

PD-ABE -902

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AFRICA REGIONAL ELECTORAL ASSISTANCE FUND

698-0486

**Bureau for Africa
AFR/ONI/DG
June 1992**



U.S. AGENCY FOR
INTERNATIONAL
DEVELOPMENT

ACTION MEMORANDUM FOR THE ACTING ASSISTANT ADMINISTRATOR FOR AFRICA

FROM: AFR/ONI, Warren Weinstein 

SUBJECT: Africa Regional Electoral Assistance Fund (698-0486)

I. **PROBLEM:** Your approval is requested for the authorization of \$12,500,000 for the four-year Africa Regional Electoral Assistance Fund (AREAF).

II. **DISCUSSION:** Political change toward more open, democratic and pluralistic societies is sweeping the African continent. During the past two years, over two-thirds of African countries announced political changes to increase pluralism and political competition. Some have called it a "second liberation."

During the transition to more pluralistic and democratic societies, African countries are depending on the holding of free and fair elections to usher in broad political participation and democratic change. However, elections must be free, fair and meaningful if Africans are to have confidence in the legitimacy of their governments and the emerging political systems. Over 20 elections or referenda are planned in Africa in just the next two years and the need and demand for immediate assistance is high as evidenced by requests for U.S. government assistance from ten countries since September 1991.

Therefore, in order to support free and fair elections throughout Africa, A.I.D. will make up to \$12.5 million available, through a U.S. non-governmental organization (NGO), for electoral assistance in African countries preparing for and holding free and fair elections. The purpose of the A.I.D.-funded Africa Regional Electoral Assistance Fund is to support free and fair local and national elections and referenda on constitutional issues throughout sub-Saharan Africa.

The A.I.D. funding under AREAF will support activities leading to: (1) improved electoral systems and processes and wider national participation in the electoral process; (2) free and fair monitored elections; (3) increased confidence in the democratic nature of the electoral process; (4) strengthened institutions key to sustaining free and fair elections and a more democratic society; and (4) increased civic participation and education leading up to and following elections.

Financial Summary

AREAF is a four-year, \$12,500,000 authorization to fund a wide range of electoral assistance activities. It is expected that \$2,500,000 from the Development Fund for Africa (DFA) will be obligated immediately upon signature of the planned cooperative agreement (CA). Subject to the availability of funds and the Congressional notification process, A.I.D. and the Department of State intend to obligate an additional \$5 million in Economic Support Funds (ESF) in Fiscal Year 1992 and to obligate an additional \$5 million in FY 1993 to make the total authorized project amount \$12,500,000. The method of financing for this project will be through a letter of credit with a U.S. NGO under a Cooperative Agreement.

Project Development

In August 1991 the Africa bureau provided \$1 million under the Africa Democracy and Human Rights Fund (698-0542) to the International Foundation for Electoral Systems through an Agency Cooperative Agreement for electoral assistance in Africa. Within three months, demand for electoral assistance from Africans through the field missions used \$500,000 of this amount. In several meetings with senior officials from AFR, State/AF and State/HA, it was decided to go ahead with a larger mainly ESF-funded electoral assistance project outside of the Human Rights Fund which would be competitively bid and would involve only one funding mechanism to decrease the management burden on A.I.D.

AFR/ONI/DG developed a Congressional Notification and a Request for Application (RFA) under Handbook 13 regulations to initiate this activity. The CN and RFA were cleared by all AFR bureau geographic offices, AFR/DP and GC/AFR as well as State/AF and State/HA. The RFA (Attachment 6) is considered to be the Project Identification Document (PID)-like document for this project.

The RFA was issued on January 24, 1992. The applications received in response to the RFA were reviewed by an inter-agency technical committee with representatives from A.I.D., State/HA and State/AF following the selection criteria specified in the RFA. Based upon recommendations from this review, the A.I.D. Agreement Officer has decided to award the Cooperative Agreement upon project authorization to a consortium headed by the African American Institute (AAI) with the National Democratic Institute (NDI) and the International Republican Institute (IRI). The application from the AAI consortium includes a detailed project rationale and description, an implementation plan and a budget. The application is attached to this Action Memorandum and the information in the application meets Section 611(a) requirements.

Initial Environmental Examination (IEE)

An IEE shown as Attachment 2 to this Action Memorandum has determined that the AREAF meets the criteria for categorical exclusion under A.I.D. Regulation 16. The IEE has been approved by the Africa Bureau Environmental Officer.

Local Cost Financing

It is estimated that the project will finance \$5,000,000 worth of local goods and services over the life of project, out of the total \$12,500,000 project authorization. Much of the assistance will be in the form of short-term (less than one year) technical assistance prior to and during the electoral periods. Limited amounts of specialized electoral commodities will be imported. Local cost financing will be used for in-country training, all local costs of election monitoring, and local NGO capacity building.

Justification to the Congress

The Africa Regional Electoral Assistance Fund was not included in the FY 1992 Congressional Presentation. Therefore, a Congressional Notification (CN) was sent to the Hill to inform the Congress of a planned FY 1992 DFA obligation of \$2,500,000. The CN was submitted on December 16, 1991 and expired on December 31, 1991. A CN revision to show a planned life-of-project amount of \$12.5 million, including \$5 million planned ESF obligation in FY 1992, was sent to the Hill on May 14, 1992 and expired on May 29, 1992.

Gray Amendment Considerations

The RFA was sent to six U.S. NGOs with significant experience in support of elections and electoral processes around the world. Of these six U.S. NGOs, two are Gray Amendment NGOs. Following a competitive review, the A.I.D. Agreement Officer has decided to award the cooperative agreement to AAI, a Gray Amendment U.S. PVO.

Human Rights

The activities funded under this project will only be provided to African countries committed to more open, democratic societies. Free and fair elections leading to increased political competition and accountability will improve conditions for respect of human rights throughout sub-Saharan Africa.

Project Management

The Africa Regional Electoral Assistance Fund will be managed by the Democracy and Governance division in the office of Operations

- C

and New Initiatives (AFR/ONI/DG) in close collaboration with the Africa bureau geographic offices and the State Department.

III. FINDINGS AND ACTION: The planned cooperative agreement will be issued under Handbook 13 regulations and following a fully-competitive process. The application from AAI contains information and an approach that meets statutory requirements. In addition, under the Cooperative Agreement A.I.D. maintains approval authority of all country-specific or regional proposals for field activities which will contain more detailed analyses and plans for country-specific information.

This Action Memorandum and the attached Project Authorization have been cleared by representatives from AFR/DP, GC/AFR and all A.I.D. Africa bureau geographic offices, along with representatives of AF and HA.

IV. RECOMMENDATION:

A. That you sign the attached Project Authorization and thereby approve an authorized amount of \$12,500,000 for the Africa Regional Electoral Assistance Fund.

B. That you sign the attached Project Data Sheet for the Africa Regional Electoral Assistance Fund.

Attachments

1. Project Authorization
2. Project Data Sheet
3. Initial Environmental Examination
4. Application from AAI/NDI/IRI
5. Assistance Checklist
6. RFA dated January 24, 1992

d.

Clearances

A-DAA/AFR:MBonner	<i>[Signature]</i>	Date	5/16/92
GC/AFR:ESpriggs	<i>[Signature]</i>	Date	5/15/92
AFR/ONI:PGuedet	JPG	Date	5-27-92
AFR/CCWA:MGolden	(Draft)	Date	5/19/92
AFR/EA:DLundberg	(Draft)	Date	5/19/92
AFR/SA:CDean	(Draft)	Date	5/12/92
AFR/SWA:TBork	(Draft)	Date	5/19/92
AFR/DP:JGovan	(Draft)	Date	5/18/92
HA:CGlunt	(Draft)	Date	5/21/92
AF/RA:BLowe	(Draft)	Date	5/20/92

Drafter: AFR/ONI/DG:WHamp *[Signature]*; 03/09/92:70443:AREAF

Attachment 1
Project Authorization

A small, handwritten mark or signature in the bottom right corner of the page, consisting of a few stylized, overlapping strokes.

PROJECT AUTHORIZATION

Name of Country: Africa Regional
Name of Project: Africa Regional Electoral Assistance Fund
Project Number: 698-0486

1. Pursuant to Section 116(e) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, I hereby authorize the Africa Regional Electoral Assistance Fund Project for the Africa region, involving planned obligations of not to exceed Twelve Million Five Hundred Thousand United States Dollars (US \$12,500,000) in grant funds (the "Grant") from date of authorization to June 30, 1996, subject to the availability of funds in accordance with the A.I.D. OYB/allotment process, to help in financing foreign exchange and local currency costs for the Project. Except as A.I.D. may otherwise agree in writing, the planned life of the Project is through June 30, 1996.

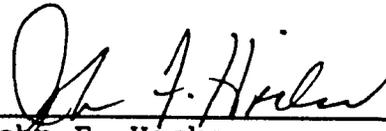
2. The Project will support free and fair local and national elections and referenda on constitutional issues throughout sub-Saharan Africa. The Project will fund activities leading to: (1) improved electoral systems and processes and wider national participation in the electoral process; (2) free and fair monitored elections; (3) increased confidence in the democratic nature of the electoral process; (4) strengthened institutions key to sustaining free and fair elections and a more democratic society; and (4) increased civic participation and education leading up to and following elections. The Project will finance short-term technical assistance, significant training activities, commodities and equipment, and local cost support for African organizations involved in the electoral process.

3. The Agreements or other obligating documents which may be negotiated and executed by the officers to whom such authority is delegated in accordance with A.I.D. regulations and Delegations of Authority shall be subject to the following essential terms, together with such other terms and conditions as A.I.D. may deem appropriate:

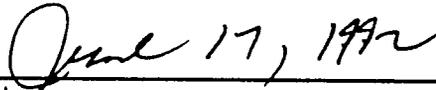
a. Source and Origin of Commodities, Nationality of Services

Commodities financed by A.I.D. under the Project shall have their source and origin in the United States or the Cooperating

Country, or (a) countries included in A.I.D. Geographic Code 935 for funds from Development Fund for Africa (DFA) appropriations and (b) countries included in A.I.D. Geographic Code 941 for non-DFA funds, except as A.I.D. may otherwise agree in writing. Except for ocean shipping, the suppliers of commodities or services shall have the United States or the Cooperating Country, or countries included in A.I.D. Geographic Code 935 for DFA funds or Code 941 for other funds, as their place of nationality, except as A.I.D. may otherwise agree in writing. Ocean shipping financed by A.I.D. under the Project shall, except as A.I.D. may otherwise agree in writing, be financed only on flag vessels of the United States or countries included in A.I.D. geographic code 935.



John F. Hicks
Acting Assistant Administrator
Bureau for Africa



Date

Clearances as Shown on
Action Memorandum

AFR/ONI/DG,WHammink;05/04/92:AREAF



Attachment 2
Project Data Sheet

AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
PROJECT DATA SHEET

1. TRANSACTION CODE
 A = Add
 C = Change
 D = Delete
 Amendment Number _____

DOCUMENT CODE
 3

2. COUNTRY/ENTITY
 Africa Regional

3. PROJECT NUMBER
 698-0486

4. BUREAU/OFFICE
 AFR/CNI

5. PROJECT TITLE (maximum 60 characters)
 Africa Reg. Electoral Assistance Fund

6. PROJECT ASSISTANCE COMPLETION DATE (PACD)
 MM DD YY
 06 30 96

7. ESTIMATED DATE OF OBLIGATION
 (Under "E" below, enter 1, 2, 3, or 4)
 A. Initial FY 92 B. Quarter 3 C. Final FY 93

8. COSTS (\$000 OR EQUIV. LENT \$1 =)

A. FUNDING SOURCE	FIRST FY 92			LIFE OF PROJECT		
	B. FX	C. L/C	D. Total	E. FX	F. L/C	G. Total
AID Appropriated Total	4,000	3,500	7,500	7,500	5,000	12,500
(Grant)	(4,000)	(3,500)	(7,500)	(7,500)	(5,000)	(12,500)
(Loan)	()	()	()	()	()	()
Other U.S.						
1.						
2.						
Host Country						
Other Donor(s)						
TOTALS	4,000	3,500	7,500	7,500	5,000	12,500

9. SCHEDULE OF AID FUNDING (\$000)

A. APPROPRIATION	B. PRIMARY PURPOSE CODE	C. PRIMARY TECH. CODE		D. OBLIGATIONS TO DATE		E. AMOUNT APPROVED THIS ACTION		F. LIFE OF PROJECT	
		1. Grant	2. Loan	1. Grant	2. Loan	1. Grant	2. Loan	1. Grant	2. Loan
(1) DEA				--		2,500		2,500	
(2) ESF						10,000		10,000	
(3)									
(4)									
TOTALS				--		12,500		12,500	

10. SECONDARY TECHNICAL CODES (maximum 6 codes of 3 positions each)

11. SECONDARY PURPOSE CODE

12. SPECIAL CONCERNS CODES (maximum 7 codes of 4 positions each)

A. Code _____

B. Amount _____

13. PROJECT PURPOSE (maximum 480 characters)

To support free and fair local and national elections and referenda on constitutional issues throughout sub-saharan Africa.

14. SCHEDULED EVALUATIONS

Interim MM YY MM YY Final MM YY
 06 94

15. SOURCE/ORIGIN OF GOODS AND SERVICES

000 941 Local Other (Specify) 935

16. AMENDMENTS/NATURE OF CHANGE PROPOSED (This is page 1 of a _____ page FP Amendment.)

I concur in the methods of implementation and the financial arrangements under this project.

AFR Controller W. H. Gizzard

17. APPROVED BY

Signature: John F. Hicks
 Title: Acting Assistant Administrator
 Africa Bureau

Date Signed: MM DD YY
 06 17 92

18. DATE DOCUMENT RECEIVED IN AID/W, OR FOR AID/W DOCUMENTS, DATE OF DISTRIBUTION

MM DD YY

Attachment 3
Initial Environmental Examination

Attachment Three

INITIAL ENVIRONMENTAL EXAMINATION

Project Country: Africa Regional

Project Title: Africa Regional Electoral Assistance Fund

Funding: Planned \$12,500,000 LOP

IEE Prepared By: William Hammink, AFR/ONI/DG

Environmental Action Recommended: Categorical Exclusion

Positive Determination _____
 Negative Determination _____
 Categorical Exclusion X
 Deferral _____

Categorical Exclusion:

This activity meets the criteria for Categorical Exclusion in accordance with 22 CFR 216.2 (c) (2) (i) and (iii) and 22 CFR 216.2 (c) (1) (i) and is excluded from further review because:

The project will support and encourage free and fair local and national elections and referenda on constitutional issues throughout sub-Saharan Africa. The A.I.D. funding under AREAF will support activities leading to: (1) improved electoral systems and processes and wider national participation in the electoral process; (2) free and fair monitored elections; (3) increased confidence in the democratic nature of the electoral process; (4) strengthened institutions key to sustaining free and fair elections and a more democratic society; and (4) increased civic participation and education leading up to and following elections. The project, under the authority of Section 116(e) of the Foreign Assistance Act (FAA), will fund short-term technical assistance, significant training and local capacity building, international monitoring efforts, and limited commodities and equipment. The project has no component which would directly affect the environment (such as construction).

Concurrence: *J. J. [Signature]*
 AFR Bureau Environmental Officer

Clearance: *[Signature]*
 GC/AFR

Approved: ✓
 Disapproved: _____
 Date: 5/15/92

Date: 5/15/92

Attachment 4

Application from AAI/NDI/IRI



THE AFRICAN-AMERICAN INSTITUTE

Technical Proposal

for

**The Africa Regional Electoral Assistance Fund
(AREAF)**

Request for Application

to

The United States Agency for International Development

March 2, 1992

Submitted by:

**The African-American Institute
833 United Nations Plaza
New York, New York 10017**

with

**The International Republican Institute
The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs**

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EXHIBIT LIST

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SECTION I. EXPERIENCE AND QUALIFICATIONS

This proposal is submitted by the African-American Institute (AAI) in partnership with the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) and the International Republican Institute (IRI). The Carter Center of Emory University joins the partners as a collaborating organization. Procurement services will be contracted out to American Manufacturers Export Group, an internationally-respected AID-registered Procurement Services Agent with extensive experience in Africa and in the supply of election commodities.

This proposal offers AID and participating African countries the largest, most comprehensive, and most prestigious set of resources ever assembled in support of electoral assistance to emerging democracies. It unites a 40-year commitment to African development with unparalleled expertise and experience in all aspects of international electoral assistance programming. Taking advantage of lessons learned throughout the world, it brings to this project cutting-edge techniques and approaches that facilitate the transition to democracy and help institutionalize gains so that democratization is truly sustainable. With organizational missions that match the precise objectives of the Request for Application (RFA), this group of non-governmental organizations is uniquely qualified to carry out programs under the Africa Regional Electoral Assistance Fund (AREAF).

This section is organized as follows:

- A. Overview of the bidding organizations
- B. Matrices of relevant experience and qualifications
- C. Descriptions of related projects and activities
- D. Capacity to assemble appropriate teams
- E. Range of contacts
- F. Management capability

A. OVERVIEW OF THE BIDDING ORGANIZATIONS

AAI has been devoted exclusively to furthering African development since its inception in 1953. It has gained national and international recognition as the foremost private non-profit organization in the field. ~~With wider and more direct relationships than any other organization with the governments of African countries, as well as with a wide range of NGOs, politicians, media leaders, and public and private donor organizations in Africa.~~ These relationships will be invaluable in facilitating the implementation of ARAEF-sponsored programs. In addition, AAI has in-country representatives in 24 countries ~~and has the demonstrated capacity to work in partnership with local NGOs.~~ It also has a solid track record with AID and other donors in administering nearly 70 programs totalling \$350 million since 1961. AAI will enter into a cooperative agreement with AID on behalf of the partnership and will have both administrative and technical responsibilities.

Since its inception, AAI has been primarily concerned with strengthening African capacities and building African institutions. The Institute pursued this goal through three major program foci: (1) strengthening human resources development; (2) deepening civil society; and (3) encouraging

open, accountable, effective governance. Via conferences, exchanges, and publications, AAI has sought to strengthen African capacities to develop viable, democratic societies.

AFGRAD, one of the most successful programs in AID history has been managed by AAI. This program boasts 2,700 African alumni with Masters and PhDs from U.S. universities. More than just education, AFGRAD and the other human resources development programs that AAI administers offer an opportunity for participants to view one democracy firsthand.

NDI and IRI have collectively more experience in international electoral assistance support than any other U.S. organization. Their extensive rosters of in-house specialists and largely pro bono consultant experts from the United States, Europe, and developing nations enable them to provide support services in virtually any aspect of pre-election, election campaign, and consolidation programs. Pioneers in developing and applying innovative programming strategies, they are the acknowledged leaders -- nationally and internationally -- in the field. They will have primary responsibility for program implementation under this agreement.

NDI was established in 1983 to conduct nonpartisan political development programs overseas. The Institute is headquartered in Washington, DC. By working with political parties and other institutions, NDI seeks to promote maintain and strengthen democratic institutions in new and emerging democracies. NDI has conducted democratic development programs in more than 70 countries. Programs focus on three major areas: governance, electoral systems, and party building.

NDI programs in the area of governance are designed to improve the machinery of governmental systems by sharing the critical tools that help make democratic systems function effectively. Governance programs have included civilian-military relations and legislative and constitutional reform. NDI has developed expertise in reviewing electoral systems and in monitoring elections. NDI has organized international observer missions to elections in Bulgaria, Chile, Czechoslovakia, Haiti, Hungary, Namibia, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, the Philippines, Romania and Taiwan. At NDI party building seminars, political parties learn the rudimentary skills of organization, communication and constituent contact. NDI has conducted such training in Latin America, Central and Eastern Europe, and Asia.

IRI was founded in 1983 as the National Republic Institute for International Affairs. Since its inception, it has been dedicated to the principle that strong and independent political organizations are fundamental to pluralistic, democratic systems of government. Today's political landscape is changing throughout the world. IRI is influencing that change with practical, hard-hitting, results-oriented programs that support the efforts of local democracy proponents.

IRI's primary mission is to assist indigenous organizations to build foundations for democracy in countries where development has been stunted by command economies and monopolistic political structures. This is accomplished through technical, organizational, and financial support. IRI provides leadership development, communications strategy, policy research, political party building, and public relations. The objective is to encourage and support the evolution of the democratic political process. In Africa, Asia, Eastern Europe, Latin America, and the former Soviet Union, IRI is working to cement the foundations of democracy to build societies that allow citizens to determine their own futures.

The Carter Center of Emory University is a non-profit, non-partisan institution founded in

1982 to encourage the exchange of informed ideas leading to action-oriented policy recommendations. Its primary objectives are to facilitate constructive dialogue between political leaders, business leaders, and other decision makers, promote education based on scholarly research, and implement outreach programs involving a carefully selected agenda of public policy issues.

The members of the partnership recognize that President Carter and the Carter Center can make a unique contribution to supporting the democratic process in Africa. While foreign governments, international opinion, and other pressures can often bring non-democratic regimes or hostile adversaries to accept multi-party elections, allow a free and fair contest, and abide by the results, there is a distinct and often critical role for eminent persons and institutions such as President Carter and the Carter Center. Therefore, the Center will have a close relationship to the partnership as a collaborating organization. When President Carter and the Center are invited by African parties to observe an election in countries in which the project is working, and when President Carter considers he can make a significant contribution, the partnership expects that he will play a leading role in the observation mission and that the Center will be institutionally involved as appropriate. The Center's letter of commitment to collaborate with the partnership is shown in Exhibit 1.

All three partners have experience in supplying commodities. However, given the nature and potential volume of this project's commodity requirements and the complexity of simultaneous procurements for different countries, the partnership will contract for procurement services with the American Manufacturers Export Group (AMEG), a highly qualified, experienced, AID-registered Procurement Services Agent (PSA). AMEG is a Gray Amendment firm. It is thoroughly familiar with operations in Africa and with the full range of election commodities, has the demonstrated capability to meet the logistical challenges of procurements for Africa and to deliver commodities on very short notice. This is particularly important in this project, since many African elections allow little time between the announcement and the election itself. In addition, AMEG has an excellent working knowledge of national importation laws and regulations throughout Africa and has on-the-ground experience in 24 African countries.

Headed by Foreign Service Officers formerly with AID, AMEG has a worldwide reputation for reliability. In addition to AID, it has extensive contacts with other donors. It has already worked with members of the partnership. In 1989, AMEG procured 352 items of commodities for NDI and IRI programs supporting elections in Nicaragua. AMEG also assisted IRI in supporting elections in Haiti. In 1988, it collaborated with AAI on a proposal for the World Bank Technical Education Project in Nigeria. The company's letter of of commitment to cooperate with the partnership in this project is shown in Exhibit 2, together with a summary of company capabilities.

B. MATRICES OF RELEVANT EXPERIENCE AND QUALIFICATIONS

The matrices on the following pages summarize past programs and activities of the partners and illustrates their capacity to provide the full range of electoral assistance services. The matrices represent the collective experience of the partners. The first matrix summarizes programs in Africa. The second matrix summarizes experience in other parts of the world.

Country	Wide-Range In-Country Population Contacts	Government and Political Party Contacts	NGO and Civic Association Contacts	On- Ground Presence	Democratization Assistance Request	Diagnosis Needs Assessment/ Survey Missions	Regional Democratization Conferences/ Workshop Participation	Participation in Missions to Other Country	Electoral Code Consultations	Electoral Commission Advice/ Support	Voter Education Program	Registration Electoral Monitoring Advice/ Support	Committees/ Infrastructure Assistance	Civic Education Organized on Advice/ Support	Pre-election Environment Monitoring Missions	International Electoral Observer Delegation and Support	Post-Election Environment Monitoring Missions	Long-Term Support of Domestic Institutions
Guinea		X	X		X		X					.						
Guinea-Bissau		X	X				X					.						
Kenya	X	X	X	X	X	X		X				X	.		X			X
Lesotho	X	X	X		X	X		X										
Liberia	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			.					X
Madagascar	X	X	X	X	X								.					
Malawi		X	X	X									.					
Mali		X	X	X	X		X											
Mauritania		X	X		X													
Mauritius		X					X	X										
Mozambique	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X			.						
Namibia	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X			X	X		X
Niger		X	X		X	X	X						.					
Nigeria	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X					.	X				X
Rwanda		X			X								.					
São Tomé and Príncipe		X																
Senegal	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			.	X				X
Sierra Leone		X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X								
Swaziland													.					
Tanzania													.					

5

Country	Wide-Range Indigenous Population Contacts	Government and Political Party Contacts	MHO and Civic Associations Contacts	On- Ground Presence	Democratization Assistance Request	Diagnostic Needs Assessment/ Survey Mission	Regional Demonstration Conferences/ Workshop Participation	Participation in Missions to Other Country	Shelter Code Compliance	Shelter Compliance Advice/ Support	Veter Education Program	Registration Shelter Monitoring Advice/ Support	Construction/ Infrastructure Assistance	Other Shelter Requests in Advice/ Support	Pre-shelter Construction Monitoring Advice	Shelter Construction Monitoring Advice	Post-Shelter Construction Monitoring Advice	Long-Term Support of Shelter Construction
South Africa	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			X			X				X
Sudan		X											•					
Swaziland					X		X											
Tanzania	X	X	X	X	X	X							•					X
Togo	X	X	X	X	X	X	X					X						
Uganda	X	X	X		X								•					
Zaire		X	X		X	X	X											
Zambia	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	•	X	X		X	X
Zimbabwe	X	X	X	X	X		X	X					•					X

X Assistance Provided By Member of the Partnership

• Assistance Provided By Subcontractor Pledged To Work With Partnership

Matrix of Worldwide Election Related Assistance
 African-American Institute, International Republican Institute, National Democratic Institute for International Affairs

Country	Participation in Regional Conference on Democracy	Participation in Mission to Other Country	Diagnostic Needs Assessment Survey Mission	On-Ground Presence	Election Code Consultations	Voter Registration/ Census Assistance	Political Party Training	Election Commission Advice/ Training	Constitutional/ Infrastructure Assistance	Public Opinion Research and Training	Voter Education and Mobilization	Nonpartisan Election Monitor Advice/ Training	Party Politicians Advice/ Training	Civic Education Organization Advice/ Training	Media Analysis	Pre-Election Environment Monitoring Missions	International Election Observer Delegation		Vote Count Verification Including Parallel Vote Count	Post-Election Environment Monitoring Missions	Long-Term Support of Democratic Institutions
																	small	large			
Albania	X	X	X		X		X	X	X*		X	X	X	X		X	X		X	X	
Argentina	X	X					X		X	X			X				X				X
Bangladesh		X	X		X		X	X	o		X	X	X	X		X	X			X	X
Belize	X	X					X			X	X										X
Bolivia	X	X	X				X		o	X	X			X							X
Botswana	X	X	X	X	X				o	X	X										X
Bulgaria	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X		X	X	X	X
Burma			X				X		X*												
Cambodia			X																		
Cameroon	X		X	X	X			X	o		X					X					X
Colombia	X	X					X							X							X
Chile	X	X	X		X	X	X			X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X		X
Costa Rica	X	X	X	X			X			X				X							X
Cuba	X	X			X					X				X							
Czech and Slovak Republic	X	X	X	X	X		X			X			X					X	X		X
Dominican Republic	X	X	X				X		o	X	X			X				X	X		X
East Germany			X															X			
El Salvador	X	X	X	X	X	X			o		X					X		X		X	

Country	Participation in Regional Conference on Democracy	Participation in Mission in Other Country	Diagnostic Needs Assessment Survey Mission	On-ground Presence	Election Code Consultations	Voter Registration/ Census Assistance	Political Party Training	Election Commission Advice/ Training	Constitutional/ Infrastructure Assistance	Public Opinion Research and Training	Voter Education and Mobilization	Management Election Monitor Advice/ Training	Party Political Advice/ Training	Local Education Organization Advice/ Training	Media Advice	Pre-Election Environment Monitoring Mission	International Election Observer Delegation		Vote Count Verification Including Postal Vote Count	Post-Election Environment Monitoring Mission	Long-Term Support of Democratic Institutions
																	small	large			
Estonia	X	X	X		X		X			X											
Ethiopia			X	X	X		X	X	o							X					
Grenada	X	X	X				X		X	X	X			X							X
Guatemala	X	X	X	X			X			X	X			X		X	X			X	X
Guyana		X	X		X	X	X	X				X	X	X							
Haiti	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	o		X	X	X	X		X		X	X	X	X
Honduras	X	X	X				X		o					X		X					X
Hong Kong			X		X		X	X						X		X	X			X	
Hungary	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X		X			X		X		X	X
Jamaica	X	X	X				X		X ^o	X	X			X							X
Korea		X	X				X										X				
Kuwait	X		X				X			X	X			X							
Latvia	X	X	X		X		X			X											
Liberia	X	X	X	X	X			X	o		X			X							X
Lithuania	X	X	X		X		X			X											
Mexico	X	X	X		X		X		o	X	X	X	X	X					X		X
Mongolia	X		X		X																
Montserrat	X	X					X			X	X										X
Namibia	X	X	X	X	X	X				X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X				X
Nicaragua	X	X	X	X		X	X		X ^o	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X
Pakistan		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	o					X		X		X	X	X	X
Panama	X	X	X													X		X	X		
Paraguay		X	X											X		X		X		X	X

8.2

Country	Participation in Regional Conference on Democracy	Participation in Missions to Other Country	Diagnostic Needs Assessment Survey Mission	Op-Overall Process	Election Code Consultation	Voter Registration/ Census Assistance	Political Party Training	Election Commission Advice/ Training	Constitution/ Infrastructure Assistance	Public Opinion Research and Training	Voter Education and Mobilization	Negotiation Election Monitor Advice/ Training	Party Pollwatchers Advice/ Training	Civic Education Organization Advice/ Training	Media Analysis	Pre-Election Environment Monitoring Mission	International Election Observer Delegation small large	Vote Count Verification Including Parallel Vote Count	Post-Election Environment Monitoring Mission	Long-Term Support of Democratic Institutions
Philippines		X	X					X	•			X		X	X		X	X	X	X
Poland		X	X	X	X		X	X						X			X			X
Romania	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Russia	X	X	X		X		X		X	X				X						
Senegal	X	X	X	X			X		•					X	X					
South Africa	X	X	X	X			X				X	X		X						X
St. Kitts /Nevis	X	X					X			X	X									X
St. Lucia	X	X					X			X	X									X
St. Vincent & Grenadines	X	X					X			X	X									X
Taiwan	X	X	X				X									X	X			
Thailand		X	X																	
Ukraine	X		X		X		X			X				X						
Uruguay			X				X			X				X						
Yugoslavia	X	X	X	X											X	X	X	X		X
Zambia	X	X	X	X	X			X			X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X

X Assistance Provided By Members of the Partnership

• Assistance Provided By Individuals or Organizations Not With Partnership

D

C. DESCRIPTIONS OF RELATED PROJECTS AND ACTIVITIES

This section describes related projects and activities of the partners in Africa as well as other countries. It is organized by country, with the African countries presented first. Projects that involve multiple country activities and other related projects appear after the alphabetical country listing.

1. Country projects

Angola

AAI

AAI's relationship with Angola began in the 1960s, when Angolan refugees were enrolled in AAI training centers in Tanzania and Zambia. More than 120 students received training under AAI-administered programs between 1961 and 1982. Angola has been represented at approximately 15 AAI conferences, including a 1980 gathering on economic development in Portuguese-speaking Africa. AAI has close relationships to President Dos Santos and the MPLA government. On those occasions in which he has come to the U.S., AAI has hosted dinners of businesspersons, Africanists and others interested in Angolan development. AAI is also in frequent contact with representatives of Jonas Savimbi and UNITA.

NDI

NDI Senior Consultant Patricia Keefer led a survey team that included Carol Martin, a doctoral candidate in international affairs at Yale who is fluent in Portuguese, and Stanley Greenburg, public opinion analyst and former director of the African Studies program at Yale University, to Angola from June 30-July 3, 1991. The survey mission team sought to fulfill the following objectives: 1) to ascertain the relationship between the ruling party and the government, the extent of de-linkage between the two, and the social base of current and potential opposition political parties; 2) to identify institutions and organizations that could potentially influence voters, including the military and civil society in general: religious organizations, the print and electronic media, professional associations, and non-governmental organizations; 3) and to ascertain the proposed time-table for elections, including the implications of timing for the opposition, and identify factors that might prevent elections from taking place as well as factors that might mitigate against an outcome of "free and fair" elections.

The survey mission team met with members of the government and opposition forces as well as with members of civil society. Upon returning to Washington, D.C., the survey team met at the NDI offices with members of the State Department, USAID, other policy makers and those interested in African affairs. The team offered their perspective on the peace process in Angola and the prospects for democratic government.

IRI

The initialing of the cease-fire agreement on May 1, 1991 in Portugal signaled to the

international community that the cessation to one of Africa's longest continuous civil wars was at hand. Two weeks later the International Republican Institute (IRI) sent an assessment team to Angola. The goals of this team were to analyze the Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) as it transformed from a military organization to a political party. The IRI produced a report called "UNITA After the Cease Fire: The Emergence of a Political Party".

Later in the year, the IRI sponsored trips to Angola which assessed the Movement for the Popular Liberation of Angola (MPLA) and the emergent political party environment. A report has been written to summarize the findings of the IRI team which covers both the political concerns and some of the logistical concerns of Angola, as that nation faces its first multi-party election.

The IRI, through funding from AID, plans to implement with the National Democratic Institute (NDI) programs of assistance for all political parties prior to the September elections. Other plans include working with NDI to organize, train, and advise a non-partisan domestic observer organization.

Benin

AAI

AAI assembled and led the official U.S. election observation delegations to Benin in March 1991 to monitor the first openly contested presidential election on the African mainland in post-colonial Africa. AAI continues to work to support the consolidation phase of the new democracy by inviting Beninois to conferences, featuring President Soglo at its annual conference and honoring him at its Annual Dinner, working with women's groups in an effort to establish an international women's political network and seeking funding to record an oral history of the Benin election experience. Facilitating development of a closer working relationship between Benin and AAI is AAI representative, Dr. Moussa Okanla, a U.S.-trained political scientist at the Universite Nationale de Benin and counselor for technical cooperation at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Prior to the recent political transition, AAI's activities with Benin began in 1961 and include a 1967 English-language workshop for teachers from French-speaking Africa and programming of approximately 20 International Visitors.

Botswana

AAI

AAI has been active in Botswana since 1961, both in administering AFGRAD and other educational programs, as well as supporting one of Africa's few vigorous multi-party democracies. Current alumni include three senior government officials and a number of academics. To demonstrate the Institute's support for Botswana's courageous anti-apartheid posture and to underscore the country's commitment to democratic pluralism, AAI held its seventeenth Annual Conference in Gaborone in January 1987. AAI also has a strong relationship with the Southern African Development Coordination Council (SADCC), headquartered in Gaborone. On a recent AAI-administered visit (1991) SADCC representatives were hosted at a trade and investment conference in Pittsburgh, after which they met with American businessmen in Seattle. Both cities are participants in AAI's Constituency Development Initiative. AAI is represented in Botswana by

Kay Raseroka, chief librarian and senior administrator at the University of Botswana. Botswana has participated in more than 20 AAI conferences and maintains strong relations with government and opposition leaders.

NDI

NDI contributed to an important symposium that examined the institutions and practices that have sustained democracy in Botswana. The August 1-5, 1988 conference, held in the capital city of Gaborone, included senior Botswanan political and civic leaders, as well as participants from six other African countries, the United States, Great Britain and West Germany.

NDI has long viewed Botswana as a model of democracy that can foster democratic political leadership in the southern African region. For that reason, NDI sponsored three South African journalists as conference participants. The journalists each filed stories on the successful multi-racial democracy on their country's northern border to help counter a Pretoria-backed disinformation campaign that depicted all African nations as non-democratic and in political and economic disarray.

NDI President Brian Atwood and Senior Consultant Patricia Keefer also participated in the symposium and visited with senior Botswanan officials, including President Quett Masire. The information presented at the symposium contributed to NDI's three-nation study on "Democracy in Regions of Crisis."

In June 1989, NDI participated in seminars for municipal and parliamentary candidates sponsored by the University of Botswana's Democracy Project. An NDI technical team served as faculty for a series of workshops on grassroots organizing.

In mid-1989, NDI provided a grant to assist the efforts of Botswana's political parties to strengthen the country's multiparty democracy. The NDI grant was given to the Botswana's Democracy Project, which analyzed the effectiveness of a new caucus system installed by the Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) and other major political parties. The project's two main points of focus were: 1) a four-week study of the party caucus nomination process to ascertain and describe how they are conducted within each party and to identify problems party leaders should address to provide an effective opportunity for strengthening parties through constituency member participation; and 2) a study of election campaigns in a select group of districts to identify the types of campaign strategies and organization used in the primary season and their relative effectiveness in obtaining constituent attention and securing support.

Burkina Faso

AAI

Approximately 275 students from Burkina Faso have received training under AAI-administered programs beginning in 1962. The majority of alumni are in higher education or government. The U.S. Ambassador to Burkina Faso (then Upper Volta) from 1971 to 1974, Donald Easum later served as AAI's president. Dr. Fernand Sanou represents AAI in Burkina Faso.

Burundi

AAI

Burundi is moving rapidly to expand political pluralism and evolve to a multi-party state. AAI is combining its long-standing involvement through its education and international visitors programs to include substantive co-programming in democratization initiatives. Students from Burundi began participating in AAI-administered programs in 1972. Currently there are 30 Burundi alumni of AAI postgraduate degree programs and Burundi has sent more than 30 visitors to the United States under the International Visitor Program.

AAI met with Prime Minister Adrien Sibomana in June 1991 to discuss increased participation in educational programs, democratization advances. Burundians have requested that the Institute co-host a meeting on ethnicity and refugees which it is planning to hold in June 1992 in Bujumbura. AAI senior staff work closely with UN Permanent Representative J. E. Sebuyaramo and Burundian Ambassador to the U.S., H.E. Julien Kauakure.

NDI

NDI Senior Program Officer Lionel Johnson and Program Assistant Peter Silverman visited Bujumbura, Burundi from February 7-8, 1992 to assess the state of political change in Burundi and to determine what role NDI might play in supporting the democratic transition process. The NDI team also sought to identify participants for an East Africa regional elections seminar planned for the Spring.

The team met with representatives of five newly-formed opposition groups (soon to be political parties), the Prime Minister of Burundi, the Secretary of State, the Director General for the Administration of Security, members of the Constitutional Commission, human rights leaders and representatives of the Church. The team discussed Burundi's transition to multiparty democracy, addressing issues relating to the legalization of political parties, the new constitution, and the administration of multiparty elections anticipated in the next year. The team's visit came following the completion of a new constitution legalizing a multiparty system. The constitution will be presented to the people in a referendum, laying the groundwork for multiparty elections.

Political and civic leaders from across the spectrum expressed the need for international assistance throughout the transition process in Burundi, and encouraged NDI to organize a democratic development program in support of the transition process. They indicated a need to enhance voter confidence in the administration of the elections, to strengthen the role of political parties in supporting the election process, and to develop a nonpartisan civic education campaign.

Cameroon

1992 is the 32nd continuing year of program relationships between AAI and Cameroon. Programs have focused on human resources development, strengthening business, trade and investment ties between Cameroon and the U.S, and, more recently, on democratization. AAI is represented in Cameroon by nearly 500 alumni of AAI graduate scholarships and short term training programs and by more than 60 visitors funded by USIA under travel arranged by AAI. AFGRAD

alumni in Cameroon include seven cabinet members, many heads of academic departments, economists and scientists. Private sector representatives include leading entrepreneurs, bankers and business officials. These alumni and others with deep U.S. attachments, form a strong cadre of persons who are involved with the evolution of democracy in Cameroon.

AAI has a strong relationship with the Pan-African Institute for Development, with whom it anticipates collaborating on this project. Importantly, AAI works closely with one of the leading businessmen in Africa, James Onobiono. Mr. Onobiono serves on AAI's AFGRAD Advisory Committee, has been a speaker at AAI conferences and contributes significantly to its trade and investment program.

AAI has been privileged to be closely concerned with the evolving search for democracy in Cameroon, including being asked to be a formal observer of the current election. AAI's president has had recent formal contacts with political leaders in Cameroon. AAI's journal, Africa Report frequently covers the sometimes rocky road to democracy in the country. AAI's representative in Cameroon, Chief Steven Okang, is located in Yaounde and a well-known educator and senior statesman.

NDI

At the request of the Prime Minister of Cameroon, and with the approval of opposition parties, NDI organized a multi-national diagnostic and needs assessment mission that visited Cameroon September 9-17, 1991 to evaluate the democratization process. The mission met with Prime Minister Hayatou and a wide range of government officials responsible for the democratization process, representatives of the political parties and civic associations, and other observers of the political scene.

The mission was composed of five delegation members, assisted by two NDI staffers. It was led by Keba Mbaye, a former Chief Justice of Senegal, Vice President of the International Court of Justice and President of the Commission on Electoral law Reform of Senegal; Gail Shaffer, the Secretary of State for the State of New York; Francois Frison-Roche of France, a constitutional law expert and President of the Démocratie Sans Frontières organization; and Esteban Caballero of Paraguay, Executive Director of the Center for Democratic Studies. The team spent the initial 4 days in Yaounde for introductory briefings and meetings and then divided, with one group visiting the anglophone section of Cameroon and the other visiting the northern, Moslem part of the country. The group then rejoined in the commercial capital of Douala prior to returning to Yaounde for final meetings.

The mission's mandate was to examine three main aspects of the democratization process. These included a draft electoral code recently proposed by the government, a draft access to media code and constitutional issues relevant to the development of multi-party democracies. The purpose of the mission was not to take sides on salient questions such as the debate over whether to convene a national conference, or attempt to mediate the Cameroonian political process, but rather to present an informed and comparative international perspective on the institutional aspects of democratization cited above.

The NDI mission collected information relating to the specific terms of its mandate. The mission's report emphasized that electoral process could clearly be a means of resolving the deep

differences that exist, but only if it were to embody certain fundamental principles of democracy, including the need for transparency at all stages of the political process; the absolute requirement of an independent judiciary; and the need for freedom of association.

Cape Verde

AAI

AAI has worked with the Government of Cape Verde since 1977. Over 150 students from Cape Verde have received training under AAI-administered programs including an exceptional number of leading officials who came to power in the 1991 democratic transition. In recent years AAI has worked closely with the President of the country helping to arrange visits to the United States. A close relationship also exists with senior diplomats from Cape Verde including Jose Luis Fernandez, who until recently was the country's Ambassador to the U.S. and was Dean of the Washington diplomatic corps. These good relationships continue.

