

Republic of Tajikistan

**FY 2003 QUARTERLY REPORT (3rd Quarter)
CA 119-A-00-00-00039-00**

**Submitted to the
U.S. AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
by the International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES)**

April 1, 2003 – June 30, 2003

I. PROGRAMMATIC ACTIVITIES

During the third quarter of the Cooperative Agreement IFES/Tajikistan undertook a number of activities in support of its political party development, technical election assistance and civic education mandates. All activities were conducted in accordance with the approved IFES workplan, with limited election assistance activities undertaken upon consultation with USAID and the U.S. Embassy/Dushanbe. All projects were conducted under the direction of IFES Chief of Party Christopher Shields, supported by Textbook Development Consultant Simon Jenkins and an expert local staff led by Assistant Country Director Bahriddin Sharipov.

ELECTION REFORM

IFES, in cooperation with the Central Commission on Elections and Referenda (CCER), UNTOP, ODIHR, NDI, the Majlisi Namoyandagon (lower house of parliament) and the OSCE, participated in an Election Law Conference on April 3, 2003 in Dushanbe. This conference was devoted to the changes and amendments to the Constitutional Law of the Republic of Tajikistan "On Elections to Majlisi Oli". Participants of the conference included the Speaker of the Majlisi Milli (upper house of parliament) Mahmadsaid Ubaidulloev; the Speaker of Majlisi Namoyandagon, Sadullo Khairulloev; deputies in the Majlisi Namoyandagon; representatives of political parties; and representatives of international organizations, diplomatic missions and mass media. Chief of Party Christopher Shields and Assistant Country Director Bahriddin Sharipov represented IFES at the Conference.

During the course of the conference, Speaker Ubaidulloev and OSCE Ambassador Mark Gilbert discussed the importance of discussing changes and improvement to the election code far enough in advance of national and local legislative elections in February 2005 to effectively render and implement changes. With less than two years remaining until legislative elections, it is not too early to adopt and put into practice improved electoral policies and procedures. It was recommended by IFES that these policies and procedures be tested during the June 2003 constitutional referendum. Speaker Ubaidulloev presented the position of the Tajik government with regard to the forthcoming elections, where he stressed that the Parliament has always maintained a high level of interest in new technology and systems of elections and anticipates "fair, democratic and transparent" elections in Tajikistan. CCER Chairman Mirzoali Boltuyev made a presentation on special aspects of election administration, such as voters' lists, election and campaign financing, election technique (ballots, account, and results announce), proxy voting, procedure of appeal, and status of local observers. Violations observed during the 2000 parliamentary elections were discussed, as well as ways to ensure that similar problems are not repeated in future elections. In February 2000 IFES deployed observer teams to Leninobod Oblast, Khatlon Oblast, Dushanbe and the Areas of Republican Subordination as part of its multi-faceted technical election assistance project, which included pollworker training, voter education, candidate and political party training, and voter registration assistance.

Many of the political leaders in attendance suggested that the proportion of seats in the Majlisi Namoyandagon should be shared at least 50%/50% among party representatives and single mandate candidates. At present, 22 of the 63 seats in the MN are gained via party list, with 41 gained through single mandate constituencies. There were also recommendations to increase the number of parliamentarians to a maximum of 120 deputies.

A result of the conference was the creation of a Working Group on changes to the election code, to be made up of representatives of the Majlisi Oli and members of the Communist Party, Social Democratic Party, and People's Democratic Party. Deputy Speaker of Majlisi Namoyandagon Gulafzo Savriddinova indicated that a set of forthcoming recommendations on election law revision will be presented to the Majlisi Namoyandagon later this year, and will be shared with political parties for discussion.

