roundtables on local administration issues.

B. Local Elections

The forthcoming local elections are an important opportunity for IFES to assure that the electorate is better informed. Moldovans will elect local administrators on 16 April 1995. The IFES parliamentary election observers spotted a number of problems involved in election administration -- including ballot security, multiple voting, and vote counting irregularities -- that are quite critical in the case of local elections, where political pressure is likely to be particularly acute. IFES is prepared to do what it can to ensure that local elections are as free and fair as possible. As noted earlier, there is a public conflict between the two wings of the government-controlling Democratic Agrarian Party on the scheduling of the local elections. The progressive wing of the Agrarian Party demanded early (spring) elections while the conservative wing promoted elections as late as the fall of 1995.

Contribution to Project Objectives

IFES is ready to:

1. Produce a pamphlet to be distributed to the general population concerning general concepts of multi-party democracy and accountability and supplemented by leaflets dealing with specific issues that may arise in particular local districts through Association for Democracy and other NGOs (particularly cultural associations) upon official registration;
2. Aid in the production of Voter Education spots on television and radio specifically targeted at local electoral issues; and

3. Assist in producing television programs specifically dealing with local government issues in anticipation of the pending local elections.

Component III. - Legal Assistance By Advising on Electoral Legal Issues

Legal Assistance

Moldova is still struggling to define its relationship with the self-proclaimed Trans-Dniestr Republic and the Gagauz region. It is currently exploring electoral system reform. IFES is placed in an excellent position to provide such legal assistance. As a result of meetings held with the Working Group on Administrative Reform, IFES will present a seminar on 27-28 January 1995 titled *State and Local Administration: Standards of Modernization*. This two-day event will focus on decentralization and self-administration, the status of local administration, the new mechanisms of self-administration, and the reformation of self-administration in Moldova.

Contribution to the Project Objectives

IFES is ready to/will continue to:

1. Encourage the activities of the IFES Legal Assistance Working Group (LAWG) comprised of experts in law and legislation, government and parliamentary representatives, judges, and NGO leaders;
2. Organize roundtables series and seminars addressing electoral legal issues;
3. Continue to provide analyses of the working drafts of pending electoral legislation and make appropriate suggestions; and
4. Continue to use legal advisers in Moldova as needed to provide assistance and consultation with officials.

Component IV. - NGO Consolidation

A. The Emerging "Third" Societal Sector

As with nearly every society within the NIS and Eastern Europe, Moldova requires a viable, strong and productive counterpart to the political powers that be. NGOs are this player. Simultaneously, the non-governmental sector in Moldova is still struggling to take shape. IFES has established an excellent relationship with this segment of the society and has succeeded in helping several NGOs to reorganize themselves -- i.e. *Association for Democracy* and the *Student League*.

Contribution to the Project Objectives

In order to help the NGO community to become more visible in an *unofficial* manner, IFES is ready to/continues to:

1. Encourage the formation of an *unofficial* NGO Council or NGO Association;
2. Continue to provide technical and organizational support to NGOs in their efforts to develop comprehensive, sustainable voter education programs;
3. Encourage this NGO Council/Association to take steps to petition Parliament to establish a Legislative Information Office for NGOs. IFES has found that through the use of NGOs we have reached individual voters where other means have not succeeded - such contact is a crucial part of IFES' mandate. It is intended that the Information Office will allow NGOs to obtain timely drafts of legislation and notice of Parliamentary hearings facilitating greater involvement among NGOs in the legislative process;
4. Help NGOs receive more public and official attention by assisting them in organizing roundtables, seminars, conferences, and symposia;

5. Assist the Parliament in establishing a comprehensive legal and financial framework for NGOs;
6. Support the presence of NGO representatives at international gatherings; and
7. Expose NGOs' activities as much as possible through involving them in IFES-sponsored radio programs. In addition, IFES will continue to offer support via the use of representational participation in seminars, conferences, and forums organized in other countries in the region. Through the forthcoming inclusion of IFES-Moldova in the European Foundation Centre NGO Network, IFES will better support the integration of Moldovan NGOs in the regional community. These activities could increase the public and official awareness about the important role of the NGO sector in civil society development.