Central African Republic

AAI

Approximately 100 students from the Central African Republic have been involved in training programs administered by AAI. In addition, the Institute has arranged for U.S. travel for senior academics, political party leaders and officials from the country.

Chad

AAI

Since 1966 over 150 Chadian students have received training under programs administered by AAI. A small, but important group of visitors have come to the U.S. under arrangements made by AAI. These groups have included businessmen, key officials and a delegation of businesswomen. AAI's journalists have maintained contact with the newsmakers in this often turbulent country.

Congo

AAI

Some 50 Congolese students have received training under AAI-administered programs, many in recent years. These include the Special Advisor to the Prime Minister. AAI has arranged for the U.S. visits of several Congolese including an impressive number of ministers. A 1991 delegation of Congolese parliamentarians gave memorable insights into changes taking place and informed several small meetings on democratization sponsored by AAI. AAI has been part of official U.S. delegations to Congo and has hosted leading Congolese at its conferences.

NDI

A team from NDI visited Congo Feb. 7 to Feb. 11, 1992 in preparation for seminars on

training election observers held there March 21 - 22, 1992. The team met with the President of the Superior Council and several Council members. Two NDI representatives addressed an open session of the Superior Council on the importance of non-partisan election monitoring. The team also met with seminar co-sponsors, GERDES Congo.

The seminar leaders include Tessy Bakary, an Ivorian professor of political science at Laval University in Quebec, Humberto Noguiera and Irena Firla, members of Participa (Chile) and the Pro Democracy Association (Romania) respectively, as well as three members of GERDES AFRICA who monitored the elections in Benin.

The objectives of the seminar are:

(1) to provide civic organizations and political parties with the capability to organize election monitoring projects, in order to a) identify problems in the process prior to elections and recommend solutions, and b) assess the fairness of the elections themselves;

(2) to encourage civic organizations focussing on democratic development to be active in the post-electoral democratic consolidation period; and

(3) to assist interested elements in the transitional government with preparations for upcoming elections.

Cote d'Ivoire

AAI

AAI has established, longstanding, enduring contacts in Cote d'Ivoire through AFGRAD, personal contacts of AAI senior staff with Ivorian leaders and opposition, and specialized international visitors programs.

AAI is represented by Mrs. Cecile Imboua-Niava. 125 students from throughout Francophone countries studied at a regional secretarial training center in Abidjan, which was administered by AAI. Hundreds of Ivoirian students have received training through AAI's programs. Prime Minister Alassane Ouattara is an AFGRAD alumnus, as is H.E. Charles Gomes, Ambassador of Ivory Coast to the U.S. Several of the graduates of AAI's programs are ministers and officials.

In 1990 three Ivorians explored the political process in the U.S., examining structures and institutions from elections to grassroots participation. The Institute continues to arrange the itineraries for visitors. An article in the January/February, 1991 issue of Africa Report, examines the unprecedented demonstrations which took place as the country began a transition to a multi-party system.

AAI has worked closely with Ivorian Foreign Minister Amara Essy who has recently requested AAI involvement with building civic awareness in rural areas. During an April 1991 visit to Cote d'Ivoire, AAI president, Vivian Lowery Derryck, met with President Houphouet Boigny, Foreign Minister Essy, opposition leader Laurent Gbagbo and leaders of several groups roots NGOs and women's groups.

NDI

A team from NDI visited Ivory Coast from Jan. 31 to Feb. 4, 1992 in preparation for seminars on training election observers to be held in Abidjan March 14th and 15th. NDI representatives met with members of GERDDES Ivory Coast who will co-sponsor the seminar. The seminar will be led by an Ivorian professor of political science at Laval University in Quebec, members of Participa (Chile) and the Pro Democracy Association (Romania), as well as three members of GERDDES AFRICA who monitored the elections in Benin.

Ethiopia

AAI

AAI's relationship with Ethiopia has weathered the political turmoil of the last 20 years. AAI has maintained a program representative in Addis Ababa since 1960 and Addis Ababa was the host city to AAI's 1973 African-American Conference. From 1961-1985, more than 300 Ethiopian students received training in the United States under AAI-administered programs. These students returned home to accept high-level positions in the government, educational institutions and in business. AAI has maintained a very close relationship with Addis Ababa University, formerly one of Africa's leading institutions of higher education. Through this relationship AAI has cultivated a wide range of contacts among senior and mid-level government officials as well as numerous academic and non-governmental officials. In addition, AAI has maintained an on-going and close relationship with Ethiopian journalists and media persons through the international visitor program.

NDI

An NDI diagnostic and needs assessment team of electoral code advisors visited Ethiopia from November 19-26, 1991. The visit of the three-member team was organized in response to an urgent request from Ethiopian President Meles Zenawi to former U.S. President Jimmy Carter for assistance in preparing for upcoming regional and district elections. President Carter, citing the Ethiopian government's desire to schedule the elections within two months, requested that NDI send a small advisory team to Ethiopia as soon as possible.

The NDI team included: Judge Antonio Vitorino, a member of the Portuguese Constitutional Court, a former member of parliament and a participant in previous NDI programs in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and Hungary; Larry Garber, NDI Senior Consultant for Election Processes; and Peter Silverman, NDI Program Assistant. The team met with President Meles, members of the Committee on Elections and Nationalities of the Council of Representatives, several of President Meles' key advisors on electoral matters, leaders of two newly-formed Ethiopian civic organizations and U.S. and Swedish diplomats. NDI's visit provided technical information and practical advice to the election commission as it continues to develop an effective election system and prepares to administer multiparty democratic elections following years of repressive rule.

A second NDI team returned to Ethiopia from January 27 - February 1, 1992. The team consisted of: NDI Senior Program Officer Lionel C. Johnson; the former Democratic State Chair of Maine; Jean Jolin, Deputy Director General of Elections of Québec, Canada; and NDI Program Assistant Peter Silverman. The visit was designed to continue providing technical assistance to the

newly-formed election commission in the wake of NDI's November 1991 election advisory mission, and to organize a seminar on the role of political organizations in a democratic election process. The team focussed on the timetable for the upcoming district and regional elections, legislation by the Council of Representatives regarding political parties and the local administrative structures, and the administrative challenges facing the Election Commission. In cooperation with the Election Commission and the Addis Ababa-based InterAfrica Group, NDI organized a symposium titled, "Political Organizations in a Democratic Election Process." The symposium was designed to enhance awareness among political organizations and other groups about their roles in a democratic transition and to enable them to more effectively support the election process.

Gabon

AAI

AAI began to arrange training of 80 Gabonese students in the U.S. and Africa in 1965, prior to the development of the country's oil wealth. In more recent years relations have been with officials through the visitor program and special events. AAI's 15th African-American conference was hosted by Gabon in Libreville in January 1985. President Omar Bongo gave the opening address and the conference was attended by 14 Gabonese officials including senior ministers.

The Gambia

AAI

Gambian students began training under AAI-administered programs in 1968. Four current ministers in the government are AFGRAD alumni. AAI has arranged programs for approximately 135 participants under the USIA funded International Visitors Program (IVP). AAI has also arranged two programs for President Jawara and his party during their visits to Houston, Texas under the auspices of the Institute's Trade and Investment Program. Under the same program, the Washington Office arranged the national itinerary for a group of Gambian trade officials to discuss with U.S. corporations the trade and investment opportunities in The Gambia. President Jawara and Vivian Lowery Derryck served together on the steering committee of the African/ African-American Abidjan Summit where they explored their mutual interest in regional integration and conflict resolution, knows AAI and its leadership personally. AAI hosted the president at Gracie Mansion in September 1990.

Ghana

AAI

AAI's first office in Africa was opened in 1958 in Accra. Six years prior to the arrival of the Peace Corps in 1962, AAI placed American teachers in Ghanaian schools and technical institutes. From 1969 to 1981, AAI brought more than 3,000 students and educators to Ghana through summer study programs and charter flights. More than 350 Ghanaian students have received training under the Institute's AFGRAD program and are widely represented in the public and private sectors. At the request of the University of Ghana, AAI organized interview in the U.S. for over 100 candidates seeking faculty positions with that Institution. AAI is represented by Ms. Cecilia Bannerman,

placement officer at the University of Ghana.

In 1988, AAI sponsored a seminal meeting on Ghanaian economic development with Minister of Finance Kwesi Botchwey and 80 economists and development experts that assessed Ghana's structural adjustment program and debt. Outcomes of that meeting still inform Ghana's economic planning.

Africa Report editor, Margaret Novicki, interviewed President Rawlings on constitutional change in Ghana and transition to pluralism for the July/August 1991 issue. Public and private sector leaders from Ghana have participated in no less than 20 of AAI's conferences in the U.S. and in Africa. AAI has developed international visitor programs for Ghanaian visitors including a Supreme Court Justice, leaders in the media, and government officials.

Guinea

AAI

AAI organized a special manpower development assistance program in which nearly 200 students from Guinea studied in the United States. 150 teachers from the U.S., Canada and Haiti were placed by AAI in faculty positions in secondary schools, technical institutions and universities in Guinea, Ghana and Sierra Leone. A seven-member White House task force commissioned by President Reagan went to Guinea to explore ways of linking U.S. private enterprise with Guinea's development needs. Former AAI President Donald Easum was part of this mission.

Guinea-Bissau

AAI

Since 1975 students from Guinea-Bissau have received training through AFGRAD, African Development Education program (ADEP), and Development Education for Portuguese-speaking Africa (DEPSA). These students studied in technical and university degree programs in the U.S. and in Portugal. Seven AAI graduates are now working for the Ministry of Rural Development in Bissau.

AAI organized a conference on economic development and foreign investment in five African countries, including Guinea-Bissau. Under the auspices of USIA, AAI organized a Lusophone Africa, sub-regional project on which focused on political change. The delegation of eight was led by Mr. Arlindo Motta of Guinea-Bissau and its purpose was to examine the role of political parties in the U.S. and to observe mid-term elections at local and state levels.

Kenya

AAI

AAI's longstanding involvement in Kenya began with independence. Projects have ranged from human resources development to rural development, with an underlying emphasis on political development and pluralism. Approximately 400 Kenyan students have received training through AAI

programs, and students from other parts of Africa and the U.S. have studied in Kenyan schools. AAI has collaborated on projects with the African Academy of Sciences and the International Centre for Insect Physiology and Ecology (ICIPE).

Kenya hosted AAI's 1968 African-American Conference and senior level Kenyan participation has enriched many other AAI activities.

AAI was an active participant in the 1985 Nairobi End-of-Decade Conference of the UN Decade for Women, hosting a precedent setting meeting to discuss women and political participation. Featured speakers included Mrs. Coretta Scott King who also lead an AAI delegation to Kenya prior to the conference, Dr. Dorothy Height, president of the National Council of Negro Women, and Vivian Lowery Derryck.

AAI collaborates with the International Centre for Insect Physiology and Ecology (ICIPE) in a number of projects which aim to bring U.S. and African scientists into a more collaborative working relationship. Several articles have been published in Africa Report describing the political deterioration and charting the popular movement towards democracy which has been met with coercion and repression. For 20 years AAI has been represented in Kenya by Ms. Virginia Muriuki.

NDI

NDI's work in Kenya began in 1985 just prior to the third official UN Conference on Women in Nairobi, Kenya. NDI conducted a series of workshops on women in political development and the transition from enfranchisement to empowerment.

NDI held a series of three workshops in Nairobi to address the specific concerns of women as decision makers and active participants in the political process. NDI's first workshop, entitled "Women in Decision Making: Changing Public Policy," attracted over 60 women whose background ranged from community organizing to elected public office. NDI's second workshop focused on women in national government. The workshop was co-sponsored by the African-American Institute, and three female members of the Kenyan parliament. African panelists, including the Honorable Phoebe Assiyo, MP in Kenya, the Honorable Gwendoline Konie, former ambassador to the U.N. from Zambia, and other women in politics representing several developing nations, spoke of their experiences in attaining public office. The third NDI workshop brought together leaders of the women's organizations from around the world to discuss the organization of women's groups, and their role as a political training ground for women.

In response to invitations from a range of political and civic leaders in Kenya, the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) conducted a mission to the Republic of Kenya from February 3-7, 1991 to objectively assess the political environment and discuss preparations for multiparty elections. The delegation met with government officials, political party and civic leaders, and members of the diplomatic corps.

Lesotho

AAI

The first students from Lesotho to participate in AAI administered programs in the U.S. began their studies in 1962. Students from other African countries studied under AAI auspices at the National University of Lesotho (NUL) and southern African refugee students were sponsored by AAI at the National University of Lesotho. AAI's representative, Mrs. Mpho Ndebele, is located at NUL.

From 1976 to 1977, AAI, as a part of its activities to support the training of southern African refugees, assisted the National University of Lesotho in the construction of a dormitory to house 200 students. In response to an appeal from NUL, a grant of \$100,000 was solicited and received by AAI from the U.S. Office of Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs and the U.N. High Commission for Refugees.

In the period 1979 to 1992, AAI programmed international visitors from Lesotho, primarily government officials and members of the Royal Family. In 1991, The Honorable Mahapela Lebohlang Lebohla, Associate Justice of the High Court of Lesotho and a member of the Governing Council of the National University of Lesotho, was programmed by AAI to gain a better understanding of the U.S. legal and political system. In 1991, AAI commenced discussions with Mr. Caleb Nchafatso Sello, Executive Director of the Lesotho Council of NGOs to establish working linkages with this organization and its members.

Liberia

AAI

AAI has maintained important links and contacts in Liberia despite the recent civil war and the continuing crisis in the country. While many of the approximately 200 AFGRAD and PIET alumni/ae have left Liberia, a number have remained and are in leadership positions both in the Interim Government of Monrovia and the National Patriotic Government in the interior. Others who participated in AAI conferences or IV programs are now active professionally. AAI's program representative remained in Liberia during the war and continues to carry out AAI responsibilities.

LIBERIA WATCH, a coalition of Liberian and U.S. groups founded by AAI in 1990, has extensive contacts in Liberia. Its newsletter is distributed in the interior as well as in Monrovia. Many of the Liberian groups represented in the coalition have members and responsibilities in Liberia. LIBERIA WATCH maintains contacts with indigenous institutions and groups throughout the country. AAI helped plan the schedule and arranged an NGO and UN Consultation for President Amos Sawyer of the Interim Government when he visited the U.S. in Oct, 1991. The January 1992 visit of the Liberian Electoral Commission was planned by AAI, under USIA's International Visitor Program. The Electoral Commission requested AAI assistance for its future work.

NDI

In 1989, NDI launched a series of Public Affairs Forums in Liberia designed to focus attention on the role that civic organizations play in the promotion and maintenance of a democratic society. In May 1989, in cooperation with the Press Union of Liberia and the National Bar Association, NDI organized a forum on "The Rule of Law in a Democratic Society." In October

1989, NDI co-sponsored with the Press Union of Liberia a forum on "Freedom of Expression in a Democratic Society." The goal was to provide Liberian democrats with information that would enable them to organize an effective civic campaign to press for fair and meaningful elections. NDI's program in Liberia was interrupted when the civil war began in December 1989.

Currently in Liberia, ECOWAS-sponsored peace talks between Dr. Amos Sawyer's Interim Government of National Unity (IGNU) and Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Reconstruction Government (NPRG) have made significant progress towards establishing a framework for multiparty elections and a transition to democracy in Liberia. NDI has received separate requests from Dr. Sawyer and Mr. Taylor to organize programs to support free and fair elections and the consolidation of democracy in Liberia. Similar requests were sent to former President Carter.

NDI organized a three-day program of consultations to assist the Liberian election commissioners as they attempt to develop a plan of action for free and fair elections in the country. The five-member electoral commission of Liberia visited the United States from January 13 to February 2, 1992.

At NDI's suggestion, the commission assigned members to be responsible for legal issues, the preparation of a budget and proposal for funding, an election timetable, voter registration, recruiting and training of election officials, boundary delineation, public education, election day logistics, registration and certification of candidates, international liaison and coordination, media, and a campaign code of ethics. Each working group began to develop a plan to deal with the issues for which it took responsibility. Working with NDI staff members, the commission's new working groups prepared several important documents. With NDI's assistance, the commissioners drafted a detailed six-month election time-line, a set of legal guidelines for the new electoral regulations and a comprehensive budget. The members of the commission have also developed a spirit of teamwork and a strong commitment to their own independence and to a free and fair electoral process.

Madagascar

AAI

AAI has administered training for approximately 300 students from Madagascar since 1962. Graduates include 15 faculty at the University, three department heads, the director of a parastatal and the director of a national park. AAI has arranged itineraries for approximately 45 Title IV visitors, primarily senior government officials. Africa Report has closely followed popular challenges to President Ratsiraka, featuring an update in the September/October 1991 issue. Mr. Roland Razafinitsalama represents AAI in Madagascar.

Malawi

AAI

Malawians have come to the United States under AAI-administered programs for 32 years. Distinguished alumni include a cabinet minister, two senior administrators at the Reserve Bank of Malawi, agricultural scientists in Malawi, Zimbabwe and Nigeria and more than 10 lecturers in

higher education. Malawian participants in the visitor program have included senior government officials, senior academics and journalists. In 1990 a delegation of three visited the United States to examine aspects of the U.S. legal system on all levels. AAI is represented by Mrs. Ann Lipato in Malawi.

Mali

AAI

Prime Minister H.E. Soumana Sako is perhaps the most distinguished of the more than 325 Malians who have received training under AAI-administered programs since 1963. The Prime Minister met with AAI staff in Spring 1991 to share his views on the democratic transition in his country. He expanded on the history of Moussa Traore's downfall and the popular mobilization during an in-depth interview featured in Africa Report. Other AFGRAD alumni include three NGO senior staff (UNICEF, Africare, UNDP), agricultural scientists, economists in Mali, Chad and Abidjan (ADB) and academics. In addition to the Prime Minister, international visitors have included NGO representatives (TECHNAFRIC, Women's Union), senior government officials and directors of parastatals. Senior Malian officials, as well as respected AFGRAD alumni, have requested AAI's assistance in preparing the electorate for elections and for longterm help in consolidating recent democratization gains. Mr. Mama Tapo represents AAI in Mali.

Mauritania

AAI

AAI's relationship with Mauritania began in 1975. Since then AAI has administered training for more than 50 participants. Alumni of the graduate program include a Professor at the Institut Supérieur Scientifique and an agriculture expert for UNDP in Mali. Mauritania has sent senior representatives of government, the media and academia to the United States through USIA-sponsored visitorships.

AAI has sought to provide a forum for discussion of the Mauritania-Senegal dispute. Beginning in 1989, AAI, which enjoys a close working relationship with the Mauritanian Permanent Representative to the UN, has provided an informal, impartial venue for discussion of the issue. More traditionally, AAI has focused on human resources and economic development issues in its dealing with this resource poor Sahelian country.

Mozambique

AAI

AAI's relationship with Mozambique began in 1961 with the AFGRAD program. Throughout the 1960s, AAI provided training for Mozambican refugees in Tanzania and Zambia. Additionally, AAI assisted the Mozambique Institute in Dar-Es-Salaam to provide English-language training and travel grants to prepare students for study in the United States. Senior AAI representatives attended the independence celebration in 1975. In 1980, Mozambique was an active participant in an AAI conference on economic development in lusophone Africa. In 1985, AAI

arranged a meeting of foundation and university executives with then President Samora Machel in New York. In 1989, AAI organized a USIA-sponsored group project for three legal adjudicators and practitioners to examine the applicability of the U.S. legal system to Mozambique. More recently (1991), AAI co-hosted Mrs. Graca Machel, former First Lady and current Education Minister to celebrate the launch of the National Community Development Foundation of Mozambique. Senior staff of the Institute is in bi-weekly contact with the country's diplomatic envoys to the U.S. and the UN and AAI Senior Vice President Frank Ferrari was just awarded the Bayogama medal in recognition of his singular contribution to Mozambican independence and development. Mrs. Celia Diniz, an influential educator at Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, represents AAI in Mozambique.

NDI

NDI Senior Consultant Patricia Keefer led a survey team that included Carol Martin, a doctoral candidate in international affairs at Yale who is fluent in Portuguese, Stanley Greenburg, public opinion analyst and former director of the African Studies program at Yale University, to Mozambique from June 26-June 29, 1991. The survey mission team sought to fulfill the following objectives: 1) to ascertain the relationship between the ruling party and the government, the extent of de-linkage between the two, and the social base of current and potential opposition political parties; 2) to identify institutions and organizations that could potentially influence voters, including religious organizations, the print and electronic media, professional associations, and non-governmental organizations; 3) to ascertain the proposed time-table for elections, including the implications of timing for the opposition, and to identify factors that might prevent elections from taking place as well as factors that might mitigate against an outcome of "free and fair" elections.

The survey mission team met with representatives of the government, political parties, jurists, journalists, academics and human rights activists. They were also briefed by other international organizations and diplomatic missions on the democratic initiatives of donor countries. Upon returning to Washington, D.C. the survey team met at the NDI offices with members of the State Department, USAID, other policy makers and those interested in African affairs. The team recommended that NDI explore the development of a civic education program focused on the electoral process; 2) sponsor a roundtable dialogue with the Supreme Court and election officials on the legal framework for elections; and 3) include Mozambiquans in election observation mission in other parts of Africa.

Namibia

AAI

AAI has long been an advocate of Namibian independence. Its work has focused on support to the liberation movement and more recently support to the new democracy. In 1990, AAI honored President Sam Nujoma at its annual awards dinner as president of the newest nation and newest member of the United Nations.

AAI administers the Namibian Independence Scholarship Program and the Southern African Training Program. Graduates from both programs will be able to contribute to strengthening Namibian civil society and consolidating the gains of the 1989 election. AAI is ably represented in Namibia through its full-time regional representative, Louise Africa. Mrs. Africa has enormous

outreach and contacts and will be invaluable in suggesting Namibians who were involved in the Namibian electoral process who might work in other countries on the continent. AAI also works closely with Dr. Peter Katjavivi, President of the University of Namibia.

NDI

NDI has been active on the ground, supporting the development of democratic institutions and practices in Namibia since the final agreements were signed that paved the way for the implementation of UN Resolution 435.

Supporting Free and Fair Monitored Elections

In 1988, NDI began work with the Namibia Peace Plan and Contact Group 435 (NPP435). During the transition period, NPP 435 conducted a voter education program, monitored the coverage of the election campaign by the state-owned broadcasting company and organized a symposium to discuss the constitution for an independent Namibia these activities were executed through a co-operative agreement with NDI.

A multi-faceted program in support of the transition process was undertaken. The year-long program included a critique of the proposed electoral system by election experts from several countries; various joint projects with NPP 435; non-partisan voter education, fact-finding delegations for registration, campaign and balloting processes; and a published report on the UN role in the process.

A delegation of election experts visited Namibia between May 27 and June 4, while the registration law was under negotiations and as plans for the election system were being negotiated. Senator Alisdair Graham of Canada led the delegation, which included election officials and political professionals from Barbados, Botswana, Pakistan, the United States and Zimbabwe. The delegation's report critiqued the proposed election system and recommended specific changes. After protracted negotiations between the Special Representative and the south African Administrator-General, all but one of the recommendations were adopted. NDI subsequently published a comprehensive report, which was circulated to interested parties at the UN and to governments and nongovernmental organizations involved with the Namibian transition process.

NDI also observed the electoral process throughout the transition period. To this end, an NDI team visited different regions of Namibia in July during the registration period. Between October 31 and November 18, a seven-member team led by the Institute's President visited Namibia to observe the end of the election campaign, the balloting process in eight districts and the vote count in three district counting centers.

At the request of the chairmen of four U.S. Congressional subcommittees, NDI conducted a comprehensive study of the role of the United Nations in executing its responsibilities under Resolution 435. This report has been distributed widely throughout the world as one of the few independent studies of UN election verification efforts.

Strengthening Democratic Institutions

NDI continued its work following the election first by co-sponsoring with NPP435 a seminar

on the role of media in a democratic society. On March 18-20, 1990, NDI and the National Assembly of Namibia co-sponsored a working conference on parliamentary organization, rules and procedures, entitled "The Parliament and Democracy." The symposium was the first inter-parliamentary conference in Namibia and coincided with the first anniversary of Namibia's independence. NDI's President, Brian Atwood, led a delegation of eight parliamentary leaders from Botswana, Germany, Ireland, Mauritius, Sweden, Trinidad and Tobago and Zimbabwe, who spent three days sharing parliamentary experiences and techniques with Members of the National Assembly. Two representatives from South Africa also joined the program as observers.

Advancing and Strengthening Democratic Elections in Southern Africa

NDI chose Namibia as the venue for another first time event on the region. NDI convened for the first time leaders of 45 political parties from nine countries in Southern Africa to examine the role of multi-party elections in political transitions. Namibia was chosen as the venue because of the impact it has had on the neighboring countries in setting a democratic agenda. The international seminar "Advancing and Strengthening Democratic Elections in Southern Africa" from January 16-23, 1992 in Namibia. The seminar, bringing together international experts and local democratic activists was designed to strengthen the democratic institutions. This seminar took place at a critical time in the democratic development of Southern Africa. Zambia successfully completed their first multiparty elections in 17 years. Angola has scheduled democratic elections for the later part of 1992 and negotiations are taking place in Mozambique to establish a framework for democratic elections. The Conference for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) is anticipated to result in multiparty elections by 1994. Lesotho and Swaziland are also pursuing democratic reforms.

Discussions focused on the legal and administrative framework for election systems, the necessary political environment for successful elections, and the responsibilities of political organizations in the electoral process. Political experts from Cape Verde, Chile, Germany, Northern Ireland, the Organization of African Unity, Portugal, Sweden, the United Nations, the United States and countries throughout Africa met with democratic activists, political party leaders, election administrators, and civic activists from Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, Zambia, and Zimbabwe.

Niger

AAI

Nearly 270 students have received training through AAI programs, including two professors of English. AAI has arranged U.S. itineraries for many Ministers and other officials.

NDI

A team from NDI visited Niger from Feb. 4 to Feb. 7, 1992 in preparation for seminars on training election observers to be held there March 17th - 19th. The team met with members of the High Council of the Republic, the Ministers of Justice and the Interior as well as three Nigerien human rights organizations, the national trade union and journalist from both state and independent media. Four members of the HCR who had attended the NDI regional seminar on election observation held in Cotonu in November have joined with the Ministries of Justice and the Interior

to form an intra-governmental consortium that will co-sponsor the seminar, similar to those described for Abidjan and Cotonou.

Nigeria

AAI

AAI has had lasting and strong relationships with Nigeria and Nigerians for over thirty years. A full time AAI office was established in Lagos in 1961. Ms. Clara Osinulu, AAI's current program representative in Nigeria joined AAI in 1965.

AAI is represented in Nigeria by approximately 1,000 alumni/ae of AAI graduate scholarship and short term training programs, and by 700 visitors whose USIA funded U.S. travel programs were arranged by AAI. Currently, AAI has administrative responsibilities for the largest USAID funded family planning project in sub-Saharan Africa, Nigerian Family Health Services, providing a 50 member staff for the program, as well as services and commodities to other prime contractors. AAI administers National Endowment for Democracy grants to the Civil Liberties Organization and the Constitutional Rights Project. A March training workshop for women candidates for political office is being co-sponsored with UNIFEM and the Nigerian Association of University Women, an organization with which AAI has had a close continuing relationship.

Two Nigerian leaders, General Obasanjo and Mr. Gamaliel Osonode, Chairman of Intercommerce and Consulting Associates, are members of AAI's Board of Trustees. Many leaders of government and private institutions have participated in AAI conferences since the African-American Dialogues began in 1968, most recently Hon. Ibrahim Gambari and Professor Adebayo Adedeji. During the Second Republic, AAI developed international visitor programs for over 350 Nigerian elected officials sponsored by USIA and the Nigerian Government. Upcoming IV grants for Nigerians center on the U.S. legal system, political processes and civil liberties.

A U.S. conference on the Nigerian economy co-sponsored by AAI and the First National Bank of Boston in 1983, and a follow up conference in Lagos in 1985, co-sponsored by AAI and the Nigerian-American Chamber of Lagos, established AAI ties with public and private economic institutions. Members of the Nigerian Press have attended AAI-Nieman Foundation Media Conferences, and articles by Nigerian journalists have been published in Africa Report. Alumni/ae of AFGRAD and PostAf programs are found in the majority of Nigerian higher educational institutions.

IRI

Pre-election stage

IRI worked with a non-governmental organization in Nigeria, the African Democratic Heritage Foundation (ADHERE), to sponsor a conference at the University of Ibadan on "Understanding Democracy." The conference was held to discuss Nigeria's transition from a military regime to a pluralistic society. Eighteen papers were presented and over two hundred participants attended. Among those participating or observing the conference were Nobel Laureate Wole Soyinka, presidential candidates from the two political parties, other political notables, academicians,

military leaders, police women's groups, students, NGO's, press, and foreign diplomats.

The IRI also sent an assessment team to develop further programs which can be used in Nigeria's democratic transition. In 1992, the IRI plans to work with civic education groups in order to assist the Nigerians prepare for their elections and the full transition to democracy.

Rwanda

AAI

Since 1980 nearly 100 students from Rwanda have received training under programs administered by AAI. AAI has hosted meetings of the National Party Secretary in New York and has met with him and his colleagues in Kigali. Two dozen very senior officials from Rwanda have visited the U.S. under AAI auspices.

Senegal

AAI

AAI enjoys wide relationships with Senegalese leadership in parliament, government, the private sector and the media. These relationships are the fruit of extensive training programs (300 students under direct AAI auspices since 1964), visitor programs (around 75 senior visitors since 1979 alone), regular attendance since 1969 at AAI conferences by senior delegations from Senegal, special AAI conferences on Senegal (such as a special meeting arranged by AAI for President Abdou Diouf in 1985) and cultural activities which have engaged such leaders as President Senghor. AAI Representative in Dakar for many years has been Marguerite Vieyra. The political scene in Senegal is complex and is closely followed by AAI, as evidence by some five major articles and three political updates on the country in Africa Report in 1991 alone.

AAI has planned three Senegalese activities in Senegal in 1992. In April, the second ATLAS conference will be held in Dakar on governance for 200 graduates of AID-sponsored programs. It will be preceded immediately by an Africa regional conference on the same subject. Both of these conferences are directly relevant to the current proposal, for they will address issues of support and consolidation of democratic gains through the electoral process. Senegal's next election is scheduled for February, 1993. AAI's 24th Annual African-American Conference will be held in Dakar in December. Finally, in honor of David Morse, former Executive Director of the International Labor Organization, AAI will inaugurate a privately endowed program to permit one Senegalese to visit the United States each year.

NDI

Conference on Democracy

In July 1985, NDI sponsored the "Conference on Democracy in Africa" in Dakar Senegal. Led by NDI Chairman Charles Manatt, Congressman Julian Dixon, and President Brian Atwood, the conference brought together leaders from across the African Continent, including Attorney General Hassan Jallow of The Gambia, Former Prime Minister Maati Bouabid of Morocco, Minister

P.H.K. Kedikilwe of Botswana, Minister Hedi Baccouche of Tunisia, Opposition leader Abdoulaye Wade of Senegal, Former Minister of State and current Secretary General of the United Nations Boutros Ghali of Egypt and opposition leader Paul Berenger of Mauritius. The conference reached consensus on a range of issues associated with the transition to democracy in Africa. Summarized in the "Declaration of Dakar," the conference participants unanimously agreed on "the fundamental principles of on which a democratic government is based, i.e. the necessity for tolerance; the protection of human rights; a system wherein those who govern are responsible to the people; and strong political parties."

Reporting later to Washington, the American Embassy in Dakar commented that "Given the broad range of participants attending the Dakar conference, a declaration of any kind agreed to by all was a minor miracle. That the final document actually supported human rights and democratic development in a number of ways may be considered a substantial achievement."

Election Law Consultation

NDI was asked by President Diouf to send a mission which could independently assess the efficacy and fairness of the Senegalese electoral code, and suggest ways in which it could be improved. The team was led by Ambassador Donald McHenry of the United States, former U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations. The other members of the delegation were: Sooroojnundum Moosun, Chief Election Commissioner of Mauritius; Olga Blanc-Uchan of France, a professor of French and European constitutional law at the University of Paris II; Senator Peter Stollery of Canada; and Yvan Mayeur, a Belgian member of parliament.

The team's recommendations prompted the appointment of a special multiparty commission to make recommendations on reforming the electoral code and on ways to increase confidence in the fairness of the election process. The commission endorsed and accepted the NDI-sponsored team's recommendations, such as lifting the ban on party coalitions, lengthening the campaign period, facilitating political party poll-watching, using indelible ink to minimize multiple voting, developing a voter education project to stress the secrecy of the ballot, and establishing a more decentralized vote counting system.

Subsequent to the September-October visit to Senegal by the international team, the NDI staff drafted a comprehensive report containing 14 specific recommendations for changes in the electoral code. The final report included the government's responses as an appendix. The government appointed a multi-party commission to present specific recommendations to the government and national assembly for changes in the electoral code. This commission adopted almost all of the NDI team's recommendations and added additional ones. The commission's recommendations were enacted into law by the parliament and will take effect for national elections to be held in 1993.

President Diouf has since personally thanked NDI and has publicly credited NDI with being the key to bridging the gap between the government and the opposition over the election system, thereby helping the country to defuse a major political crisis. He has requested, and received assurances, that NDI will remain engaged in their election process.

Sierra Leone

AAI

AAI has a substantial base in Sierra Leone. The program representative has maintained AAI's contacts with alumni of AAI's human resource programs (approximately 200 persons). She has also overseen the approximately 100 refugee students who have studied in Sierra Leone institutions of higher learning under the Southern African Training Program administered by AAI.

AAI is well known in government and NGO circles through its activities as well as through the leading graduates of its programs and the Sierra Leone officials who have benefitted from International Visitor programs. The AAI African-American Conference was held in Sierra Leone in 1981, and the opening address was given by President Stevens. Mrs. Momoh, wife of the current President, was hosted by AAI in 1986, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs was a member of the AAI Annual Conference held in Lusaka, Zambia in 1989. AAI's President, Vivian Lowery Derryck received an award from the Women's Association for National Development (WAND) and gave the keynote address at the Association Annual Conference in January, 1991.

Somalia

AAI

The civil war that continues to rage in Somalia has disrupted patterns and institutions as well as destroying lives and property. There is no government. Before 1990, AAI had substantial relationships among the over 250 individuals who had received graduate education or technical training under AAI sponsorship over a nearly thirty year period. All of the alumni/ae of graduate scholarship programs worked in the Somalian capital, Mogadishu. Some are now in the U.S. The whereabouts of others is unknown.

South Africa

AAI

AAI opens its South African office in March, 1992, under the direction of Senior Vice President, Frank Ferrari. Although the Institute will have had no programs or presence in South Africa until this year, its contacts are extensive and will increase as the transition to democratic government continues and as South Africans in exile return to the country.

AAI has administered programs of education for South African and other Southern African refugees for thirty years. Some exiles were educated in the U.S. A large number attended African institutions of higher learning. In the 1960s and early 1970s, thousands of South Africans were educated in AAI-sponsored secondary schools in Tanzania and Zambia. More recently, faculty members of the University of the Western Cape have carried out research in the U.S. under a staff development program developed and administered by AAI.

South Africa's policies of apartheid have been discussed at AAI conferences during the past

two decades, and South Africans have taken part in the discussions whenever possible. Dr. Nthata Motlana of the Soweto Civic Association, Oliver Tambo and other ANC and PAC representatives have attended AAI annual conferences; White and black South African journalists have been part of media conferences sponsored by AAI and the Nieman Fellowship Program; representatives of the PAC and the ANC engaged in dialogue with the South African Ambassador to the U.S. on the programs of the last two seminars for Congressional aides in 1990 and 1991. AAI has arranged visits to the U.S. for members of the South African Institute for Contextual Theology in 1990 and for an impressive group of black educators in 1991. The Institute played a major role in planning the historic initial visit of Nelson Mandela to the U.S. in 1990 and in his subsequent visit in December 1991.

NDI

NDI began to explore program possibilities in South Africa in 1986. However, it was not until the Institute's work in Namibia and Botswana authenticated its credentials, that significant break throughs were made. After extensive consultations NDI began a program to support the movement toward democratic elections under a new constitution.

This effort began by having South Africans participate as members of international election observing delegations around the world. People affiliated with the United Democratic Front and the African National Congress observed elections in Chile, Pakistan, Bulgaria, Guatemala, Haiti and Zambia. In addition others participated in civic education training programs in Namibia, Zambia and Bulgaria. This exposure to democratic elections proved quite valuable to those South Africans responsible for articulating and constituting a new democratic South Africa. For many of them it was their first experience with multi-party elections and provided the opportunity to examine the legal framework, the practice of voting and the legitimate role of the international community in elections.

As a consequence of these activities, NDI began work with the Centre for Development Studies (CDS) at the University of the Western Cape to educate the grassroots organizers of civic organizations, trade unions and previously banned political organizations about the modalities of elections.

In November 1991, NDI and CDS cosponsored six regional seminars throughout South Africa that were election "teach-ins". An international faculty of political party leaders, civic organizers and election experts were selected by NDI as the instructors. They were from Zimbabwe, Zambia, Northern Ireland, Kenya, Bulgaria, the United States and the United Nations and were all veterans of other NDI programs. Some 750 local organizers and activists from the ANC, PAC, AZAPO, CONTRALESA, civic organizations, churches and trade unions participated. The program incorporated inter-active workshops on subjects of voter registration and the election-related activities of political parties, security forces, election observers and international monitors; mock polling stations where participants played out the roles of all those involved in the balloting process and actually voted (most for the first time); and a video presentation based on NDI's worldwide election experiences that presented the electoral process from the announcement of the election to the announcement of the results. Based on the assessment of this series of workshops, NDI and CDS are continuing the program in other regions of the country on a more expanded basis.

NDI intends to extend its civic education program, continue to engage South Africans in

international election projects and begin the process of observing the initial phases of the electoral procedures in South Africa.

Sudan

AAI

Approximately 70 Sudanese pursued graduate studies in the United States under AFGRAD, while an additional 80 pursued education and training programs under PIET. The great majority of AFGRAD graduates are teaching, mostly at the University of Khartoum and its branches. The Vice Chancellor of the University of Khartoum is an AFGRAD alumnus. The distinguished Sudanese scholar and diplomat Dr. Francis Deng, currently Senior Fellow and Director of African Programs at the Brookings Institution, is a member of the AAI Board of Trustees and will participate in this project.

AAI held its annual conference in Khartoum in 1978, and black elected officials from the southern United States, as well as a group of American media representatives were among the conferees who paid an extended visit to the country at that time. Among the speakers at the AAI Conference in Cairo in 1991 were Bona Malwal, editor of the Sudan Democratic Gazette and The Most Reverend Paride Taban, Bishop of Torit and chairman of the New Sudan Council of Churches. Bishop Taban's efforts to assist the peoples of the Southern Sudan were highlighted in an interview with Africa Report published in 1991.

Swaziland

AAI

There are approximately 150 alumni of AAI human resources programs in Swaziland. The AFGRAD graduates are concentrated in the capital Mbabane, and Manzini, in a variety of professional positions with the University College of Swaziland, government ministries, including the Ministry of Education, banks, and a few private firms. Southern African refugee students have studied at Swazi educational institutions under AAI auspices.

AAI has had contacts with many government ministries through the officials whose International Visitor tours have been arranged by the Institute. The Minister of Justice and members of the Judicial Services Commission, as well as members of the Information Service, and educators such as Dr. Lydia Makubu, now Vice Chancellor of the University College of Swaziland, have followed tours planned with AAI. The Minister of Finance of Swaziland attended the New York State Forum on the Economics of Southern Africa, co-sponsored by AAI, and Swaziland representatives attended the Annual Conference in Botswana in 1987 as well as the conference in Cairo in 1990.

Tanzania

AAI

During the 1960's 1500 refugee students from central and southern African countries studied

at the Kurasini International Education Center, a secondary school which AAI built and operated. Additional southern African refugees studied under AAI auspices at the University of Dar es Salaam and other schools. Alumni of AAI programs include nearly 185 undergrads and graduates, and 255 PIET and short term training participants. AFGRAD alumni are particularly strong in areas of management, agriculture, education and transport. From 1955-64 AAI provided teachers for Tanzanian secondary schools and technical institutions and later provided advisory services in education and rural development.

In March, 1992 AAI is holding its regional conference for field representatives in Arusha. Recently in 1991, three government and educational leaders visited to examine multi-party democracy in the U.S. Africa Report, interviewed former President Nyerere in 1984 and carried an interview with President Ali Hassan Mwinyi in 1990.

NDI

NDI Senior Program Officer Lionel Johnson and Program Assistant Peter Silverman visited Dar es Salaam, Tanzania from February 10-12, 1992 to assess the state of political change in Tanzania and to determine what role NDI might play in supporting the democratic transition process. The NDI team also sought to identify participants for an East Africa regional elections seminar planned for the Spring.

The team discussed Tanzania's anticipated transition to multiparty democracy, addressing issues relating to the legalization of political parties, constitutional reform, and the administration of anticipated multiparty elections. The team's visit immediately preceded the mid-February conference of the ruling Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) at which delegates are expected to ratify the recommendations of the Presidential Commission calling for a multiparty system, prior to amending the constitution.

Many Tanzanians indicated a need to enhance voter confidence in the administration of the elections, to strengthen the role of political parties in supporting the election process, and to develop a nonpartisan civic education campaign. Within this context, it was felt that NDI's anticipated regional election seminar comes at a critical time in Tanzania's transition to multiparty democracy, and will enable democratic leaders from Tanzania to address major political, institutional and administrative issues associated with the development of a successful democratic election process.

Togo

AAI

AAI has had a program representative in Togo since 1974. The Institute's relationship with Togo began in the 1960s when AAI operated Regional Heavy Equipment Training Center that served 450 participants from French-speaking African countries. Approximately 100 Togolese citizens are alumni of AAI undergraduate and graduate scholarship programs and over 380 persons received short term or academic training through PIET and other AAI sponsored programs. AFGRAD alumni are found in government service and at the University. Many of these professionals are with private businesses, banks, international organizations or are self-employed.

In the period 1979-1984, AAI programmed over 30 international visitors from Togo, primarily government officials. Recently, 2 law enforcement officials examined how a representative democracy such as the U.S. handled law enforcement issues. AAI has also developed ties with the Togolese League for Human Rights through contacts with two leaders who visited the U.S. during 1991-2.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs was represented at AAI's Annual Conference in 1987, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs attended the Cairo Conference in 1991. Africa Report has interviewed President Eyadema and given attention to the country's privatization efforts and its current political crisis.

Uganda

AAI

Despite a period during the Amin years when AAI's presence was limited, the Institute has maintained close ties with Uganda. Nearly 230 Ugandans are alumni of AAI graduate and undergraduate programs, and approximately 100 Ugandan participants have had U.S. training under PIET. While some AFGRAD alumni are still working abroad, in African countries as well as the U.S., the majority are now in Uganda, at government ministries, as well as at Makerere University and other institutions of higher learning.