Recommendations made by political parties touched upon the topic financing of the pre-election campaign; involvement of registered political party representatives in all level of electoral commissions; direct election of the CCER chairman, deputy chairman and the secretary (SPT, CPT, SPT, IRPT, DPT); election adjudication issues (SDPT); and other issues including rearrangement of administrative boundaries in accordance with the number of voters (SDPT, CPT). Other election day procedural modifications were suggested, including prohibiting changing voters' list. As to the structure of parliament, it was recommended that the number of Majlisi Namoyandagon deputies be increased from 63 to 120, with 50% from single mandate districts and 50% elected via party lists (SDPT). The CPT proposed a parliament of 100 deputies 50% - 50%; and the IRPT – not less than 120 deputies, with 75% from single mandate districts and 25% elected via party lists.

IFES will remain at the center of election law discussions in Tajikistan as part of its ongoing commitment to electoral sector improvement and its longstanding partnership with the CCER and other stakeholders in the election process. IFES' relationship with the CCER as well as UN and OSCE has earned it a reputation of a non-partisan, inclusive assistance provider who can provide objective recommendations to all sides of the election law discussion.

Islamic Renaissance Party Election Issue Roundtable

In May, at the request of the Islamic Renaissance Party, IFES conducted a working group session on "Rights and Responsibilities of Election Commission Members and Election Observers". Close to fifty participants from the Women's Subcommittee of the IRPT participated, including many women who had experience working in election commissions and observing of elections.

Working with the current laws and regulations, IFES presented participants with information on responsibilities of the Central Committee for Elections and Referenda; district election commissions and polling station commissions; creation of polling stations; membership; premises; polling booths; pre-election campaign; proxies and

international/domestic observers; voters list; suffrage; early voting; mobile ballot boxes; complying protocols; access to information and ballot counting results for observers and commission members, and the grievance adjudication process.

Participants were keen on gaining information on issues such as the difference between the Majlisi Milli and the Majlisi Namoyandagon; the quantity of candidate's proxies and political party observers; budget issues for pre-election campaigns; the number of polling stations and electoral districts, and the status of local officials in the elections.

In addition to this event, IFES, in partnership with the CARE International's Gender Assessment Project, began preparations for a seminar on "Gender issues in Islam". The notion of gender equality, democracy and Islam will be explored in the context of Tajikistan

This series of seminars promotes discussion of issues critical to women's active engagement in the political process in Tajikistan, and reflects IFES's main priority of working to promote gender equality and access to information by women in outlying regions of the country, while at the same time strengthening the capacities of regional branches of political parties.

Constitutional Referendum

Referendum Results

According to the Central Commission for Elections and Referenda (CCER) report in 96.5% of 2,857,685 registered voters participated in Referendum, with 93.1% voting in favor of the constitutional amendments, and 6.2 % voting against. The major amendments to the Constitution included allowing a president to run for two consecutive terms, defining administrative responsibilities between the two houses of parliament, and reducing access to free health care and education. The changes in a president's term will be effective beginning with the presidential election scheduled for 2006.

Informal IFES Referendum Observation

Four members of the IFES Tajikistan staff informally observed the 22 June Constitutional Referendum. IFES observed polling stations in one district of Dushanbe and three towns of Soghd oblast.

There was a consistency in the violations observed in all locations viewed, giving credence to the perception that the provincial leadership had given direction to all local governments that a massive vote in favor of the referendum should be achieved. This perception was underlined by the relative emptiness of the polling stations, as well as the number of government officials on site at all the polling stations visited. Turnout as observed by the staff was extremely low. During the visit to polling station #22 in Khojand, only four people were seen voting. Ballots were provided without the voter presenting ID, which has led to a number of charges from voters who came to vote in the afternoon, only to find that their names were forged and their ballots already cast. A number of instances were cited by the staff of referendum committee officials reporting

fantastic gains in turnout in a matter of 20 minutes – in one instance, the turnout was reported to IFES staff jumped from 40% to 80% during the time they were in the polling station, when only three or four people actually came through the doors. There were also instances of poor arrangement of the polling stations, possibly jeopardizing the voters' right to cast their ballot in privacy. In some locations, commission members helped voters to vote and in general showed a lack of understanding of their responsibilities. Additionally, even marking the ballot proved a problem in many cases, as observed during the ballot count after the polling stations closed, with repeated instances of disputed ballot. Finally, in every polling station observed by IFES staff, there was no evidence that any local observers were in place.