B. NGO Leader Seminars

IFES will conduct training seminars for NGO leaders to introduce them to the IFES project and explore ways of cooperating with IFES and each other.

Contribution to Project Objectives

IFES will seek to energize the relatively weak NGO community in Moldova to play a more active role in the electoral process which is intended to leverage and facilitate project goals. NGO leader seminars will focus on developing institutional linkages and reducing duplication of effort within the Moldovan NGO community.

Component V. - The Independent Mass Media

The role of the independent mass media in reaching and defending a social equilibrium within NIS and Eastern Europe is crucial. Given the weakness of written, audio and visual press in Moldova, the impact of the independent mass media continues to be far from satisfactory. IFES is well-placed to aid the efforts of the Moldovan independent mass media in reaching its crucial

role as a facilitator of our voter education efforts. In November 1994, IFES developed a key seminar on *Electoral Reform and the Mass Media* which addressed the following topics: the legislative framework and voting responsibilities, anatomy of a campaign, the social functions of the mass media, and discussion of politics and civil society in Moldova.

Contribution to Project Objectives

IFES is well prepared to:

1. Encourage targeted activism and mediate and build upon contacts of the Mass Media Working Group (MMWG) comprised of journalists, writers, sociologists, political analysts, representatives of NGOs (including cultural and ethnic associations), teachers and student leaders;
2. Increase information sharing through its Chisinau-based Resource Center;
3. Continue to provide logistical and technical support to the Mass Media Working Group (MMWG) in organizing roundtables, symposia, and seminars focusing on the independent press' duties;
4. Provide access to subscriptions to internationally acclaimed printed materials via the IFES Chisinau-based Resource Center; and
5. Launch publication of a regular quarterly newsletter in conjunction with a local printing house and a weekly radio program.

Component VI. - Building an Institutional Memory and Promoting Transparency

Election Archive Project

- Continue to deliver English-language reference books to IFES/Chisinau;
- Catalogue and label English-language resources at IFES/Chisinau;
- Secure and deliver donated English-language election-related texts;

- Disseminate Election-related Information to key Target Groups;
- Develop rapid information dissemination system to target groups in Chisinau;
- Provide availability of written materials and textbooks;
- Provide access to major publications (*Foreign Affairs, Economist, Polis* (Russia), *Sfera Politicii* (Romania), etc.);
- Arrange and support lectures including specialists at high-level educational institutions;
- Support a variety of projects including secondary school level organizations (ie. Association for Democracy); and
- Develop a comprehensive information dissemination system to target groups throughout Moldova.

Contribution to Project Objectives

IFES will expand its information processing and distribution capabilities by adding needed databank reference and technical texts to an expanded IFES office in Chisinau.

This comprehensive archiving project will create an institutional memory within the permanent commission and safeguard against the loss of vital information on the evolution of Moldova's democratic electoral system. The establishment of an archive for the collection, storage, and analysis of election related data is also an important component of long term election monitoring and significantly enhances the transparency, and therefore the credibility, of the electoral system.

III. Program Evaluation Plan (January 1 - June 30, 1995)

A. Election Administration

OBJECTIVE: To promote honest, impartial, and efficient election administration in Moldova through a professional and independent election commission according to electoral law.

PERFORMANCE

- INDICATORS:**
- * Modification of the electoral code, including regulations governing constituency delimitation, which demonstrates clarity and consistency and better anticipates the challenges of election administration within a truly competitive political system.

 - * Increase uniformity of election procedures at all levels, including legal compliance and professional conduct by lower level commissions
 - Written guidelines for election officials and poll workers
 - Reduction in the number of reports of malfeasance or incompetence at lower levels
 - Improved oversight by CEC to ensure compliance with the election law by lower level election commissions

 - * Enhanced transparency of election commissions
 - More timely reporting of official election results by CEC
 - Publication or posting of protocols from all polling stations

 - * Improved ballot security practices
 - Validation of ballot upon presentation to voter
 - Introduction of ballot tracking and accounting systems

 - * Institution of improved mechanisms for adjudication of grievances
 - Timely and consistent handling of complaints
 - Clearly defined process of appeal

B. Voter Education

- OBJECTIVE:** To promote public understanding of, and confidence and participation in, Moldova's post-Soviet electoral system.