In October, 1991, AAI chose to hold the inaugural, Africa-based conference of the ATLAS project in Kampala, with funding from USAID. Sixty five alumni/ae of U.S. educational and training programs attended the conference, and eighteen Ugandans participated in a followup workshop in project design.

AAI has sought to support the government of President Museveni in its efforts for Uganda's recovery from the years of dictatorial rule and civil war. Members of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Planning and Economic Development have participated in AAI Annual Conferences since 1987, and Deputy Prime Minister Ssemogerere gave a keynote address in the recent conference on "Can Democracy Deliver?" Since President Derryck's visit to Uganda and her discussions with President Museveni in February 1990 and May 1991, AAI has co-sponsored a conference on "The New Uganda: Investment Opportunities and Priorities," with the Synergos Institute, UNDP and the Uganda Government, and, with World Vision, held a special reception for Ms. Museveni, to highlight efforts on behalf of children in Uganda. AAI maintains contacts with UWESO, (Uganda Women's Efforts to Save the Orphans) and the new Women's Studies Department at Makerere University as well as university administrators. Uganda's recovery has been highlighted in several articles in Africa Report, including a 1988 interview with President Museveni.

Zaire

AAI

Approximately 200 Zaire alumni of AAI graduate and undergraduate programs, and nearly 450 individuals have received training or degrees through Partners in International Education and Training (PIET). A large number of those who have received graduate training are teaching at the

higher education level, in universities at Lubumbashi and Kisingani as well as in Kinshasa.

A large number of government officials benefitted from AAI arranged USIA international visits during the 1970s and early 1980s. Participation has been more limited recently, although a recent international visitor program for Zaire focused on the U.S. political system.

Zaire hosted the AAI Annual Conference in 1975 and has participated in 14 other conferences. Again, participation has been limited in the last 5 years, and has included at least one Zairois academic critic now living in the U.S. An interview with Zairian opposition leader, Etienne Tshisekedi, and two articles on Zaire including "Decline of the Despot" by Makau wa Matus have been featured in recent issues of Africa Report.

Zambia

AAI

AAI work in Zambia has been extensive and supervised by a full-time representative since 1974. There are over 150 alumni/ae of AAI's graduate scholarship programs and 70 former trainees under the PIET program. More than 1500 Southern African refugees trained at the University of Zambia and other institutions, including Nkumbi International College, which AAI supported and managed from 1967 to 1971, when the school was turned over to the Government of Zambia.

Zambia has participated in twenty AAI conferences, and AAI held its African-American conference in 1972 and in 1989. Former President Kenneth Kaunda was honored at the AAI Awards Dinner in 1984. Africa Report has provided heavy coverage of Zambian affairs, and Africa Report editor, Margaret Novicki, participated as an observer of Z-Vote with NDI and the Carter Center. AAI is sponsoring two members of the Women's Lobbying Group of Zambia in a workshop in March for Nigerian women political candidates co-sponsored by AAI, UNIFEM and the Nigerian Association of University Women.

The variety of organizations represented among AFGRAD and International Visitor alumni/ae is impressive, encompassing individuals in agriculture, science, university, and government. Others are in banking, small industries, marketing, and fine arts among other areas. Recent international visitors have included the Governor of Lusaka District, and members of the media who look at the media's role in the democratic process.

NDI

Responding to invitations from President Kaunda and other Zambian political leaders, the Carter Center and NDI formed the Zambia Voting Observation Team (Z-Vote) in the summer of 1991 to undertake a comprehensive election monitoring effort in Zambia. The Z-Vote project sought to promote the integrity of the elections, to build public confidence participation in the electoral process, and to complement and encourage domestic observation efforts. It would also provide the international community with an objective assessment of the process. The project received direct support from USAID and the governments of Denmark, Finland, Germany, the Netherlands, Norway, and Sweden and indirect support from Canada and the United Kingdom. Former U.S. President Jimmy Carter served as chairman of Z-Vote, and NDI President Brian

Arwood served as vice chairman.

Z-Vote undertook a range of election monitoring activities in Zambia. Beginning in August, the project sponsored three pre-election assessment missions, conducted training sessions and consulted with Zambian monitoring organizations, and established a permanent presence in Lusaka. Based on the information collected during the pre-election missions and from the on-site monitoring, Z-Vote prepared a pre-election report and distributed it to members of the Z-Vote delegation, members of other observer delegations, journalists and other interested persons, both in Zambia and elsewhere. For the elections, Z-Vote organized a 40-member international observer delegation led by President Carter and NDI President Brian Arwood.

August Pre-Election Mission: Assessing the Prospects for Free and Fair Elections

The first pre-election mission visited Zambia from August 18 to 24 to assess the campaign and the preparations for the elections. Swedish member of parliament Maria Leissner led the delegation, which also included Albert Tevoedjre, a member of the national assembly in Benin, and Ronald Gould, Assistant Chief Electoral Officer of Elections Canada. Eric Bjornlund, NDI Senior Program Officer, and John Taylor, Diplomat-in-Residence at the Carter Center, accompanied the delegation.

The mission evaluated the campaign environment, the legal and administrative framework for the elections, and the ability of competing parties to communicate their messages and organize their campaign operations. On August 25 in Lusaka, the team issued a statement highlighting areas of concern. First, the mission expressed worries about potential impediments to a free and open campaign environment, including questions about media fairness, campaign finance and the continuing state of emergency. It also expressed the concern that many otherwise eligible citizens had not had a sufficient opportunity to register to vote. Second, the team stressed the need for enhanced safeguards in the balloting and counting processes. Specifically, it urged modifications to the ballot numbering system, which potentially threatened the secrecy of the ballot, and to the plans to transport and count the ballots at district centers. Finally, the team urged the government to publish the new constitution and to set a date for the elections.

September Pre-Election Mission: President Carter's First Visit

A second pre-election mission visited Zambia from September 22 to 27. The mission was led by President Carter and included Chris Bakwesegha, a senior representative of the Organization of African Unity, Adele Jinadu, a member of the Nigerian Electoral Commission, and Michelle Kourouma, executive director of the National Association of Black Mayors in the United States. Accompanying the delegation were the Z-Vote Executive Secretaries: Larry Garber, NDI Senior Consultant for Electoral Processes, and Richard Joseph, African Governance Fellow at the Carter Center of Emory University. The mission met with President Kaunda, MMD presidential candidate Frederick Chiluba, and Electoral Commission chairman Matthew Ngulube, along with representatives of smaller political parties, journalists and leaders of various nongovernmental organizations.

President Carter raised for the first time, serious reservations about the electoral preparations, which he attributed, in part, to inadequate resources. Z-Vote representatives pursued the issues raised by President Carter in subsequent meetings with UNIP and MMD leaders, election officials and media representatives.

October Pre-Election Mission: Clarifying the Role of International Observers

After his visit to Zambia in late September, President Carter asked Lisbet Palme of Sweden, and Ron Gould to reassure President Kaunda and senior UNIP officials about the role of observers and to continue to press for specific changes in the election procedures. Palme and Gould visited Lusaka from October 11 to 14 and sought to make clear that the international observer delegation did not seek to dictate Zambia's electoral rules. They also sought to explain in more detail the rationale for some of the changes proposed by the earlier Z-Vote missions. At the end of the visit, Ms. Palme issued a statement complimenting the Zambians on the changes that had been made to ensure a more open and inclusive electoral system and expressing the hope that further steps would be taken to reduce tensions and suspicions.

On-Site Monitoring

Z-Vote representatives staffed an office in Lusaka from mid-August to mid-November to monitor continually the changing political and campaign environment. From this base, Z-Vote personnel assessed the nature of political competition during the campaign, the political parties access to the mass media, and the government's ongoing preparations for the elections. Z-Vote used this information to brief the members of the international delegation before and after the delegates' arrival in the country. Z-Vote personnel also established close working relationships with Zambian monitoring groups.

Training Programs and Organization of Domestic Observer Groups

On August 24 and 25, Z Vote, in conjunction with the Zambian Independent Monitoring Team (ZIMT), sponsored a training program for Zambians interested in organizing nonpartisan efforts to monitor the elections. International participants from Chile, Namibia, the Philippines and the United States advised Zambian activists from a host of civic organizations on how to recruit volunteers, organize and train a nationwide network of pollwatchers, investigate pre-election complaints, carry out a nationwide civic education campaign, monitor the balloting process and conduct a parallel vote tabulation. The following week, NDI advisor Glenn Cowan conducted two days of intensive training sessions on how to design and conduct a parallel vote tabulation for a core group of 15 workshop participants.

In September, Z-Vote conducted another training workshop with University of Zambia students interested in nonpartisan election monitoring. Z-Vote also participated in a subsequent training program organized by the Zambian Election Monitoring Coordinating Committee (ZEMCC) and assisted with and supported the production of ZEMCC training manuals. In addition, during the elections, Z-Vote recruited personnel from the local monitoring groups to conduct a parallel vote tabulation, which was used to verify the official results reported by the Electoral Commission.

International Election Observer Delegation

Z-Vote organized a 40-member international observer delegation for the October 31 elections. In addition to President Carter, the delegation included parliamentarians, political party leaders, election experts and democratic activists from across the democratic political spectrum and from 12 countries in Africa, Europe and North America.

Parallel Vote Tabulation

To enhance the observation process, Z-Vote organized an independent vote count, known as a parallel vote tabulation (PVT). Based on a random sample of actual results, the PVT enabled Z-Vote to project the presidential election results within a specified margin of error. While domestic groups or intergovernmental organizations, such as the United Nations and the Organization of American States, have performed such independent tallies in past transitional elections, such as in Nicaragua and Haiti, Z-Vote's effort in Zambia marked the first time that a private group of international observers independently conducted a PVT.

The Z-Vote program was able to contribute substantially to the democratization process in Zambia. Two Zambian organizations developed a nationwide network of domestic election observers. The presence of well-trained monitors educated the public about, and greatly increased confidence in, the electoral process, reduced the likelihood of irregularities, and established a model for other independent civic organizations in Zambia and around the continent. Zambian authorities received important input and advice from the international community about how their electoral system comported with generally recognized international standards and how to enhance the quality of their electoral process and administration. Election administrators at all levels were able to share and learn from the experiences of other countries.

Zimbabwe

AAI

AAI's involvement with Zimbabwe began in 1961 and has represented AAI's greatest education commitment in Africa, in part because of support for refugee students in the 1960s and 1970s. Nearly 600 Zimbabwean students studied in the United States in university and postgraduate programs. AAI also arranged training for 220 Zimbabweans in refugee centers in Tanzania and Zambia and in universities in Nigeria. AAI was represented at Zimbabwe's independence ceremony and in 1980 assisted in the arrangements for then Prime Minister Mugabe's first official visit to the United States. AAI has held two conferences in Harare since 1980. At the request of the University of Zimbabwe, AAI periodically organizes interview panels in the United States to evaluate potential staff for that institution. Dr. Walter J. Kamba, for many years Vice Chancellor of the University of Zimbabwe until his recent resignation, is a member of AAI's Board of Trustees.

Albania

NDI

After 45 years of self-imposed isolation and repressive one-party rule, the communist Party of Labor of Albania (PLA), responding to mass student protests, scheduled national multiparty elections in March of 1991. NDI responded immediately to requests for assistance to prepare for these elections.

Election Law Consultation

NDI's initial plans called for sending a team of electoral code advisors and civic trainers in

February that would include Americans, Hungarians and Bulgarians with experience in civic education and electoral processes. Neither the Hungarians nor the Americans were issued visas; the Bulgarians were granted visas on March 9. NDI sent Miroslav Sevlievski and Krassen Krayev of the Bulgarian Association for Fair Elections and Civil Rights to Albania from March 14 to 21, 1991. The conducted extensive interviews with election officials and party leaders, and provided most of the information contained in NDI's March pre-election reports.

When visas were provided to NDI on March 22, a decision was made to send a small staff study team to assess the election process and to examine possibilities for future programs. While in Albania, March 27 to April 5, the team organized two informational meetings in which more than a dozen delegations participated. The first took place on March 29, two days before the elections. NDI staff remained in Albania until April 5, collecting information regarding electoral complaints and the violence that occurred in the immediate aftermath of the elections.

In an effort to increase confidence in the democratic nature of the election process, an NDI-sponsored team of election experts visited Tirane in November 1991 where they consulted separately with the political parties represented in the government to determine their respective positions on a new electoral law. The consultations were followed by a all-parties meeting at which the team sought to reconcile differences and review basic international standards for free and fair elections. At the conclusion of the meeting, representatives of the Democratic and Socialist parties agreed to jointly draft a new law based on the principals addressed by the NDI experts.

The NDI team included Bernard Owen, general secretary of the Paris-based Center for the Study of Comparative Elections, and Matthew Shugart, assistant professor at the University of California, San Diego and co-author of *Seats and Votes: The Effects and Determinants of Electoral Systems*.

As part of its long-term organizational assistance to Albanian democratic activists, NDI sponsored the visits to Bulgaria by Albanian political party activists and parliamentarians. During their week-long stay in September, the Albanians were able to observe preparations for the October 13 national and local elections, and the party organizations of two factions of the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF).

An international technical team of electoral code advisors, organized by the NDI, visited Albania from January 27-31, 1992 to assess the status of the electoral system.

IRI

Pre-election stage

In January 1991, the International Republican Institute (IRI), responding to the important events evolving in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, approved a program of pre-election assistance to the pro-democratic forces in the country. The program was never implemented, however, because the Albanian authorities refused the visa applications for Institute representatives. Nevertheless, the IRI was allowed to carry out subsequent programs.

Campaign stage

The opposition parties, particularly the Democratic Party of Albania and the Republican Party of Albania, requested international election observers be present to objectively assess the election process and serve as a deterrent against potential fraud by the ruling party. In that light, the IRI made the decision to send a small team to Tirana as soon as possible. The opposition applied pressure on the government to allow IRI professional staff to be present before, during, and after the voting. Institute representatives were permitted to enter Albania on March 25, 1991, only six days before the election. The primary objectives of this mission were to assess the pre-election environment and to attempt to secure visas for additional observers. The additional visas were granted, and the IRI fielded an eight person mission to the March 31, 1991 election in Albania. The IRI Statement of Preliminary Findings set the tone for those individuals and organizations who questioned the election process in Albania. The international press, opposition parties, and governments from around the world acknowledged that the statement was the most accurate presented in Tirana.

Consolidation stage

The consolidation stage in Albania was truly a pre-electoral stage. Since the Communist Party in government has been in power for almost half a century, and since Albanians had no ability to travel to other countries, it was easy to conclude that the pro-democratic leadership had had no experience with a functioning democracy. Consequently, the IRI developed a program to provide assistance to the nascent opposition political parties. First, the IRI formulated a document in Albanian on grassroots party development which was targeted specifically to the needs of these parties in their complex yet underdeveloped political environment.

The IRI also sent consultants to Albania to train the political activists throughout Albania using the above manual as well as focusing on issues such as: party organization, message development, media relation, and preparations for election day. In an effort to level the playing field for the opposition, the IRI provided infrastructure equipment transfers to the pro-democratic opposition to be used in branch offices where the opposition parties are especially disadvantaged.

Argentina

IRI

Consolidation stage

From 1988-1990, the International Republican Institute (IRI) worked with a non-governmental public policy research institution named the Instituto de la Economía Social de Mercado (IESM). IESM conducted projects of civic education about the economic and political aspects of Argentina.

IESM activities included research, publishing, holding seminars, and conferences. They produced a bi-monthly magazine called Orientacion, and a monthly publication to be used as a legislative alert device to issues. The seminars that IESM hosted were international and addressed by such dignitaries as former Prime Minister of France Jacques Chirac. The issues addressed at these seminars were privatization, foreign debt management, hyperinflation, and international

financial institutions. Furthermore, IESM hosted conferences on foreign affairs, defense and security, the role of the church, health care, and individual rights. These conferences were videotaped and aired through local cable television. All public events of IESM were prohibited 3 months prior to the elections in order to avoid any problems of campaigning.

From 1990-1992, the IRI supported the Foundation for Liberty and Democracy (LID). The grant to this civic education organization promoted youth participation in the democratic process and grassroots development. LID held workshops in methods to promote political participation, held seminars in electoral reform, published educational material, and held monthly round-table discussions.

Further training seminars were organized for young political leaders in party organization, strategy planning, functions of political parties, and the role of youth in political parties. LID arranged regional conferences in rural Argentina to bring together local party leaders. Finally, radio programs were designed and implemented to cover local issues, discuss constituent relations among political parties, and assist grassroots political development.

Baltics

IRI

Pre-election stage

Through a series of assessment missions to Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and the Commonwealth of Independent States, the International Republican Institute (IRI) designed programs to help these former republics of the Soviet Union. The three themes that were stressed as a need for the political opposition were (1) principles of organization and management, (2) campaign preparedness, and (3) civic education.

In September of 1991, one month after the failed coup d'etat, the IRI sponsored a practical conference in Moscow entitled "Building Foundations of Political Pluralism." Political group leaders and grassroots activists from across Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Russia, Ukraine, Georgia, and Mongolia participated in the conference which focused on the practical means of securing and safeguarding political pluralism. Issues addressed included political party education, comparative electoral law, public speaking, mass communication, public opinion polling, volunteers and get out the vote, party financing, organization and management, party development at the local level, campaign preparedness, party platform and rules, issues facing elected officials, principles of governance, comparative electoral campaigns in Eastern Europe, coalition building in parliament, and political economics.

The IRI followed this timely conference a couple of months later with 2-day training seminars in Latvia. IRI sent political activists to train the local campaign organizers through oral presentations, campaign manuals, and books. The written material was distributed in Estonia and Lithuania and working seminars are forthcoming.

Bangladesh

NDI

NDI initiated its program work in Bangladesh with a diagnostic and needs assessment survey mission in 1987. Contacts established at that time led to the participation of Bangladeshis in an NDI election observation mission to the Philippines and stimulated interest in NDI-sponsored election-related programs in Bangladesh.

In March 1990, a five-member multi-national team sponsored by NDI, which included members from the Philippines, Sri Lanka and the United States, observed the upazila (subdistrict) elections. The team issued a report that made recommendations on how to improve and promote confidence in the electoral process. The report, which was distributed widely in Bangladesh and elsewhere, suggested specific electoral reforms and emphasized the need to develop indigenous election monitoring programs.

Based on the findings of the March 1990 observer team and a survey team that returned to Bangladesh in October 1990, NDI initiated a program to support nonpartisan election monitoring organizations in Bangladesh. In January 1991, a four-member international team assessed the electoral process and provided technical training to domestic election monitors from Bangladesh political parties and nongovernmental organizations. In addition to holding training workshops, the team met with a wide range of government, political party and civic leaders. The team reported its findings to NDI as part of the overall observation effort and recommended that NDI sponsor an observer delegation to the February 1991 parliamentary elections.

In February 1991, in response to specific requests from political and civic leaders, NDI continued its support to election monitoring groups by sponsoring week-long visits of two election monitoring experts from the Philippines. In the two weeks leading up to the February 27 elections, these experts worked closely with several Bangladesh groups in the organization of nationwide pollwatching networks for the elections.

Because of security concerns related to the Persian Gulf war, NDI ultimately decided not to send a large observer delegation for the February 27 elections. NDI did send a four-person team comprised of an election-monitoring expert from the Philippines and three NDI staff members.

In a comprehensive post-election report, the NDI team raised several issues of concern, including problems with the voters list, attempts to vote by underage individuals and significant violations of campaign expenditure limits. Disturbances reportedly caused officials to halt polling in 34 polling stations in four constituencies. The team was also concerned that the public may have viewed the process as basically free and fair because it was administered by an interim caretaker government. The team noted that Bangladesh must work to ensure the fairness and success of future elections held under elected, partisan governments.

In response to these final concerns voiced by international and domestic observers alike, NDI sponsored a conference on "The Role of Civic Organizations and Political Parties in Strengthening Democratic Institutions" in Dhaka from July 26 to 28, 1991. The conference was designed with three objectives: (1) to enable those Bangladesh organizations that were active during the February elections to share their findings, methodologies and experiences in organizing and conducting their observer efforts, and compare them with the experiences of the international delegates; (2) to assist Bangladesh groups in improving and perhaps coordinating future monitoring efforts, particularly in

anticipation of upcoming presidential elections or national referendums; and (3) to address with the international delegates the issues of nonpartisan civic activities in the post-election period in support of the consolidation of democracy in Bangladesh.

NDI's program contributed substantially to the organization and development of domestic monitoring efforts. The positive outcomes from the sessions include:

1. Bangladesh civic and political party leaders publicly exchanged views and ideas with each other, in many cases for the first time.
2. The July conference increased the profile of various civic organizations and their leaders.
3. Individual consultations by NAMFREL experts from the Philippines in February assisted in the development and organizations of a nationwide volunteer network.
4. The July conference presented new ideas to Bangladesh organizations about how promote civic education, monitor the parliament, build coalitions, and lobby for democratic reforms. International participants also were able to advise on how to improve election monitoring efforts in the future, and they shared important information about independent vote counts, organizing and systematizing election day networks, recruiting volunteers, and building bridges between and among existing groups.

Bolivia

IRI

Pre-election stage

Working with its grantee, Fundacion Boliviana para la Capacitacion Democratica (FUNDEMOS), the International Republican Institute (IRI) designed a program of voter education and mobilization for the 1985 elections. FUNDEMOS sponsored debates among the Presidential candidates which it then broadcast, and encouraged voter registration.

Consolidation stage

For the next few years, FUNDEMOS published articles and organized many research projects, but its main activities in concert with the IRI was to train the trainers. Through workshops, publications, round-table conferences, and courses, FUNDEMOS taught political party leaders, local community leaders, teachers, students, peasants, and the leaders of Indian villages how to train the local citizenry.

Leadership training was the primary focus for many of these sessions, but a whole melange of subjects were taught. Courses in the organization of a political party, local government, parliamentary debate, and the role of the municipality in a democratic state were stressed. FUNDEMOS also trained these trainers in the importance of civic education, women's groups,

neighborhood groups, and professional associations. Further topics covered were public oratory, group management, and ethics in political participation.

Bulgaria

NDI

On June 10 and 17, 1990, Bulgarians elected a 400-member Grand National Assembly in the country's first openly contested, multi-party elections since 1931. The Bulgarian elections were the last in a series of multi-party elections that transformed the political landscape of Eastern and Central Europe during the spring of 1990. However, unlike the other elections in the region, the contest in Bulgaria was won by a reformed Communist Party, which obtained a plurality of the votes and a small majority in the legislature.

As was the case for the elections in neighboring countries, the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) and the International Republican Institute (IRI) co-sponsored an international observer delegation for the June 10, 1990 elections. In doing so, NDI and IRI built on months of activities in Bulgaria designed to strengthen the political process after 45 years of repressive one-party rule.

Pre-Election Assistance

NDI's pre-election activities in Bulgaria involved comprehensively monitoring all aspects of the election process. To this end, NDI provided technical advice and material assistance to the Bulgarian Association for Fair Elections (BAFE), which formed in mid-April as a nonpartisan organization to promote civic education and to monitor the fairness of the elections. In late April, NDI co-sponsored a two-day seminar for BAFE activists. The seminar focused on recruiting and training volunteers to participate in civic education and election-day monitoring. Participating in the seminar were grass-roots organizers and election experts from Chile, Hungary, the Philippines and the United States.

NDI also organized three pre-election fact-finding missions, which visited Bulgaria April 23-26, May 13-17 and May 27-31 and included nationals of seven countries. The missions identified potential problems in the election process, encouraged appropriate modifications, and reported on the fairness of the campaign underway in Bulgaria. By visiting eight regions of the country and issuing well-publicized statements at the end of each visit, the missions also highlighted for Bulgarians the significance of the June elections in the eyes of the international community.

Election Observer Delegation

The 60-member international observer delegation included nationals of 23 countries. The delegation leaders were: Prime Minister Steingrimur Hermannsson of Iceland; Senator Robert Hill of Australia; the Governor of Vermont; and the Chairman of IRI. The delegation divided into 12 teams, and 11 teams were dispatched to sites outside Sofia. Most of the teams included at least one delegate who had visited the region previously. Upon arrival at their destinations, the teams were briefed by representatives of the local BAFE chapter, who also coordinated the teams' schedules. The teams also held meetings with local leaders of the UDF, BSP and either the Bulgarian Agrarian

National Union (BANU) or the Movement for Rights and Freedom (MRF). At the final meeting of the day, local election officials provided an update on their preparations.

The delegation leaders, meanwhile, met in Sofia with President Petar Mladenov, Prime Minister Andrei Lukanov and the leaders of the major parties. They reiterated the significance of a secret ballot to increase confidence in the democratic process.

The delegation visited more than 350 polling sites, including several where military conscripts were voting. By maintaining close contact with indigenous BAFE and political party representatives, the teams were informed of problem areas as they developed and, in several cases, were able to corroborate or to refute the allegations being made. Delegation members were also present at polling sites during the counting process, obtaining, where possible, copies of the results and transmitting them to BAFE.

On Monday morning, the delegation regrouped in Sofia for a debriefing session after which a statement was presented to the media at a well-attended press conference. A small group of NDI delegates remained in Bulgaria during the week between the first and second rounds. A statement issued by NDI on June 18 presented the group's findings on the handling of the complaints and its observations on the second round of voting.

Since the elections, NDI programs promoted continued long-term democratic change through a series of widely publicized seminars sponsored in cooperation with BAFE, renamed the Bulgarian Association for Fair Elections and Civil Rights (BAFECR). Held in July and September, these seminars for legislators from all four parties represented in the Grand National Assembly focused on parliamentary procedures, local government, and human rights.

Strengthening Democratic Institutions: Seminar on Parliamentary Procedures

In July, three weeks after the newly elected Grand National Assembly convened, NDI sponsored a parliamentary training seminar for approximately 45 Bulgarian legislators and advisors. The seminar addressed issues relating to democratic procedures and organizational structures in the GNA.

Long-Term Organizational Assistance: Seminars on Local Government, Human Rights and Civic Education

In response to further requests from BAFECR and GNA members, NDI organized, on September 15 and 16, a series of seminars on local government, human rights and civic education in Sofia. During the following week, NDI and BAFECR sponsored smaller seminars in six cities for BAFECR activists.

1. Local Government Seminar: A vital step in Bulgaria's democratic transition is the creation of genuinely representative local governments. The NDI-sponsored seminar was designed to expose GNA members to different models of local government as practiced in democratic countries. During the week following the seminar, the Council of Ministers produced draft legislation for local government elections.

2. Human Rights Seminar: On September 15, NDI and BAFECR sponsored a seminar on

human rights for more than 200 participants, including members of parliament, members of the two largest bar associations in Bulgaria and human rights activists.

Following the seminar, the team of experts met with President Zhelev. The team urged the President to take a leading role in encouraging the translation, publication and distribution of relevant human rights documents so that Bulgarian citizens could be aware of their rights and pursue government compliance with them. BAFECR subsequently translated and published a number of these human rights instruments.

3. Organizing Seminars for BAFECR Activists: Using the international participants as trainers, NDI organized seminars for BAFECR activists in Sofia, Vratsa, Plovdiv, Varna, Bourgas, Kurdjali and Pleven. The seminars, which were attended by as many as 200 activists, provided BAFECR activists an opportunity to discuss the role of the organization in local elections and human rights monitoring. The seminars outside Sofia were successful in directing the attention of BAFECR activists to the continuing role of BAFECR in institutionalizing the democratic process in Bulgaria.

Consolidation and Professionalization of Democratic Government: Follow-up Consultations on Parliamentary Procedures, Election Administration and Local Government

In November, NDI dispatched a U.S. Congressman and Robert Dove, Parliamentarian Emeritus of the U.S. Senate, to Bulgaria for two weeks to consult with MPs and their advisors on the development of parliamentary procedures. Subsequent to the visit, and drawing on several of the ideas developed in the consultation, Bulgaria's Grand National Assembly enacted legislation that established the Assembly's rules.

In early January, NDI Senior Consultant Larry Garber returned to Bulgaria to consult with presidential advisors and GNA members concerning the recommendations of NDI's international observer delegation to the June 1990 elections. Garber urged the government to convene a Central Election Commission to address the administrative issues of the election process so that irregularities and last-minute decisions, which had undermined confidence in the last elections, would not occur again.

Assessment of the Grand National Assembly

In late May, Robert Dove returned to Sofia to assess the functioning of the GNA and the effectiveness of its rules. Contrary to Bulgarian popular opinion, Mr. Dove found that the GNA had enacted a broad range of legislation targeted at transforming the Bulgarian political and economic structure. Having enacted a set of parliamentary rules that drew upon the seminar on parliamentary procedures sponsored by NDI and BAFECR in July and the prior visit, NDI believed that Mr. Dove could conduct an assessment of how the rules functioned in practice -- with an eye to helping develop a parliamentary training program after new national elections were held.

From May 24 until May 31, NDI sponsored a civic education program in cooperation with the Bulgarian Association for Fair Elections and Civil Rights (BAFECR). The program involved: 1) a weekend seminar in Sofia, which was attended by BAFECR activists from 68 cities; 2) visits to six cities to meet with BAFECR leaders, municipal leaders and BAFECR activists; and 3) a three-

hour evening town meeting for 250 BAFECR activists in Sofia. In addition, the international participants met with government officials and political party leaders to discuss preparations for the upcoming elections, including matters relating to election reform.

National Elections Assembly: Round II

On October 13, 1991, Bulgaria became the first former Warsaw Pact country to hold a second round of national elections. The elections for a 240-member National Assembly, mayors and local council members were the first under the new constitution adopted last July. Building upon its work in Bulgaria during the previous 18 months, NDI co-sponsored, together with the International Republican Institute, a 59-member international observer delegation. The delegation benefitted considerably from the information collected by two NDI pre-election missions and from NDI's continuing relationship with BAFECR that monitored the pre-election campaign, conducted an effective civic education program and, working with NDI advisers, implemented a successful independent vote tabulation.

IRI

Pre-election stage

Only a few months after the fall of the Zhivkov regime, the IRI sent an assessment team to Bulgaria in order to develop a program that would contribute to the democratic evolution. This survey team found a heavily tilted playing field favoring the well-entrenched communist government; however, they also found a promising group of opposition movements under an umbrella coalition known as the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF).

The IRI realized that there was an extremely limited period of time before the elections in which to level this playing field, which had been skewed by 45 years of totalitarian control. The IRI's programs provided training and infrastructure support to the UDF, and enthusiasm and optimism for a doubting Bulgarian society. Seminars and consultative meetings were conducted throughout Bulgaria with the UDF by experts from the United States and Western Europe. Some of the areas covered in these training exercises were: political party development, party organization, coalition building, political theme development and enhancement, communicating political messages, grassroots outreach, public opinion survey research and training in methodology, and poll watcher training and ballot security.

In order to transform the UDF into a competitive, viable, and more efficient coalition, the IRI also provided material support. Through this infrastructure support: computers, office supplies, transportation equipment, communications equipment, etc., the IRI tried to compensate for the decided disadvantage that the UDF faced.

Campaign stage

One week before the elections, the IRI sponsored a videotaped presentation by President Ronald Reagan on Bulgaria's most popular television program. President Reagan encouraged all Bulgarians to participate in the elections, emphasizing the excitement and importance of a truly genuine democratic election.

For the June 1990 elections in Bulgaria, the IRI co-sponsored an International Election Observation with the National Democratic Institute (NDI), as noted above.

Consolidation stage

Since these historic elections, the IRI has concentrated in three areas: electoral process training for the opposition parties, political party training for the UDF, and parliamentary training for the UDF Members of Parliament.

The IRI brought experts in electoral law and constitutional law to assist the UDF with the re-construction of the Bulgarian electoral law. Technical expertise was provided for the various political parties in re-districting, drafting election laws, voter lists, voter mobilization, secrecy of the ballot, election day activities, and campaign rules and regulations. Computer software and technical assistance was also provided for the tracking of voting patterns.

The IRI continued to assist the UDF political coalition even when that coalition fragmented. The IRI worked with all the factions of the UDF on campaign strategy and tactics, theme development, party organization and coordination, civic education, and evaluation of opinion polls. All political training programs were offered to those members of the opposition at the national and local levels. The IRI also wrote a training workbook (translated into Bulgarian) to assist party organizers and candidates from the national to the local level. These workshops, consultations, and written material prepared the political organizations for stability, and helped educate and organize groups for pre-election activities and civic education.

Members of Parliament lacked the organization to debate, present clear alternatives, and participate as a minority party. IRI offered training in parliamentary procedure, legislative process, press relations, and constituency outreach.

Campaign stage

As noted above, IRI co-sponsored with NDI a 59-member, 22-nation election observation mission for the municipal and legislative elections of October 13, 1991.

Cambodia

NDI

NDI Senior Program Officer Lionel Johnson conducted a diagnostic and needs assessment survey mission to Asia June 26-July 5, 1991. As a result, Cambodia, NDI will build on new and important relationships to develop sustainable democratic development programs in the context of an overall peace plan.

Chile

NDI

In May 1986, NDI and Venezuela's leading political parties, Accion Democratica and the

Social Christian Party (COPEI), sponsored an international conference in Caracas, Venezuela on the transition to democracy in Chile. Following an April 1987 visit to Chile by NDI President Brian Arwood and consultant Curtis Cutter and the participation of four Chileans in an NDI-sponsored observer delegation to the Philippine legislative elections in May 1987, the Institute implemented a major effort in Chile in the period preceding the referendum. As a first step, a NDI mission visited Chile in July 1987 to analyze the voter registration procedures, the organizational capacities and needs of the newly-formed free election campaign. In November 1987, NDI co-sponsored a three day seminar that assisted the free election campaign with its national voter registration drive.

NDI sustained its long-term efforts to promote confidence in democracy in Chile during 1988 through a series of technical assistance programs, grants for research, civic education and election monitoring, and the administration of the bulk of a special \$1 million U.S. Congressional appropriation. The grants were used to acquire computers for independent vote counting operations, to commission a national public opinion survey, to produce the literature and advertisements necessary to publicize a civic education message, and to compete with the government media campaign. From August 17-24, a team of eight NDI diagnostic and needs assessment experts visited Chile to prepare for the international observer delegation.

The International Observer Delegation for the 1988 Presidential Plebiscite\Referendum

Fifty-five delegates from 22 countries participated in the delegation. Twenty-six of the delegates were from the United States, 15 were from Latin America, and the remainder were from Canada, Great Britain, Liberia, New Zealand, the Philippines, Portugal, Spain, Sri Lanka and Switzerland. The delegation was led by Adolfo Suarez, the former president of Spain; Misael Pastrana, former president of Colombia; Bruce Babbitt, former governor of Arizona and Democratic Party presidential candidate; and Peter Dailey, former ambassador to Ireland, special envoy to the NATO countries and media adviser to Presidents Nixon, Ford and Reagan.

International Election Observer Delegation for the 1989 Elections

NDI sponsored a 25-member international delegation for the December 1989 elections to demonstrate support for Chilean democrats, to observe the elections in a credible manner and to expose a varied group of political leaders from different countries to the successful Chilean transition processes. The delegation included nationals of 15 countries; and many of the countries represented had recently experienced democratic transitions or were seeking to initiate such transitions. For this reason, much of the delegation's activities focussed on the lessons that could be learned from the Chilean experience. The United States component of the delegation was bipartisan and NDI president J. Brian Arwood served as delegation leader.

A major goal in organizing the international observer delegation was to afford the delegates an opportunity to learn from the Chilean transition experience. To this end, NDI organized a series of workshops following the elections. Chileans with whom NDI had worked during the past three years were invited to discuss their activities and experiences, highlighting key elements that have contributed to successful democratic transitions in other countries.

IRI

Pre-election stage

IRI sent a fact finding mission composed of members of the International Democrat Union (IDU) to Chile in 1986. This delegation representing eight different nations produced a multi-lateral report. Prior to the 1988 Presidential Plebiscite and the transition period to multi-party democracy, Chile had experienced 15 years without elections. This created a vacuum of information in which politicians and political parties did not know their relative strengths. Therefore, working with a non-governmental research group known as the Centro de Estudios Publicos (CEP), the IRI designed a program of public opinion polls to track and profile voter attitudes, concerns, motivation, and expectations. These polls were conducted on a non-partisan basis by CEP and its subcontractor, ADIMARK, a local commercial research firm which conducted the field work. The results of the polls were presented to all the parties and provided insight beyond the skewed polls of the government and the opposition into the preferences, attitudes, and expectations of the Chilean people. In 1988, IRI programming used the results of the surveys conducted by CEP. CEP published and widely distributed their results, and held seminars and meetings to present their findings. The CEP survey was seen as credible and independent leading into the October Plebiscite.

Campaign stage

The IRI sponsored an IDU observation of the October, 1988 Presidential Plebiscite.

Consolidation stage

In 1989, IRI in conjunction with its sub-grantee, CEP, arranged for 3 more public opinion polls to track changes in voter expectations, concerns, attitudes, and needs for the December 14, 1989 national elections. In 1990, IRI worked with the two center-right parties Renovacion Nacional and the Union Democrita Independiente in party training. Political experts from the United States and the United Kingdom were brought to Chile for presentations and workshops on party organization, issue development, coalition building, media relations, communications, and grassroots development. Smaller groups of representatives of the two political parties were brought in for training workshops in the areas of local organization, fundraising, platform development, and press management. Chilean party members were also brought to the United States to participate in campaign training school with other moderate to conservative political activists from Latin America.

In 1991, in order to make the Renovacion Nacional (RN) more responsive to the people of Chile, the IRI along with a research organization affiliated with RN helped establish the Department of Electoral Studies. The department designed an election manual which covered strategic planning, organization, communication, financing, and the role of mayors and councilors. They also established a computer data base composed of the voting records for the entire country.

Colombia

IRI

Regional programming

IRI worked with the Inter-American Forum of the Fundacion Simon Bolivar (FSB) for the

last four years. The FSB is an independent public policy institute which is affiliated with the Social Conservative Party of Colombia. The Inter-American Forum is a wing of the FSB designed to increase the exchange of people and ideas among moderate to conservative political parties in Latin America. The IRI sponsored annual conferences in cooperation with FSB to provide a forum for discussion of free-market theories and regional cooperation initiatives.

In 1988, the activities of the Inter-American Forum were to establish the foundations for multilateral activity through intellectual and institution-building exchanges. This allowed them to design a conference for 1989.

On December 6-8, 1989, the FSB held a conference to help strengthen Latin American democratic institutions. The "Democracy 2000" conference brought together representatives from Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Honduras, Guatemala, and Mexico. Discussions were focused around strengthening Latin American democratic institutions, the Hemisphere's mutual security, the development of participatory democracy, and the consolidation of socio-economic development. The results of the conference were published and distributed throughout the region.

In March 1991, a second conference was held, "United States and Latin American Relations in the 90s: The Way to Stable Democracy." Political and business leaders from 11 nations, as well as over 100 Colombians, assembled to discuss relations between the U.S. and Latin America. President Bush's "Enterprise for the Americas" plan was highlighted in this conference.

Costa Rica

IRI

Consolidation stage

IRI's work in Costa Rica was in civic education and legislative advice during a time when Costa Rica was surrounded by such unstable regimes as Manuel Noriega in Panama and Daniel Ortega in Nicaragua. The IRI helped support a political policy foundation known as the Association for the Defense of Costa Rican Liberty and Democracy (Association). The Association organized a Parliamentary Advisory Office to collaborate with the Costa Rican National Assembly to assist the parliamentarians to better represent the needs and values of the Costa Rican people. The Parliamentary Advisory Office helped with research into congressional issues, academic and legal aid to the National Assembly, and logistical support to congressional representatives. This office also wrote a "Parliamentary Letter" to provide weekly analysis about current activities in the National Assembly. The Association also provided political education programs which were designed to strengthen democratic development through the dissemination of political information throughout Costa Rica.

Czechoslovakia

NDI and IRI

Immediately following the Velvet Revolution and the installation of the interim government

in January 1990, President Vaclav Havel called on the National Democratic Institute for assistance in setting up the legal framework for elections. At Havel's request, NDI commenced a six-month, multi-faceted program that included consultations for designing an election system to meet certain political specifications; advising on laws and administrative procedures; training political parties in grassroots organizing and voter participation, sponsoring an International Delegation for the Election; and concluding with a seminar on the lessons to be learned from established democracies. NDI assisted in preparation of a new electoral law and administrative procedures.

NDI and IRI deployed a five-person team offering political development workshops to political parties competing in the election. NDI organized the training seminars with the Civic Forum and Public Against Violence and the respective parties running in their electoral alliance and IRI organized the sessions with the other major parties.

In April 1990, NDI sponsored a seminar on political organization at a conference facility in Marianke Lazne. Ninety regional and district leaders for the Civic Forum in the Czech Republic attended. The seminar agenda was designed by the Civic Forum to help their local leaders encourage participation in elections and political activism. NDI selected a team of skilled political professional principally from northwest European countries as presenters and facilitator for the workshop sessions.

The week of May 7, IRI sponsored a seminar and political party consultations and communications in both the Czech and Slovak Republics. In response to a Civic Forum request, one specialist met with the management of the state controlled television system, to review and recommend alterations in their approach to providing both news coverage and public service time for the election.

NDI and IRI cosponsored a 64-member international delegation to observe the election in Czechoslovakia on June 8 and 9. The observers from 12 countries came to Czechoslovakia so that they could report to the world on the election process. The leaders of the delegation were to U.S. Senators, Christopher Dodd and John McCain and the former Prime Minister of Ireland Garret Fitzgerald, T.D. The delegation included parliamentarians, party leaders, academics, historians and artists.

The final feature of NDI's program in Czechoslovakia during this period focused on civic education. In this forum moderated by Pierre Sallinger were democrats from all corners of the globe discussing with some of the leading intellectuals and politicians of Czechoslovakia the difficulties and pressures in the struggle to convert from totalitarian communism to democracy -- faced with the reality that transitions in the other direction are spread throughout the current history and no society has yet to accomplish the other. This symposium was filmed and presented as a documentary on Czechoslovakian television.

Dominica

IRI

Consolidation stage

IRI worked with The Freedom in Democracy Committee (FDC) to promote civic awareness, citizen education, and community development in Dominica. The FDC is a public service foundation dedicated to the political and social development of the island through public education and civic service projects. One objective of the voter education program was outreach to the rural communities. Therefore, the FPD held seminars and distributed videotapes; established a monthly newspaper -"Freedom Voice"- which highlighted political, economic, and cultural activities; and organized and implemented community service projects. A second objective was outreach to youth and youth groups. Seminars and sponsorship of sport clubs were organized to discuss current events and the benefits of democratic participation.