Polling stations were organized in major cities in the Russian Federation containing significant Tajik populations. It was estimated that 220,560 citizens of Tajikistan currently reside in Russia as labor migrants. Officially, 18,511 Tajiks living in Russia participated in the Referendum, with 18,062 voting in favor of the changes and amendments. Observers from the Russian Federation, the Islamic Republic of Iran and other foreign countries monitoring inside Tajikistan reported no major violations, according to CCER Chairman Baltuyev. It should be pointed out, however, that no western international observation delegations were organized for this referendum.

Referendum Memo

IFES prepared a confidential memo for the Chairman of the CCER, based on the reports of the IFES staff, outlining the problems seen during the referendum and probable perceptions created by the process and its possible implications for the future. The memo was to be presented to Chairman Mirzoali Baltuyev in July along with an offer to work together with IFES to address the various concerns as reported by IFES observers.

POLITICAL PARTY DEVELOPMENT

Political Discussion Roundtables

On April 23 IFES, in partnership with the National Association of Political Scientists of Tajikistan (NAPST), hosted a Round Table Discussion on “Relation of Political Parties and Movements to the Formation of a Multi-sphere Economy in Tajikistan” in the city of Khojand. Participants in the Round Table included representatives of political parties, movements, entrepreneurs and the Hukumat of Soghd Oblast.

During the event, local experts presented an overview of the economic situation in Tajikistan over the past 10 years, covering development of infrastructure, privatization process, and the process of reforms. Hukumat representatives expressed their gratitude to IFES for creating an open dialogue environment, indicating that recommendations and suggestions brought up by participants will help them to create a better political system. They stressed that the dialogue between citizens and political parties needs to stay open for all who want to contribute ideas through mass media or individual visits. IFES has continually stressed the holding of open forums of this sort between competing political interests in order to build bridges and create consortia of working interests. The NAPST

event represented the latest outreach effort by IFES to promote high level discussions between disparate groups on a regional level in Tajikistan.

IFES, in partnership with the National Association of Political Scientists of Tajikistan (NAPST), conducted the next in the series of Political Discussion Clubs on “Strategies of Political Parties in Reduction of Poverty in Tajikistan” in Kurghon Teppa on May 28. Participants at the Discussion Club represented all regional political parties, mass media, local NGOs, the local Hukumat, the OSCE and the regional health office. In addition, IFES invited representatives of political parties/grassroots organizations from Yovon, Vose and Vakhsh, and a total of 9 people from various grassroots organizations to participate in the discussion.

Many participants, including mass media representatives, wanted to hear the strategies of political parties in reducing poverty. As it turned out, none of the existing political parties had recommendations to improve the economic situation in the country or region. Participants asked political parties to identify their plans for how to use incoming foreign loans and grants. In accordance with the data provided by experts, donor countries have pledged to donate \$900,000,000 to Tajikistan, of which \$375 million will be used as grants to be routed through international organizations and local NGOs.

On 24 June IFES and the National Association of Political Scientists of Tajikistan hosted the latest in a series of Political Discussion Clubs in Khojand. Hukumat officials, private businesses and representatives of all registered Political Parties except the Social Democratic Party participated in the event. The group discussed the pros and cons of privatization and its real effect on business relationships and the social order in Tajikistan.