PERFORMANCE

- INDICATORS:**
- * Greater consistency, accuracy, and appeal of nonpartisan, voter education media campaign
 - Development and implementation of official CEC voter education strategy;
 - Quality and timeliness of informational materials provided to media;
 - A decrease in the number of errors in printed/broadcast media; and
 - Media campaign focus group response.

 - * Improved turnout especially among target groups
 - Comparison of voter turnout statistics from the 27 February 1994 parliamentary elections, 16 April 1995 local elections, and future presidential elections (slated) both in terms of the general electoral, but also target groups such as youth, women, and non-Moldovan citizenry, and rural populations.

 - * Reduction in the number of spoiled/invalidated ballots
 - Comparison of data on spoiled/invalidated ballots from the 27 February 1994 parliamentary elections, April 16, 1995 local elections, and future presidential elections

 - * Public learning curve evident
 - Results of impact evaluations
 - Increase in number of NGO voter education initiatives to reach the general populace

 - * Improved public perception of CEC
 - Results of impact evaluations
 - Exit polling results
 - Reduction in number of formal complaints

EVALUATION PLAN:

The scheduling of local elections for 16 April 1995 will provide an opportunity for IFES to monitor commission performance in a number of areas, including election administration and voter education. Built into this proposal are a number of mechanisms which are designed not only to strengthen Moldova's evolving electoral system, but also to allow the CEC, and consequently IFES, to better monitor implementation, measure impact, and identify shortcomings, such as the baseline survey of voter awareness.

In addition to the collection and analyses of the above-mentioned data, IFES will maintain a written record of all recommendations, ideas, and products presented to the CEC in order to better trace their adoption or adaptation for use by the CEC.

Through their direct relationship with the CEC and such mechanisms as the proposed Working Group on Voter Education, IFES has created a forum for constructive dialogue which allows for CEC input into programming activity as well as evaluation of joint activities. Yet-to-be-named CEC officials will be asked to provide on-site advisors providing written reviews of each project component. In addition, IFES management teams will travel to Chisinau to evaluate project implementation and financial oversight and make adjustments as necessary. In addition to its regular reporting to USAID, IFES will provide semi-annual progress reports and updated work-plans.

Two distinct formats of evaluation will be utilized with the goal of formulating a concise and representational evaluation of IFES' activities in this Project. First, through a nationally-recognized Moldovan polling firm similar to "Opinia", IFES will ask for general and specific answers on a myriad of issues and results of our activities available to the NGO community. Secondly, IFES will organize, formulate a poll composed of members of political parties, Government, NGOs, the media establishment, and the international donor community. This will be accomplished through a set of questionnaires using a rating method allowing for additional commentary and suggestions. IFES is now considering the timing of the poll and its relative value between pre-election and post-election analysis.

IV. Expatriate Staffing and Other Inputs (i.e. equipment)

IFES Home Office Staff

Percentage of Time

Juliana Geran Pilon, Director of Programs, East-Central Europe/Former Soviet Union/Asia	10%
J. Ray Kennedy, Director of Information Resources	5 (2.5% Field & 2.5% Home)
Christopher Siddall, Senior Program Officer	15 (5% Field & 10% Home)
Scott Lansell, Program Officer	35 (10% Field & 25% Home)
Rebecca Bahr, Program Assistant	20%

IFES Moldova Field Staff (Personal Services Contracts)

Dorin Tudoran, IFES Project Manager	75%
Igor Munteanu, Assistant to the Project Manager	100%
Igor Botan, Program Assistant	100%
Angela Avornic, Program Assistant	100%
Boris Danuta, Administrative Assistant	100%
Judge Randal Rader, IFES Legal Process Specialist	10%
Political Analyst/Sociological Research Specialist (TBD)	10%
Information System Specialist (TBD)	10%
Voter Education/Polling Specialist (TBD)	10%
Election Process Specialist (TBD)	10%