East Germany

NDI

A four-member NDI delegation observed the March 18 elections in East Germany - the first multi-party election in that country in 40 years. The delegation included Senate Foreign Relations Committee staff members, and two Washington-based attorneys. The delegation's report has been included in an extensive NDI study of the 1990 elections in East and Central Europe. This book is to be released in the spring of 1992.

El Salvador

IRI

IRI sponsored two delegations to El Salvador. The first was an international bipartisan pre-election assessment mission February 20-24, 1991. The second was a 63-member international and bipartisan election observer delegation representing 11 nations. Of the numerous international election observer delegations present in El Salvador, only the OAS and IRI were able to monitor balloting and ballot counting procedures across the entire nation.

Estonia

NDI

Following the August coup attempt, the government of the former USSR acknowledged the independence of Estonia on September 6, 1991. That same month, the Agency for International Development (AID) approved a program to work with leaders of Estonia on issues relating to (1) civic education, (2) legislative training/political party building, and (3) elections.

NDI embarked on the first stage of the program in October 1991 by sponsoring a technical mission to Estonia from October 16-18. The team included Board Member David Aaron, Program Director Thomas Melia, and Program Assistant Nadine Avdenko. The purposes of the mission were to: (1) assess the state of democratic political development now that the independence of this country has been acknowledged by all the world, including the former Soviet Union and the United States; (2) to expand NDI contacts with democratic activists and leading political figures; and (3) based on these consultations, to begin to implement the Civic Education program.

Grenada

IRI

Consolidation stage

After the fall of the Communist regime of Maurice Bishop, the International Republican Institute (IRI) used a two prong approach to help Grenada build a democratic nation.

1984 - 1987 -- Political party assistance and training was provided to the New National Party (NNP) in Grenada. This party, which consisted of various ideological factions, was one of the democratic forces opposed to the Communists. The IRI provided technology and construction of a party infrastructure and related public communications activities to strengthen NNP's ability to reach and service the citizens of Grenada. The IRI helped the NNP to fund a national newspaper called "The National", provided organizational advice, and brought in consultants to provide expertise, guidance, and political advice on the nature and content of a political party.

1984 - 1991 -- The IRI has worked with a non-partisan, voter and youth education group known as the Grenada Civic Awareness Organization (GCAO). This civic education group began with the assumption that voter education in the rights and responsibilities of citizens in a democracy and a familiarity with the norms and process of democratic government were required for the functioning of the state. For the last seven years, the IRI worked in close conjunction with the GCAO to bring about this belief. Through mass media programming, school lectures, and community service, the GCAO has helped the democratic development of Grenada. They have arranged voter registration and mobilization drives, sponsored debates among the various political parties, promoted get out the vote drives, encouraged youth understanding of the democratic process, and strongly supported pride in Grenada.

Guatemala

NDI

A 27-member international delegation monitored the November 11, 1990 Guatemala election that led to the first transfer of power between civilian government in 35 years. The delegation, which observed the voting and counting in cities throughout the country, was organized to demonstrate international support for free and fair elections and for the democratic process in Guatemala.

Pre-Election Advance Teams

NDI sponsored two pre-election delegations to Guatemala. A three-member NDI team visited Guatemala from August 15-20, 1990 to gather information on the political situation in the country, acquire information on the electoral process and develop a program in anticipation of the elections.

NDI also sponsored a seven-member international team, led by former Arizona governor and Democratic Party presidential aspirant Bruce Babbitt, that visited Guatemala from September 20-24,

1990. Both delegations met with the leading presidential candidates, the Supreme Electoral Tribunal, government officials, senior military officers, human rights activists, representatives of the private sector and unions, academics, journalists and members of think tanks and civic education groups. A preliminary report based on the two delegation's findings and assessment of Guatemala's pre-election environment was released by NDI in October 1990.

NDI Forum

At the conclusion of the pre-election mission in September, NDI organized a forum on comparative democratic experiences. The international delegation members were joined by Guatemalan participants, including the president of the Supreme Electoral Tribunal, presidential candidates, government and church officials, human rights activists, members of the private sector and unions, academics and military officers. The forum provided a unique opportunity for the members of the NDI delegation to relate experiences from their respective countries' histories.

Several Guatemalan participants noted that it was the first time leading political figures, military officers and human rights activists were present in the same forum. Many said it was a significant step in the promotion of dialogue among different sectors of Guatemalan society. The consensus among the international and Guatemalan participants was that elections are a means to establish the conditions under which democracy can flourish.

International observer delegation

NDI organized a 27-member international delegation to observe the first round of the elections on November 11. The observer group, which was led by Bruce Babbitt, included members of the September pre-election delegation, as well as other election experts and political figures from 14 countries. The members of the delegation collectively represented a wide spectrum of democratic tendencies.

Because the second round was expected to be as free and fair as the first round, NDI decided not to send a delegation for the presidential run-off on January 6, 1991. An NDI staff member was present, however, to gather final figures on registration, turnout and results and to interview political and electoral officials.

IRI

Pre-election stage

The International Republican Institute through organizations in Guatemala conducted public opinion surveys regarding the attitudes of the population toward democracy and the 1985 general elections. The IRI also produced a video program on voter participation and engaged in a media campaign to explain the mechanism and implication of voting. This campaign was guided by the information obtained in the survey. Special emphasis was placed on enfranchising the rural non-Spanish speaking communities.

Consolidation stage

The IRI worked with the non-governmental research and civic education organization, Centro

de Estudios Economicos-Sociales (CEES). CEES held international conferences and seminars for the citizens of Guatemala. Discussions about market-based solutions to national economic problems, youth education and the role of their vote, and Central American issues took place.

CEES also contracted, analyzed, and distributed a nationwide poll for all political parties. They held public policy forums which brought together youth leaders with senior politicians. Furthermore, the CEES conducted research for the Guatemalan Congress and provided legislative analysis.

Guyana

NDI

In mid-May 1991, NDI organized an international training seminar to assist Guyana's political parties and civic groups enhance confidence in upcoming national elections in Georgetown. Topics at the May 11-12 symposium included scrutinizing voter registration lists, election-day pollwatching, the role of nonpartisan civic groups and interacting with international observers.

Leaders of six Guyanese political parties and representatives of civic organizations participated in a series of workshop sessions with a panel of experts including Billie Miller, MP from Barbados; Selwyn Ryan, a pollster from Trinidad and Tobago; Danielle Bazin, a political campaign manager from Haiti; Bernard Craighead, a U.S. political campaign manager and NDI Program Director Thomas Melia.

NDI has subsequently provided the Guyanese Electoral Assistance Bureau (EAB) with financial assistance and technical training to monitor national elections. The agreement between NDI and the newly-created EAB was announced at an August, 1991 press conference during a visit to Georgetown.

From October 22-27, 1991, NDI sent attorney Robin Carnahan to Guyana to work with the EAB on finalizing their study of the preliminary voter list. The EAB confirmed that the voter list was not sufficient to allow for adequate participation in balloting. Subsequent to the findings, which were echoed by a delegation from the Carter Center of Emory University, the government postponed the elections so that corrections could be made to the registry.

Haiti

NDI

NDI has supported Haiti's democratic development since the immediate post-Duvalier period. In August 1986, NDI sponsored a seminar on "The Role of Political Parties in the Transitional State," in San Juan, Puerto Rico. Prompted by this program, Haitian political leaders called for the creation of an independent electoral commission. This proposal was the precursor to the Provisional Electoral Council (CEP) established by Haiti's 1987 Constitution. NDI followed the Puerto Rico seminar with a visit by international political leaders and election experts in December 1986. In addition to a series of recommendations relating to the technical aspects of election administration, the delegation's comprehensive report called for better communication among

democratic groups, stronger political parties and a massive civic education campaign. In March 1987, an NDI team observed the successful constitutional referendum and, in June of that year, conducted a political party-building seminar in Port-au-Prince.

In October 1987, President Jimmy Carter and Prime Minister George Price of Belize led a Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government/NDI mission intended to help put Haiti's election process back on track following the assassination of presidential candidate Yves Volé. In November 1987, Prime Minister Price and NDI president Brian Atwood led an international observer delegation to the general elections, which were subsequently aborted due to violence. The delegation's report on the election process, which condemned the failure of the interim government to provide security on election day, was published subsequently by NDI.

1990 Pre-Election Survey Mission

The NDI/Council program in support of the 1990 in Haiti resulted from the recommendations of the NDI survey team, led by Senior Program Officer Lionel Johnson, that visited Port-au-Prince from May 20-24, and subsequently by an invitation from Provisional President Ertha Pascal Trouillot to President Carter and NDI. During the May survey mission, the team met with President Trouillot, Armed Forces Chief of Staff Herard Abraham, members of the CEP, Interior Minister Joseph Maxi, and a broad range of political and civic leaders.

July 1990 Monitoring Mission

On July 25-26, 1990, President Carter, leading an NDI/Council delegation, visited Haiti to demonstrate the international community's support for the Haitian electoral process. NDI convened a two-day seminar on the "Role of Political Parties in an Electoral Process" July 27-29 immediately following the NDI/Council monitoring mission. The seminar brought together three mid-level members from each of seven prominent political parties in Haiti. They were joined by international experts who shared their experience and expertise on election monitoring.

A direct outcome of the seminar was the establishment of the Haitian Association for Free Elections (AHPEL). NDI continued to work with AHPEL throughout the election process and sponsored training workshops for AHPEL activists in support of the association's objectives.

September 1990 Monitoring Mission

President Carter led a second NDI/Council mission to Haiti from September 20-22. The immediate goal was to move forward the country's election process, which had stalled. The delegation encouraged everyone with whom they met to recommit themselves to moving forward with the election process. Soon after the delegation's meeting with the CEP, a revised election calendar was published, providing for a registration program beginning October 5, with general elections planned for December 16.

December 13-17 Election Observer Mission

The NDI/Council international observer delegation assembled in Port-au-Prince on December 14. The delegation received briefings on election procedures from representatives of the CEP, the armed forces, and the UN and OAS observer teams.

On election day, the observer teams were at polling sites prior to the 6 a.m. opening. In the evening, the delegation observed the orderly conclusion of voting and the counting of ballots. By about mid-night, the OAS and UN "quick-count" confirmed the impressions and the informal survey of the delegation: Aristide had won the election by a landslide. At a mid-day news conference, the delegation issued a statement congratulating Trouillot, the armed forces, the CEP and the people of Haiti.

AID Cooperative Agreement

In support of democracy in Haiti, NDI entered into a four-year cooperative agreement with AID. NDI's program was to support two critical aspects of the consolidation of democracy in that country. First, NDI's program was to assist Haiti's civilian and military leaders to develop mechanisms to integrate the Armed Forces of Haiti into civilian society. Focusing on the role of the armed forces in a democracy, the program will stress the important distinction between internal security and national defense, supremacy of civilian authorities (both executive and legislative) over the armed forces, and training of civilians on security issues. NDI has had extensive experience with civil-military relations, having sponsored a series of programs on the issue in Argentina, Uruguay and Panama.

Secondly, NDI was to continue its support for developing Haiti's political parties. By working with the parties represented in the new National Assembly, the program will focus on party structure and consensus-building in the legislative context. Outside of the legislature, NDI envisioned assistance to the parties which was to improve their organizational structures, (particularly at the grass-roots level), thereby enhancing their ability to compete responsibly and effectively in future elections, mobilize the constructive engagement of the population in the democratic process, and serve constituent interests.

Honduras

IRI

Campaign stage

An advance team visited Honduras from October 31 - November 4, 1989 to make the necessary preparations for the observer delegation. The team sought to explain the objectives of the observer delegation to Honduran government representatives, electoral officials, political party representatives, and others; and to analyze the political situation and electoral regulations.

IRI then composed an 18-member delegation which represented eight nations to observe the November 26, 1989 elections. Among the usual objectives of an observer mission was the further goal of providing an opportunity for regional political leaders to observe what was expected to be a peaceful and fair national election. In fact, the National Electoral Tribunal (TNE) of Honduras was asked to select eight delegation members. To make it impartial each of the four parties represented on that body were asked to nominate two international participants to be invited by the IRI.

Hong Kong

IRI

Pre-election stage

IRI co-hosted a conference with the National Democratic Institute (NDI) and the Hong Kong International Council of Young Leaders called "How to get Your Votes." The conference was attended by political party leaders, candidates, party activists, and other interested individuals. The topics covered were voter turnout, public opinion research, message development, and campaign communications.

Campaign stage

The IRI conducted a legal/political analysis of Hong Kong's electoral law and practice. The analysis was intended to determine the legal and political impediments to a free and fair electoral process in Hong Kong. The results of this analysis were written as background to the election observation mission.

The IRI fielded an international election observation delegation to observe Hong Kong's Legislative Council elections. The eight-member delegation which represented four different nations was the largest mission of observers to view these elections.

The IRI hosted the Hong Kong government's delegation to the United States where it presented its technical findings on structural impediments to democratic development in Hong Kong to the technical professionals who will be drafting and implementing Hong Kong's electoral reform.

Hungary

NDI

Since May 1989, NDI has implemented a broad, nonpartisan program in support of democratic development, in cooperation with the leading political organization emerging in Hungary.

Election Observing

NDI and IRI cosponsored a 59-member international observer delegation to the March 25, 1990 national elections.

Long-Term Support of Democratic Institutions

Municipal Government:

In December 1990, NDI brought municipal government experts to Hungary to provide technical advice to Budapest's newly elected mayor and city council members. These experts consulted on various models of local government, as well as selected issues raised by Hungarian officials including urban population growth, infrastructure improvements and tax systems.

This program had three components: 1) strengthening the Hungarian parliamentary parties; 2) sponsorship of seminars on key transition issues; and 3) consultations with newly democratic executive offices to facilitate the transition (broadened from an exclusive focus on the prime minister's office in the original proposal to other executives, including municipal officials).

From April 6 until April 12, 1991 NDI conducted a symposium entitled "Parliamentary Rules of Procedure in Democratic Legislatures."

Long-Term Organizational Support for Nonpartisan Civic Education Organizations

Following the historic elections of 1990 in Central and Eastern Europe, young democratic leaders – both in and out of the revived parliaments – expressed a desire to cooperate on a regional basis in the area of public education and training in the rights and responsibilities of a democratic society.

Leading members of the Federation of Young Democrats (FIDESZ) of Hungary, a revolutionary movement, which has become a parliamentary party, took the initiative to form a nonpartisan organization that would maintain contacts with student federations, young members of parliaments and other democratic activists throughout the region in order to share information and experiences. In this spirit, the Democracy After Communism (DAC) Foundation was established in the fall of 1990 to promote regional cooperation among the new generation of democrats emerging from the formerly totalitarian regime. It is the premise of the DAC Foundation that young people played a fundamental role in the transformations that took place, and that because they are freer from the habits of the previous system they possess the potential to be the leaders and politicians of the future.

NDI and DACs co-sponsored a conference in Budapest, Hungary from December 6-8, 1991 to discuss how to reduce the ethnic and religious tensions that have become common denominators in the emerging democracies in Central and Eastern Europe. The conference, titled "Is Europe Big Enough for All Europeans?" brought together 75 young democratic activists, journalists and scholars from as far north as Estonia and as far south as Albania. This conference marked a concerted effort on the part of democratic activists in the region to transcend national boundaries to confront common obstacles in their democratic transition.

IRI

Pre-election stage

The International Republican Institute (IRI) sent an assessment team to Hungary in October of 1989 in order to prepare for the November 26 plebiscite.

On February 8 and 9, 1990, the IRI co-sponsored a "Colloquium on Hungarian Electoral Law" with the National Election Committee (NEC) and the Hungarian Lawyers Association (HLA). This colloquium was held to help legally registered parties, regardless of size, become exposed to the full scope of a complex and new electoral system. Over 50% of the registered parties attended and over 100 activists were present. Besides the political parties members of the NEC, the HLA, the Ministry of Interior, and U.S. experts on electoral law came together to provide a forum for the airing of questions about Hungarian electoral practices. The colloquium was widely covered by the

newspaper media and a one hour special was devoted to the colloquium on Hungary's most popular weekend television show "Lapzarta". The results of the Colloquium were published in Budapest in both Hungarian and English.

The Republican Institute also worked to assist the Hungarian Democratic Forum and the National Smallholder's Party, through training and material assistance, to prepare for the 1990 elections.

Campaign stage

The IRI co-sponsored with the National Democratic Institute (NDI) a 64-member, 16-nation election observation for the March 25, 1990 Hungarian election.

Furthermore, the IRI worked extensively with the National Election Commission to produce five television ads and three radio ads targeted to the voters to encourage them to take interest in democratic politics and come out to vote. There had been a threat that the 40% threshold for voter turnout in the fall elections would not be reached, this last minute work by the IRI at the request of the NEC was deemed as highly effective and influential to the success of the election process.

Kuwait

IRI

Pre-election stage

Having been asked by individual Kuwaitis who believed the future of their country lied in a return to the 1962 Constitution and a working, viable Parliament, the International Republican Institute (IRI) sponsored a report on the alternatives for democratization in Kuwait. This report was published in February of 1991--before the end of the Persian Gulf War.

In March of 1991, the IRI sponsored a six-person assessment team to visit Kuwait City. This team was led by three Members of Congress which proved to be vital in guaranteeing permission from the Kuwaiti government to conduct the mission. They discovered that the move for a return to the parliamentary system was not only based in the academic community or within the "traditional" opposition. The war had developed a new politically active group--Kuwaitis who had stayed in Kuwait throughout the occupation and fought the Iraqis either with guns or with civil disobedience.

In April, the IRI sponsored a conference, "Political Participation and Constitutional Democracy in Kuwait." This conference brought Kuwaiti government officials and democratic activists together with American political leaders from Congress, the administration, and the Republican and Democratic Party to discuss the "nuts and bolts" of democratic change. The results of this conference were published and widely distributed within Kuwait.

In October, the IRI sent a team of political professionals and staff to Kuwait to conduct meetings on the longer-term issues and planning for the October 1992 elections. This team met with

a range of political activists, average Kuwaiti citizens, discussion groups including women's, religious, and other focus groups, and media representatives. The team addressed a range of topics: the environment necessary for free and fair elections, redistricting and potential manipulation of the electoral environment, the timeline preceding an election, national coalition-building, and the use of public opinion polling in preparation for a political cycle.

Latvia

NDI

Following the August 1991 coup attempt the government of the former USSR acknowledged the independence of Latvia on September 6, 1991. That same month, the Agency for International Development (AID) approved this program to work with leaders of Latvia on issues relating to (1) civic education, (2) legislative training/political party building, and (3) elections.

NDI embarked on the first stage of the program in October 1991 by sponsoring a technical mission to Latvia from October 18-22. The team included Board Member David Aaron, Program Director Thomas Melia, and Program Assistant Nadine Avdenko. The purposes of the mission were to: (1) assess the state of democratic political development now that the independence of these countries has been acknowledged by all the world, including the former Soviet Union and the United States; (2) to expand NDI contacts with democratic activists and leading political figures; and (3) based on these consultations, to begin to implement the Civic Education program in Latvia.

During the mission the team met with members of parliament, leaders and members of the major political parties and movements, government leaders and journalists. From these meetings NDI gained a broad understanding of the current political situation. The team found Latvians concerned with issues that were common to all three of the Baltic Republics: decolonization of the former Soviet military, legislation on citizenship and minority rights, lack of clear ideological structure within political parties and movements, and a lack of true legitimacy of the parliament.

The team also received requests from the Latvian Popular Front to receive technical advice on various organizational issues. An NDI technical team travelled to Riga, Latvia December 5-8 to conduct work with leaders and members of the Latvian Popular Front.

Many contacts were also made in October to facilitate participation by Baltic political leaders in previously planned NDI programs. Eleven young political leaders and journalists from the Baltics also participated in the Democracy After Communism conference on minority issues in Budapest in December.

Lithuania

NDI

Following the August 1991 coup attempt the government of the former USSR acknowledged the independence of Lithuania on September 6, 1991. That same month, the Agency for International Development (AID) approved this program to work with leaders of Lithuania on issues relating to (1) civic education, (2) legislative training/political party building, and (3) elections.

NDI embarked on the first stage of the program in October 1991 by sponsoring a technical mission to Lithuania from October 22-25. The team included Board Member David Aaron, Program Director Thomas Melia, and Program Assistant Nadine Avdenko. The purposes of the mission were to: (1) assess the state of democratic political development now that the independence of this country has been acknowledged by all the world, including the former Soviet Union and the United States; (2) to expand NDI contacts with democratic activists and leading political figures; and (3) based on these consultations, to begin to implement the Civic Education program.

During the mission the team met with members of parliament, leaders and members of the major political parties and movements, government leaders and journalists. From these meetings NDI gained a broad understanding of the current political situation. The team found Lithuanians concerned by issues that were common to all three of the Baltic Republics: decolonization of the former Soviet military, legislation on citizenship and minority rights, lack of clear ideological structure within political parties and movements, and a lack of true legitimacy of the parliament.

The team also received requests from leaders of Sajudis, the democratic umbrella movement of Lithuania to provide technical advice on various organizational issues. In response, NDI sent a small delegation to Vilnius, Lithuania December 1-4 to conduct consultations with Sajudis. The team consisted of Will Robinson, until recently deputy director of the Democratic National Committee, and Antonio Costa, MP of the Socialist Party of Portugal. Many contacts were also made in October to facilitate participation by Baltic political leaders in previously planned NDI programs. The chairman of the Lithuanian parliament's special committee on revising parliamentary procedures took part in the parliamentary procedures seminar, held in Budapest in November. Eleven young political leaders and journalists from the Baltics also participated in the Democracy After Communism conference on minority issues in Budapest in December.

Mexico

NDI

Responding to allegations of irregularities in past elections, a Mexican-based civic group organized the country's first independent vote count for the August 18, 1991, congressional and local elections in order to increase confidence in the democratic process. The count, which was limited to the electoral races in Mexico City, was organized by the Council for Democracy. The council worked in cooperation with the opposition Democratic Revolutionary Party (PRD) and the National Action Party (PAN), as well as with the Rosenblueth Foundation, a computer institute. Although the opposition was disappointed with the results, party leaders were pleased that the parties were capable of conducting a credible independent count and that they produced trustworthy results. The Council for Democracy plans to develop additional counting systems for regional elections over the next three years in preparation for a nationwide count for the 1994 presidential contest.

IRI

Consolidation stage

IRI has worked in conjunction with the Mexican civic education group, Democracia,

Solidaridad, y Paz Social, Asociacion Civil (DEMOS PAZ). This non-governmental organization created an education institute called the Superior Institute of Democratic Culture (ISCD). Through seminars, publications, opinion studies, media briefings, round table discussions, and special events, DEMOS PAZ has raised the democratic consciousness of a wide sector of the Mexican population, from the analysis of the political parties of Mexico, through democratic reform, to basic human rights.

Nicaragua

NDI and IRI

NDI and IRI administered joint political development programs to support the democratic process in Nicaragua and free and fair elections. The programs, which promoted long-term development of political parties, encouraged participation in the elections and assisted in monitoring the electoral process, were conducted through a cooperative agreement of \$1,783,313 to the National Opposition Union (UNO), a 14-party coalition, and a cooperative agreement of \$1,485,672 to the Institute for Electoral Training and Promotion (IPCE), a civic institute.

On October 21, 1989, Congress passed Public Law 101-119 in support of democracy in Nicaragua through free and fair elections. In response to this special \$9 million appropriation, NDI and IRI jointly developed a \$5 million program to support the democratic process in Nicaragua.

Fourteen Nicaraguan political parties, ranging from left to right on the ideological spectrum, joined together to form the UNO coalition, with the goal to promote peaceful democratic reform and to actively participate in the February 25, 1990 elections. The UNO coalition selected a unified slate of candidates and announced it would actively participate in the elections despite doubts about the government's commitments to conduct a free and fair process and concerns about the Sandinista's institutional advantages. Program funds provided basic infrastructure support, such as office equipment, supplies and vehicles, and administrative support in the form of office space rental, communications costs, support for non-campaign office staff. This support enabled UNO to: carry out non-campaign activities in cooperation with IPCE, a civic association established by political party leaders, such as pollwatching; focus on political party development; and perform normal party function. It also allowed IPCE to carry out nonpartisan activities designed to encourage participation in elections and promote confidence in the electoral process. These activities included the verification of voter registration lists; pollwatcher training and related monitoring programs; and civic and voter education programs.

Civic Education Program

The civic education program conducted by IPCE took the form of print advertisements, television and radio spots, billboards and fliers.

Pollwatcher Training Program

For election day IPCE recruited, trained and fielded approximately 16,000 UNO pollwatchers. In addition, IPCE also trained over 50 percent of the electoral officials needed to represent UNO at the voting tables. IPCE funds covered expenditures for paper, transportation to

the seminars. UNO was able to cover 99 percent of the voting sites. Approximately 300 pollwatchers resigned prior to election day because of intimidation, but they were replaced by election day.

In order to ensure UNO pollwatchers on the remote Atlantic Coast, IPCE financed a pollwatcher training program for the Miskito Indian group Yatama. Through this program Yatama assumed the responsibility to train and field the UNO pollwatchers on the Atlantic Coast.

Transition Period

Following the UNO victory in the February 25 elections, NDI and NRIIA staff and project managers remained in Nicaragua through the first week of March to begin program close-out procedures and final reporting requirements. UNO and IPCE were required to take an inventory of all equipment, vehicles, and office furniture purchased on their behalf under the NDI and NRIIA grant. As part of NDI's long-term assistance to democratic institutions, NDI Program Officer Mark Feierstein travelled to Nicaragua from October 16-18, 1991, to meet with Nicaraguan political and civic leaders to develop a program.

IRI

Pre-election stage

The International Republican Institute (IRI) worked with two civic education groups associated with the Conservative Party of Nicaragua (PCN). The work accomplished was to help prepare some sectors of the civic opposition and citizens of Nicaragua in case a possible future opening happened in Nicaraguan politics.

Work was conducted through seminars, town meetings, youth group gatherings, current event discussions, newsletters, and the publication of small pamphlets. In addition, classes were held as an alternative to the government-sponsored educational system.

Issues addressed in the training in civics and democratic formation included: the review of electoral law, party platform development, grassroots party organization, leadership training, and opposition unity.

The IRI also included the PCN and the two civic education groups in regional and international programming. This helped shine an international light on Nicaragua and put pressure on the government of Nicaragua.

AID - 1990

Pre-election stage

The first grant was for multi-partisan assistance to the 14 political parties that make up the National Opposition Union (UNO) coalition. The assistance to UNO provided basic infrastructure support that enabled it to perform normal party functions, such as communicating with activists and organizing. The second was a grant for non-partisan assistance to the Institute for Electoral Training and Promotion (IPCE). This civic association carried out activities that encouraged participation

in elections and promoted confidence in the electoral process: the verification of voter registration lists; poll watching and related monitoring programs; and civic and voter education.

The program jointly administered by IRI and NDI encouraged the development of free and democratic institutions in Nicaragua, strengthened democratic electoral processes, promoted democratic values, and supported pluralistic participation in the democratic processes.

IRI and NDI created a program oversight team to assure strict adherence to grant procedures. The team included: a Project Manager, an Associate Project Manager, thirteen auditors from PriceWaterhouse, and a representative of AMEG, the procurement services agency.

The funds administered to UNO were used for infrastructure support of the 14 parties within the coalition. The equipment purchased was used for communication and organization, it was distributed to the central and regional UNO offices as support to the National Political Council and the UNO member parties.

The funds provided for IPCE were used to recruit personnel to begin the voter list verification and to recruit personnel that UNO would need for election day.

Campaign stage

During February, over 16,000 of the UNO poll watchers and their alternates were recruited and trained by IPCE through the use of manuals and seminars. In a special program, IPCE sponsored a poll watcher training program for Yatama, a group of Miskito Indians. These Indians live in the remote areas of the Atlantic coast. Without the special help from IPCE, UNO would not have been represented at the voting tables in these remote areas.

IRI and NDI also assisted IPCE with civic education programs. These programs which emphasized voting procedures, ballot security, and get out the vote, took the form of print ads, television and radio spots, billboards, and fliers.

Overall, the IPCE Electoral Control program through its trained poll watchers helped enhance voter confidence in the electoral process, assured a fair vote count, and emphasized the secrecy of the ballot. IPCE's program additionally helped mobilize voters and follow through on the efforts to get out the vote.

The IRI sponsored an international election observer mission through the International Democrat Union to observe the February 25, 1990 elections.

Consolidation stage

IRI and NDI provided funding to support the UNO transition teams to work with their counterparts in the outgoing government which helped to ensure a smooth transfer of power.

Other consolidation work took place in IRI's Nicaragua project with AID for 1991.

AID - 1991

Consolidation stage

The IRI designed a program of activities designed to train Nicaraguan political leaders and activists in areas of demonstrated need: party building, economic policy formulation, constitutional reform, and local governance. This program of activities was administered by IRI and its grantee, Grupo FUNDEMOS. Grupo FUNDEMOS was created as a private, autonomous, multi-partisan, non-profit institute whose objectives are to promote the formation, training, and development of leaders and organizations that are vital to a civic, democratic society.

Pakistan

NDI

NDI has worked in Pakistan since 1987. During this period, NDI sent nine missions to Pakistan, five of which dealt specifically with elections assistance.

In 1986, NDI initiated a project that would help strengthen such critical democratic institutions as political parties, the parliament and the press as well as promote free and fair electoral processes.

The proposed program called for a series of seminars that would have permitted Pakistanis to consider the experiences of other countries in charting transitions to democracy. As part of developing this program, NDI sent a two-member team to Pakistan for the 1987 Local Bodies elections. NDI then scheduled the first seminar for 1988, but canceled it when President Zia ul-Haq dissolved the National and Provincial assemblies in May 1988. Zia ul-Haq's death in an airplane crash on August 17, 1988 and the scheduling of elections refocused NDI's program initiatives.

With elections scheduled for November of 1988, attention was instead directed to the electoral process. In October, NDI sponsored a six-member, bi-partisan diagnostic team that evaluated the legal and administrative procedures for the November elections. Notwithstanding serious concerns about these procedures, the pre-election mission recommended that, assuming the government extended an invitation, NDI would organize an international observer delegation to the November elections.

Acting President Ghulam Ishaq Khan invited NDI to sponsor an international observer delegation, and the Institute organized an 18-member delegation that included nationals from five countries. In its final report, the NDI delegation concluded that the electoral laws and procedures compared favorably with those used in other democratic countries and that the process was generally free and fair.

Following the November 1988 elections and the formation of a government led by Pakistan People's Party (PPP) leader Benazir Bhutto, NDI, working with the Turkish Democracy Foundation, sought to initiate an inter-parliamentary dialogue on legislative procedures and political party organization. Instability and political divisiveness in the Pakistan National Assembly, however, delayed implementation of the program.

Soon after the dismissal of the Bhutto government in August 1990, NDI organized a five-

member diagnostic survey mission, which visited Pakistan from September 9-16. The mission reported the existence of comprehensive electoral laws that mirrored those implemented in 1988. At the same time, the delegation noted serious complaints, many of which were similar to those expressed in 1988, and a highly polarized political environment.

NDI organized a 40-member delegation from 17 countries for the elections. The delegation was led by Vahit Halefoglu, the former Turkish minister of foreign affairs and Senator Stanislaw Dembinski of Poland. Nine of the delegates were nationals of countries with significant Muslim populations. The U.S. component of the delegation was bipartisan. The delegation comprised regional specialists, election experts, parliamentarians and political party leaders. The delegation also included four individuals nominated by the U.S.-based International Federation for Electoral Systems (IFES).

On election day, members of the delegation observed balloting in more than 600 polling stations clustered in 30 constituencies throughout the country. Delegation members also monitored the counting at polling stations, as well as at district and provincial election offices.

The delegation reassembled in Karachi, and after a lengthy debriefing session, issued a preliminary assessment of the election process on October 26. The following week, NDI representatives summarized the findings of the delegation in testimony before the U.S. House of Representatives Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs. Several delegates also published articles in their own countries regarding their personal observations.

Fifteen members of the delegation remained in Pakistan to observe the October 27 Provincial Assembly elections and to meet with political party representatives to obtain their evaluations of the election process. In addition, an NDI representative stayed in Pakistan until November 19, to investigate allegations of irregularities in the election process. Finally, delegation member Lee Feldman executed a comprehensive statistical analysis, comparing the 1990 results with those from the 1988 elections.

Panama

NDI

In January 1989, representatives of IRI and NDI met with Panamanian political party leaders to discuss how the Institutes could help promote fair elections on May 7. Based on these consultations, IRI and NDI agreed to cosponsor an international observer delegation for the elections. NDI also agreed to provide technical assistance to Panamanians involved in establishing parallel vote-counting efforts. To this end, in February, NDI sponsored a two-day seminar in Caracas, Venezuela attended by 14 Panamanians, who were advised by technical experts from Chile, the United States and Venezuela.

From March 12-16, 1989 NDI helped organize and fund a fact-finding mission to Panama under the auspices of the Council of Freely-Elected Heads of Government. To prepare for the NDI/IRI observer delegation, an eight-member advance team visited Panama from April 3-10, 1989. The team sought: to explain the objectives of the observer delegation to Panamanian government, military and electoral officials, political party representatives, leaders of civic organizations and

others; to analyze the political situation in Panama and the prospects for free and fair elections on May 7; and to arrange logistics for the delegation.

The international delegation arrived in Panama City on May 4, 1989, at which time President Ford read a statement. The following morning, representatives of the Institutes briefed the delegation on the terms of reference for the delegation, on the political situation in Panama and on the balloting and counting process. The delegation met with the representatives of the Electoral Tribunal who explained in greater detail the specifics of the Panamanian electoral process.

On Sunday, nine teams observed the balloting process in different regions of the country. The teams visited approximately 150 polling sites, many with 15 or more voting tables. Overall, the delegation's observations covered more than half the electorate. Following the close of the polls, the teams monitored the counting process at the polling sites and at the district level where the results were collected. Two delegation members spent election night monitoring the quick-count operations organized by a Church-laity group, the Archdiocese Commission for Coordination and Lay Activities.

Based on the observations of delegates at individual polling sites and the quick-count operation, the delegation was convinced early Monday morning that the opposition had scored an overwhelming victory in the presidential election. However, reports of violence at some of the polling sites and at district counting centers, as well as delays in transmitting results to the National Counting Board in Panama City, aroused suspicions that a massive fraud was underway. These suspicions were confirmed by President Carter, who visited the National Counting Board at 4 p.m. After witnessing fraud firsthand, Carter attempted to meet Noriega and convince him not to proceed with the deception and to permit a peaceful transition, but Noriega did not respond to Carter's request for a meeting.

The delegation held a press conference at 6:30 p.m. Monday evening to denounce in unequivocal terms the fraud being perpetrated by the Panamanian government. The delegation pronouncement was featured in the international media, but the Panamanian media was compelled not to report the delegation denunciation. Most of the delegation left Panama the following morning. Those who returned to the United States were invited to the White House to brief President George Bush on the delegation's findings. Others in attendance included Vice President Dan Quayle, National Security Advisor Brent Scowcroft, and Chief of Staff John Sununu.

As part of its long-term organizational assistance, NDI sponsored a series of missions to help the Panamanian government in its efforts to restructure the National Police in December of 1989. The visit's focus was on assistance to the different legal groups created by the executive and legislative branches to draft a Police Law. The group of experts on this mission included Gustavo Adolfo Druetta, a sociologist and assistant of the Argentinean Congress on defense issues; Angel Edmundo Solano, ex-Minister of Public Security from Costa Rica; Carlos R. Lopez Nulla, ex-Minister of the Presidency under the Jose Napoleon Duarte administration; and Curtis Cutter, a former U.S. diplomat and expert on Panama.

IRI

Campaign stage

The International Republican Institute (IRI) along with the National Democratic Institute (NDI) sponsored an eight-member advance team to assess the political and electoral situation in Panama. This team made a presentation which focused particular attention on the electoral process, the complaints regarding the process presented by the opposition, and the monitoring capabilities of different Panamanian institutions.

After many difficulties with the local authorities, IRI and NDI co-sponsored a 22-member delegation representing eight nations to observe the May 7, 1989 Panamanian elections. This mission was led by former Presidents Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter.

Based on the observations of delegates at individual polling sites and the quick count operation, the delegation was convinced early Monday morning that the opposition had scored an overwhelming victory in the presidential election. However, reports of violence at some polling sites and at district counting centers, as well as delays in transmitting results to the National Counting Board in Panama City, aroused suspicions that a massive fraud was under way. After confirming these suspicions, the delegation held a press conference Monday evening to denounce in unequivocal terms the fraud being perpetrated by the Panamanian government.

Upon its return, the delegation gave a White House briefing to President Bush, Vice-President Quayle, the National Security Council, and other members of the Administration.

Paraguay

NDI

In February 1988, an NDI survey mission visited Paraguay at the time of the country's regularly scheduled national elections. The primary purpose of the visit by consultant Joe Marie Griesgraber and NDI Latin American Program Director Martin Andersen was to explore possible democratic development programs.

Long-Term Organizational Assistance to Non-Governmental Organizations

In August, the Centro de Estudios Democraticos (CED) was formed, with a founding board of directors representative of Paraguay's democratic community. The board included leaders of the most important opposition parties, as well as democratic opponents of Stroessner within the ruling Colorado Party.

In September 1988, as part of its civic education program, CED and NDI sponsored the visit of four Paraguayan youth leaders for a workshop-seminar that examined the successful Chilean civic education programs developed for the October 5th plebiscite. NDI also included six Paraguayan political leaders in the international delegation that subsequently observed the plebiscite.

By early 1989, CED had implemented youth leadership training programs and organized nationwide forums, which debated election law reform and possible opposition participation in the 1990 municipal elections. The February coup, however, dramatically altered the political landscape. Responding quickly to the new environment, NDI, at the request of CED, sponsored the visit to

Paraguay of two Chileans who played leading roles in the plebiscite campaign of the previous year: Genaro Arriagada, director of the "No" campaign and election specialist Edgardo Mimicca. Arriagada and Mimicca, accompanied by NDI staff member Martin Andersen, helped CED develop comprehensive programs for civic education and election monitoring. Ultimately, CED, in support of the election process, organized a massive voter education campaign, trained 8,000 poll watchers from all the major parties, helped coordinate a public opinion poll that was released a week before the elections and, with several other organizations, conducted a parallel vote count on election day.

In addition to its election monitoring program, NDI provided financial and technical assistance to the CED to carry out civic and voter-education programs. The CED conducted 200 seminars throughout the country to promote participation in the municipal elections and trained 12,000 political party pollwatchers

International Election Monitoring

Nineteen delegates from seven countries -- Argentina, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Sweden, the United States, and Uruguay -- participated in the international election observer mission for the presidential and legislative elections. The international delegates represented all political ideologies within the democratic political spectrum; the U.S. component was bipartisan.

The delegation arrived in Asunción on Friday, April 28, 1989. Following the elections, the teams reassembled in Asunción for a debriefing. The delegation then presented its consensus statement. The delegation noted the many irregularities in the process and the institutionalized biases in favor of the ruling party. At the same time, the delegation pointed to the significant political opening experienced in Paraguay since the overthrow of Stroessner.

NDI entered into five consecutive cooperative agreements with CED for a civic and voter education program to increase participation in the December 1 constituent assembly elections. The four-month program helped educate the Paraguayan citizens on functions of the constituent assembly so that the electorate could make an informed decision at the polls. In addition, the CED also designed, published and distributed training manuals for pollwatchers and election officials.

Philippines

NDI

NDI initiated its efforts in the Philippines in January 1986.

The Pre-Election Mission

A six-member delegation from NDI and its Republican counterpart, the International Republican Institute (IRI), visited the Philippines from January 5-11, 1986 to determine the feasibility of sending a high-level international delegation to observe the February 7 election, and to assess the political situation and administrative preparations a month prior to the scheduled election. Notwithstanding their concerns regarding the likelihood of fraud, the institutes proceeded to organize a 44-member international delegation for the February 7 election.

International Election Observer Delegation

The NDI/IRI-sponsored international observer delegation included nationals from 19 countries. On election day, more than 1,500 precincts (out of a total 85,000 in the country) were visited by delegation members. Particular attention was directed at activities that took place after the polls closed, i.e. the transfer of ballot boxes to canvassing centers and the actual canvassing of votes. This necessitated the teams remained in their assigned provinces two days after the election.

Because the ballot counting was still underway, the delegation declined to offer a final assessment of the electoral process. Instead, it was announced that a small team would remain in the Philippines to monitor the vote count and to investigate the allegations of fraud. As the first public assessment of the process by an observer team, the statement was widely-reported in the international media, and helped shape perceptions throughout the world regarding the electoral fraud that had been, and was being, perpetrated.

Aftermath of the February Revolution

A small NDI team returned to the Philippines in late January to observe the plebiscite. The NDI team observed the plebiscite in metro Manila area and in the provinces of Cagayan and Misamis Oriental. In view of the previous year's debacle, the team was impressed with the peaceful and administratively fair manner in which the plebiscite was conducted. At the same time, the team reported that many Filipinos believed that the upcoming May elections would be more problematic because of the number of offices being contested and because of the intensely competitive and often violent nature of Philippine elections at the local level.

The May Legislative Elections

Accepting the recommendation of the NDI plebiscite observer team, NDI organized a 24-member international delegation to observe the May 11 legislative elections. The NDI delegation observed the elections in Metro Manila and in the provinces of Cagayan and Isabela in the north, Negros Occidental in the Visayas Region, and Misamis Oriental in the Northern part of the island of Mindanao. The delegation, in the words of its leader, Senator Graham, did not "observe any irregularities that would have any effect on the outcome of the election." For those who had observed the presidential election of the previous year, "the difference between 1986 and 1987 was like night and day," with the "absence of violence and intimidation at polling sites" being particularly notable.

Municipal Elections

A four-member NDI team returned to the Philippines in January 1988 to observe, in selected regions, the elections for provincial governors, mayors, and provincial and municipal assemblies. While the voting took place in a relatively orderly manner, complaints again were heard about delays in the counting of ballots. In some provinces, there appeared to be deliberate attempts to delay the canvassing process. For the most part, however, COMELEC was credited with having administered elections whose results were accepted as representing the will of the people.

Post-Election Mission

NDI conducted a survey mission to the Philippines November 4-8, 1991 to develop a democratic development program to be undertaken prior to the May 1992 general elections. The group's presence helped to demonstrate the international community's continued commitment to the Philippines, and its support for the critical efforts of Filipinos to consolidate their country's democracy.

IRI

Campaign stage

In January of 1986, the International Republican Institute (IRI) and the National Democratic Institute (NDI) sent a six person advance team to assess the need and feasibility for an election observation mission to the Philippines.