On 25 June in Konibodom, IFES organized and conducted a seminar on “Labor Migration in Tajikistan” for Isfara and Konibodom political party representatives, women affair committees, labor departments, NGOs and mass media. Two experts from the International Organization on Migration (IOM) introduced participants to the problems, directions and Tajikistan’s laws on labor migration. Also the issue of Women Traffic as part of labor migration phenomena was shared with participants. Hand out materials covering legal instruments and human traffic information and also what should one do if in trouble, where to address and contact info of Tajikistan representations in Russia and some other countries were provided to participants.

On 26 June a round table discussion was held by the NGO “Civil Society Center” in Khojand, with support from IFES. Representatives of all political parties, mass media and a representative of the Soghd Oblast Hukumat participated in the discussion. The event was devoted for Day of Reconciliation – June 27. Article 6 of the Constitution was in focus of the discussion. The discussion touched issues of citizens’ participation in democracy, realities and referendum issues that people, political parties believe were left behind. Political parties agreed that they are responsible for citizens political will formation. Together they should work hard in public awareness and improve participation of citizens.

CIVIC EDUCATION

Student Local Government Days

The final scheduled SLGDs were conducted in Kofarnikhon and Leninskii rayon. These events concluded the extensive schedule of SLGDs and Student Action Committees conducting during the 2002-2003 school year.

Civics Textbook Project

In April, IFES Textbook Consultant Simon Jenkins and Textbook Coordinator Sayora Grezova conducted a series of intensive trips to schools in Dushanbe and surrounding regions currently piloting the IFES civics course and textbook. In Dushanbe, IFES staff was able to meet with students and administration of schools #20, 42, 74, 9, 1, 21, 66 and 3. They also visited Tursun-Zade lyceum #1 and school #75, Hissor school #1, and Kofarnikhon school #1. Overall IFES received positive feedback on the content and impact of the course. Students expressed eagerness to attend classes and develop better communication and critical thinking skills. Many teachers and directors also expressed their continued support for the course, as it gives them an opportunity to teach civics in a new way, with new materials, and with other necessary resources to implement effective classroom management. IFES provided training to participating teachers prior to the beginning of piloting using the Interactive Classroom Methodology. There were some difficulties in certain schools, however, due to material hardship and extra time required by teachers, in their view, to explain topics in the textbook. IFES also received comments on how to improve style, structure and content of the text in the book. IFES staff found school visits very helpful in identifying areas of strength and weakness in the civics course which will be addressed in the coming school year.

IFES presented its new Tajik language civic education textbook to Munavvar Mullochaev, International Department Director for the Ministry of Education for ministry review and approval. The Tajik edition has been updated over the original Russian language version by incorporating the constitutional amendments passed on 22 June.

IFES received five responses to the Textbook Newsletter, with the first reply arriving within 11 days. Responses were received from Sarband Education Board, Sarband School #4, Vakhsh Education Board, Dushanbe School#4 and Chkalovsk. This test of the Tajik post system indicates it is functioning and can be used to distribute future newsletters.

IFES received a list of trainers of the Tajik Critical Thinking Association, which has nine trainers, four of whom can train in Tajik. All are University teachers and studied for 3 years at the American University in Bishkek. The one-year-old Association is funded by OSI and is headed by Mamadnazar Rajabov from the State Pedagogical University. Rajabov and Mrs. Lyubov Dudko, an associate trainer, have provided IFES with a proposed agenda for its possible participation in the upcoming textbook training.

Dushanbe School #74 provided IFES with comments on the Civic Education Textbook from its students, including the following: "...This book helped us to know about our

political life of our government. Each chapter of this book is good on its own way; it explains and discovers material with definite question, for example: What is the aim of Civic Education? This question explained us the expression of “good citizen” and the aim of this book. This book clearly shows the problems of civic education. Thanks to this book, we gained a lot of knowledge from tasks and we realize our knowledge on practice and try to solve some problems...”