Determining the need, the IRI and NDI co-sponsored an international election observation with 44 delegates from 19 nations. The delegation's conclusion from the February 7, 1986 snap Presidential election in the Philippines was that it was not conducted in a free and fair manner.

Poland

NDI

From April 22-May 6, 1990, parliamentary Polish staff members were exposed to a full range of technologies offered by the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives, including mainframe computer applications and telecommunications. They also reviewed the workings of the Congressional Research Service, the Congressional Budget Office, and the Secretary of the Senate's office. In addition, the staffers visited Richmond, Virginia where they studied computer applications, legislative voting systems and communications in the state's government offices.

NDI continued its support for political party development in Poland by making preparations for an April 12-14 conference, "Organizing for Elections," which will be held in Pultusk, Poland. The program was designed to provide organizational training to senior and mid-level party activists on an inclusive, multi-partisan basis, thereby strengthening the parties as they prepare to compete in the fall 1991 parliamentary elections.

As a follow-up to NDI's April 1991 party-building seminar and September party consultations, NDI conducted a second round of consultations from October 7-11 with a range of Polish democratic political parties. The consultations were held at the headquarters of 11 political parties. The experts focussed discussion on such issues as message development, media relations, candidate activity, polling, fund raising, constituency identification and targeting and get-out-the-vote strategies.

The October consultations helped to: 1) familiarize Polish political parties with party development and message presentation techniques as used in established democracies; 2) professionalize Polish parties, especially with regard to successful planning and organization; and, 3) allow the parties to immediately apply newly acquired skills to the specific dynamics of their respective organizations.

Many of these groups participating in the NDI programs had emerged from the Solidarity movement and, therefore, had no experience with traditional political party planning and organization. More than 100 parties eventually contested the October elections with 29 obtaining seats in the parliament. No party gained more than 15 percent of the legislative seats.

IRI

Pre-election stage

The International Republican Institute (IRI) began work in Poland before the collapse of Communism had truly taken shape. Working through the Society for Political Knowledge which was a group of underground organizations interested in promoting democratic development in this repressed state. The IRI helped to translate and publish materials which promoted freedom of thought, individual rights, and political liberties.

In 1991, the IRI started to work in Poland again to help prepare that nation for its first true democratic, legislative elections for the Fall. The IRI worked with the electoral commission to translate the new election law.

The IRI also worked with the political parties in translating a campaign workbook and how the electoral law effected them. The IRI also held seminars for the political parties which covered the issues of message development, voter outreach, candidate registration, and communications.

Romania

NDI

Civic Education

At a two-day seminar in Bucharest in April 1990, experts from Chile, the Philippines, Paraguay, Nicaragua, and the U.S. advised on ways in which nonpartisan Romanian groups could effectively coordinate programs to support free and fair elections, and the democratization process. NDI closely followed and sought to support the democratization process during the pre-election and campaign period. NDI's program in Romania focused on assistance to nonpartisan student associations, intellectual groups and trade unions for election monitoring and voter education programs.

International Election Monitoring

NDI published the report of the joint NDI/IRI international observer delegation to the May 1990 elections. Its release provided the opportunity for NDI to offer technical assistance to Romanian party and government leaders on electoral reforms recommended in the report. The report remains highly relevant to discussions about Romania's electoral system.

Long-Term Civic Education and Organizational Assistance

Following the elections, and responding to recommendations made by the delegation, NDI

began promoting a nationwide civic education campaign to address the consequences of 45 years of totalitarian rule. NDI provided technical and material assistance to the Pro Democracy Association (PDA), a nonpartisan organization founded by democratic activists who participated in NDI-sponsored training programs prior to the May elections.

NDI and PDA convened a seminar for 43 organizers and/or members of the Association in Bucharest December 15-16, 1990. The seminar focused on (1) communications and organizational skills necessary for building a national network, and (2) techniques to develop a program of survey constituency servicing as a prelude to holding town meetings with party and government officials.

In preparation for the February 9, 1992 local elections, in Romania, NDI began an intensive six month program to promote a free and fair polling process. In addition to long-term organizational assistance, an NDI delegation travelled to Romania in October to conduct an assessment of the Romanian political environment and to hold a training seminar for PDA and other civic organizations.

NDI continued its training program with PDA and sponsored a third international delegation to evaluate the campaign period. For the elections itself, NDI and the International Republican Institute jointly organized an international observer delegation.

International Monitoring of Municipal Elections

NDI and IRI organized a 30-member, 13 country international delegation that observed the February 9, 1992 municipal elections in Romania. Through its presence, the delegation demonstrated the support of the international community for Romania's democratization process and provided an objective assessment of the electoral process.

Before the elections, the NDI/IRI mission met with members of the Central Election Commission, political party leaders, municipal candidates, media experts and representatives of civic organizations monitoring the election process. On election day, the delegates divided into teams and observed the balloting process in 16 regions of Romania. The delegation issued a statement on its findings on Tuesday, February 11.

IRI

Pre-election stage

On December 22, 1989, Nicolae Ceausescu, the absolute ruler of Romania for more than 20 years, fell in a bloody revolution; subsequently, elections were called for May 20, 1990. During the pre-electoral stage, the IRI provided technical advice to newly formed political parties on party organization and management, message development, grassroots membership recruitment, and election monitoring. The IRI also organized consultative meetings with leadership and activists of the National Peasant Party, the National Liberal Party, and the Democratic Center Bloc (a coalition of 10 small parties), in order to provide advice and training in electoral campaigns.

Campaign stage

The IRI along with the National Democratic Institute (NDI) co-sponsored an international delegation to observe the Romanian elections of May 1990. This 60-member delegation representing

20 nations observed a highly controversial election. The ruling National Salvation Front, a loose coalition led by former communists who were adherents to the extremely repressive Ceausescu regime, tyrannically controlled the campaign and won a resounding victory. The statements and findings of the election observers discredited the tactics of the National Salvation Front in the campaign and the elections. The delegation found:

- The centralized means of creating and distributing political information remained under control of the government led by the NSF.
- The government did not promptly condemn incidents of intimidation including attacks on opposition candidates and party activists.
- The people of Romania were not encouraged to understand that there were alternatives to the National Salvation Front. This was illustrated in that this country faced elections only five months after the revolution without the political experience, preparation, and infrastructure which could have permitted a completely free and fair election.

Consolidation stage

From the infamous miner's crackdown of pro-democracy forces in mid-June through the threatened riots by students in December of 1990, the IRI programming in Romania was suspended. Nevertheless, beginning in 1991, the IRI started to work in Romania once again to help consolidate the fledgling opposition movement.

The IRI began with seminars to assist in political party and coalition development. The IRI brought organizational experts from the United States and representatives of the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) from Bulgaria to bring their expertise to the seminars proceedings. Open discussions and in-depth one-on-one consultations were held covering topics from effective communications to parliamentary ethics.

During 1991, a new opposition organization called the Convention for the Installation of Democracy (CID) formed. This coalition was composed of the major opposition parties represented in Parliament and by members of the Civic Alliance Party (PAC). The IRI held an extensive series of seminars and consultations in Bucharest and throughout the country on behalf of the CID. The topics of the seminars were (and are) specified to the regions in which they were held, and local representatives of the CID were the participants.

The IRI also held a conference on coalition development and preparation for the campaign and election process. Experts in the fields of political organization, grassroots development, and election law were brought in to assist the members of the opposition parties. Local campaign managers and candidates from across the country were brought into Bucharest for a weekend series of conferences and roundtable discussions that involved hands-on work with specially designed manuals created by the IRI.

Finally, the IRI has established an in-country officer for Romania to serve as a liaison between the parties and organizations in Romania and the IRI. The in-country officer will manage and monitor the program in Romania, travel extensively to each of the regions of Romania, and meet with the opposition leaders throughout the country.

Campaign stage

In January of 1992, the IRI sponsored a pre-election assessment mission to five Romanian cities: Brasov, Bucharest, Cluj, Constanta, and Iasi. A second mission was planned, just prior to the elections, to the cities of Tirgu-Mures, Craiova, Baia Mare, Galati, and Braila. On February 9, 1992, the IRI co-sponsored an international election observation mission for the Romanian local elections.

Russia

NDI

Municipal Government Reform

In December 1990, NDI sponsored its first training seminar in the former Soviet Union, "Democratic Governance and City Politics." Approximately 75 mayors and city council members from over 30 cities in the Russian Federation, and the Ukraine participated in the three day seminar. The Moscow City Soviet, the Russian parliament's Committee on the Work of the Soviets and Development of Self-Governance served as co-sponsors.

In May 1991, NDI sponsored its second local government initiative in the former Soviet Union. It consisted of two technical training workshops on "Democratic Governance and Municipal Finance." Seminar topics covered democratic governing structures and the division of power; the budget process, information, and accounting; budget gaming; revenue and taxation; and property and privatization. NDI is in the process of implementing its third and fourth local government consultations.

NDI has worked intensively not only with city level officials but with those at the Republic and former Union level who are responsible for local government legislation. NDI's has relations with the Russian Federation parliamentary committees on local government reform which enable it to contribute to the ongoing formulation of new legislation on local governments. Some leaders of the Russian Federation parliament's Committee on the Work of Soviets and the Development of Self-Government and many city council members are also active members in political parties and movements. Hence NDI's training in local government reform has reached beyond the city level and has provided the Institute with a firm foundation for developing programs with party leaders, organizers and parliamentarians.

Strengthening Political Parties

December 13-15, 1991, NDI organized the third in a series of training seminars in Moscow entitled "Democratic Governance in a Time of Crisis." The seminars were convened at the request of leading Russian politicians and parliamentarians who are attempting to build democratic institutions but are under increasing pressure to suspend political reforms during a period of severe economic dislocation. The participants addressed executive-legislative relations, international standards for the use of decrees and emergency powers and constitution-writing, the relations between different levels of government, political strategies for addressing economic crises, and the role of political parties and elections during transitions to democracy. The seminars successfully

provided 100 Russian participants from twenty cities who represented more than a dozen political parties and movements, including Democratic Russia, the Movement for Democratic Reforms, the Democratic Party of Russia, the Christian Democratic Party of Russia, the Social Democratic Party, the Republican Party and others, with practical information on the political, economic and judicial methods used by established and emerging democracies to address salient national and municipal concerns.

South Korea

NDI

NDI's work in Korea dates back to September 1985, when the New Korea Democratic Party (NKDP), forerunner of two major opposition parties, asked NDI to sponsored a workshop in Washington, D.C. on "Party Building and Democratic Development in South Korea." The workshop took place in April 1986 and was attended by 18 members of the NKDP, 12 of which were members of the National Assembly. The program covered the relationship between democratic rights and national security, the structure and tasks of democratic parties in the loyal opposition, and the relationship between electoral codes and democratic processes.

From December 13-17, 1987, NDI President Brian Arwood, NDI Board Member Ken Melley, Deputy Program Director Robert Carroll, NDI Program Officer Karen Clark and Ken Hutchinson, Deputy Director of the Asian American Free Labor Institute, travelled to Seoul to observe the presidential election. The delegation met with key campaign officials for each of the major candidates, government and election officials, election observer groups, journalists, academics and independent politicians. Members of the delegation also met with U.S. Ambassador James Lilley and with the Foreign Ministry's director of North American Affairs.

NDI specified that it would not observe the election in a formal way or make any public judgement on its conduct. Korean government officials for their part emphasized to us that the government did not recognize outside observation of the election - NDI was welcome but not on an official basis.

Though 64 percent of the voters cast their ballots against Roh Tae Woo, the president-elect received a plurality of over two million votes. While there were numerous allegations of ballot box tampering and other irregularities, especially with regard to absentee ballots, public opinion was not persuaded that election fraud was enough to account for the margin of victory. Instead, Koreans agreed almost universally that the opposition's inability to unite behind a single candidate had ensured its defeat.

The NDI delegation left with the impression that the conduct of the campaign and the election itself demonstrated that an impressive broadening of political freedom had taken place in the space of only several months.

Taiwan

NDI

In an effort to encourage the democratization process in Taiwan, NDI sent two delegations to the island before and during the December 2, 1990 parliamentary and local elections. The December elections were the first since the lifting of martial law in 1987 and the first to allow opposition political parties to compete. These and other political reforms made these elections a significant benchmark in Taiwan's democratization process. However, the number of parliamentary seats subject to election remained limited, ensuring the ruling party's continued dominance.

The October delegation, based on meetings with political party leaders, government officials, journalists, academics and other independent observers, report identified several key issues for prospective election watchers. These included: the authorities' impartiality in administering the election; access to electronic media by the opposition; and charges of vote buying and other irregularities. The delegation also recommended several other measures that could help instill greater confidence in the electoral process.

Two members of the October delegation returned to Taiwan for the elections. Despite the "uneven playing field" on which the campaign was conducted and allegations of some election-day irregularities, the elections were generally viewed by observers as the most freely contested in Taiwan's history. The DPP scored impressive gains, capturing 21 seats in the Legislative Yuan and six of the 21 municipal mayoralties.

Thailand

NDI

NDI Senior Program Officer Lionel Johnson conducted a diagnostic and needs assessment survey mission to Asia June 26-July 5, 1991 during which he visited Thailand. In the aftermath of the February 1991 military coup, Thais are hopeful that their new constitution will provide for a return to full democratic government. New political parties are arriving on the scene, and are in the throes of preparing for next year's parliamentary elections. In Thailand, NDI established valuable new relationships with the country's political and civic leaders at a time when an important democratic transition is in progress. Thanks to this visit, NDI recruited Dr. Udomsil Srisangem, a former member of parliament and a leading democratic activist to participate in the July program in Bangladesh.

As a result of its recent survey mission to Thailand, NDI is well positioned to develop sustainable democratic development programs if such assistance is requested.

Ukraine

NDI

NDI is currently planning the fourth in its series of local government consultations to be held in Ukraine. Zev Yaroslavsky, Chairman of the Los Angeles City Council Budget and Finance Committee, and Don Benninghoven, Executive Director of the League of California Cities, will travel to Ukraine February 28 - March 8, 1992. Benninghoven will work with the Association of Ukrainian Cities in Kiev and Donetsk. He will conduct three-day consultations in each city on local

governance issues and on strengthening the organizational structure of the Association.

Uruguay

IRI

Pre-election stage

The International Republican Institute (IRI) worked with the National Democratic Institute (NDI) to support and train two political research foundations associated with the two political parties of Uruguay: Colorados and Blancos. Public Opinion polls were administered throughout Uruguay. Two U.S. polling firms were contracted to analyze these polls and train the two research foundations in designing, implementing, and analyzing a public opinion poll.

This work helped strengthen the public information base and survey abilities of both political parties in Uruguay. Moreover, it demonstrated the cooperation that can take place between political parties: the Democrats and the Republicans in the United States.

Yugoslavia

IRI

Campaign stage

The IRI conducted election observer missions to the first multi-party elections in the republics of Yugoslavia since World War II. The IRI sent delegations to observe the voting in the republics of Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia, and Croatia. The IRI also sent teams for the second-round voting in two of these Republics.

The Republic of Serbia (December 9 and 23, 1990)

The Republic of Montenegro (December 9, 1990)

The Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina (November 18, 1990)

The Republic of Macedonia (November 11 and 25, 1990)

The Republic of Croatia (April 22, 1990)

A team was also sent to conduct extensive interviews with parties and prospective government officials in the Republic of Slovenia.

To follow these international missions, the IRI designed a program to consolidate the small steps taken toward a democratic system. Unfortunately, the civil war of 1991 in Yugoslavia has suspended this project.

2. Other projects

AFGRAD/ATLAS - AAI

African Graduate Fellowship Program (AFGRAD) 1963 - 1995
African Training for Leadership and Advanced Skills (ATLAS) 1990 - 1995

Since the onset of decolonization, Africa has required educated, trained, skilled personnel. In response to this need, participating governments, American universities, the Council of Graduate Schools in the United States, and the Agency for International Development (A.I.D.) inaugurated a cooperative arrangement. This arrangement led to AFGRAD -- a program bringing African students to the United States for graduate-level study in development-related fields. AAI won the first contract bid for the program and has administered the program continuously since 1963. AFGRAD has grown over the years and is now being phased out, the last group of students began study in September 1991, to be replaced by ATLAS.

The goal of AFGRAD and ATLAS is to improve the ability of African institutions and organizations to plan and promote sustainable development. The project's objective is to strengthen leadership and technical abilities, as well as to enhance the professional excellence of individuals serving in African public and private sector entities: government, universities, research centers, and other key development institutions.

Under the Field Services component of ATLAS, AAI is responsible for organizing two regional conferences per year, which will bring alumni and others together to discuss critical development topics. In response to the rising tide of democracy in Africa and the corresponding push for good governance, the second ATLAS conference will be held in Dakar, Senegal, on April 21 - 26, 1991. Participants will discuss "Governance in Africa: Issues of Local Participation and Community Development." The first ATLAS conference, "The African Family: Issues in Family Health, Population and the Environment," was held in Kampala, Uganda, attended by 55 alumni of USAID training programs, including 22 from AFGRAD.

AAI employs representatives, who carry out the initial recruitment process and maintain contact with AFGRAD and ATLAS graduates, in twenty-two African countries. Through the process of recruiting or carrying out other AAI responsibilities, these representatives maintain contact with numerous indigenous non-governmental organizations, educational institutions, and research centers.

Since 1963 more than twenty-seven hundred Africans have received graduate degrees through AFGRAD and now ATLAS. During the 1991-92 academic year, the two programs sponsor approximately 425 AFGRAD Fellows and fifty ATLAS Fellows. Many graduates have returned home to work for their national government, in some cases at the highest levels. AFGRAD alumni include the Prime Minister of Cote d'Ivoire, the Prime Minister of Mali and seven members of the cabinet in Cameroon. Numerous other graduates hold posts in various government ministries across the continent (see Exhibit ___). Furthermore, AFGRAD alumni have risen to positions of authority in nongovernmental organizations, academia, the church, and international organizations based in Africa.

One of the most successful programs in AID history, the AFGRAD program offers more than a first rate U.S. graduate education and a degree from a U.S. universities. AFGRAD and the other human resources development programs that AAI administers offer an opportunity for participants to view one democracy firsthand. In addition to their academic responsibilities, participants are exposed to local governmental and non-governmental institutions--from city council

meetings in Pittsburgh to the PTA in Kansas City--that undergird U.S. democracy and to civic institutions that form the core of U.S. civil society.

International Visitor Program (1962-present) - AAI

Designed to increase understanding between Africans and Americans through personal and professional contacts in the United States, the United States Information Agency (USIA) sponsored International Visitor Program (IVP) provides established and potential African leaders with opportunities to meet with their professional counterparts in the United States to discuss substantive issues. More than fifteen current or former African heads of government are IVP alumni.

In implementing the Program, AAI makes every effort to provide participants with abundant opportunities to establish institutional linkages in their profession and personal relationships with a broad spectrum of Americans.

During the past three years, there has been a dramatic increase in the number of groups and individuals who are involved with democratization, primarily in the pre-electoral phases. Their programs have provided a unique opportunity to learn firsthand the concerns and expectations of Africans in government and in opposition as they prepare for new elections.

In addition to generating professional and personal linkages between African leaders and their American counterparts, IVP participants often learn of other African visitors with similar missions. AAI serves as a facilitator, linking individuals and groups with similar interests. become involved in other AAI programs. For example, a delegation from the National Women's Lobby Group from Zambia, after being introduced to AAI staff through the IVP, were invited and have agreed to participate in the AAI-sponsored workshop entitled, "Nigerian Women in Politics: A Training Workshop." The delegates from Zambia will share their experiences in the recent Zambian elections with their counterparts in Nigeria, who are preparing for elections.

Benin Election Observation (1991) - AAI

AAI has been involved in several facets of the democratization process in Benin -- from the establishment of the new constitution to the election of a civilian government led by His Excellency Nicephore Soglo. AAI President, Vivian Lowery Derryck went to Benin on December 2, 1990 to observe the national referendum which resulted in ratification of the new constitution. Ms. Derryck was the sole foreign observer, met with the Electoral Commission, visited television and radio stations, and observed polling at six sites. As a result of a direct request from then Prime Minister Soglo, AAI was invited to develop and lead the official United States Delegation to observe Benin's presidential primaries, which were held on March 10, 1991, and the runoff election, which took place on March 24, 1991.

AAI Vice President Carl Schieren led the two observation teams for the two rounds of the presidential election. Through television appearances and site interviews, he made known the presence and interest of the U.S. in this historic election. Schieren and the AAI team worked side by side with the Groupe d'Etudes et de Recherches sur la Democratie et le Developpement Economique et Social (GERDDES) -- an individual membership organization composed of African professionals from many Francophone countries. GERDDES's members understands indigenous

political culture, priorities, and languages. In addition they are located within or near countries undertaking political reform. Such an independent, African organization represents an available source of cost-effective election observers, as well as a mechanism for communicating election experiences across national boundaries.

For the Beninois, the presence of the observers demonstrated the United States's commitment to the democratic process in their country and in Africa. Furthermore, several election observers offered accounts of Benin's transition and elections in the popular press -- exposing Americans removed from Washington and New York to democratization in Africa. Those contributions included articles in the *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, the *Wichita Eagle*, the *Dallas Morning News*, the *Congressional Record*, *Africa Report*, and a conference on "Africa and Central Europe: The Media and Strengthening Democratic Institutions" hosted in conjunction with the Nieman Fellowship Program at Harvard.

Since December 1990, Beninois activists and government leaders have attended seminars on democratization, the AAI annual conference and the annual AAI-Nieman conference on Africa and the media held at Harvard each May. President Soglo was honored at the AAI annual dinner and spent two days at the annual AAI conference. The conference, entitled "Can Democracy Deliver?" afforded President Soglo an excellent opportunity to publically discuss democratization challenges and impediments to an audience of senior U.S. policy makers and fellow Africans.

Nigerian Family Health Services (1988-1994) - AAI

Sponsored by USAID and the Nigerian Government, the Nigerian Family Health Services Project seeks to increase the availability and acceptability of family planning services in the public and private sectors throughout Nigeria. AAI is a one of five prime contractors in this project which aims to bring contraceptive services to 2.5 million users.

AAI administers the Operations Division and handles logistical support for all contractors. This assignment marks the first time USAID has ever grouped the operations requirements for multiple contractors with another contractor. In managing project logistics and its subcontractor, Sweet Hill Associates, AAI/Sweet Hill work with local government officials, NGO representatives, and grass roots community leaders throughout Nigeria. AAI's contact with these will increase, as the FHS regional offices become operational -- two opened recently.

AAI has repeatedly won praise from USAID officials for its capable administration of over \$3 million to date and its effective handling of complex procurement and administrative requirements.

Nigerian Women in Politics Training Workshop - AAI

The reconfiguration of politics in Nigeria offers extraordinary opportunities for women to become actors in the formal political system. In the absence of accurate census data, it is estimated that women account for a clear majority (up to 60%) of the population of Nigeria, and it is further estimated that they comprise nearly 70% of all voters. Women are able to lead political parties and are eligible to run for political office. However, many of the most active women are barred from running for election because of literacy requirements. Furthermore, the traditional noninvolvement

of women in politics has left them unprepared in terms of political skills.

On March 2 - 6, 1992, AAI and the Nigerian Association of University Women will host a training workshop for fifty women candidates for political office from all regions of Nigeria. Participants will benefit from the knowledge and experience of one international expert in campaign development and five African experts. Mr. James Dwinell, publisher of *Campaigns & Elections*, will conduct the workshop. He has extensive international experience and is familiar with the Nigeria's electoral process as a result of continuing work with the Nigerian Electoral Commission. Two women from the National Women's Lobby Group of Zambia, who recently participated in the International Visitor Program and who played a critical role in the recent Zambian Presidential elections, will share their experiences and perspectives with their Nigerian counterparts.

The continent-wide demand for increased popular political participation has created unprecedented opportunities for intra-African cooperation – the interaction between activist Zambian and Nigerian women being just one example. AAI's longstanding collaborative relationship with the workshop's co-host, the Nigerian Association of University Women (NAUW), has led to the development of the innovative conference agenda. With a nationwide membership and strong commitment to integrating women into Nigeria's political system, NAUW has a demonstrated capability for recruiting women for its programs. That ability, coupled with AAI expertise in organizing workshops and disseminating results is a formula for a successful meeting. NAUW initiatives have been documented in its reports that include: "Voter Education for Nigerian Rural Women" (1988), "Contribution of Women to National Development in Nigeria" (1989), and "Women and Leadership" (1990). In light of Nigeria's ongoing political transition, NAUW has doubled its efforts to foster an enhanced role for women in Nigerian politics.

AFRICA REPORT: 1956 - Present - AAI

AAI inaugurated *Africa Report* in response to the limited data on Africa and its peoples available to U.S. citizens. In its thirty-six years of publication, the magazine has remained the U.S.-based journal on African affairs.

The magazine has consistently featured comprehensive reporting, from knowledgeable, seasoned journalists about the issues pertaining to Africa. One-on-one interviews with African leaders are found in nearly every issue. In addition, the magazine is a forum for the informed views of academics, policy analysts, and policy makers, both African and American. In recent years, *Africa Report* has highlighted the democratization process. For example, after the historic Benin election, election observer and editor of the Wichita Eagle Gazette, George Neavoll wrote an article describing the process and its significance for Africa Report. Similarly, Margaret Novicki reported on the Zambian election in the issue following that historic event. Examples are shown in Exhibit 4.

Nearly 2,000 university, high school and municipal libraries subscribe to *Africa Report*, representing a readership considerably larger than the actual figure suggests. An additional 4,000 subscriptions are held by non-profit organizations, corporations, U.S. Government agencies and embassies, media outlets and individuals. Approximately one-tenth of these subscribers are in Africa.

An adjunct activity of publishing *Africa Report* has been monitoring the manner in which

African and international press cover the continent. In 1974, the African Policy and Information Center, a research library that comprises clippings from more than two hundred publications, was created.

Through interviews and submissions, *Africa Report* has maintained relationships with African and international journalists, policy analysts, and policy makers. See *Africa Report Indexes 1988 - 1991*.

The Carter Center's invitation to Margaret Novicki, *Africa Report* Editor in Chief, to join the election observation team to Zambia illustrates the unique relationship that the magazine holds with government, multilateral, and nonprofit organizations which focus upon African affairs. The integrity of the publication has allowed AAI to maintain contact with African leaders in all fields.

The new democratization initiatives has resulted in many requests for technical assistance as press restrictions are lifted and African newspapers proliferate. Questions as to press liability, responsible journalism, the need for press laws, separation of the press from the ruling party are all issues that newly freed media are asking. *Africa Report*, with its history of integrity, editorial freedom and independence is a trusted source in these times of transition. The resources and expertise of the publication will not only document the democratic transition, but help in the consolidation phase as well.

Women and Political Participation (1985-present) - AAI

The African-American Institute and Kenyan Women Parliamentarians sponsored this round table at the NGO Forum, United Nations Decade for Women Conference in Nairobi, Kenya July 13, 1985.

The limited role of women in decision making is a world wide phenomenon. Although various factors contribute to this reality, there are many common challenges, which women from all societies can address. The round table brought together approximately seventy politically active women from Africa and the United States to discuss strategies for enhancing the role of women in Africa's political systems.

The round table included a keynote speech, delivered by Ms. Coretta Scott King, on the many contributions from women that have led to a more compassionate and humane global community. Current AAI President, Vivian Lowery Derryck, in another plenary speech discussed the pivotal role of women's organizations in advancing women's political participation. African speakers discussed the need to fight apathy and traditional attitudes, to utilize informal power structures and family ties, among other tactics. U.S. speakers stressed the importance of utilizing private power bases for public support of women, of relying on and networking with women's organizations and other NGOs to improve the status of women.

The round table and other activities sponsored by AAI during the mid 1980's provided a strong base of contacts for AAI's continuing initiatives to increase women's participation in political life. In 1984 and 1985, AAI's Women and Development Program served as a clearing house for information on the goals, objectives, and issues to be addressed and activities to be planned. In 1984 Ms. Eddah Gachukia, Chair of the Kenya Planning Committee for the NGO Forum, visited the

United States under the Africa Travel Program; thirty-two women representing American NGOs visited Nairobi to meet with the planning committees for a UN conference and NGO Forum, and to participate in a workshop on rural health services. Eighty women joined the AAI delegation to Nairobi, where AAI organized two other workshops in addition to the aforementioned round table. In November 1985, AAI and co-sponsors New York University and the U.S. Committee for UNICEF, held a seminar entitled, "Follow-Up to the Decade: Examining the Development Theme."

The participants in all these programs represented women's organizations, the public sector, academia, and business. Groups represented included the Consumer Council of Zimbabwe, with which AAI had previously sponsored a conference on Standards and Practices related to Food, Pharmaceuticals, Nutrition and Child Care Service; the Nigerian National Council of Women's Societies (NCWS), with 7 representatives; the Nigerian Association of University Women (NAUW); the YWCA of Zambia; the African National Congress; and many others.

Since the 1985 conference, AAI initiatives regarding African women in politics have been furthered by cultivating relationships with numerous indigenous institutions. AAI has worked with NAUW on conferences on Women and Leadership. In conjunction with the National Council of Women's Societies (NCWS) of Nigeria, AAI is developing a project proposal designed to assist African women adapt political strategies, which have been fielded with success by American women. AAI expects to work with the women's organization of the African National Congress in the future. Tapping into resources developed in 1985, like Gwendolen Konie, AAI is planning conference for African women political leaders in 1992. Conference designers envision developing a five year strategy for women's political participation, and to strengthen women's political roles.

Nigerian Leaders Program - AAI

The Nigerian and U.S. Governments, at the special request of the Nigerian Federal Government, inaugurated the Nigerian Leaders Program (an International Visitor Joint Project) in 1979. From 1979 to 1982, the program provided opportunities for Nigerian parliamentarians, legislative assistants, members of the judiciary, and other government officials at the state and federal levels, to gain an understanding of the governmental procedures, as well as federal and state relations, in the U.S.

In 1979, AAI provided a comprehensive training and observation program in Washington D.C. for forty-six legislative administrators from nineteen Nigerian states; eleven separate itineraries that introduced the Nigerian officials to twenty five U.S. state legislatures followed. The next year in intimate groups of ten, two hundred Nigerian parliamentarians and legislative assistants met with Members of Congress and subsequently visited with the legislators, governors, and local officials in twenty-five states. Exchanges in 1981 focused upon Nigeria's judiciary; Nigerian visitors included attorneys general from the north, legislators, and federal and local judges, municipal magistrates and chief justices, and state commissioners. During the final year of the project (1983), sixty-five Nigerian state and federal officials met with their U.S. counterparts to discuss various aspects of the U.S. political and legal systems.

Liberia Watch (1990-1992) - AAI

Inaugurated during Liberia's civil war, LIBERIA WATCH brings together a coalition of U.S.

and Liberian groups concerned with Liberia. AAI initiated LIBERIA WATCH to encourage an appropriate response on the part of governments, international organizations, and most relief agencies to Liberia's crisis. As an ancillary objective, AAI sought to increase media coverage and publicize to the tragedy of Liberia. A temporary program, LIBERIA WATCH will cease to exist once a democratic elected, representative government is installed in Liberia.

LIBERIA WATCH promotes serves the interested parties by promoting the following activities:

1. A monthly informational meeting for coalition members;
2. A newsletter on events pertaining to Liberia;
3. A clearing house that provides information on the current political situation, relief, rehabilitation and reconstruction activities, and refugee issues, for U.S., international, and Liberian organizations, agencies, refugee centers, concerned Liberian and U.S. individuals, and others; and
4. Sponsorship of special meetings, such as the October, 1991 UN and NGO consultation with Dr. Amos Sawyer, President of the Interim Government of Liberia, and a January, 1992 briefing with members of the Liberian Electoral Commission.

LIBERIA WATCH coalition members include the following Liberian organizations: the Liberian Coalition of New York, LICORE of Washington, D.C., the Union of Liberian Associations in America (ULAA), and the United Nimba Citizens Council (UNICO). Each of these organizations has developed extensive networks in the United States and works actively with Liberians in Liberia. In addition, LIBERIA WATCH maintains channels of communication with organizations in Liberia, including the Christian Health Association of Liberia (CHAL), the New African Research and Development Agency (NARDA), a consortium of NGOs, and the Press Union of Liberia.

The LIBERIA WATCH newsletter is distributed to one thousand persons with additional five hundred copies distributed at AAI offices and conferences. LIBERIA WATCH meetings are regularly attended by representatives of approximately twenty groups; requests for information on Liberia and LIBERIA WATCH activities continue to increase. The program's director has received two awards in appreciation of the services of LIBERIA WATCH. The Liberian Electoral Commission has requested AAI/LIBERIA WATCH support.

Civil Liberties Organization of Nigeria (1991-present) - AAI

Since 1991, AAI has administered two grants from the National Endowment for Democracy to the Civil Liberties Organization of Nigeria (CLO) for the publication of its quarterly bulletin, *Liberty*, and its 1990 - 1991 *Annual Report*, as well as for general institutional development in 1991-92. The grants allow CLO to increase public awareness of human rights and civil liberties issues in Nigeria, particularly the relationship of these issues to a representative, democratic society.

The first grant sponsored the publication of four issues of the *Liberty*, which included not only regular human rights updates and information about CLO's Legal Aid and other programs, but specific stories of human rights abuses including police actions, and treatment of strikers and

demonstrators. Furthermore, these issues of *Liberty* featured opinion pieces such as Olatunji Dare's "Prospects for Democracy in the Third Republic." Commentary on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the African Charter on Human and People's Rights are integral to the this journal's format.

The second grant is now in progress. CLO has already carried out the exploratory work needed to open new offices in the east, north, and west of Nigeria and has launched its membership campaign. AAI disburses the NED funds to CLO, monitors the grant, and provides networking capabilities.

The four issues of *Liberty* have been distributed to key institutions in Nigeria including Ministries of Justice, police commissioners, opinion leaders, university libraries, students organizations, and trade unions. *Liberty* articles, received much attention from the media, providing further access to ordinary Nigerians on human rights and government abuses. Other CLO reports, not funded by this particular grant, such as the report on prisons, have led to a decline in government abuse.

Human Rights Africa Conference (1991) - AAI

Human Rights Africa organized the conference, which was funded by a National Endowment for Democracy grant administered by AAI. Designed to further human rights and democratic values in Africa by bringing together for the first time representatives of relevant Nigerian and international human rights organizations, the conference served as a forum for a free exchange of ideas on democratization and human rights in Africa.

The three-day conference comprised twenty-eight presentations from representatives of twenty-one organizations. Some panelists reported on the activities of their organizations; others presented papers elucidating the status of human rights in every African region. Other panelists addressed relationship between human rights and democratization, the role of scientists in protecting human rights, the rights of women and children, economic rights, and methods of documenting human rights abuses. Most panelists linked human rights to democratization in their presentations.

The conference offered a forum for the analysis and development of strategies regarding human rights for a diverse group of three hundred participants, who represented Nigeria, Africa countries, and other parts of the world. In addition the conference provided important opportunities for networking among participants. Conference activities were well publicized on television and in the press.

Press Union of Liberia Election Training Workshops (1991-1992) - AAI

The training workshops, funded by a grant from the National Endowment for Democracy and administered by AAI, prepare journalists from the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) area and Monrovia to cover the upcoming electoral process in a manner designed to sustain and advance democracy. The workshops include sessions on conducting opinion polls, generating public interest in elections, election coverage, and election monitoring. The project will strengthen already existing relationships between the members of the Press Union of Liberia and AAI's LIBERIA WATCH program.

Resumption of Publication by the Daily Observer Newspaper (1991-1992) - AAI

The offices of *The Daily Observer* Newspaper were almost completely destroyed during the Liberian Civil War. A grant from the National Endowment for Democracy, administered by AAI, will allow *The Daily Observer* to resume publication. The *Observer* has a respected reputation and has been recognized for its careful and balanced reporting. Its renewal will provide other press organs with a model during an important period for the development of democracy in Liberia.

Mr. Kenneth Best, Publisher of *The Daily Observer* has secured new equipment to restart publication; staff are currently being trained. The Monrovia based operation will be initiated as soon as national distribution system for the paper is effected. Meanwhile, Mr. Best has begun publication of a second newspaper in the Gambia, which can be expected to play an important role in promoting democratic practices.

Resumption of Radio Station ELCM -- Monrovia, Liberia - AAI

A grant from the National Endowment for Democracy, administered by AAI, will allow ELCM, the Catholic radio station, to resume operations. The resumption of ELCM broadcasts would further democratization in Liberia because of its reputation for objective and courageous reporting on democratic and human rights issues. Moreover, the only other radio station capable of national coverage is the station controlled by the NPFL government in the interior. AAI's relationship with ELCM is complemented by LIBERIA WATCH networking with the Catholic and Peace Commission of the Catholic Church in Liberia and other human rights groups in the country.

The grant will provide a new transmitter for the station.

Program of Research, Civic Education, and Advocacy of the Constitutional Rights Project of Nigeria (1991-1992) - AAI

Funded by the National Endowment for Democracy and administered by AAI, the program of research, civic education, and advocacy of the Constitutional Rights Project seeks to promote greater press freedom in Nigeria. The program aims to reduce the legal impediments to freedom of the press, the closure of newspapers, and the mistreatment and arrests of journalists -- abuses documented over the last several years.

The CRP project will be an comprehensive study of the issues pertaining to freedom of the press in Nigeria, including a review of the history and development of the Nigerian media. In addition, the project will examine challenges that have confronted the Nigerian media and the manner in which these challenges were addressed. The resulting data will be incorporated into an analysis of challenges confronting the media. Interviews, observations, investigations, and other documentation collected by CRP staff and a committee of journalists will elucidate impediments to press freedom since 1984.

Established in November, 1990, the Constitutional Rights Project of Nigeria promotes and protects respect for human rights and the rule of law in Nigeria, in line with the African Charter on Human and People's Rights, as well as pertinent international covenants. AAI's relationship with CRP began in September, 1991. Additional CRP activities included research and analysis regarding

election results – most recently Nigeria's gubernatorial primaries.

Nigerian Association of University Women Conferences (1989-1991) - AAI

Conference on Women and Leadership (February 21-23, 1991)
Conference on Women, Politics and Development (April 10-12, 1991)

Funded by the National Endowment for Democracy and administered by AAI, the aforementioned conferences hosted by the Nigerian Association of University Women addressed the question of women's marginal representation in political life and sought to increase participation of women in electoral politics as part of Nigeria's democratization process.

The first conference brought together approximately two hundred women from Nigeria's twenty-one states to hear a variety of distinguished speakers and to engage in discussions on the following topics: the constitution, the Third Republic, political parties, legal rights, expectations of women, women's quest for political leadership, women's roles in the electoral process, strategies for women, and leadership in the 1990's. Women elected to a "shadow cabinet" proposed activities for every ministry.

The second conference targeted women then in elected office, as well as women active in Nigeria's two political parties and political life in general. Participants at this meeting examined a different set of issues, which included past experiences of women in government/politics, the rise of Nigerian women in politics, the survival of a two party system in Nigeria, and the development of a better life for rural dwellers.

The conferences were organized by the Nigerian Association of University Women (NAUW). The President of NAUW, Ms. Clara Osinulu, has been AAI's program representative in Nigeria since 1972. AAI expects that the relationship with NAUW will continue through further programs focusing upon women's issues, now in the planning stage.

Among the outcomes of the conferences were strategies for ameliorating the role of women in politics. Strategies centered on enhanced party participation, research, pressure for effective implementation of government policies, and programs about and for women. The conferences generated media coverage, and the proceedings of both conferences have been edited, printed and distributed as an important tool for educating women and men about the benefits and methods of increasing women's political participation.

**Twenty-second Annual AAI Conference: "Can Democracy Delivery?
Obstacles and Opportunities in the Post-Cold War Era (November 8-9, 1991)**

AAI's Twenty-Second Annual African-American Conference provided a high-level forum for furthering the examination of democratization in Africa. The two day meeting focused on interpreting the democratic developments and appropriate donor responses. The meeting was greatly enriched by the participation of President Nicephore Soglo of Benin and Professor Adebayo Adedeji, former UN Under-Secretary General and Executive Secretary of the Economic Commission for Africa. Both men graphically linked democracy, elections and economic development.

President Soglo reiterated the importance of international observers, noting that without the U.S./AAI-led team, violence in northern Benin may have jeopardized the election.

The conference was co-sponsored by UNICEF, another funder/donor with whom AAI works closely. African participants, in addition to President Soglo and Professor Adedeji, included ambassadors to the United Nations or the United States from twelve African countries, two foreign ministers, academics, officials from the African National Congress, the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania, the Organization of African Unity, the African Development Bank, and the Anglican Church of the Province of Kenya. U.S. participants included Assistant Secretary for African Affairs, Honorable Herman J. Cohen, Congressman Mervyn Dymally, AID Assistant Administrator for Africa Scott Spangler, leading practitioners such as Brian Arwood from NDI, Carole Lancaster, Richard Joseph and Pearl Robinson. The participation of French Deputy, Jeany Lorgeoux, Japanese and British aid and democratization specialists highlighted the importance of donor involvement in supporting the democratization efforts and emphasized the breadth of our donor relations.

The discussions underscored the importance of widespread participation to ensure the survival of democracy and highlighted the need to involve political parties, churches, schools, the press, women's organizations, businesses and civil associations, etc. in all phases of the democratic process, especially to consolidate new gains. Panelists discussed the interrelated nature of democracy, good governance, and development, while repeatedly underscoring that elections, though the most visible manifestation of change, were but one phase of the evolution to a viable democratic state.

The conference offered participants many opportunities to network and to compare the status of democratization initiatives in a variety of African countries.

Report of the Sixth Media Conference: "Africa and Central Europe: The Media and Strengthening Democratic Institutions" (April 30-May 1, 1991) - AAI

Co-sponsored by The Nieman Foundation at Harvard University and The African-American Institute

The press plays a key role in interpreting and educating the public about national and intra-African events. Although the role of the press in times of dramatic transition to democratic rule receives wide attention, the role of the press in building a body of information to support the consolidation of democracy is often ignored or misunderstood. The sixth media conference provided a forum for the investigation of the role of the press in Eastern Europe and Africa as democracies strengthen their foundations.

Conference presentations and discussions centered on the following topics:

1. The role of a free press in the building of democratic institutions;
2. Strategies for the attainment and maintenance of media independence;
3. The role of broadcast media in the movement for democracy; and
4. The legal and constitutional issues that support or endanger the press.

Participants emphasized the unique role of the press as a vehicle through which journalists can build civil societies through elucidating citizens' rights and responsibilities in periods of economic hardship.

Over forty editors, foreign correspondents, reporters, and media executives attended the conference. They represented the print and broadcast media of Africa, the U.S., India, Columbia, Spain, and the countries of Eastern Europe. This diversity facilitated cross-fertilization and expanded coverage of African political and economic events.

West Africa - NDI

Diagnostic Survey Missions

A three-person survey team visited Senegal, Liberia, Sierra Leone and Nigeria from Jun 20-July 2, 1988. In a second survey, NDI sent a small survey team to visit several francophone African countries from June 1-14, 1991. The purpose of the survey mission was to: a) develop detailed information on the political situations in the countries and region, and b) make recommendations to NDI regarding follow-on programming. The team was composed of Dr. Carol Lancaster, professor of African politics and economics at Georgetown University and former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs; Ned McMahon, NDI Program Coordinator; and Gina Giere, NDI Program Assistant.

The team visited Côte d'Ivoire, Benin, Congo and Zaire. All of these countries have taken moves in the direction of establishing multi-party democracies, but are at different stages of the process. It was anticipated that visiting these countries would provide NDI with an understanding of the challenges and dynamics of the democratization process within the range of political change currently taking place in francophone Africa.

The survey team focussed on a number of areas of possible programming. These included the state of political party development, issues related to the functioning of democratic institutions such as local government and legislatures, the extent of popular acceptance of the rights and responsibilities of the individual in a democratic political system, and the functioning of the electoral process.

The team met with a number of organizations interested in international assistance in this regard, one of which is GERDDES. As a result of the mission, NDI, in cooperation with GERDDES, planed a training workshop for election observers from around the region this autumn. A GERDDES leader was also been invited to attend as an international participant at a conference NDI is sponsoring in Bangladesh in July 1991 on the role of civic organizations and political parties in a democratic system.

Civic Education and Organizational Support for Indigenous NGO's to Prepare for Africa Regional Elections

From November 7-10, 1991, NDI co-sponsored a seminar on election observation in Cotonu, Benin with GERDDES. The seminar included plenary sessions on recent elections in Africa and comparative electoral systems. Participants represented both political parties and non-partisan, civic society organizations from 15 nations. Workshops co-led by GERDDES and international experts

were held on the organization of an election observer missions, the monitoring of election campaigns, election day monitoring, and conducting parallel (independent) vote counts.

This was the first project of its kind in the region, and there was a very high level of enthusiasm for the subject matter. A considerable amount of interest was generated in the seminar, as demonstrated by the fact that over 100 individuals participated, almost twice the number expected. The seminar clearly showed a window of opportunity for NDI to make a meaningful contribution at the early stage of African democratic development.

Regional Party Building (Eastern Europe) - NDI

NDI designed this program to organize a series of seminars, in cosponsorship with Western European political organizations, on political party development for parties in Central and Eastern Europe. The series was cosponsored and hosted by the Institute for East-West Security Studies' (IEWSS) European Studies Center. The seminars were held at the Center's conference site in Stirin, near Prague, CSFR. As the European political -- particularly parliamentary -- system is most relevant to the political transformation in Eastern Europe, each of the seminars are also cosponsored by foundations or ideological groupings of the relevant parties from Western Europe. Hence, the Liberals' seminar was cosponsored by the Dettmeyer foundation of the Liberal Party (VVD) in the Netherlands, with extensive assistance from the Liberal International.

A third seminar entitled "Challenges for Social Democracy in the New Europe" was held from January 23-25, 1992 at the European Studies Center in the village of Stirin (near Prague), Czechoslovakia. The program focused on practical party-building techniques with consideration given to the application of social democracy to the specific political and economic challenges facing Central and Eastern Europe today. A mix of plenary sessions, workshops and individual consultations addressed such topics as the role of social democratic parties in setting a public policy agenda; building a sound political organization; and waging effective election campaigns.

The 36 participants represented social democratic parties, movements and groups from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Albania, Slovenia, Croatia, the Baltic States and Russia. They were joined by 12 party leaders and political experts from North America and Western Europe.

The Confederation of the Socialist Parties of the European Community brings together the democratic socialist and social democratic parties operating within the countries of the European Community and beyond. The European Studies Center at Stirin, Czechoslovakia was established by the Institute for East-West Security Studies in New York, and is an independent international education and public policy center that combines scholarship with practical assistance programs.

Commonwealth of Independent States (1990-1992) - IRI

Pre-election stage

Through a series of assessment missions to Russia, Ukraine, and the Baltic States, the International Republican Institute (IRI) designed programs to help these former republics of the Soviet Union. The three themes that were stressed as a need for the political opposition were (1)

principles of organization and management, (2) campaign preparedness, and (3) civic education.

In September of 1991, one month after the failed coup d'etat, the IRI sponsored a practical conference entitled "Building Foundations of Political Pluralism." Political group leaders and grassroots activists from across Russia, Ukraine, Georgia, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, and Mongolia participated in the conference which focused on the practical means of securing and safeguarding political pluralism.

The conference was divided into general and break-out sessions and was taught by US political experts from Capitol Hill, the Executive Branch, the Republican Party of the US, the Federal Election Commission, state government, and the private sector. Issues which were addressed during the seminar included political party education, comparative electoral law, public speaking, mass communication, public opinion polling, volunteers and get out the vote, party financing, organization and management, party development at the local level, campaign preparedness, party platform and rules, issues facing elected officials, principles of governance, comparative electoral campaigns in Eastern Europe, coalition building in parliament, and political economics.

The IRI followed this timely conference a couple of months later with 2-day training seminars. Working with the Democratic Russia Fund (a coalition of Russian opposition groups), IRI sent political activists to train the local campaign organizers through oral presentations, campaign manuals, and books. The written material was distributed in the Ukraine and training seminars are forthcoming.

Caribbean Democratic Union (1984-1991) - IRI

Regional programming

In 1984, the IRI was primarily interested in the development of a Caribbean Democrat Union (CDU) and its integration into the International Democrat Union (IDU), an international organization of center/right political parties. The exposure of the democratic parties of the Caribbean Basin to the contacts and experience represented in a worldwide, multilateral such as the IDU, provided incalculable benefits to the younger parties.

By 1986, the CDU was operational and one of the three regional members of the IDU. The CDU consists of moderate and conservative political parties of the Caribbean basin, members include: Belize, Dominica, Grenada, Jamaica, Montserrat, St. Kitts/Nevis, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent and the Grenadines. The overall goal of the CDU was inter-party contact which could be utilized to strengthen democratic parties through instruction in organizational techniques, membership recruitment, communications, and civic education.

The CDU accomplished these tasks through Caribbean regional seminars, individual member-ship seminars, workshops, and newsletters. Issues discussed were: party structure, communications, the role of the party, how to prevent electoral fraud, youth in the party, women in the party, voter registration, and public opinion studies. A vital aspect of the success of the CDU was the network developed between parties within the Caribbean, and between parties which are members of the IDU. This was accomplished by the dissemination of publications, videotapes, and lectures of these seminars as well as inter-party contacts.

In 1990, the CDU redesigned its programs to be more broad based. Instead of focusing primarily on political parties, issues addressed were: free-market economics in the Caribbean, youth and women's groups in a free-market economy, and electoral law questions.

Central American Training Academy (1987-1992) - IRI

Regional programming

Historically, Central America has faced problems of instability, lack of political representation, and authoritarian influences. A principal task of the IRI has been to focus on these issues by working through local groups and political institutions to increase the level of knowledge and participation of the population. The Central American Training Academy was founded as a regional initiative to encourage democracy through civic education and political training. Political education foundations from Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua collaborated to form this academy. Primarily, the IRI has provided assistance for the groups from Guatemala and Honduras.

The Political Academy for Liberty and Justice (ACAP) is a political institute associated with the MAS party in Guatemala. Through grants from the IRI, ACAP has held conferences, seminars, and conducted a small poll. ACAP brought in international experts from Europe as well as the Americas to discuss developmental economic policy issues, women's issues, and to expose isolated rural communities to contemporary political thought.

The Center for Economic, Political, and Social Studies (CEPS) is a research and training center associated with the National Party of Honduras. CEPS based its objectives on educating rural voters about the electoral process and producing studies about economic development. In order to accomplish these goals, CEPS used a variety of methods: training seminars, research, publications, and conferences.

CEPS and ACAP were involved in various IRI regional programs including planning for the Mexico Conference, bringing together academic experts from Argentina and Bolivia with political organization experts from Colombia and Mexico, and helping to sponsor international observers to the 1990 Nicaraguan elections. In 1991, the IRI worked through the Central American Training Academy to bring representatives of political parties from Honduras, Guatemala, El Salvador, and Panama together for a seminar. Issues discussed in this seminar included the importance of economic and political integration in Central America.

Conferences on Political and Economic Development (1987-1989) - IRI

Regional programming

1987 -- The International Republican Institute (IRI) co-sponsored an Economic Development Conference in Taipei, Taiwan with the Chung-Hua Institute for Economic Research (ROC) on July 22-27, 1987. Party representatives responsible for economic affairs were gathered from a variety of countries including: Argentina, Bolivia, Colombia, Costa Rica, Grenada, Guatemala, Jamaica, Dominica, Peru, Chile, Honduras, and the United States. This conference provided its participants with the benefits of the latest data and strategies employed and the

experience gained in the economic development of the Republic of China on Taiwan. The conference contributed to the further integration of contacts between like-minded parties of the Western Hemisphere and the emergent democracy of Taiwan.

1988 -- A follow-up conference convened in Santa Cruz, Bolivia on June 20-22, 1988 to build upon the themes introduced at the Taipei Conference. The conference, entitled "Liberty, Democracy, and Development", examined the political and societal components necessary for a free market economic system to flourish. Specific topics addressed were the role of youth organizations in the democratic political process, and the function of public policy institutions in strengthening democratic values. 12 nations of Latin America and 15 nations overall were represented at this conference.

1989 -- In July of 1989, the IRI supported a third conference on democratic development in Mexico City, Mexico. This conference was designed to be more practical and less theoretical than the previous conferences in Taiwan and Bolivia. Planning sessions for topics to be discussed were held with various groups in Guatemala and Mexico. The conference was attended by representatives of political parties from 15 different nations. Topics decided upon included: a lexicon for center democratic parties, the utilization of public opinion polls, and practices in developing and strengthening democracy.

UPCOMING -- The IRI is currently working with the Taiwanese to host another Economic Development Conference in Taiwan in late 1992.

Democratic Youth Community of Europe (1989-1998) - IRI

Regional programming

The International Republican Institute (IRI) worked with the Democratic Youth Community of Europe (DEMYC) to initiate the formation of regular and permanent contact and training between independent youth organizations in Western and Eastern Europe, as well as institutional cooperation between young European and U.S. political leaders.

The DEMYC conducted research into Eastern European political organizations and democratic activists who would profit from contact with their counterparts in Western Europe and the U.S. A conference was held in Vienna, Austria to illuminate the needs of emerging democratic youth organizations in the development of democratic procedures and institutions, and offered youth from Eastern Europe the opportunity to meet with their counterparts from the democratic countries of the West. Accordingly, representatives of 42 organizations coming from 26 nations were present.

East Caribbean Institute for Democracy - IRI

Regional programming

The International Republican Institute (IRI) worked with ECID to carry out regional seminars and country specific seminars with the nations of the East Caribbean on democratic participation of youth and women.

An example of a country specific seminar was held for 200 participants in Nevis. The seminar was addressed by the woman Prime Minister of Dominica and a woman senator from the Caribbean Democrat Union.

Regional programming stressed bringing youth from different nations to establish contacts and discuss the benefits of democracy over totalitarianism, the role of civic organizations in a democracy, and the role of youth in a democratic society.

Other inter-Caribbean issues discussed at these seminars included: the Organization of East Caribbean States and security of the region.

International Institute for Women's Political Leadership (1989-1998) - IRI

Regional programming

The IIWPL is a non-partisan group designed to advance political participation of women in the world's established and emerging democracies. Placing emphasis on emerging democracies, the IIWPL through seminars, study, meetings, and its worldwide network tries to accomplish these goals.

The International Republican Institute (IRI) helped sponsor the IIWPL in order to help their growth. The IRI aided IIWPL in its activities of information exchange and political education. The programs designed by IIWPL teach the political tools of democratic involvement to women and focus on transferring the leadership from social institutions to the political arena as well as to integrate existing social institutions with the institutionalization and expansion of democratic principles and ideas.

Political Activists Training Conference (1987) - IRI

Regional programming

This conference was held during the week of March 22-26, 1987 in Miami, Florida. The conference gathered democratic political activists from sixteen countries representing moderate and conservative parties from Latin America and the Caribbean Basin. Various presentations and workshops concentrated on establishing a dialogue to assist in building and strengthening grassroots political organizations in democratic societies in the Caribbean and Latin America.

Issues were addressed by political and organizational experts from the United States in a variety of areas: institution building techniques, survey research, party organization, public opinion polling, the media, and communications. Individual workshops followed and were conducted in a question-and-answer format.

D. CAPACITY TO ASSEMBLE APPROPRIATE TEAMS

As described in Section II, NDI and IRI will have primary responsibility for implementing electoral assistance programs under AREAF. AAI is expected to participate in assessment missions

and in selected field assignments, particularly those in the consolidation phase. All three organizations have superior systems and other capabilities to support these activities and to assemble appropriate times quickly and professionally. This section describes the particular assets which each partner brings to the program in this regard.

1. NDI capacity

NDI has successfully developed an extensive international network of political experts and practitioners from the U.S. and around the world. By cultivating working relationships, developing new contacts, and building an accessible and comprehensive in-house data base, NDI can quickly identify international experts who are most suitable to a particular program and respond quickly to requests for assistance.

NDI'S network

Since inaugurating its program work in 1984, NDI has worked in 72 countries. During the last several years, the Institute's international network has expanded to include election experts and officials, political party leaders, members of parliament, civic leaders, journalists, scholars, statisticians, demographers, computer experts, and other political practitioners and technical experts from more than 70 countries in addition to the United States. The expansion of NDI's program work can be seen in the increasing number of countries where the Institute has worked, the increasing number of international resource participants (trainers and experts) in NDI programs and the number of programs themselves -- both new and continuing.

- In 1988, NDI conducted programs in 7 countries utilizing the expertise of more than 60 international resource participants.
- In 1989, NDI conducted programs in nine countries utilizing the expertise of approximately 112 international resource participants.
- In 1990, NDI conducted programs in 16 countries utilizing the expertise of over 350 international resource participants.

During 1991 and 1992, NDI has continued to build on its work in many of these countries and has expanded its program work to include approximately 23 countries. In order to keep up with the accelerated pace of change in many regions and the multiple demands for program work, NDI last year initiated several regional programs in southern Africa, Francophone Africa, and Eastern and Central Europe. This regional focus allowed NDI to respond in a timely manner to circumstances that have a regional impact, introduce country representatives to NDI program capabilities, broaden NDI's contacts within individual countries, to expand contacts among political and civic leaders within the region, and identify relevant country-specific follow-on programs.

Resource Participants

NDI has developed a diverse international network that includes statesmen, such as former U.S. President Jimmy Carter and former Spanish President Adolfo Suarez; regionally prominent figures, such as Namibia's Foreign Minister Theo Ben Gurirab and Nigeria's Ambassador to the

OAU, Segun Olusola; and national and community leaders like Sadikou Ayo Alao, President of GERDES Africa, and Laurah Harrison, Chair of the Zambian National Women's Lobby and a director of the Zambian Elections Monitoring Coordinating Committee. Throughout the world, the Institute has developed solid working relationships with elected officials at the national, regional and local levels, political party organizers, academics, election administrators, technical experts and data analysts, professionals in the print and broadcast media, and leaders of religious, cultural, youth and other nongovernmental organizations. In many cases, single individuals have a wealth of experience in a variety of areas; for example, Masipula Sithole of Zimbabwe has been a student organizer, a local government official, a candidate for national elections, and a political scientist who has researched and taught his country's electoral history.

NDI benefits from the strong relationships it has established with a number of international organizations. These organizations include the United Nations (UN), the Organization for African Unity (OAU), the Organization of American States (OAS), the Liberal International (LI), the Socialist International (SI), the Christian Democratic International (CDI), the International Democratic Union (IDU), the Commonwealth and the Council for Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).

NDI has worked in tandem with international peacekeeping networks and has established good relationships with key officials in these organizations. For instance, NDI worked closely with the United Nations monitoring operation during the 1989 election process in Namibia. Following the election, NDI produced a comprehensive, book-length report assessing the role of the UN in Namibia, entitled Nation Building: The U.N. and Namibia. UN officials expressed appreciation for the report's comprehensive analysis and acknowledged the value of the report's constructive criticism.

Relying on its experience in Namibia, as well as on activities in Nicaragua and Haiti, NDI was one of two nongovernmental organizations to submit a formal memorandum in response to UN Resolution 45-150. The memorandum evaluated the UN efforts in the above-mentioned countries and included several recommendations regarding future United Nations activities in the field of electoral assistance. In January 1992, Cedric Thornberry of the Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary General, participated as a member of the international faculty for NDI's regional program on elections in southern Africa.

In September 1991, Chris Bakwesegha of the OAU, participated as a member of the NDI/Carter Center pre-election mission to Zambia led by former President Jimmy Carter. Bakwesegha returned for the elections in October as part of an independent OAU delegation with coordinated with the NDI-organized delegation led by President Carter. Bakwesegha, representing the OAU, also participated in the January 1992 NDI program on elections in Southern Africa.

~~NDI~~ operates as an observer in the LI, SI and CDI, and regularly attends regional and global meetings of political leaders from parties across the political spectrum. NDI has established close ties with the international secretariats of many of these parties and has worked jointly with the political internationals in party development programs in Europe. In 1991, NDI worked with three cosponsors, the Dettmeyer Foundation (the international affairs institute of the Dutch Liberal Party), the European Union of Christian Democrats and the Confederation of the Socialist Parties of the European Community in a series of seminars designed to promote cooperation among parties with similar ideologies in Central and Eastern Europe. Through these international gatherings, NDI is able to draw upon European ties with African countries and to integrate these experiences into its

programs.

During the past year, the Commonwealth and the CSCE have each established separate offices to conduct election-related and democratization programs. Because these offices are relatively small, they have sought advice from and been willing to coordinate with NDI. In Zambia, for example, the NDI/Carter Center observer delegation met with the Commonwealth team before and after the elections, and sought to coordinate deployments throughout the country.

In selecting resource participants for programs, NDI makes its decisions based on a number of criteria, including:

- the individual's current and past professional expertise and experiences
- the role played by an individual in his or her country's political system
- familiarity with a particular region, country, culture or language
- cultural sensitivity
- communications and problem-solving skills

For example, NDI invited Portuguese Constitutional Court Justice Antonio Vitorino to participate in its regional program on elections in southern Africa because of Dr. Vitorino's experience with constitutional matters and electoral laws; his interest and familiarity with the region of southern Africa, especially the Lusophone countries of Angola and Mozambique; his adaptability in presenting formal presentations to a large audience and conducting individual consultations, both of which were important for the program's format; his extensive comparative election law experience, including especially his experience working with NDI on other programs around the world; and requests from Angolans and Mozambiquans that the Portuguese experience be presented at the conference.

Many current NDI resource participants were once participants in NDI training programs in their own countries. Miroslav Sevlievski, presently the executive director of the Bulgarian Association for Free Elections and Civil Rights (BAFECR), participated in NDI's initial training program in Bulgaria, which was held in April 1990, six weeks prior to the country's first multi-party elections in more than 45 years. Since the June 1990 elections, Sevlievski and other BAFE leaders have shared their experiences and the techniques they have learned in NDI programs throughout Eastern and Central Europe, Africa and Asia.

Logistical experience

- methodology

NDI has also developed considerable experience in coordinating logistics in difficult environments. Because of the varied and numerous projects that NDI conducts simultaneously, the Institute has developed multiple methods of effective organization and management of in-country activities.

NDI's unparalleled experience in organizing large-scale election observer delegations to more than 20 elections and smaller election assessment teams has enabled the Institute to develop a unique approach to the logistics of such international delegations. This involves a system of advance work, including standard forms and logistical checklists, that facilitates access and communication throughout a country for an election delegation. In anticipation of an election observer delegation, NDI dispatches trained personnel to prepare for the delegation, determine deployment possibilities and prepare contingency plans in the event of a dangerous situation. The advance teams also recruit

translators and local support staff. Staff members on larger projects often set up offices weeks or months before election day.

In organizing large election observer delegations, the Institute seeks to simplify logistical arrangements by preparing detailed briefing materials before participant departure, compiling orientation materials and region-specific information for deployment teams and using pre-designed scheduling forms. In addition to its own preparations, NDI frequently cooperates with U.S. embassy staff and protocol officers.

NDI logistics capabilities also ensure that the Institute can react to fast-breaking events in countries around the world. The Institute has a hard-copy file and computer database with extensive logistical information about each country in which it has worked in the past. NDI works closely with a travel agent who has great experience in making third world travel arrangements, often under significant time pressure.

NDI also has an in-house computer system that can generate contact information for all hotels, restaurants, interpretation, car rental, and other services that NDI has used around the world. Using this tool, programs can be planned more quickly and effectively than using unfamiliar travel agents or attempting to develop new contacts for each trip. The institute has master accounts with certain worldwide hotel chains in order to simplify accounting and payment procedures.

Paradox database

NDI has encoded its vast network of political experts and practitioners into a computer database system, using Paradox software. When organizing a program, NDI staff members can draw from the tens of thousands of names entered in the Paradox system to create lists of resource people to consider for delegations and faculties of experts that meet the specifications of a particular country or program. Participants can be identified by the Paradox system according to one or more of the following categories:

- country of residence
- NDI projects in which they have previously participated
- region(s) of interest
- expertise (e.g. elections, political parties, civic organizations, local government, civil-military relations, etc.)
- ~~political party~~ ideological affinity (e.g. liberal, social democratic, christian democratic, conservative, etc.)
- special relationship to NDI (e.g. NDI board member, member of NDI advisory council, press, diplomatic corps, etc.)

The system includes the most recent information available for contacting each individual, including his or her address, telephone number, fax number, telex number or other means by which he or she can be contacted. By using Paradox, staff members can easily identify candidates for large or small

programs through a method that is both quick and comprehensive.

NDI'S unique ability to mobilize

Because of its vast network of resource experts, experienced staff, international relationships, logistical experience and in-house capabilities, NDI is uniquely qualified to recruit large delegations of political experts or to identify specialists to perform specific tasks, on very short notice. The ability to react quickly to rapidly unfolding situations has been at the heart of NDI's success during the past three years. The following examples illustrate three different ways that NDI has been able to react quickly and effectively to dynamic political situations.

● **Czechoslovakia**

In January 1990, a few weeks after the fall of the communist regime, an NDI survey team visited Czechoslovakia. During a meeting with President Havel, the team was requested to provide immediate advice on the development of a new election law for Czechoslovakia.

Within 48 hours of receiving President Havel's request, NDI contacted and dispatched a team of leading election experts and NDI's senior election law expert, Larry Garber, author of Guidelines for International Election Observing. The advisors described several sample proportional representation electoral models designed to meet a number of objectives.

In the six months that followed, NDI: worked with Civic Forum on drafting and administering the election law; conducted a joint program in April and May with the National Republican Institute to train political party workers; advised both political parties and the state-controlled media on the role of the media in the campaign; advised an independent local organization on conducting a public opinion poll; sent a pre-electoral survey mission; co-sponsored with the National Republican Institute a 64-member international delegation to monitor the June election; and conducted a civic education symposium on the democratic process immediately following the election.

● **Pakistan**

NDI has worked in Pakistan since 1987 and organized a major delegation to monitor the 1988 elections. When political instability and divisiveness led to the dismissal of the government in August 1990, NDI quickly sent a six-person survey team of international experts to assess the situation from September 9 to 16, 1990. The mission reported the existence of comprehensive electoral laws that mirrored those implemented in 1988, but also noted serious complaints and a highly polarized political environment. The findings of the survey mission were reported in testimony presented on October 2, 1990 to the U.S. House of Representatives Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs.

Within a few weeks of the survey mission, NDI organized a 40-member delegation from 17 countries to monitor the October 24 national elections. The

delegation of regional specialists, election experts, parliamentarians and political party leaders was led by Vahit Halefoglu, the former Turkish minister of foreign affairs, and Senator Stanislaw Dembinski of Poland. Nine of the delegates were nationals of countries with significant Muslim populations. The U.S. component of the delegation was bipartisan. Following the departure of the delegation, NDI kept a staff member on the ground in Pakistan until November 19 to investigate irregularities and complaints about the balloting.

The delegation issued a preliminary assessment of the election process following an exhaustive debriefing session, which featured reports from the 10 teams that visited different regions of the country. The following week, NDI representatives summarized the findings of the delegation in testimony before the U.S. House of Representatives Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs. Because NDI was able to mobilize both a survey mission and a comprehensive multinational and multi-faceted observer delegation so quickly, the delegation's findings were relied upon by many in the U.S. and the international community as the most complete information about the process.

- **Ethiopia**

From November 19-26, 1991, an NDI team visited Ethiopia. President Carter had stopped in Ethiopia on November 3 and received a request from Ethiopian President Meles Zenawi for assistance on election related matters. President Carter, citing the Ethiopian government's desire to schedule regional and district elections within two months, requested that NDI send a small advisory team to Ethiopia as soon as possible. The team included Judge Antonio Vitorino, a member of the Portuguese Constitutional Court and former member of parliament, NDI's election expert Larry Garber and NDI Program Assistant Peter Silverman.

As the above examples demonstrate, NDI has developed the capacity to respond to a variety of situations in a short time period. **The Institute's ability to identify individuals who can respond to the specific requests of countries and organizations as well as its ability to organize and implement large, multinational observer delegations to monitor elections within a period as short as six weeks, gives it the flexibility to accommodate the dynamic situation occurring worldwide.**

2. IRI capacity

IRI has successfully developed an extensive international resource network of political experts and practitioners from abroad, as well as in the United States. This network, which includes a database computer system called "Ask Sam," allows the Institute to respond immediately to rapidly changing political situations by facilitating quick access to a vast number of international experts. In fact, IRI's unique ability to respond immediately as situations unfold has been a key reason for its success. During the last two years of explosive growth in programming, resulting from changes in Europe and the former Soviet Union, this ability has become essential.

IRI resource network

Since its inception in 1983, IRI has worked in 60 countries. Since that time, it has expanded its international network to include election experts and officials, political party leaders, members of parliament, civic leaders, scholars, pollsters, and other political practitioners and technical experts from both inside the U.S. and throughout the world. IRI's international network includes high ranking political officials and current and former heads of state, many who have actively participated in various projects. Four of the six sitting Presidents in Central America are former IRI grantees and maintain close contact with the institute.

IRI's participation in the International Democrat Union as a found member has led to close collaborative efforts in Latin America and Eastern Europe with the party foundations of co-IDU members. The ready access to fellow IDU party leaders strengthens IRI's global reach and ensures the highest level of foreign participation in multi-national programming:

- Manuel Clutier, Presidential candidate of the Partido Accion Nacional of Mexico, participated in the 1989 Panama observer mission led by President Carter
- President Jorge Serano Elias of Guatemala travelled to Taipei with an IRI conference on "Lessons of the Taiwan Economic Development Experience for Latin America," co-hosted with the Chung Wai Institute for Economic Research
- Current President of Costa Rica Rafael Angel Calderon participated in a conference on Perestroika in Latin America jointly hosted by IRI and the Fundacion Simon Bolivar in Bogota
- From Angola, both President dos Santos and Dr. Zarimbi of UNITA held Washington meetings in 1991 with the IRI Board in preparation for the 1992 elections.
- IRI representatives in program countries regularly consult with the political party executives from across the spectrum to ensure continuity and effectiveness. IRI maintains current contact lists and ongoing relations with these parties.

In selecting experts and trainers from the resource network, the IRI makes its decisions based on a number of criteria, including:

- field of expertise
- employed in his or her country's political transition
- relevance and salience of experience and expertise to the target country and audience
- familiarity with the region, country, culture and language
- proven cultural sensitivity

- **communications skills**
- **training ability.**

Since many host countries often request experts from a particular country that they believe is relevant to their own situation, IRI often uses its resource network to identify and recruit appropriate experts worldwide.

Logistical expertise

IRI has developed substantial expertise in logistical coordination of diverse project activities. Since 1984, IRI has proven its ability to conduct numerous projects simultaneously with the efficiency and flexibility essential to respond rapidly to volatile political environments. For example, IRI has administered over 25 international election observer missions in 17 countries. At times, these missions have been carried out with only a minimum of advance work possible because of last minute scheduling and timing of elections.

IRI's unique ability to mobilize

As a result of its resource network, experienced staff, continued international relationships, and logistical experience, IRI is well qualified to recruit large delegations of political and/or technical experts to perform specific tasks on what is often very short notice. Its ability was first tested in late 1985, when in less than six weeks, it organized a 60-person international observer mission that exposed the fraud of the Marcos regime in the 1986 Philippine presidential election. This AID-funded mission was the first of several bi-partisan observer missions with NDI.

The following few examples illustrate IRI's ability to respond effectively and on short notice in challenging environments:

- **Albania**

An April 6, 1991 Washington Post article noted that the election observer delegation sponsored by IRI was the only observer delegation that formally presented a post-election statement accurately analyzing the election process in Albania. Because of the urgent desire on the part of the democratic opposition for American election observers, IRI had fielded an eight member election observer mission. The U.S. Department of State agreed with the Post article and requested IRI to prepare a post-election briefing for Secretary of State James Baker's visit in June 1991.

Beginning in January 1991, several Institute representatives had attempted to obtain visas from the Albanian government for evaluation missions. The government allowed only two representatives to enter Albania on March 25, 1991, only six days before the election. Despite logistical and political obstacles, these two representatives arranged to meet with opposition parties and relevant government officials, and to obtain six more visas for observers (which had been their primary purpose in this short time).

With only two days notice, IRI was able to field six election observers, including two former Congressmen and the Dean of the Vanderbilt School of Law. The observer team went through

extensive briefings with government officials, opposition parties, and the Central Election Commission. On the day before the elections, the delegation divided into four teams, deployed throughout the country, and held additional meetings with election authorities and political parties at the local level. On election day, the IRI teams visited over 75 polling locations throughout the country, a feat not equalled by any other election observer group regardless of size.

During the past year, IRI has continued post-election work, which included four training missions (conducted by IRI grassroots political development experts and volunteer recruitment specialists) with the opposition, and significant infrastructure support. A 20-member election observer team will be fielded for the upcoming parliamentary elections on March 22, 1992.

- **Kuwait**

The day the Persian Gulf War ended, February 27, 1991, IRI released a report: "Kuwait: Alternatives for Democratization." The document was a result of a study conducted by a group of independent specialists to explore and provide a set of alternative approaches to the future of the democratic process in Kuwait. **One month later, even before commercial travel was available to the war-torn country, IRI had a seven-member assessment team on the ground.**

Three consecutive, time-sensitive programs in Kuwait resulted from this initial in-country assessment. The first stage, "Kuwait Assessment," involved two Congressmen and several grassroots political experts, including a public opinion strategist. The second stage, deriving from the results of the assessment, called for a large conference (held in Washington D.C.) on April 29, 1991 that brought together Kuwaiti officials, civic leaders, political enthusiasts and scholars with U.S. politicians, election experts and various officials to discuss "Kuwait: The Prospects for Democratization." The third stage, political development training, included a series of technical seminars, most recently held in February 1992 when hundreds of aspiring political activists turned out for a three-day party training workshop. IRI will continue its workshop training seminars through the October 1992 elections.

3. AAI Capacity

AAI has regularly fielded staff and consultant teams to Africa for 40 years. Regular evaluations by AID of AAI's work attest to its abilities to provide professional field teams efficiently and effectively.

AAI has participated in a number of election-related field consultations. The successful and notable role of AAI in Benin's pace-setting elections is a recent case in point. AAI recently sent two American delegations to observe the watershed Presidential elections in Benin in March 1991. In December 1990, Vivian Lowery Derryck, President of AAI, visited Benin to observe the Constitutional Referendum. Ms. Derryck and United States Ambassador Harriet Winsar Isom met Prime Minister Nicephore Soglo, who expressed his country's desire to have independent, American election observers for the Presidential election. Subsequently, the Prime Minister submitted a formal request to Ambassador Isom.

In the U.S., AAI submitted a proposal to the Department of State in the hope that support could be obtained for a visit by a four-person volunteer delegation whose only costs would be for

travel and hotel expenses. AAI also sought but did not obtain funds from a U.S. corporation and a private foundation. On February 22, the State Department endorsed an AID international travel waiver required because of the Gulf War, and on March 4, AAI received notice from the State Department that travel funds in the amount of \$17,000 had been awarded to AAI for the observer delegation and would be made available through USAID/Lome. When AAI learned there would be no Congressional representation, it was able to support a fifth member from a Ford Foundation-funded program to help develop a constituency for Africa in the United States.

Following the successful experience of the first round of the elections, Ambassador Isom obtained unexpected approval on March 18 to grant AAI additional funding of \$16,000 to send a four-person delegation to the second round on March 24. AAI organized a second delegation on three days notice, again providing private funding for a fifth member. Delegation head Carl Schieren and Lawrence Noble of the Federal Elections Commission were able to return. Two new members, both French speakers with extensive knowledge of Benin, were recruited, and, since Congressional participation was desired, Timothy Trenkle, legislative aide to Senator Nancy Kassebaum, joined the group. Both delegations were multiracial, and each had a member of the press. One member of the first delegation and three of the second were fluent in French.

The first delegation was briefed at AAI prior to departure. In an interview after arrival in Benin, Monseigneur Isidore deSouza, President of the High Council of the Republic, expressed concern about possible acts of terrorism. The delegation was interviewed by Benin television. Mr. Schieren's expression of confidence that there would be no violence was the lead news item on the main news broadcast on election eve.

For the second delegation, the team included a congressional aide, an academician with extensive francophone experience and the editor of Africa Report. Two of the three new members had extensive prior background in Benin. Background materials distributed to the first team were sent to the new observers, with relevant updates. The delegation arrived in Cotonou overland from Lome on March 23. Both delegations dispersed widely throughout the country, visiting 76 voting stations in the first round and 99 stations in the second, following standards established by NDI for international observer missions. They were able to share experiences with teams from Elections Canada, the Organization of African Unity, the Africa subcommittee of the French Chamber of Deputies, and the Study and Research Group on Democracy and Economic and Social Development (GERDDES).

The second delegation was joined by Congressman Mervyn Dymally, Chairman of the Subcommittee on Africa, whom President Derryck had urged to attend in view of the historic importance of the event. It was the first time a member of Congress had ever visited Benin.

E. RANGE OF CONTACTS

This partnership has a wider range of contacts in Africa and in the international electoral assistance community than any other group. With its long history of cooperation with Africa, AAI has strong contacts in virtually every sector in every country. As shown earlier in this section, both

IRI and NDI have worked specifically in democratization throughout the world. They have solid relationships with international experts and democratization leaders, and they have extensive experience in joint programming as well as direct assistance. This section describes the breadth of contacts available through this partnership.

1. AAI

AAI has the demonstrated ability to establish contacts with the full range of individuals and institutions that will play a role in African elections.

(1) Africans

● AAI Representatives

AAI has representatives in 23 African countries and Portugal. Senior professionals, each of these persons affords immediate access to his or her country and can offer insightful analysis of the political and cultural milieu. Familiar with the U.S. and accustomed to working with a multinational team, these representatives enable to teams to begin work immediately upon arrival. Their contacts are fully available to this partnership, helping generate confidence and trust in visiting teams.

● Government and political leaders

AAI works with African leaders in office and in opposition. It is in active touch with the leadership of Angola, Benin, Botswana, Burundi, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Congo, Djibouti, Gabon, The Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Cote d'Ivoire, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Mozambique, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Sudan, Swaziland, Tanzania, Togo, Uganda, Zaire, Zambia and Zimbabwe. In war-torn Ethiopia, AAI maintains contact through its resident representative.

In each of these countries, AAI staff visit senior officials and/or the head of state during in-country visits. In the past year, such meetings have taken place with President Nicephore Soglo, Republic of Benin; President Abdou Diouf of Senegal, Senegalese Minister of Finance, Famara Sagna, Minister of Foreign Affairs Djiobo Ka, Minister of State without Portfolio, Abdoulaye Wade, Parti Democratique Senegalais; President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Paul Ssemogerere, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Tsarsis Kwabygerere; President Ibrahim Babangida of Nigeria; President Houphoet Boigny of Cote d'Ivoire, Minister of Foreign Affairs Amara Essy, opposition leader Laurent Gbagbo; President Sam Nujoma of Namibia, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Theo Ben-Gurirab; and Major-General Joseph Saidu Momoh, President of Sierra Leone, Second Vice President, Salia Jusu-Sheriff, Minister of Foreign Affairs Alhaji Koroma. This list is illustrative of the range of contacts that AAI brings to this project.

In addition, AAI works with a variety of Africans who are no longer in office. AAI will be one of two non-African representatives at the inauguration of the African Council of Elders. This has direct relevance to the project in that the "Elders" are former heads of state and government who have left office as a result of free and fair elections. Creation of this body is a demonstration that leaders can compete in free and fair elections, lose, and still be viewed as senior, contributing members of the community. Members of the Council will include former presidents Julius Nyerere,

Olusegun Obasanjo, Kenneth Kaunda, Leopold Senghor, Matthieu Kerekou, and Aristides Pereira.

● **African diplomatic corps**

AAI routinely works with the African diplomatic communities both in Washington, on a bilateral basis, and through the United Nations. The entire African diplomatic corps is invited to AAI's annual dinner, and selected ambassadors attend each of the annual conferences. AAI staff are in regularly in contact with the official community at the UN and in Washington, D.C.

(2) **Journalists**

Journalists and opinion molders are important to the democratization process. Each year, AAI and the Niemann Foundation co-sponsor a conference which focuses on Africa and the media. In addition to the 30 to 50 participants, AAI deals regularly with journalists across the continent through Africa Report. The list below is illustrative of AAI's wide-ranging contacts in journalism:

- Dr. Bona Malwal, Editor, The Sudan Times
- Dr. Emeka Nwosu, Journalist, The Daily Times of Nigeria
- Morakke Shuenyane, Drum Magazine, Johannesburg, South Africa
- Ray Ekpu, Newswatch, Lagos, Nigeria
- Salim Lone, Editor, Africa Recovery
- Onyema Ugochukwu, Editor, The Daily Times of Nigeria
- Honorine Kouman Yaoua, Journaliste, Abidjan, Cote D'Ivoire
- Babacar Toure, Directeur de la Publication, SUDCOM, Dakar, Senegal

(3) **NGOs**

AAI regularly collaborates with both U.S. and African NGOs.

U.S. NGOs

In the U.S., AAI is a member of **Interaction**, the umbrella PVO. As a member of the Executive Committee, AAI participates in decisions on directions and issues in which the umbrella group will become involved.

AAI is a member of the **International Development Conference**, an important forum on U.S./third world development issues. One hundred thirty-three members regularly meet and exchange information. Getting their input and intellectual engagement on the issue of elections would strengthen the domestic constituency so important to this project. Membership in the Overseas Development Council also benefits AAI, as the Institute participates in related policy discussions and gains a view of Africa from a global perspective.

AAI routinely collaborates in projects and will be able to use that collaboration to publicize outcomes of meetings and projects related to elections, identify people who would be appropriate election monitors and trainers, and share election-related strategies that will work. AAI has worked with groups such as the Synergos Institute, Amnesty International, and the International Peace Academy.

African NGOs

As an NGO, AAI seeks to strengthen its ties with similar indigenous African organizations. AAI has ongoing working relationships with five such organizations. These are established ties and would quickly generate widespread outreach to other groups. The groups are:

- **Africa Leadership Forum (Ota, Nigeria),** headed by former Nigerian Head of State General Olusegun Obasanjo, is widely acknowledged as the premier African organization examining strategies for increased popular participation in elections and the post-election consolidation phase and resolution of regional conflicts.
- **African Academy of Sciences (Nairobi, Kenya),** a leading pan-African organization comprised of African natural scientist and social scientists, is involved in projects ranging from debt management to conflict resolution to inter-cropping and pest management. Headquartered in Nairobi, their easy access to the academic communities will ensure that academics can help to shape the intellectual framework of the project.
- **The Pan-African Institute for Development (PAID) (Douala, Cameroon),** founded in 1964, is an Africa-wide development research and training not-for-profit NGO with four regional institutes located in Burkina Faso, Cameroon (2), and Zambia. PAID assumes an integrated approach to rural development, possesses a wealth of experience in participatory training programs, especially in decentralized local development planning, and has extensive experience in organizing programs of popular participation. The PAID network will be helpful in all phases of the electoral process.
- **The Federation of African Voluntary Development Organizations (FAVDO) (Dakar, Senegal)** is the principal Africa-wide consortium of non-governmental and voluntary organizations, headquartered in Dakar. The Director of FAVDO has expressed a keen interest the democratization process and would assist in the identification of the appropriate NGOs for participation in project activities.
- **The African Centre for Development and Strategic Studies (ACDESS) (Ijebu-Ode, Nigeria),** a non-governmental, non-profit institution of research and studies, provides a forum for discussion and exchange of views among reserachers, experts, decision-makers and practitioners on issues of economic and political development. Its international Board includes both donors and senior African decision-makers.

In addition, AAI has strong links with:

- **WAND: Women and Development (Sierra Leone)**
- **Wangari Maathai (Nairobi, Kenya)
The Greenbelt Movement**
- **The Center for Support of Small and Medium Enterprises (CAPME) (Douala, Cameroon)**
- **Gracia Machel Foundation (Maputo, Mozambique)**
- **Mozambique Women's Organization (Maputo, Mozambique)**
- **Mozambican Teachers Association (Maputo, Mozambique)**
- **Organization of Mozambican Journalists (Maputo, Mozambique)**
- **Organization of Mozambican Women (Maputo, Mozambique)**
- **Namibian Council of Churches (Windhoek, Namibia)**
- **National Association of Small Scales Industries (Lagos, Nigeria)**
- **Nigerian Association of University of Women (Lagos, Nigeria)**
- **Nigerian Association of Journalists (Lagos, Nigeria)**
- **Uganda Women's Foundation (Kampala, Uganda)**
- **Action for Development (ACFODE) (Kampala, Uganda)**

(4) Foundations

Traditionally, U.S. foundations have supported education and human resources development, health, environment, and women in development projects in Africa. In addition, support of the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa as a human rights issue has been strong for the past 20 years. Recent emphasis on democratization and elections will offer an opportunity to move into a new area of development assistance.

~~The Ford, Carnegie, Rockefeller, and MacArthur Foundations are important AAI contacts and support.~~ AAI reinforces and builds those contacts by, inviting foundation officials to participate in conferences and meetings. AAI enjoys excellent working relations with a number of foundation leaders. For example, Franklin Thomas, Susan Beresford, John Gerhart at the Ford Foundation; Peter Goldmark, Catherine Gwin, Ken Pruitt and Joyce Moock at the Rockefeller Foundation; and David Hamburg and Dr. Patricia Rosenfield at the Carnegie Corporation.