IFES met with Anjuman Abdullokhojaev, a reporter for the newspaper Human Rights funded by UNTOP and issued twice a month. An interview was conducted with the Country Director about IFES’ goals, activities, and achievements. The article will be accompanied by a lesson from Chapter 3 in the next newspaper to be published on 15 July. A series of photos of IFES activities were provided to Mr. Abdullokhojaev to accompany the article. IFES was given a draft of the article for proofing prior to its publication.

Student Action Committees (SACs)

Along with school visits, IFES/Tajikistan successfully met with leaders and initiators of SACs throughout Tajikistan. Seven heads of SACs in Khojand, representing schools #23, 9, 17, 26, 19, 20, and the Tajik Turkish Lyceum, informed IFES about the projects they had recently completed and their plans to expand the projects in the future. School #93 of Khojand also expressed interest in organizing an SAC and has worked with IFES on the logistics. IFES also met with members of SACs in Dushanbe schools #7, 95, 42 and 60 regarding their recent activities. The majority of SACs were created by students to address social inequality, and many undertook charitable projects to help pensioners, single mothers, disadvantaged young persons.

On May 17, twenty six participants from IFES/Tajikistan Student Action Committees (SACs) and 20 SAC participants from CARE International schools in Yovon, Shahrinav and Hissor gathered for a Dushanbe Area/Khatlon Oblast SAC Exchange Conference. At the event the participating students and mentors helped IFES to create a list of recommendations for the coming year’s programming. Another SAC Exchange Conference took place in Khojand on May 20, with thirty six students and teachers representing 17 schools from different districts of Soghd Oblast.

Democracy Summer Camps

The Democracy Summer Camp participant selection process was well underway in all regions of the country during May. Three camps for the Dushanbe/ARS/Khatlon region will be held at the Karatagh Campsite, near the town of Shahrinav. These camps will take place from June 15-22, July 27-August 3, and August 8-15 respectively. Another three camps for Soghd Oblast will be held at the Zuhul Campsite, near the town of Kairakkum, outside Khojand. Events there will take place from June 24- July1, July 3-10 and August 20-27

IFES traveled to Asht, Gafurov Isfara, Istaravshan, Khojand, Konibodom, Maschoh Shahrستان, and Taboshar to conduct student selection process for Soghd Oblast DSCs. Other than some minor issues of non-Tajik speaking students, a few girl applicants who

were denied permission by their families to attend for religious reasons, the application process went very well. A total of 210 out of approximately 320 students applying from all these districts were chosen to participate.

The first IFES Democracy Summer Camp of 2003 was conducted near Shahrinav in partnership with local NGO partner Chashmai Hayot. Director Rafoat Boboeva and Deputy Dean Kamolova Bibijon of Khojand University (Foreign Languages Department) opened the camp, separating the students into seven groups of ten, factoring geography and gender into each group's makeup to ensure a good cross-section to encourage a broadening of students contact around the country.

Activities at the Summer Camp, in addition to the seven learning tracks, included the organization of a "Neptune's Day" swimming party by students after the completion of each day's seminars, a meeting with the famous Tajik poetess Farzona (who had been invited to speak to students), and a meeting with representatives of Political Parties from the Soghd Region including the People's Democratic Party, Islamic Party, Social Democratic Party and the Democratic Party. The meeting with political party representatives proved to be of particular interest to the students, who participated in a very lively discussion of Tajikistan's future in light of the June 22 Constitutional Referendum. The student's questions ranged from the change in the status of free education beyond Grade 9 and the reports of irregularities in the referendum voting day processes. Additionally, IFES Chief of Party Christopher Shields conducted a question-and-answer session with students and teachers on the first day of camp.

Upcoming Summer Camps

IFES received a pledge from the Aga Khan Foundation to provide transportation for students to and from Gorno-Badakhshan region to participate in the first Dushanbe-area Democracy Summer Camp. Six students will be selected by the Education Department in Khorog to participate.