In addition, efforts are underway to create African foundations which will focus on development efforts. Esther Ocloo of Ghana has created SelfHelp, a women's foundation that will distribute small grants to women entrepreneurs. Gracia Machel, in conjunction with the Synergos

Institute, has established a similar organization in Mozambique.

(5) Civic organizations

AAI has also worked with civic organizations that focus on strengthening civil societies such as human rights groups, chambers of commerce, and bar associations. These organizations have an impact on efforts to strengthen democratic institutions and to support the electoral process. Examples include:

- Good Samaritan Fellowship International Organization, Inc. (Monrovia, Liberia)
- Interfaith Refugee Organization of Liberia (Freetown, Sierra Leone)
- African Center for Democracy and Human Rights Studies (Banjul, The Gambia)
- Organization of Beninese Business Women and Entrepreneurs (Cotonou, Benin)
- Study and Research Group on Democracy and Economic and Social Development (GERDDES) (Cotonou, Benin)
- The Beninese Organization for the Protection of Human Rights (Cotonou, Benin)
- The Benin Bar Association (Cotonou, Benin)
- Namibia Peace Plan 45 (Windhoek, Namibia)
- Foundation for Democracy in Namibia (Windhoek, Namibia)
- Metal Allied Workers Union (Windhoek, Namibia)
- Namibia Nationhood Program (Windhoek, Namibia)
- Nigerian Civil Liberties Organisation (Lagos, Nigeria)
- Human Rights Africa (Lagos, Nigeria)
- Zonta International (Nigeria, Senegal, Liberia, Kenya)

(6) Political parties

Traditionally, AAI has worked in a bi-partisan fashion, although through the international visitor program, AAI is meeting more and more members of opposition groups.

(7) Donors

AAI seeks a variety of funding sources to support its work. In addition to U.S. AID and other U.S. government funding, AAI has secured funding from UNDP, the Special Committee Against Apartheid, UNICEF, UNHCR and United Nations Office of Disaster Relief (UNDRO)

among the UN specialized agencies. Specific contacts include James Grant, Executive Director of UNICEF; Richard Jolly, Deputy Executive Director of UNICEF; Matos Masouris, Assistant Secretary-General, Special Committee Against Apartheid. AAI has talked to Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs, James Jonah who has agreed to work collaboratively with the partnership on AREAAF African electoral assistance and election monitoring if the partnership is successful in its bid.

2. NDI

NDI uses a variety of methods to develop and maintain its contact network.

(1) Survey missions

NDI typically builds its in-country contacts through survey missions. For example, NDI's survey mission to Angola, Mozambique and Zambia in June and July 1992 introduced the Institute to over 10 political parties, 75 government officials, 20 journalists, 25 NGO leaders, and a consortium of international donors from the diplomatic community in those three countries.

(2) Regional programs

Regional seminars are another way NDI expands its contacts. At the January 1992 regional conference, "Advancing and Strengthening Democratic Elections in Southern Africa," which resulted from the above-mentioned survey mission, NDI established solid ties with 85 political party representatives, election administrators, and civic leaders from nine different countries in the region representing more than 45 different political organizations. Similarly, in November 1991, NDI organized a training program in Cotonu, Benin, where over 100 representatives of 35 organizations from 12 West African election observer countries participated.

(3) Work with civic organizations

Many of NDI's most useful in-country contacts have come from local civic organizations. In several instances, NDI has helped develop or transform local organizations into election monitoring organizations, which have proved extremely valuable in facilitating NDI's election-related program work. After the elections, these civic organizations have, in most cases, continued to develop independently and are eager to assist like-minded organizations in other countries where NDI is establishing programs. Some of the civic organizations with which NDI has worked include NAMFREL (Philippines), BAFECR (Bulgaria), CED (Paraguay), GERDDES (Benin), *Participa* (Chile), and NPP 435 (Namibia), ZEMCC and ZIMT (Zambia), and Pro Democracy (Romania).

~~The identification and development of local civic organizations worldwide has been an essential component of NDI's work in building public confidence during difficult transitions and consolidating democracy in the aftermath of these transitions.~~ In addition, these local organization often provide the necessary volunteers and local knowledge to assist, substantively and logistically, in implementing NDI programs. They also help brief and coordinate NDI and other international observer delegations during election periods. The following three examples illustrate NDI's work with local civic organizations:

- **Bulgarian Association for Fair Elections and Civil Rights (BAFECR)**

In the pre-electoral period in Bulgaria in 1990, NDI provided technical advice and material assistance to BAFECR, which formed in mid-April 1990. NDI and BAFECR first cooperated in a seminar designed to assist BAFECR in recruiting and training volunteers to participate in civic education and election monitoring programs. Experts from civic organizations NDI had worked with in Chile, Hungary and the Philippines shared their experiences with BAFECR organizers and volunteers.

In the six weeks preceding the elections, BAFECR recruited more than 10,000 volunteers who, on election day, performed pollwatching activities in a professional and diligent manner, reporting irregularities to election officials and international observers. The presence of the BAFECR monitors greatly enhanced public confidence in the electoral process.

One of BAFECR's principal achievements was the implementation of a parallel vote tabulation, which provided accurate results at 12:15 a.m. on the night of the election, four days before the official results were announced. The BAFECR tabulation showed a plurality for the ruling Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) over the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (UDF). Thus, unlike in Chile and Nicaragua, where the results of the parallel vote count were publicized to encourage the government to recognize an opposition victory, the BAFECR count served to convince the public -- and particularly UDF supporters -- that the BSP had won the elections.

BAFECR has grown into an dynamic civic organization. In the period between elections, BAFECR continued its civic education work with the Bulgarian public. Prior to each election, BAFECR has provided valuable briefings, volunteers and information to NDI and other international observers. BAFECR has also cooperated with NDI in organizing training programs for newly-elected members of the Bulgarian parliament and local government officials.

- **Study Group for Democratic and Economic and Social Development (GERDDES)**

During 1991 and 1992, NDI has developed a collaborative relationship with the Benin-based GERDDES. NDI has sponsored two series of seminars on election observation in Africa with GERDDES, which have included GERDDES members as trainers. GERDDES has been an important link for NDI, particularly in West and Francophone Africa, and has added many new contacts to NDI's existing contacts in Senegal, the Gambia, and Ivory Coast. This cooperative effort has enabled NDI to expand and enhance its program work in Africa and has provided GERDDES with important technical and material assistance. In addition, GERDDES representatives have participated in NDI programs in Africa, Eastern Europe and Asia.

- **Zambia Elections Monitoring Coordinating Committee (ZEMCC)**

At the end of September 1991, six Zambian organizations formed ZEMCC to monitor Zambia's first multi-party elections since 1968. Each of ZEMCC's constituent organizations -- the Christian Monitoring Group, the Law Association of Zambia, the National Women's Lobby Group, the Press Association of Zambia, the University of Zambia Students Union and the NGO Coordinating Committee -- chose two delegates to serve on ZEMCC's board.

ZEMCC published training manuals, sent mobile teams to train volunteers around the country and then used the media and the pulpit to publicize its activities and educate the citizenry about their rights and responsibilities in the election process. An estimated 3500 volunteers participated in ZEMCC training sessions. NDI provided technical and material advice to ZEMCC and recruited volunteers from ZEMCC's constituent organizations to implement a parallel vote tabulation.

During the balloting, ZEMCC monitors were present at nearly every polling site and provided extremely helpful in coordinating the NDI/Carter Center delegation and other international observers. Although ZEMCC's efforts were frequently attacked in the press by the ruling party UNIP, observers noted that polling officials frequently borrowed ZEMCC manuals or sought advice from ZEMCC monitors.

In the aftermath of the election, ZEMCC representatives have participated in several NDI programs. ZEMCC has plans to transform itself into a civic organization, committed to civic education and the consolidation of multi-party democracy in Zambia.

3. IRI

Since its inception, IRI has been one of the few organizations exclusively interested and engaged in democratic development throughout the world. This exposure has helped IRI develop extensive contacts with those people and organizations throughout the world concerned with establishing democratic institutions and governance in their own countries. Through time, many of those people and organizations have become members of a well-established network concerned with helping establish and consolidate democracy beyond their own borders.

IRI builds contacts in two stages: U.S.-based research and assessment missions. It has an open-door policy to all foreign visitors. It is through these discussions and interviews that IRI tries to establish long-term contacts. Second, when IRI decides to investigate the potential for working abroad, it deploys a staff mission or a delegation of staff and outside experts to conduct an assessment. While in-country, IRI meets with the full range of political parties, government officials, NGOs, journalists, business people, the general populace, and the diplomatic community, including the U.S. Embassy and AID Mission.

For example, through IRI's research and discussions with the President of the African Democratic Heritage Foundation (ADHERE) in Nigeria, IRI decided to assess the potential for programming in Nigeria. In August 1991, IRI helped ADHERE, which is a non-governmental civic education organization, organize a conference on "Understanding Democracy" at the University of Ibadan. At the same time, IRI conducted a further assessment of the local political situation. This

helped IRI establish close contacts with the Center for Democratic Studies and with both Nigerian political parties.

IRI is committed to nurturing its contact network, and many of its contacts have joined the resource base from which IRI selects program trainers and participants. IRI helps people travel to other countries to share their experiences and expertise in overcoming military regimes, communist rule, and one-party dictatorships. This cross-fertilization approach helps establish regional and international ties. It also helps previously closed societies understand that the world is truly international.

For example, in 1991, IRI brought together Bulgarian President Zhelu Zhelev; President of the Democratic Party of Albania, Dr. Sali Berisha; and Dr. Nicolae Manolescu, Chairman of the Civic Alliance Part of Romania. These three men had risked their own personal safety and that of their families in leading movements to rid their countries of communist rule. As a result of these meetings, the three democratic leaders agreed to meet quarterly with IRI consultants to discuss regional democratization strategies. As another example, in Nicaragua Latins now train Latins as a result of IRI's networking activities. In a series of continuing seminars, IRI drew on its contacts in Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Guatemala, and Honduras to train a variety of Nicaraguan political party leaders in party organization, recruitment, local governance, and financing in a developing nation.

The lists below illustrate the range of civic organizations, voter education institutes, individuals, and political parties with which IRI has worked. The lists are organized by region and type of organization.

African NGOs

Cameroon

Cameroonians for Peaceful and Democratic Change (CPDC)
Contact: Carlet Ayuk Ako

Ethiopia

The African Human Rights Committee (AHRC)
Contact: Dr. Aradom Tedla

Mali

Center for the Study and Research of Democracy, Economics, and Social
Development (CERDES)
Contact: Omar Barou Makalou

Namibia

Foundation for Democracy in Namibia
Contact: Jeffery L. Flake, Executive Director

Namibian Foundation for Democracy and Development

Contact: Edward Ndope, Executive Director

Nigeria

African Democratic Heritage Foundation (ADHERE)
Contact: Ayo Fasoro, President; Femi Otubanjo, Chairman

Center for Democratic Studies
Contact: Professor Omo Omoruyi, Director

Directorate for Social Mobilization (MAMSER)
Prof. Jerry Gana, Chairman; Okokon Ndem, Executive Director;
Dr. Tunde Adeniran, Sec. Director

Sierra Leone

Committee for the Defense of Democracy in Sierra Leone
Contact: Mohamed Kabiru Gassama, Executive Director;
Michael Faray, Director of Programs

Sierra Leone Patriotic Organization (SLPO)
Contact: Ismael S. Sowa, Acting Director

South Africa

Institute for Multi-Party Democracy
Contact: Professor Mervyn Frost; Dr. Saths Cooper

Zaire

The Foundation for Democracy in Zaire (FDZ)
Contact: Mr. Symba

Zimbabwe

African Research Center (formerly Zimbabwe AFC)
Contact: Annie-Grace Saungweme, Executive Director

African Political Parties

Angola

Angolan Democratic Party (PDA)
Contact: Antonio Alberto Neto

Democratic Renovation Party (PRD)
Contact: Luis da Silva Cardoso, Secretary General;
Arlindo Barbeitos, Secretary for Social Commission

National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA)
Contact: Holden Roberto, President; Ngola Kabangu, Member of Political Bureau

Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA)
Contact: Marcolino Moco, Secretary General

National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA)
Contact: Jonas Savimbi, President

Burkina Faso

Alliance for Democracy and Federation Party (ADF)
Contact: Ali Coulibaly, Official in Charge of Economic and Integration Issues

Cameroon

Cameroon Democratic Party (PDC)
Contact: Fabien M. Assigana, North American Representative

Cameroon Union of Democratic Forces (UFDC)
Contact: Dr. Andre Kekuine, Secretary General

National Union for Democracy and Progress
Contact: Mr. Issa Tchiroma Bakary, Secretary General

Social Democratic Front (SDF)
Contact: Mr. John Fru N'di, Chairman; Siga Asanga

Ethiopia

Ethiopia National Unity Party (ENUP)
Contact: Tedla Desta, President

Oromo Liberation Front
Contact: Galasa Dilbo, Chairman

Gabonese Republic (Gabon)

Gabonese Party of Progress
Contact: Maitre Agondjo-Okawe Pierre-Louis

Parti Social Democrate (PSD)
Contact: Albertine Maganga Moussavou

Ivory Coast

Front Populaire Ivoirien (FPI)
Contact: Pascal Kokora, U.S. Representative

Republican Party of the Ivory Coast
Contact: Mr. Gbai Tagro Robert, Chairman

Nigeria

National Republican Convention (NRC)
Contact: Alhaji Usman Alhaji, National Secretary

Social Democratic Party (SDP)
Contact: Baba Gana Kingibe, National Chairman

Rwanda

Liberal Party in Rwanda (LP)
Contact: Agnes Ntamabyaliro, Secretary General

Seychelles

Sir James Mancham
Opposition Leader, Former Prime Minister

Sierra Leone

Multi-Party Campaign Organization
Contact: Amudu Kanu, Chairman

National Democratic Party (NDP)
Contact: Jesse Gooding, Legal Counsel

Patriotic Alliance of Sierra Leoneans
Contact: Ishmel S. Sowa, Publicity Secretary

Sierra Leone Peoples' Party (SLPP)
Contact: Dr. Alpha M. Lavalie, Asst. Secretary-General

Tanzania

National Committee for Constitutional Reform (NCCR)
Contact: M.N. Marando, Chairman

Tanzania Democratic Alliance Party (TDAP)
Contact: Oscar S. Kambona

Uganda

Democratic Party of Uganda (DP)
Contact: Ambrose Okalu

Zaire

Rassemblement Katangais
Contact: Lucien M. Naki, Interim President

Zimbabwe

ZANU (NDONGA)
Contact: Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole, President

East Asian, South Asian, and Near East NGOs

Egypt

Al-Akhram Center for Political and Strategic Studies
Contact: Dr. Osama El-Ghazali Harb

Hong Kong

Hong Kong International Council of Young Leaders
Contact: Ms. Jennifer Chow, Chairperson

Jordan

Business & Professional Women Club
Contact: Hind A. Faber, President

Contact: Walid Abdul-Hadi
President of the Bar

Kuwait

The Graduate Society
Contact: Dr. Abdullah Al-Taweel, Chairman

Solidarity International for Kuwait
Contact: Ayman S. Alouri, Dir. of Political Affairs

Mongolia

Institute of National Development
Contact: Tsagaandari Enketubshin, Director

Philippines

Asian Institute of Management (AIM)
Contact: Felipe B. Alfonso, President; Michael A. Hamlin, Executive Vice President

NAMFREL
Contact: Mariano S. Quesada, Director of Mobilization

United People's Power Movement (UPPM)
Contact: Eduardo C. Arroyo, Jr., V.P. of Finance; R.R. De La Cruz, President; Leopoldo P. De Guzman, V.P.

East Asian, South Asian, and Near East Political Parties

Burma

Mr. U Win Khet
General Secretary, National League for Democracy (NLD)

Dr. Sein Win
Chairman, NLD

Cambodia

Roland Eng
Head of Information Department, FUNCINPEC

Ieng Mouly
Secretary General, KPNLF

Boun Say
Political Adviser, KPNLAF

Veng Sereyvuth
Foreign Affairs Department, FUNCINPEC

Norodom Sirivudh
Humanitarian Aid Department, FUNCINPEC

Pou Sothirak
Development & Planning, FUNCINPEC

Penn Thol
Chief of Cabinet of the President, KPNLF

Fiji

Mr. Arunaisa Lacabuka
General Secretary, National Democratic Party of Fiji (NDP)

Hong Kong

Matthew Harrison
Convener Policy Committee, HK Democratic Foundation (HKDF)

Albert G.Y. Ho
Vice Chairman, United Democrats of Hong Kong (UDHK)

F.K. Hu
Chairman, Liberal Democratic Federation of Hong Kong (LDFHK)

Patrick Shiu Kin-Ying
Chairman, (HKDF)

C.M. Martin Lee, Q.C.
Chairman, United Democrats of Hong Kong (UDHK)

Dr. C.H. Leong
Former Chairman, (HKDF)

Philip Kwok Chi Kuen
Vice Chairman, (LDFHK)

Paul Cheung Kwok Pun
General Committee Member, LDFHK

Mr. Peter H.M. Tsang
Secretary General, LDFHK

Japan

Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa
Party Leader, Liberal Democratic Party

Mr. Koji Omi
Director General, Research and Intelligence Bureau
Liberal Democratic Party

Jordan

Mahmoud El-Sherif
Minister of Information

Laos

Kanshua M. Wangyijou
President, Serison Lao Party (United Front for National Lao)

Mongolia

Bat-Erdeneen Batbayar
Chairman, Social Democratic Party

Dabaadorjiin Ganbold
Chairman, Party for National Progress

Logiin Tsog, Kinajatyn Zardykhan, Tserendashyn Tsolmon
National Renaissance Party

Sanjaasurengin Zorig
Chairman, Republican Party

Nepal

K.P. Bhattarai
General Secretary, Nepalese Congress Party

Taiwan

Honorable James Soong
Secretary General, KMT

Vanuatu

Serge Vohor
President, Union of Moderate Parties

Eastern European NGOs

Czech and Slovak Federative Republic

Christian Democratic Union of Central Europe
Contact: Mr. Stanislaw, Vice President

Public Against Violence
Contact: Mr. Andrej Bartosiewicz

Estonia

Jaan Tonisson Institute
Contact: Mr. Agu Laius, Member of Board

Georgia

Georgia and American Society
Contact: Mr. Archil Kobeladze, President

Lithuania

Free Market Institute
Ms. Elene Leoutjeva, Vice-President

Romania

Open Society Foundation of Romania
Contact: Mr. Alin Teodorescu

Students' League of Romania
Contact: Mr. Daniel Popescu, President

Russia

Legal Research Center
Contact: Ms. Nina Belyaeva, President

Democratic Russia Fund
Contact: Mr. Leonid Bogdanov, Director

International Center of Emerging Leaders
Contact: Mr. Alexander Shvedov, General Director

Data Information Agency
Contact: Dr. Alexander Tolstykh, General Director

Ukraine

Ukrainian Student Union
Contact: Petro Sherevera, Vice-President

Eastern European Political Parties

Albania

Dr. Sali Berisha
Chairman, Democratic Party of Albania

Gene Bulli
Former Minister of Finance, Member of Parliament

Democratic Party Leading Commission

Skender Gjinushi
Chairman, Social Democratic Party of Albania

Sabri Godo
Chairman, Republican Party of Albania

Mr. Arben Imami
Vice Chairman, Democratic Party of Albania

Mr. Aleksander Meksi
Vice Chairman of Parliament, Democratic Party of Albania

Mr. Gramos Pashko
Chief of the Economic Section, Dem. Party of Albania

Mr. Eduard Selami
General Secretary, Democratic Party of Albania

Prec Zoga
Former Minister of Culture, Member of Parliament
Democratic Party Leading Commission

Bulgaria

Peter Dertliev
Chairman, Social Democrats

Honorable Philip Dimitrov
Prime Minister of the Republic

Mr. Alexander Djerov, MP
Chairman, Legislative Committee

Mr. Dentsislav Drimitrov, MP
Chairman of Budget and Finance

Mr. Valintin Dobrev
Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs

Mr. Ilko Eskenazi
Member, Legislative Committee

Mr. Stoyan Ganev
Minister of Foreign Affairs

Christo Ivanov

Campaign Manager, UDF

Alexander Karakanchov
Vice-Chairman, Liberal Party

Ms. Nadia Mihialova
Spokesperson for the Council of Ministers

Ms. Snezhana Rotusharova, MP
Deputy Chair of National Assembly

Mr. Petko Simeonov
Chairman, Liberal Party

Stephan Savrov
Chairman, Democratic Party
Honorable Stefan Tavrov
Foreign Affairs Advisor to the President

Honorable Zhelyu Zhelev
President of the Republic

Czech and Slovak Federative Republic

Dr. Vaclav Benda
Chairman, Christian Democratic Party (Czech)

Mr. David Castek
Civic Forum Party

Honorable Vaclav Havel
President of the Republic

Mr. Ivan Havel
Civic Forum Party

Mr. Jiri Horak
Chairman, Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party

Mr. Jiri Kofranek
President, Democratic Forum

Honorable Petr Pithart
Prime Minister of the Republic

Estonia

Mr. Juri Adams

Member of the Board, National Independence Party

Mr. Illar Hallaste
Chairman, Christian Democratic Union

Ms. Liia Hanni, MP
Co-Chairman, Rural Center Party

Mr. Tunne Kelam
Chairman, Congress of Estonia

Viktor Korrovits
Member, Tartu City Council

Mr. Ivar Raig, MP
Co-Chairman of Rural Center Party

Mr. Trivimi Velliste, MP
Christian Democratic Party

Mr. Andrus Villem
Chairman, Christian Democratic Party

Hungary

Mr. Balazs Bardos, MP
Independent Smallholders' Party

Mr. Kulin Ferenc
Hungarian Democratic Forum

Mr. Miklos Hasznos, MP
Christian Democratic People's Party

Dr. Geza Jeszenszky
**Head of Foreign Affairs Committee, Hungarian Democratic
Forum (MDF)**

Mr. Eorsi Matyas
Free Democrat Party

Mr. Gabor Roszik, MP
Hungarian Democratic Forum

Mr. Peter Soltesz
Christian Democratic People's Party

Mr. Tibor Vidos

Free Democratic Party

Latvia

Sallija Benefelde
Campaign Coordinator, Latvian Popular Front

Mr. Visvaldis Brinkmanis
Vice-Chairman, Latvian National Independence Party

Mr. Janis Danoss
President, Latvian Liberal Party

Mr. Arvids Dravnieks
Member of Board (LPF)

Mr. Aigars Jirgens
Chairman, Citizen's Congress of Latvia

Mr. Rrobert Milbergs
Member of Board (LPF)

Mr. Romualdas Razukas
Chairman, Popular Front of Latvia

Mr. Dzintars Rasnaos
Member of Board (LPF)

Mr. Ivars Redisons
Member of Board (LDF)

Mr. Janis Rusko
Member of Board (LPF)

Ms. Ingrida Smite
Chief, Information Bureau (LDF)

Lithuania

Mr. Eozas Janosis
Sejm of Sajudis

Mr. Andrius Kubilius
Executive Secretary, Sajudis

Mr. Vytautas Radzvilas, MP
Chairman, Lithuanian Liberal Union

Mr. Marius Povilas Saulauskas
Vice Chairman, Lithuania Liberal Union

Mr. Juozas Tumelis
Executive Board, Sajudis

Mr. Alfonsas Vaisnoras
Sejm of Sajudis

Romania

Mr. Sorin Botez
Vice President, National Liberal Party (PNL)

Radu Campeanu
Chairman, National Liberal Party (PNL)

Mr. Sergiu Cunescu
President, Social Democratic Party (PSDR)

Cornel Coposu
President, National Christian Democratic Peasants' Party

Ms. Smaranda Enache
Civic Alliance Movement

Mr. Toma George Maiorescu
President, Ecological Party of Romania

Mr. Nicolai Manolescu
President, Civic Alliance Party

Mr. Nicu Stancescu
President, Democratic National Unity Party

Ms. Sanda Tatarescu
Hungarian's National Liberal Party

Russia

Mr. Leonid Bogdanov
Executive Director, Democratic Russia Fund
Democratic Russia Movement

Mr. Valery Borschov
Moscow City Council

Mr. Vladimir Bokser

**Member, Co-Ordinating Council
Democratic Russia Movement**

**Mr. Grigori Bondarev, MP
Vice-Chairman, Republican Party**

**Mr. Victor Dmitriev
Advisor to President Yeltsin**

**Mr. Kirill Ignatiew
Member, Co-Ordinating Council
Democratic Russia Movement**

**Ms. Vera Kreiger
Member, Co-Ordinating Council
Democratic Russia Movement**

**Mr. Vladimir Lyssenko, MP
Co-Chairman, Republican Party**

**Mr. Arkady Murashev
Chief of Police, Moscow**

**Mr. Lev Ponamarev, MP
Co-Chairman
Democratic Russia Movement**

**Mr. Oleg Rumyansev, MP
Chairman, Social Democratic Party**

**Mr. Stepan Sulakshin
Presidential Representative, Tomsk**

**Mr. Sergey Stankevich
Advisor to President Yeltsin**

**Dr. Leonid Volkov, MP
Executive Committee, Social Democratic Party**

**Father Gleb Yakunin, MP
Co-Chairman, Democratic Russia Fund
Democratic Russia Movement**

Serbia

**Milan Damjanovic
International Relations Section, National Liberal Party**

Vuk Draskovic
President, Serbian Renewel Movement

Zoran Kojic
Executive Board Member, Serbian Renewel Movement

Selma Latific, Campaign Organization Chief
Alliance of Reform Forces--Serbia
Professor Marianovic
Vice President, Serbian Renewel Movement

Dr. Dragoslav Micunovic
President, Democratic Party of Serbia

Aleksander Petrovic
Initiating Member, National Liberal Party

Dragoslav Petrovic
Chairman, Alliance of Reform Forces--Vojvodina

Milehko Radic
General Secretary, Parliamentary Staff
Serbian Renewal Movement

Ukraine

Mr. Ivan Dracn
Chairman, RUKH

Mr. Stepan Khmara, MP
Ukraine

Mr. Mikhail Khorbal, MP
Ukraine

Ms. Bogdana Kostiuk
Foreign Relations Committee, RUKH

Ms. Irene Krasulaya
Political Activist, Ukrainian Republican Party

Mr. Lev Lukyanenko
Chairman, Ukrainian Republican Party

Mr. Volodimir Martynuk
Election Committee, Ukrainian Republican Party

Mr. Oleksandr Savchenko

Department of Foreign Relations, RUKH

**Mr. Petro Sherevera
Vice-President, Ukrainian Student Union**

Latin American NGOs

Argentina

**Fundacion Libertad y Democracia (LID)
Contact: Mr. Martin Krause, Director; Jorge Sagasti, Treasurer**

Bolivia

**FUNDEMOS
Contact: Mr. Enrique Toro Tejada, Director**

Chile

**Centro de Estudios Publicos
Contact: Dr. Arturo Fontaine, Director**

**Instituto Libertad
Contact: Mr. Rodrigo Ubilla, Vice Director**

Columbia

**Fundacion Simon Bolivar
Contact: Mr. Guillermo Leon Escobar, Director**

Dominica

**East Caribbean Institute for Democracy
Contact: Mr. Alvin Knight, Chairman**

Grenada

**Grenada Civic Awareness Organization
Contact: Dr. Reginald Buckmayer**

**Grenada Civic Awareness Organization
Contact: Mr. Selwin La Mothe**

Guatemala

Academia para la Libertad y la Justicia

Contact: Mr. Juan Daniel Aleman, President; Mr. Otto
Rene Quinonez, Executive Director

Jamaica

Caribbean Democratic Union (CDU)
Contact: Hector Wynter, Chairman

Nicaragua

Grupo FUNDEMOS
Contact: Mr. Emilio Alvarez Montalvan, President

Grupo FUNDEMOS
Contact: Mr. Geronimo Guisto, Executive Director

Latin American Political Parties

Anguilla

Honorable Emile Gumbs
Chief Minister, Anguilla National Alliance

Argentina

Mr. Jorge Aguado
President, Partido Union del Centro Democratico

Mr. Federico Clerici
President, UCEDE

Belize

Honorable Manuel Esquivel
United Democratic Party

Bolivia

Mr. Hugo Banzar Suarez
President, Nacional de Accion Democratica (ADN)

Chile

Mr. Andres Allamand
President, Renovacion Nacional (RN)

Mr. Frederico Mekis

Secretary for International Relations, RN

Colombia

Mr. Andres Pastrana Arango
Senator, Social Conservative Party (SCP)

Honorable Misael Pastrana Borreo
Former President of the Republic, SCP

Mr. Guillermo Fernandez de Soto
Advisor to Minister of Foreign Affairs, SCP

Costa Rica

Honorable Rafael Angel Calderon Fournier
President of the Republic, United Social Christian Party (PUSC)

Deputy Hernan Castro
Deputy Foreign Minister, PUSC

Mr. Rolando Lacle
Minister of the Presidency, PUSC

Mr. Bernd Niehaus
Foreign Minister, PUSC

Mr. Miguel Angel Rodriguez
President of the National Assembly, PUSC

Dominica

Honorable Dame Eugenia Charles
Prime Minister of the Republic, Dominica Freedom Party

Dominican Republic

Mr. Casimiro Perez
President, Social Republican Party (PASORE)

Ecuador

Mr. Pablo Baquerizo
Conservative Party

Mr. Alberto Dahik Gorzoz
Congressman, Conservative Party

El Salvador

Mr. Juan Jose Domenech
Foreign Relations Secretary, ARENA

Mr. Armondo Calderon Sol
President, ARENA

Grenada

Mr. Reynald Benjamin
New National Party Headquarters (NNP)

Dr. Keith Mitchell, MP
New National Party (NNP)

Dr. John Watts
New National Party Headquarters (NNP)

Guatemala

Honorable Jorge Serrano
President of the Republic, Solidarity Action Movement (MAS)

Mr. Manuel Conde
Minister of the Presidency, MAS

Mr. Antonio Lemus
Ministry of the Presidency, MAS

Mr. Eduardo Rottman
President, Economic Commission, MAS

Haiti

Mr. Arnold Antonin
PANPRA

Mr. Marc Bazin
M.I.D.H.

Mr. Francois Benoit
M.I.D.H.

Mr. Serges Cuiles
PANPRA

Honduras

**Mr. Jorge Carranza, MP
National Party**

**Honorable Rafael Leonardo Callejas
President of the Republic, National Party**

**Mr. Jose Celin Discua Elvir
President, National Party**

**Mr. Gilberto Goldstein
Minister of the Presidency, National Party**

Jamaica

**Honorable Edward Seaga
Jamaican Labour Party**

**Parnell Campbell
Jamaican Labour Party**

Mexico

**Mr. Luis H. Alvarez
President, Partido Accion Nacional (PAN)**

Montserrat

**Mr. John Osbourne
Peoples Liberation Movement**

Nevis

**Honorable Simeon Daniel
Nevis Reformation Party**

Nicaragua

**Her Excellency Violeta Barrios de Chamorro
President of the Republic**

**Mr. Elizo Nunez Hernandez
President, Partido Liberal Constitucionalista**

**Mr. Mario Rappaccioli
Partido Nacional Conservador**

Mr. Fernando Zelaya
First Secretary of the National Assembly

Panama

Dr. Luis G. Casco Arias
General Secretary, MOLIRENA

Honorable Billy Ford
Vice President of the Republic

Peru

Mr. Mario Vargas Llosa
Movimiento Libertad

St. Kitts

Rt. Honorable Dr. Kennedy Simmonds
Prime Minister, Peoples Action Movement

St. Lucia

Honorable John Compton
United Workers Party

St. Vincent and the Grenadines

Rt. Honorable James Mitchell
Prime Minister, New Democratic Party

F. MANAGEMENT CAPACITY

AAI has long been recognized by AID and other donors for its management capabilities. For 20 years, it has administered the African Graduate Fellowship Program (AFGRAD), now called the African Training for Leadership and Advanced Skills Program (ATLAS). These programs, involving activities both in the U.S. and in Africa, have supported graduate studies for over 2,700 African students in the United States, many of whom now occupy senior positions in government and the private sector. The total program cost is \$85 million.

In addition, AAI has served since 1982 as the Managing Partner of Partners for International Education and Training (PIET), the major contractor for AID's Office of International Training. This program has supported field activities as well as the administration of education and training programs for more than 22,000 participants. The total program cost to date is \$50 million. AAI is the sole organization responsible for the FRLC drawdowns and related reporting requirements.

Having established a separate bank for this purpose, AAI advances to each of the four partner organizations sufficient funds to cover projected operational needs in accordance with FRLC regulations. Each organization then makes disbursements for program and administrative costs related to its own project responsibilities and maintains independent accounting and recordkeeping systems. AAI submits periodic consolidated reports to AID for PIET as a whole. Thus, it is exceptionally well qualified to administer a similar financial arrangement under AREAF, offering program flexibility to each of the partners while ensuring complete fiscal accountability to AID.

Other large projects managed by AAI include the programming of more than 5,000 international visitors from African countries since 1962, with \$30 million in funding from the United States Information Agency, and training of South African refugee students in the United States and in African countries, with \$22 million in funding from the Department of State. In all, AAI has administered approximately 75 programs at a total cost of \$350 million since 1961.

AAI has a long-demonstrated capacity to manage African field activities. Since 1988, AAI has been prime contractor for the AID Family Health Services project in Nigeria, providing logistical and administrative support services for thirteen technical contractors. AAI is organizing a conference in Lagos March 2-6, 1992, on women's political participation, with support from the United Nations Fund for Women. Under the ATLAS program, AAI organizes two conferences in Africa every year on development topics. The first was held in Kampala in October 1991. The topic was "The African Family and Sustainable Environment" in October 1991. The second is being held in Dakar in April 1992. The topic is governance. In addition, every other year AAI organizes its Annual African-American Conference in an African country. The last conference was held in Cairo in January 1991. Attendees included 138 leaders of Africa, the U.S., Europe, and Japan. There were 29 foreign ministers and other members of cabinet, 26 members of the U.S. congress, leaders of key regional and multilateral groupings, and key private sector leaders. In organizing these conferences, AAI has demonstrated its expertise in raising funds both locally and in the U.S., getting experts and participants to the conference site, handling logistics and travel in-country, and reporting substantively on deliberations in Africa. Under the ATLAS program, AAI will also be awarding grants of up to \$30,000 to African professional associations.

In the past, before and during the early years of the Peace Corps, AAI engaged and supported American teachers for assignments in African secondary schools and technical institutes. During the same era, AAI organized and supervised the Regional Heavy Equipment Training Center in Togo with funding from USAID. For nearly a decade, it helped run the Kuransani International Education Center in Tanzania for refugee students from Southern Africa. In later years, it arranged study tours and charter flights to Africa for more than 3,000 Americans, requiring extensive local arrangements and collaboration with local organizations.

In short, AAI has a long history of engagement in and management of activities in the U.S. and on the ground in Africa and has demonstrated the kind of management, fiscal, logistical, and substantive capabilities that will be required for successful administration of AREAF.

SECTION II. TECHNICAL APPROACH

This section of the proposal demonstrates the partnership's in-depth understanding of the political transition process in Africa and the basic framework governing AID's electoral assistance programs. It also describes in detail the proposed implementation strategy, illustrating how effectively the partners can apply their extensive capabilities and experience as described in Section I. It is organized as follows:

- A. Overview of organizational roles and responsibilities**
- B. Contextual understanding**
- C. Implementation strategy**

A. OVERVIEW OF ORGANIZATIONAL ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES

Subsection II.C.9 below describes in detail how the partnership will be organized and how roles and responsibilities will be distributed between participating organizations. A brief summary is provided here to facilitate the reader's understanding of the implementation strategy presented in Subsection C.

The project will be administered as a partnership among AAI, NDI, and IRI, with the Carter Center as a collaborating institution. AAI will serve as the lead institution and enter into a direct cooperative agreement with AID. A Senior Project Council consisting of the Presidents of the three partners will be responsible for establishing project policy, developing overall programming strategies, and assigning activities to organizations within the partnership. A representative of the Carter Center may participate in meetings of the Council as an ex-officio member.

Each country, function, and/or regional program activity will be implemented by one of the three partners. That partner will serve as the lead for that activity. Large procurements will be contracted out to an experienced Procurement Services Agent. As indicated in Section I, the partnership expects that President Carter will play a leading role in observation missions when he is invited by country representatives and he feels he can make a significant contribution. The Carter Center will be involved as appropriate in creation of an atmosphere conducive to free and fair elections, pre-election observation functions, the observation mission, and post-election consolidation.

All three partners will be represented on the project staff, with an AAI Project Director and Associate Directors from NDI and IRI.

B. CONTEXTUAL UNDERSTANDING

1. Background

For almost 30 years African states were in large part governed by authoritarian regimes with scant regard for citizen participation. Under such circumstances, the major institutions of democracy, including free and fair elections, were compromised. During the past two years, a revolution has swept through Africa, a revolution in which citizens have demanded the opportunity to participate in decisions about who governs them. In 1990, only four African countries had multiple parties in which citizens periodically could decide who ruled them. By 1992, at least 22 countries were planning multi-party elections within the next 18 months.

Changes have come roughly in four stages: struggle; transition; election; and consolidation. The first stage is one of growing awareness that inefficient public administration and financial mismanagement have had a negative impact on development. Bankrupt economies, loss of donor funding, and attention to global changes occurring in Eastern Europe and elsewhere have resulted in new assertions of the right to participate in governmental decision-making by ordinary citizens.

In the second phase, national conferences and other large meetings have led to government transitions. Often interim governments result in new leadership or restructured governments with new or expanded top leadership. One of the primary tasks of the new leadership is preparation for and conduct of free and fair national and local elections.

In the third phase, the electoral campaign and election phase, political parties formally compete for the right to rule. Governed by an electoral code and other laws, this phase shapes the future outlines of the country's government.

The last phase is that of consolidation. In turning to democratic government, many Africans anticipate that new forms of government will solve problems, attract new donor support, and reverse years of steady economic, social, and infrastructural decline. Once in place, the new government will face the formidable challenge of simultaneously addressing these expectations, educating the population about the rights and responsibilities of democratic citizenry, and strengthening the institutions of civil society. **The implanting of popularly elected, responsible government will require deepening understanding of and support for the basic institutions of democracy, building of civil society, and re-education for new understanding of the roles and responsibilities of citizenship.**

2. AID and democratization

AID has applauded and supported the democratic transitions occurring throughout Africa for four reasons. First, promoting democratization is a long-established goal of U.S. foreign policy. It is widely acknowledged that the U.S. offers a successful model of democratic government, a model that many African countries hope to emulate; therefore, support to nations seeking to develop structures and processes that install democracy and institutionalize our most deeply held beliefs is in our national interest. Advocacy of our basic beliefs about freedom and democracy is an appropriate part of our foreign assistance program. Second, democratic countries forge constructive relations with each other. The often stated maxim that democratic countries never go to war with each other is particularly relevant in Africa. Democratically elected, accountable, transparent African governments could turn their attention from civil and intra-African conflicts to the much needed focus on economic and social development. Third, countries that encourage popular

participation and practice transparent, accountable governance are more likely to enjoy sustained economic development. Finally, democratic countries garner more U.S. domestic support, which is an important consideration in the U.S. competition for shrinking resources.

AID has examined the whole range of institutions and processes that support democratic governance. Institutions that support democracy include free and fair elections periodically held; an independent judiciary that safeguards human rights as codified in legal statutes; strong non-governmental organizations, including political parties, trade unions, and, in the case of Africa, development organizations; independent legislative assemblies which function as representative forums for diverse opinion and embody the concept of loyal opposition; and civilian control of the military.

This is a relatively new field for AID and has required detailed study. Studies have examined issues of national sovereignty, the relationship of democratization to development, and strategies for integrating democratic criteria into AID's strategic goals. AID recognized that the issue of sovereignty is especially compelling, noting that it would be self-defeating to try to recreate copies of U.S. institutions or to influence the outcomes in free and fair elections. AID also emphasized the importance of supporting local institutions and planned to provide expanded direct support for democratic institutions such as electoral bodies.

These studies and deliberations have resulted in decisions by AID to focus its support in the following ways:

- to strengthen democratic institutions
- to integrate concerns about democracy and governance into AID programs
- to reward progress in democratization by establishing such progress as a criterion in allocating AID funds
- to facilitate quick responses to democratic breakthroughs

In short, AID plans to support efforts to strengthen democratic institutions and encourage movements to transparency in governance.

AID's support has included several initiatives, including the Democracy and Governance Initiative, establishment of a data bank, and special appropriations for Angola and South Africa. As AID aims to strengthen democratic institutions, one of the most important and vulnerable is the institution of elections. A high visibility manifestation of the changes that are surging through the continent, elections are one means of confirming change and solidifying broader political participation. Elections are a multi-phased activity, involving preparation, conduct, and follow-up, including both local and national elections and constitutional referenda.

Through support of electoral processes, U.S. assistance could accomplish the following:

- strengthened electoral systems and processes which will lead to greater participation

- enhanced conduct and monitoring of free and fair elections
- increased popular confidence in the process as open, transparent, and sustainable
- strengthened institutions that support democracy such as civic organizations, a free press, an independent judiciary, and strong NGOs, including political parties
- greater civic participation in pre-election, election, and post-election environments

3. Challenges to democratization in Africa

Part of the greater movement of expanded pluralism worldwide, Africa is nevertheless unique. It is hampered by:

- fragile democratic institutions
- embryonic civil societies
- illiterate populations, a fact which severely circumscribes the methods of reaching potential voters
- inexperienced electoral populations who have not had an opportunity to cast a ballot (a 46-year-old Zambian diplomat confided that the then upcoming election would be the first time in his life in which he would cast a vote)
- poor infrastructure, meaning that it is difficult to reach rural areas, electricity is uncertain, mail delivery is sporadic, and addresses are virtually unknown
- understandable distrust of the electoral process because the ballot box was not the prescribed way of changing government and, moreover, elections were often fraught with violence
- the rapidity with which elections are called and minimal time allowed for extensive preparation

Looming behind the democratization impediments are Africa's overwhelming poverty and major development problems. With a \$270 billion debt that is 109 percent of sub-Saharan Africa's GDP, crude birth rates that outstrip increases in agricultural productivity, and massive deforestation and related agricultural and environmental problems, Africans have multiple development concerns.

Thus, any initiative must be careful to balance other developmental concerns with those of democracy.