The final selection process for the remaining participants of the first Dushanbe Camp, scheduled to begin on July 15, was completed. Students will be participating from districts throughout Dushanbe, the Area of Republican Subordination and Khatlon Oblast. Over 200 students are expected to participate. With the exception of the Garm District and the GBAO, local governments will provide transportation for the students to and from the camp.

II. MATERIALS PRODUCED

- Draft Report on Observations from June 22 Constitutional Referendum (*available through IFES/Dushanbe office*)
- Teacher's Newsletter for Participating Pilot Schools (*in English and Russian*)
- Political Party Development Newsletter
- Updated Project Summary Overview
- Entrance and Exit Examination Questionnaire for Democracy Summer Camps (*available through IFES/Dushanbe office*)

Voter Education Materials

IFES focused the distribution of referendum-related materials to all 10 of its PPD project districts in Tajikistan. The documents provided by IFES were printed through the financial assistance of the British Embassy in Dushanbe and included “Draft Amendments to the Constitution”, “Constitutional Law on Referenda in the Republic of Tajikistan”, “Regulation on Rights and Responsibilities of Domestic and Foreign Observers in Referendum”. In addition to the PPD regional participants, materials were provided to the CCER, the parliament, the OSCE, and the IFES Civic Education network.

Political Party Newsletter

The second quarterly IFES political party newsletter was published and distributed throughout its ten major regions of focus to local party branches. The newsletter covered information on events held for last three months, and featured information on upcoming IFES Democracy Summer Camps for Soghd and Dushanbe/Khatlon Oblasts.

Parliamentary Directory

Along with the newsletter, two hundred copies of a Parliamentary Directory were distributed to party branches in the ten regions of focus. The Parliamentary Directory, developed by SHARQ and ABA-CEELI, with input from IFES, contains information on the structure and functions of both houses of parliament its various members.

III. ISSUES AND PROBLEMS

Political Party Development

The constitutional referendum held on 22 June proved to be as expected, a dubious result resulting in minor changes to the constitution, with the exception of allowing the president to seek two more terms. Despite efforts by the entire international community to encourage the government to use this referendum to showcase improved transparency, the government chose to essentially conduct a propaganda exercise of dubious legitimacy and a long-term impact on Tajikistan. However, this somewhat discouraging summation must be weighed against the political reality that there is no alternative to the current president and the possibility that the political maneuvering that would occur in the run-up to the presidential election in 2006 could degenerate into the sort of tribal factionalism which led to the outbreak of the Civil War in the 1990s. It is critical to find ways to encourage donors to remain engaged in development of a more transparent electoral process. While USAID continues to signal its lack of interest in putting any more funds toward election administration improvements, IFES should definitely continue discussions with the UK and Canadian international assistance agencies (DFID and CIDA) to involve them in the effort to improve the Tajik electoral process, both regard to commodities and administrative training.

Election Reform efforts are still possible, although the working group created at the 3 April conference sponsored by the OSCE again has yet to meet in full, despite repeated attempts by OSCE to bring them together. Former presidential advisor Rakhmatullo Zoirov, who resigned in the aftermath of the 22 June Referendum, has developed a

working draft of all recommendations presented to the committee by the political parties and the CCER. IFES staff is reviewing this draft list of recommendations, but prospects of it becoming a serious document for discussion within the government remain remote, especially given the fact that the Members of Parliament who were selected to participate have continually failed to appear.

In short, the environment for electoral and political party reform remains mixed. This situation, while explained by the political vacuum that exists beyond the immediate circle of the president, provides IFES with considerable challenges and opportunities to develop innovative approaches to political development programming. The new direction taken in the current program year, moving resources to regional development has proven warranted and effective. It is incumbent on IFES to seize this opportunity and devise further innovations which will keep the program growing and expanding in the regions in support of an effective, representative multi-party political system.

Mahmadali Haitov, an Islamic Renaissance Party official responsible for election issues within his party, met IFES representatives to discuss the arrest of IRPT Shamsiddin Shamsiddinov, who had been detained by the government and charged with assault and corruption. The arrest made big headlines during the quarter, as it appeared to be the latest in a series of organized arrests and harassment of IRPT members with the aim of further weakening the party and damaging its credibility. The upshot of this latest arrest could be further destabilization of the Peace Accords, through which the IRPT is granted a share of power vis-à-vis the government-supported People's Democratic Party. IRPT Chairman Said Abdullo Nuri complained that the moves served to threaten the peace treaty and could lead more conservative factions of the IRPT to demand countermeasures be taken. The government has sought to dilute the IRPT and other opposition since the February 2000 parliamentary elections, and it was felt that the series of arrests and other political moves (such as the extension of the presidential mandate via the June constitutional referendum) recently consummated could damage the fragile peace arrangement and open the door for more conservative elements such as Hizb-ut-Tahrir to gain popular support.

Civic education

The slightly revised Tajik language version of the textbook was sent to the Ministry of Education for review, replacing the one delivered earlier in the spring. It remains to be seen how thorough the Ministry's review will be. The main concern during the quarter for the textbook project was the level of coordination with the pilot schools and further teacher training. The coordination issue has been highlighted by examples of school directors changing the course from teachers who were trained to teachers who were not, creating some level of discontent from the teachers. Additionally, the Ministry's removal of the clause from the originally proposed agreement to pay the teachers for teaching the course has impacted in those cases as well. Fortunately, the vast majority of participating teachers are more concerned with giving their students a new experience and providing the necessary attention to the methodology.

One other issue that surfaced during the quarter was the number of schools who, upon learning about the IFES course and textbook, appealed to IFES to be included in the group of participating schools. While IFES would have been pleased to add additional schools to its pilot list of fifteen, it lacked the resources to print enough textbooks for every student in the fifteen schools, let alone for add-on schools. It is hoped that sufficient donor monies can be secured in future years to provide an expanded number of schools and students with sufficient quantities of textbooks. In the event that the issue of printing resources continues to be a problem, however, the course is designed in a way that teachers can use their training and teacher's manuals to lead classroom activities without strict use of a written student text, thanks to the IFES emphasis on Interactive Classroom Management as the guiding methodology of instruction for teachers.

The Student Action Committees (SAC) and Student Local Government Days (SLGDs) continued to progress, with the final data indicating a massive expansion over the first two years. From the follow-up sessions with students and teachers it remains clear that IFES is having a considerable impact in creating more and more students who understand how they can "take charge" of their environment and make a substantive difference in their communities. Additionally, the Democracy Summer Camps (DSC) will add yet more potential schools to the IFES Civic Education network that has been created over the past three years. Hopefully, IFES will be able to pursue the development of an "adopt-a-SAC" project, even if initially on a small scale, soliciting small grants from local service clubs in the US (Rotary, Kiwanis, etc.) to "adopt" one of the SACs with a proven record for self-initiative. The SAC could be profiled for the US sponsor, along with their project proposal, with a follow-up final report provided at the end of the project. USAID assessor David Ogle made some preliminary inquiries among former service club colleagues in Connecticut and provided IFES Tajikistan with a report of a favorable response and some contacts.

The English-Language Conversation Clubs conducted by IFES, initiated by PPD Consultant Foster Tucker, continued through mid-June, just prior to the onset of university exams. Do to popularity and success of the project, it has become increasingly obvious that this activity should be prominently included as part of a new for the period beyond September 2003.

The DSCs will reach their greatest number of participants in PY 2003. However, conducting a total of 6 summer camps is proving quite a strain on resources and personnel. This, combined with the suggestion by USAID that in future there should be fewer summer camps indicates a need to consider reducing the number of camps to four, but possibly increasing the number of learning tracks (which determines the number of days for the camp) be increased to ten, and the number student participants to 100 per camp. This would allow a better utilization of IFES resources and personnel, while maintaining the higher level of participation.