These factors present for key challenges to those wishing to offer technical assistance to facilitate democratization in Africa:

- (1) promoting efficacy in political participation
- (2) introducing the concept of a competitive political environment
- (3) ensuring the sustainability of new democratic structures and processes
- (4) strengthening African capability for long-term maintenance and sustenance of democratic institutions

(1) **Promoting efficacy in political participation.** The first challenge is to create a sense of efficacy in political participation and to strengthen the confidence of the population in the effectiveness of open, plural processes for choosing governments. Political participation for traditional cultures can be a daunting concept on several levels. The institutional infrastructure which channels the activities of citizens in more established democracies simply does not exist in many African countries, and institutions that traditionally support democracy have been incredibly weak. Courts have been compromised; legislatures have been rubber stamps of authoritarian chief executives; the press has often been an arm of government; and party competition has been virtually non-existent. For many years, Africans have felt that unless one was a member of the party elite, political participation was circumscribed, professionally disadvantageous, and potentially dangerous. In short, citizens had no confidence in the institutions of democracy or in their own politicians. Thus, assistance programs in Africa must introduce concepts of political participation as an aspect of good citizenship and build a sense of efficacy in political participation.

(2) **Introducing the concept of a competitive political environment.** The second challenge is to introduce the concept of competition into traditional political cultures which rely on consensus for decision-making. Julius Nyerere often reminds colleagues that democracy is as old as the African sun; the elders sat under a tree and talked and talked until agreement was reached. Therefore, the concept of choosing who leads the country through a competitive process of channeling competition through political parties which present alternative plans to deliver goods and services may be outside of the experiential base of the average African citizen.

~~_____~~ **Integral part of a party-based democracy.** The concept of competition through political parties assumes new meaning and acceptability when multiple parties can function legally and openly. Political parties and candidates will be more willing to compromise when they experience firsthand the need to work collaboratively to achieve elected office. Exposure to African opposition and ruling democratic politics from similar cultural backgrounds also can help in this education of political party activists.

Cultural inhibitions to acceptance of competition can be overcome so that democratic practices and institutions can be rooted in Africa. Civic education can reinforce the tolerance of divergent views among the citizenry and reinforce the fact that political competition need not be a

zero sum game in which the penalties for losers often include deprivation of freedom and livelihood.

(3) Ensuring the sustainability of new democratic structures and processes. Supporters of African democratization efforts must be concerned with how one sustains democratic advances, once achieved. The institutionalization of the electoral process and the reinforcing mechanisms of civil society are complementary. When citizens see that the accountability inherent in democracy actually works, they develop confidence in it. When the system begins to produce rational economic practices and stable social traditions, then commitment to the processes of democracy grows apace. The expansion of the institutions of civil society to channel the energies of the citizenry into the political life of the country follows quickly. The support and involvement of the voting public in the processes of civil society reflect their stake in its output. The greater the effect they see they can have, the greater their participation.

The consolidation stage can reinforce this participation by ensuring that the electoral process is institutionalized and that the institutions of civil society are firmly in place. NGOs, political parties, and the responsive structure of a democratic government are all required.

The continued reinforcement of the habits and practices of democracy are inherent in a successful democratic polity. However, regular exchanges of information on the technical aspects of democratic government among the activists of NGOs, elected officials, electoral officials, and political party activists and leadership can encourage and sustain the transition to democracy.

Sustainability involves assuring that the electoral process is institutionalized, that a civic base exists in support of a rational, constitutional means of choosing leadership, and that mechanisms are in place to assure continued support during the consolidation phase of democratization. In this instance, it is important to have outside colleagues who will remain in contact and help establish an international network of southerners interested in the process. This partnership will facilitate the development of these linkages.

(4) Strengthening African capacity for long-term maintenance and sustenance of democratic institutions. The partnership understands the critical need to build African capacities in order to empower Africans to maintain their own democratic institutions -- in this instance, the institution of free and fair elections. This is the central objective of the consolidation activities. While much of democracy is learned on the job by politicians and activists in traditional cultures, considerable expertise exists in Africa and in the democratic development institutions of the major democracies. However, the African experience in capacity-building is of relevance. While many focus on the imperfections of the Nigerian democratization experience, the body of practical knowledge available there and in other African countries which have begun the transition or enjoy functioning democracies should not be overlooked. ~~Regional exchanges and regular meetings~~ on the development of more effective democratization support techniques can facilitate both the sustainability and the capacity-building aspects of this program. In the long term, Africans must be convinced that choosing their governments through free and fair competitive elections in which the winners can be held accountable for delivering on their promises offers the best route to economic, social, and political development. This partnership will work with African NGOs, the OAU, and the United Nations to strengthen African indigenous capacity.

4. The partnership's response to the challenges

The partnership's basic strategy has four components that respond directly to these challenges:

(1) Ensuring African input. The partnership will ensure definitive African participation in two ways. First, it will involve Africans in-country through use of its extensive African network. It will seek broad participation from government leaders, leaders of thought and opinion, leaders of NGOs, and rural-based/grassroots leaders. Second, its international teams will contain Africans from other countries. For example, Senegalese Ousman N'Gom who has observed elections in Haiti and the Philippines might be invited to travel to the Congo, or Peter Anyang N'ongo of Kenya to offer pre-electoral assistance in Togo.

(2) Facilitating transferability of successful strategies from one country to another. Often, countries develop unique responses to election-related problems that are readily adaptable to other nations. For instance, the Benin isoloir, a collapsible cardboard voting booth, is an inexpensive technology that can be used virtually anywhere. The partnership has already informed the Liberians about this technology and showed how their proposed elections budget could be greatly reduced.

(3) Making women special target beneficiaries. The active involvement of African women is essential to ensure the success of transitions, sustain democratization initiatives, promote civil society, and build long-term capacity. Women are often overlooked in discussions of competitive politics and the electoral process. AAI has taken a leading role in stimulating women's participation in all aspects of national development. This partnership will continue that initiative and will aim to include women on virtually every assistance team.

(4) Applying existing rapid-response mechanisms. AID has stressed the need to respond quickly to democratic breakthroughs. Similarly, it is imperative that the grantee be able to respond quickly to an African call for help. African elections are usually called on short notice, and a quick response may make the difference between success and failure. All three partners already have rapid-response mechanisms. **The partnership will work with AID to establish a cooperative approach that facilitates this kind of responsiveness in this project.**

The following provides examples of how this strategy will be applied in each stage of assistance.

Pre-electoral stage

The unprecedented numbers of Africans involved in the demand for change and expanded roles in their own governments provide an opportune moment to re-engage citizens in the political process. **After the decision has been made to work in a given country, the partnership will quickly field a team of international experts who will offer assistance in every stage of pre-electoral preparation. Partnership involvement will begin with a needs assessment.** The teams will be international with a rich mix of experts from other countries who have recent experience in

transitions to democracy. For example, Mars Quesada from the Philippines can provide advice on how to establish a NAMFREL-like organization in another country.

All partnership activities will build upon pre-existing contacts. AAI has more well-established points of contact and entry in every African country than any other U.S. organization. The AAI representative is the first point. A respected member of the community, he or she can offer an up-to-the-minute assessment and facilitate entry. Second, the African Graduate Fellowship Program administered by AAI has trained more than 2,700 Africans. About 90 percent of these are back in their countries working at senior levels in both public and private sectors. There are 75 to 100 AFGRAD alumni in every country. They include Prime Minister Soumana Sako of Mali, Prime Minister Allisane Outtara of Cote d'Ivoire, several cabinet ministers in Cameroon, eight vice chancellors across the continent, environmental activist Wangari Matthai, and countless other prominent, dedicated African democrats. These highly placed professionals form a cadre of persons eager to work with international colleagues to facilitate the democratic transition. Third, through conferences and workshops and the administration of the International Visitors Program, AAI has established contacts with both leaders and opposition in almost every African country that is undergoing a transition.

NDI and IRI have established similar contacts through their work in the past seven years in more than 20 African countries. No other bidder has the pre-existing, immediate capability to enter every African country knowledgeable about the environment and already enjoying the trust and confidence of its senior leadership, opposition, and citizenries.

The partnership will also work closely with African NGOS, NGOS that other Africans trust. In conjunction with African colleagues in-country, the partnership will identify opinion leaders and leaders of non-governmental organizations and expand existing contacts. It will work with African counterparts such as the Africa Leadership Forum, GERDDES, and the African Academy of Sciences to build a cadre of NGOs that have embraced the concept of free and fair elections and that are pivotal forces in encouraging others to support and participation in the electoral process.

Every effort will be made to work with representatives and leaders of the national conference in any country that used that forum to determine the course of its advance toward democratization. The national conference has been a uniquely African response to the call for democratization. Begun in Benin in the summer of 1990, the national conference is a vehicle for bringing together individuals from all segments of society to discuss current government, design a new governing structure, or revise the existing constitution to safeguard the rule of law and individual human and civil rights. ~~More than 13 African countries have now held either national conferences or similar inclusive gatherings to discuss major constitutional revisions.~~ The leadership of the conference is invariably thoughtful, articulate, representative, and visionary. They are citizens with a vested interest in successful reform and willing to partner with others interested in promoting democratic processes, particularly free and fair elections.

After establishing initial contacts and working with African colleagues to assess needs, this partnership has the capacity to offer the full range of services, including from assistance on the formation of the electoral commission or other electoral authorities, technical assistance to the electoral authorities, electoral code consultation, voter education programs, assistance in formulation of electoral, political party and press laws, and voter registration. It can also provide experts skilled

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in working on non-partisan civic education campaigns, and it can continually monitor the pre-election environment.

Electoral stage

In this stage, the critical activities include voter education, monitoring adherence to law during the official campaign period, support to parties, observation and monitoring of the election, monitoring the vote count, and a parallel vote count. Political parties will play a major role in educating and informing the competitive process. The in-depth experience of IRI and NDI in providing non-partisan support to political parties will be invaluable to Africans who have had very limited party-building experience. These two institutes can provide basic manuals on party-building and organization, hold workshops on campaign financing and how to get out the vote, and provide radio tapes and videos in local languages.

The key point during this phase is the election itself. The partnership will provide support and training for non-partisan election monitoring organizations, organize international election monitoring programs, including appropriate pre-election missions, organize the final international observer delegation, arrange for an independent vote count or parallel analysis of official returns, and await final returns.

It is in this period that President Jimmy Carter may play an important role. Many African nations have requested his personal intervention in either planning and/or observing elections. Examples include Ethiopia and Liberia. He will participate when AID, the partnership, and President Carter himself believe that his presence and the international attention that he will command will encourage conduct of free and fair elections and change of government. This is a unique capability that no other bidder can offer.

Consolidation stage

Support to the new government is essential if the new democratic advances are to take hold and become rooted. In this phase of the project, the partnership will strive to deepen support for the electoral process as the only acceptable means by which to change national governmental leadership. The goal is to be able to reform while simultaneously delivering dividends to society.

Efforts in this phase will concentrate on two tasks: (1) professionalization of government and (2) building civil society. Professionalization of the government may include institutional capacity-building through strengthening the legislature, court administrative system, and/or the host-country equivalent of the General Accounting Office. The target beneficiaries are professionals of these organizations, often the civil servants. They must be invested in the new democratization and transparent, accountable governance if the changes are to be successful and sustained.

A vigorous civil society with strongly held tenets of respect for the rule of law, a willingness to change leaders exclusively through elections, and a good understanding of the fundamental tenets of representative government is essential for a democracy to flourish. Civil societies are those intermediate institutions between the family and the state. The partnership will work with these NGOs, including civic organizations, women's groups, trade unions, local African foundations and philanthropic groups, professional associations, chambers of commerce, bar associations and African

affiliates of international associations. African NGOs such as PAID and the African Academy of Science are planning initiatives that aim to strengthen civil society and have already indicated a willingness to collaborate with the partnership.

An essential element of consolidation is strengthening African indigenous institutions not only on the local and national levels, but also at the intra-African, multilateral level. In an effort to further that commitment to African capacity-building, the partnership has discussed the possibility of working with the OAU in every stage, from pre-electoral efforts in voter registration to commodities procurement, electoral commission technical assistance, actual monitoring of the election, and follow-up.

In summary, this partnership offers a program fully consistent with AID's mandate, appropriate to the three main stages of electoral activity, and responsive to the challenges and impediments described above. The partnership's goal is to help African countries to develop and consolidate democratic institutions, particularly electoral processes, that are consistent with their own traditions and customs, have transferability to other countries, and ultimately facilitate economic development.

C. IMPLEMENTATION STRATEGY

This section describes how the partnership proposes to implement this project. It is organized as follows:

1. Coordination with AID and the Department of State
2. Country selection
3. Programming perspectives
4. Pre-election and campaign stages
5. International election observer delegation
6. Post-election consolidation: long-term support of democratic institutions
7. Regional conferences, seminars, and workshops
8. Innovations
9. Project management

1. Coordination with AID and the Department of State

The partners understand AID's desire for substantial involvement in this project. They also understand the interests of the Department of State in a project with such broad ramifications. All three partners already have excellent working relationships with key individuals in both agencies -- in Africa as well as in Washington -- and have a long history of cooperative programming. They look forward to continuing these relationships and expanding the scope of cooperation.

The objectives of an effective coordination strategy are:

- to establish formal systems for notifying AID and the Department of State of programming options and securing approval required for field activities
- to ensure that U.S. government policy considerations are incorporated into programming decisions
- to provide sufficient information and opportunity for AID and State officials to participate in significant programming decisions
- to provide a continuing forum for joint discussion of important issues
- to keep AID and State officials apprised of project progress and accomplishments
- to take advantage of all available expertise in solving problems

There are numerous considerations in establishing specific coordination mechanisms. For example, it is important to take advantage of existing review and decision-making processes within the government rather than suggest new ones that conflict with normal agency operations. At the same time, implementing organizations need the flexibility afforded by the cooperative agreement vehicle to continue their existing program, using existing systems and procedures to apply their expertise in Africa with support from this agreement. As another example, it is essential that government personnel are familiar with projects as they develop so that they can make final decisions relatively quickly. This consideration must be balanced against the time demands that are placed on both project and government staff, and the potential for wasteful "information overload." Thus, considerable thought must go into what mechanisms will be established and how they will be used.

The partners propose to develop jointly with AID the specific coordination mechanisms. These mechanisms must ensure that AID has a central information resource within the partnership and that information flows smoothly and freely between the government and all three implementing organizations. They must also ensure that no activity requiring concurrence occurs without it. Immediately following project award, project staff will initiate a series of meetings with the Project Officer and, at his or her request, with other government representatives to discuss options. Among the key issues to be addressed are:

- specific programming points at which official approval is required
- which bureaus and offices should be represented at each kind of decision point
- specific programming points at which the government desires information
- how much and what kind of information should be transmitted in writing and what kinds of questions should be discussed verbally

- the preferred balance between formal and informal meetings
- the preferred balance between information-only coordination and concurrence coordination
- the preferred frequency for regular information exchange and joint discussion
- the extent to which AID and Department of State personnel wish to interact directly with the Senior Project Council
- methods for direct communication with government officials other than the Project Officer, and the circumstances under which they can occur
- minimum requirements for coordination between field teams and USAID Missions

Resolution on these issues will help define the most appropriate coordination mechanisms. All discussions will be summarized in a Memorandum of Understanding from the Project Director to the Project Officer.

While the precise set of mechanisms will be developed jointly, the partners anticipate that at least some of the following will apply:

- regular and frequent meetings between the Project Officer and project staff, some of which will be attended by other government officials
- telephone consultation between government officials and project staff as needed
- attendance by government representatives at selected Senior Project Council meetings
- attendance by government representatives at field team pre-departure briefings and debriefings upon return from the field
- formal arrival, interim, and end-of-mission briefings between partner organization field teams and Mission and Embassy personnel (see 7. below)
- special ad hoc meetings convened to address a particular country, problem, or opportunity
- comprehensive and timely quarterly, trip, and ad hoc reports

It is likely that the ad hoc meetings may require assembling special groups to address special questions. To the extent possible, project staff will determine with AID which groups will be needed in each type of situation expected. For example, if a significant problem arises in a country during a field team mission, the meeting might require the participation of country desk officers from the Department of State and AID and senior policy representatives of the Africa Bureau and the Department of State. Advance planning will help minimize the time required to arrange the meeting and resolve the problem.

Following agreement upon coordination procedures, the Project Director will be responsible for ensuring that the partnership meets its coordination commitments. As the project progresses, the mechanisms will be reviewed for efficiency and effectiveness and revised as needed.

2. Country selection

Over the next 12 to 24 months, important national elections are expected or likely in many African countries. These include **Angola, Burundi, Cameroon, Congo, Ethiopia, Guinea, Kenya, Liberia, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Mozambique, Niger, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, and Togo**. Elections may also take place in Central African Republic, Chad, Ghana, South Africa, Zaire, and elsewhere. The potential demand for assistance is highly likely to exceed by far the resources of this project. Therefore, it is important to establish with AID a set of evaluation criteria and a selection strategy that maximize the impact of available resources and promote significant change in African countries.

The partnership proposes a five-step process:

1. Establishment of selection criteria
2. U.S.-based review and analysis
3. On-site review and analysis, where needed
4. Development of selection recommendations
5. Approval of recommendations by AID

Each step is described below.

Step 1. Establishment of selection criteria

During the initial coordination meetings described above, the partnership will explore with AID and the Department of State their specific interests and concerns with regard to this program that might influence the nature of the selection criteria. Suggestions regarding selection criteria will also be solicited. Following these meetings, the partnership may also consult with representatives of other organizations providing electoral assistance in Africa, such as the United Nations General Assembly, and with selected African leaders. The Senior Project Council and the organizational staff assigned to this project will then develop a draft list of selection criteria for discussion with AID.

- the likelihood that the high-quality, expert resources of the partnership will be effective in promoting long-term electoral reform and democratization

Once agreement is reached with AID regarding selection criteria, the Senior Project Council will ensure that they are systematically applied in all country selection recommendations made later to AID (see Step 4).

Step 2. U.S.-based review and analysis

All three partners regularly monitor political developments throughout Africa. Staff routinely read African, American, and international newspapers and magazines, Federal Broadcast Information Service reports, and other periodicals. They also receive international visitors from African countries, including government officials, ruling and opposition party leaders, civic leaders, journalists, and democratic activists. In addition, they consult regularly with State Department officials and appropriate staff members on Capitol Hill, and they attend U.S. and other conferences on democratization and political developments in Africa. Some of these are sponsored by the partner organizations. AAI, with its representatives throughout the continent, regularly receives up-to-date, in-depth information on key political events and has excellent access to local sources of information that will be relevant to decision-making in this project.

When a country is under consideration, all three partners will pool their information, and all available data will be analyzed by the staff. This analysis will consider each of the evaluation criteria. It will also identify significant data gaps that require additional consultations in-country. The staff will prepare an analysis summary for submission to the Senior Project Council. This summary will be shared with AID.

In selected cases, it may be possible to assemble sufficient information for a selection decision without an on-site visit. The Senior Project Council will evaluate this possibility, and the feasibility and appropriateness of this approach will be discussed with AID on a case-by-case basis. When AID agrees that a decision can be made in this manner, selection recommendations (see Step 4 below) will be developed directly after the U.S.-based review and analysis.

Step 3. On-site review and analysis

Wherever necessary, the Senior Project Council will propose to AID an on-site survey mission. Approved missions will be assigned to one of the partners and will usually include staff or consultant representatives of all three organizations. Outside experts may also participate. In countries where AAI has on-site representation, the representative will work with the team. The mission will be fielded following approval by AID.

Administrative procedures for selecting team members, securing AID mission clearances, fielding and managing teams, on-site coordination with AID mission staff, defining protocol for interaction with local organizations and individuals, and reporting are described in Section C.8. below.

The specific activities of each survey mission will depend on the country environment, the results of the U.S.-based review and analysis, and the preferences of the AID mission. Typically, a survey mission visiting a country preparing for elections will evaluate the campaign environment, the legal and administrative framework for the elections, and the ability of competing parties to communicate their messages and organize their campaign operations. The team will generally consult with a wide range of individuals and organizations, including leaders and candidates from the governing and opposition political parties, government and election officials, journalists and media representatives, and representatives of religious organizations, business and professional groups, trade unions, civic organizations, and student groups. Every assessment will include visits to rural areas as well as regional cities and towns.

In addition, to the extent possible, the team will assess the country's press and broadcast media. It will also collect appropriate resource materials, such as copies of the country's constitution, proposed or actual election law and regulations, and any other relevant laws, such as those governing or affecting political parties, the media, and freedom of association. Wherever feasible, the team will obtain copies of other relevant documents, such as election commission action plans, voter registration and/or census information, and information about constituency boundaries. The availability of these documents will vary from country to country.

The mission team leader will oversee the preparation of the survey mission report (see illustrative example in Exhibit 5). Like the U.S.-based analysis, this report will present information so as to facilitate application of the selection criteria. It will also indicate remaining data gaps and assess the relative importance of the missing data to the decision process. In addition, it will suggest a range of program options and ideas to provide some indication as to what level of resources will be required to make a significant contribution to the country's transition. The report will be discussed with all partners, with a copy provided to AID.

Step 4. Development of selection recommendations

Project staff will review the survey mission report and make a recommended selection decision to the Senior Project Council, along with the rationale for the decision. During this process, informal discussions may be held with officials of AID and the Department of State to review findings and discuss significant issues. After reviewing both the report and the staff recommendations, the Council will determine whether or not it should recommend to AID that the country be selected. This recommendation will be forwarded to AID.

Step 5. Submission of recommendations for AID approval

The recommendation of the Council will be submitted officially to AID. It will be accompanied by a summary of the rationale for the recommendation and by a brief summary of the overall strategy proposed for the country. If AID approves a recommendation to proceed, the Council will authorize the Project Director to assign activities to one or more of the partners.

3. Programming perspectives

This partnership approaches election-related assistance from several perspectives. There are the needs of government officials and political parties in devising an election system, electoral authorities in administering an election often while facing logistical and communications constraints, political parties in organizing to contest an election, political parties and civic organizations in training pollwatchers, and the international community in ensuring that a credible and effective observation effort is implemented. These needs can best be met with a holistic approach, which is developed depending on the particular circumstances in a given country. Thus, the program may vary from a one-time election system assessment to a full-scale, comprehensive assistance program beginning months before an election and running through the consolidation period after the election.

The next three subsections (4, 5, and 6) describe the types of assistance possible or likely in a large-scale, intensive, comprehensive program; the full range of assistance in one comprehensive program would be appropriate only in circumstances where the Council and AID determined that a country merits a major portion of project resources. In other cases, a program will include certain parts of this range. Individual country project design will depend upon the need as perceived by Africans, by AID and the State Department, and by the partnership, and the exact goals and design of each particular program will depend upon the country's own circumstances. Based on its findings and consultations with AID, the partnership will recommend an appropriate mix of tasks and activities.

NDI and IRI have developed a comprehensive methodology for international election assistance. Other organizations view election assistance as simply the provision of election commodities and narrowly focused advice to election authorities; the institutes' approach, in contrast, incorporates advice on voter education programs conducted by election officials and civic organizations; training programs for election officials, political parties and civic organizations; and a field-tested methodology for monitoring such issues as media fairness, the accuracy of registration rolls and the integrity of the vote count.

Similarly, election observing for many other organizations focuses only on election day. The institutes, again in contrast, emphasize the entire electoral process -- before, during, and after election day. A typical international monitoring effort conducted by the institutes includes:

- one or more multinational pre-election missions to assess the campaign and the election system**
- a large-scale, high-profile international delegation for election week led by one or more prominent international political figures**
- a post-election assessment mission**
- training programs and the provision of technical assistance to domestic monitoring groups**
- a staff presence in the country to work with local groups and to coordinate the project**

These differences distinguish this partnership from other electoral assistance resources and indicate its unique capability to respond to the special needs of African countries in transition.

4. Pre-election and campaign stages

The partnership recognizes the RFA's distinction between these two stages. However, to illustrate the essential continuity between pre-election and campaign assistance, the two stages are discussed together. Subsection 5 focuses on the election itself, and subsection 6 on the post-election consolidation period.

(1) Establishing an in-country presence

When the Council and AID authorize a full-scale, comprehensive program, the implementing organization will place a representative in the country to establish an on-site monitoring presence for the period leading up to and through an important transitional election. (In more modest programs, regular visits are an effective and cost-efficient alternative.) In countries where AAI already has local representation, the two representatives will collaborate closely. The implementing organization will identify and recruit an appropriate individual, often a person already on the institute's staff with appropriate experience, as NDI did in Zambia and IRI did in Czechoslovakia, for example. If it decides to recruit an outside representative, it will consult its contacts in the appropriate field, such as those in political or civic organizing circles or those familiar with the particular country, and review its files of active resumes in order to identify appropriate candidates. This was how NDI identified excellent candidates for its on-ground office in Romania. In some circumstances, the institute may seek to advertise the position, as NDI also did in Romania. Alternatively, the implementing institute may draw upon qualified AAI staff already in the field.

In addition to organizing and supporting pre-election missions, the in-country representative(s) can monitor continually the changing political and campaign environment. He or she can also provide ongoing advice and assistance to domestic election monitoring groups and political parties. Travelling extensively throughout the country from a base in the capital city, in-country personnel can assess the nature of political competition during the campaign, the political parties' access to the mass media, and the government's preparations for the elections. Institute personnel also establish close working relationships with election officials, political party representatives, government officials, journalists, civic organizations, and domestic monitoring groups. In addition to suggesting changes in election procedures, the implementing organization can use information gathered to brief members of international delegations before and after they arrive in the country.

(2) Organizing a mission

The substantive technical assistance program will begin after the in-country presence is established. For each technical assistance mission, the implementing organization will identify and invite appropriate expert delegates or trainers, arrange appropriate logistics, and prepare briefing materials. As described in Section I, both NDI and IRI have systems for selecting delegates and for handling international and in-country logistics. Because virtually all of the partnership's outside advisors, experts, and international participants work on a pro bono basis, this partnership offers a highly cost-effective approach to project implementation.

For each project they undertake and each country they begin work in, the partners draw upon extensive background research, as described above, to prepare comprehensive briefing materials. This research typically includes an up-to-date study of a country's political situation, electoral system, economic problems, historical context and cultural traditions. The implementing institute makes this information and analysis available to delegates and others in briefing books. The institute also includes extensive information about the project itself, including carefully prepared terms of reference, and selected source materials, such as applicable laws and press articles. These briefing materials serve as a guide to program participants on a program's approach and goals. The briefing books also include an agenda or schedule and a list of program participants.

In many countries the implementing organization will co-sponsor programs with domestic organizations, such as the **Zambian Elections Monitoring Coordinating Committee (ZEMCC)**, the **GERDDES** civic organization in West Africa, the **Center for Democratic Studies** in Nigeria, and various national electoral authorities with the resources to work in other countries. These African organizations help in designing appropriate political development programs and in identifying and recruiting appropriate local participants for such programs. They provide the institutes with a permanent point of contact within a given country. They also provide institutional contacts the partners can use to identify international experts and participants for the partnership programs in other countries.

(3) Consultations on election codes and electoral systems

This assistance may take three forms:

- analysis of laws, regulations, and procedures
- analysis of administrative needs
- voter registration system development

- **Analysis of laws, regulations, and procedures**

Transition elections often bring with them a struggle over rules; the election law and system are often a major point of controversy. Opposition political actors often seek to make changes in the governing legal regime, while ruling parties and governments seek to resist such changes. Electoral authorities may seek models or examples from other countries. In such an environment, outside experts can often help to frame the debate and acquaint actors in the target country with the electoral systems of other, relevant countries.

Accordingly, the institutes can organize a delegation of election experts from several countries to visit the target country to assess the its election laws and procedures. Drawing upon their experience and networks of election experts, the institutes can provide an independent perspective on the proposed election system and the electoral infrastructure in any country moving toward its first competitive elections. The team will typically assess the existing or proposed election law, election regulations, and other relevant laws. Often such a team will make recommendations on reforms to the electoral code and on ways to increase confidence in the fairness of the election process. As occurred in NDI's Senegal project, the presence of outside experts can help to bridge a gap between the government and the opposition over the election system, thereby helping the country to defuse a major political crisis. The team's recommendations for improvements in the

election system may form the basis of a compromise solution to the political impasse between the ruling and opposition parties over the conduct of elections.

To conduct such a project, the partnership organizes and sends a relatively small international delegation to meet with government and election officials, political party leaders, civic organizers, journalists, and others in order to assess the country's political situation and electoral system. The mission examines the major components of the electoral process, including election-related laws, campaign practices, balloting procedures, public information about the mechanics of voting, and the system used to guarantee the integrity of the counting, tabulation and announcement of results. Depending on its terms of reference and on local circumstances, such a delegation may present its preliminary findings before it leaves the country and subsequently issues a detailed report of its assessment.

The partnership believes that this multinational team approach is preferable to the dispatch of a single expert for several reasons. An international delegation of experts is often better able to gain the confidence and support of all sides in a country. An international delegation can also bring a variety of perspectives to the assessment, which better enables it to make appropriate, useful recommendations to governmental, political, and electoral authorities in the country.

In addition to constituting the first step in a comprehensive election assistance project, election law consultations may be useful in many, if not most, of the African countries preparing for elections. The need will be greatest for those countries that are preparing for elections in the near term; countries that wait until later to undertake a transition process will be able to learn from the experiences of the countries that have gone to elections earlier.

- **Analysis of administrative needs**

In addition to consulting on the election code and related laws, a partnership team in a comprehensive program will also address the system of electoral administration and assess administrative and material needs, much as NDI and the Carter Center have begun doing with the Liberian Electoral Commission. (See checklist for the Liberian Electoral Commission in Exhibit 6). Such a team may or may not be the same as the team that consults on the election laws; often a single team will include experts on the election law and experts on election administration. Technical advisors to election commissions or other electoral authorities can specialize in such areas as telecommunications and computer vote counting systems as well as in determining the type and scope of material needs and in training electoral officials. Unlike election law advice, which may be provided to political parties and other actors in addition to election authorities, advice on election administration issues will generally be directed toward a country's election commission or other election administrators. (In many African countries, the ministry of interior rather than an election commission administers elections.) **In special cases, the partnership may provide equipment and supplies to these authorities.**

- **Voter registration**

Many election systems require registration of voters before election day. Many African countries do not have current censuses, and the registration process can become in effect a census of the voting age population. Accurate voter rolls are essential to a fair election. Thus, the implementing organization may arrange for an expert familiar with voter registration issues to take

part in a pre-election mission to consult with electoral authorities. Such an expert might advise authorities on how to design a registration system and might return to supervise the process of voter registration itself.

(4) Pre-election environment missions

The above section describes technical assistance missions that take place in order to offer advice and assistance to electoral authorities or political actors. In addition to such pre-election consultation missions, the institute may also organize a comprehensive observer effort, which begins with one or more multinational missions to assess more broadly the campaign environment and election preparations and without intending, at least as a primary goal, to give advice or to influence directly the decisions of political actors or electoral authorities. A comprehensive international election monitoring project seeks to promote the integrity of the elections, build public confidence and participation in the electoral process, and complement and encourage domestic observation efforts. It will also provide the international community with an objective assessment of a given country's electoral process.

Depending on country circumstances, pre-election missions evaluate the campaign environment, the legal and administrative framework for the elections, election preparations and the ability of competing parties to communicate their messages and organize their campaign operations. Teams consult with a wide range of local individuals and organizations, including leaders and candidates from political parties, local political activists, government and election officials, journalists and media representatives, and representatives of churches, business and professional groups, trade unions, civic organizations and student groups.

Shortly before its departure from the country, the pre-election monitoring team will typically issue a public statement highlighting areas of concern. Often the team will hold a press conference. In Chile, for example, the IRI team spoke before international media on the question of the Chilean plebescite, highlighting the importance of a free media and equitable resources available to both sides of the issue. In Zambia, the NDI/Carter Center pre-election teams addressed their concerns about potential impediments to a free and open campaign environment, including questions about media fairness, campaign finances and a continuing state of emergency; they expressed concerns about whether all eligible individuals had received a sufficient opportunity to register to vote; and they called for safeguards in the balloting and counting processes, including protections to ensure ballot box security and to protect the secrecy of the ballot. (See pre-election statements in Exhibit 7.)

Based on the information collected during the pre-election missions and from the on-site monitoring, the implementing organization often prepares a pre-election report and distributes it to members of its delegation, members of other observer delegations, journalists and other interested persons, both in the country and elsewhere. The Zambia pre-election report, for example, was read and used by international and Zambian journalists, diplomats, and even Zambian political and civic leaders. The Chile report was pivotal in the international debates over assistance to the "NO" campaign that followed.

(5) Independent assessment of the broadcast and print media

In order to assess the fairness of broadcast media coverage during an election campaign, the institutes can employ various techniques for media evaluation. Particularly if media fairness is at issue, as it often is in the period before transition election, the implementing organization may conduct an independent review of the television and radio news programs during the weeks leading up to the election. Institute representatives may, for example, monitor the programs and systematically record the order of news stories, the amount of time given to each party's campaign and leaders, and the content of the news stories (see illustrative media analysis in Exhibit ____). Generally, the partnership will also systematically monitor election-related coverage in the domestic print media.

(6) Domestic election monitors

Assistance in this area typically involves three kinds of activities:

- pollwatcher recruitment and training
- voter education
- vote count verification, including parallel vote tabulations

- Pollwatcher recruitment and training

The presence of observers at polling stations can provide voters with a sense of security and deter more blatant forms of intimidation. Pollwatching tends to make the process more open and allows civic and nongovernmental organizations to play a direct role in the activities on election day. Pollwatchers seek to prevent "retail fraud" in the process of casting ballots or the manipulation of the count or the reporting of the votes. They can help instill confidence in the population about the legitimacy of the process and provide another barrier to electoral abuses.

Pollwatchers must know what to look for and must understand the prescribed election system. An effective network of pollwatchers also requires a systematic method for recording and reporting problems, irregularities, or electoral anomalies.

Both political parties and nonpartisan domestic groups can monitor the electoral process and field networks of trained pollwatchers on election day. Although international observers act as a type of pollwatchers, they typically do not remain at a given polling station throughout election day. Domestic organizations, in contrast, can often field individuals who can monitor the process at a given polling booth throughout the day. Moreover, unlike international observers, domestic groups are intimately familiar with the country's language, culture, and political situation and can potentially mobilize enough people to monitor a large and meaningful number of polling sites.

In addition to providing technical assistance to political parties, the institutes can help to organize and train nonpartisan civic organizations to conduct voter and civic education campaigns and to organize election monitoring programs, such as pollwatching and independent counting systems. Nonpartisan domestic election monitoring organizations can substantially enhance public confidence and promote popular participation in elections.

The institutes will encourage organizations involved in monitoring the electoral process to work to ensure that organizers and pollwatchers are well trained and impartial. If appropriate, the implementing organization will help create, support, and advise such domestic monitoring groups,

as NDI has done with the **Zambian Elections Monitoring Coordinating Committee**, the **Zambian Independent Monitoring Team** and **GERRDES**. These organizations will then recruit and train nonpartisan monitors. They will establish communication and transportation networks. And on election day, they will deploy pollwatchers at polling stations throughout the country. Material assistance to these organizations may be required. As in Zambia, they may also conduct a voter education campaign by means of weekly press conferences, television and radio advertisements, and distribution of materials and sermons through the churches.

- **Voter education**

A typical nonpartisan domestic election monitoring organization will design and conduct civic education programs to educate the general public about democratic values and human rights and to promote civic participation. In other words, a typical program may seek to educate the public either about certain principles of democracy or about election procedures. Thus, in transition elections, such groups often undertake "how to vote" campaigns in which they may seek to educate prospective voters about registration or balloting procedures or such issues as the secrecy of the ballot. Outside experts can advise on both the medium and the message. Such an expert might help the organize prepare posters or newspaper or radio advertisements. Civic groups often seek to encourage voter participation in this way.

NDI has developed several specific tools to use in its voter education programs. For example, NDI has developed a comprehensive video presentation on the electoral process to use as a part of its voter education programs in Africa and elsewhere. Based on the institute's election experiences around the world, the video presentation uses photographs and materials from a number of countries to depict the stages of an electoral process, from voter registration to the announcement of results. The presentation is useful for election professionals and political leaders as well as for members of the general public. Originally developed for NDI's voter education program in South Africa, the presentation has been adapted and translated into French for use elsewhere in Africa. NDI has also developed a mock polling station program. Trainers set up the mock polling station and then guide participants in playing out various roles involved in a given country's established or proposed balloting process.

The IRI has well-tested assistance packages for electoral authorities that involve production of voter education videos or printer material appropriate for both literate and non-literate audiences. Contracts have been let for video production companies to develop voter education television commercials under the supervision of electoral authorities. This technique was cost-efficient in Hungary and may prove so in those African countries with established studio production facilities. These IRI packages have been tested in various transitional societies spanning all levels of socio-economic and political development. The key to successful voter education is local expertise familiar with the ~~country's~~ ~~local~~ culture.

- **Vote count verification, including parallel vote tabulations**

The institutes will encourage and train domestic monitoring groups regarding the implementation of effective vote count verifications. These efforts can be in the form of a comprehensive parallel vote tabulation, a parallel vote tabulation based on a random sample, or use of statistical analysis to identify anomalies in the vote counting process. In advising domestic African

groups on implementing such operations, the institutes will rely on the incomparable experience and personal expertise that has been gained in working in Bulgaria, Chile, Haiti, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Romania, and Zambia.

A parallel vote tabulation provides a basis for determining the accuracy of the officially announced results. It can also be used as a "quick count," which could be announced publicly to provide the public with early information regarding the election winners. Such an announcement can be critical if there are serious allegations of electoral manipulation or if there are delays in the release of official results. Parallel vote tabulations, particularly if they are properly publicized, also serve to deter election officials who might try to manipulate the count. Finally, implementation of a parallel vote tabulation serves as an excellent organizing tool for political parties and civic organizations, providing volunteers with a concrete task to perform during the counting of the ballots.

The institutes will train political parties and independent election-monitoring organizations in the conduct of parallel vote tabulations. They will advise on the most appropriate methodology to use, given the circumstances in the country and the particular goals of the operation. For example, if speed in tabulating the results is an objective, then the random sample methodology, which enables observers to project election results within a specified margin of error, might be preferred. On the other hand, if a close contest was expected, then a comprehensive tabulation would be recommended, to ensure that the official results from every polling site could be compared with the results obtained by the domestic monitors.

Other factors that the institutes will take into consideration in advising on the methodology for implementing a parallel vote tabulation will include: the number of volunteers available for the operation and the amount of training that can be provided; the availability of accurate demographic and voter registration data; the means of communicating results from polling sites or counting centers to the operation headquarters; the type of computer equipment and data programmers available for use in the operation; and the amount of publicity regarding the operation that is necessary to ensure that its objectives are met.

As an alternative to a parallel vote tabulation, domestic groups can be trained to use a computer software program developed for NDI to analyze election results in a given country. This kind of statistical analysis, which was used by NDI in Pakistan, compares results from previous elections with the results the past. The program developed by NDI consultant Lee Feldman permits district-by-district comparison data for current and previous elections with respect to the following factors: voter registration, voter turnout, and vote totals received by each candidate and/or party. By evaluating this data, a delegation can identify patterns of behavior, statistical anomalies, and internal inconsistencies election being observed. Obviously, this is a useful tool only in countries that have held relatively meaningful elections in the past.

(7) Political parties

The partnership believes that effective political party development is crucial to the success of the electoral process. In this context, it is important to promote broad-based, modern political parties organized around shared economic and social thought, as opposed to regional, ethnic,

religious or personality-based parties. Transitional societies often lack established party philosophies and are unlikely to produce modern, issue-oriented parties in transitional elections. At the same time, the partnership recognizes that, in certain circumstances, parties with a seemingly narrow political agenda are necessary for the protection of minority rights or to protect other values. Thus, in conducting training programs for political parties, the institutes will work on a **multipartisan, inclusive basis with parties across the democratic spectrum to share skills of organization, communications, and constituency contact.** These programs will be tailored to the self-expressed needs of the party leadership and may include work at the provincial and local levels.

Providing assistance to political parties is particularly important in situations where parties are competing for the first time in elections and lack experience with the management of financial and human resources. Experiences in different political environments have enabled the institutes to develop effective methods for transferring information and providing practical advice to participants in political party training programs. The format for these programs may involve large seminars, small workshops on specific subjects, individual consultations or a combination of these approaches. The seminars will be designed to provide general information of interest to all participants, workshops will be more interactive and devoted to problem solving, and individual consultations will be used to develop particular strategies.

A major component of the political party training programs will focus on organizational matters. Political elites unfamiliar with the competitive traditions of pluralism often do not fully appreciate the need to establish national, regional and local party structures. Effective party communications, however, rely upon integrated structures from the local to the national level, coherent themes and messages reflecting the interests of the voters, and candidates to deliver these party messages. Appropriate organizational structures help translate the concerns of the average voter into party policy.

Other components of the training programs will sometimes include the development of party themes, communicating messages, use of public opinion surveys and selection of candidates. Political party organizers, pollsters, and communications specialists with experience in established democracies and in transition situations will serve as the trainers for these programs.

Training political party leadership and activists to maximize their vote is a limited exercise but critically important to their long-term sustainability. This training is open to all parties, regardless of ideological orientation, as long as they are committed to democratic practices and processes. It takes the form of public seminars in which broad themes are introduced, followed by party workshops. The themes chosen by parties in the IRI Czechoslovakia program included prioritization of campaign messages in a resource-scarce environment, organization of party activists to maximize turnout, campaign management in the complex election period, and other aspects of campaign management. IRI and NDI have conducted these programs in Latin America and in Central and Eastern Europe and have received numerous requests from African countries facing their first election.

A final component of the training programs for political parties will focus on preparing party agents to monitor the campaign, the balloting and counting processes, and, where necessary, to file well-documented complaints to the appropriate authorities. Too often, political parties depend on international observers or civic organizations to perform these tasks, which are also the responsibility of the parties themselves.

(8) Election commissions/electoral authorities

A comprehensive election program may also provide technical assistance to electoral authorities responsible for administering the electoral process. These authorities may be part of the government bureaucracy, as noted above, may comprise an autonomous and independent government agency, may be designated on an election-by-election basis by the government or political parties, or be a body composed of government and political party representatives.

Programs directed at election personnel will take various forms depending on the needs of the particular administering authority. They may involve consultations with those involved in administering the elections at the national level or training for officials responsible for subordinate bodies, particularly those responsible for administering polling sites on election day. The institutes will rely on election officials in countries around the world, who would be selected based on their experience in working in a situation similar to that faced by the country preparing for elections.

The institutes will often help the central authorities in the development of appropriate training materials. These materials describe the election regulations and explain precisely how the balloting and counting processes should be conducted. Often, the materials will be prepared in several languages or dialects.

The institutes also can help the central authorities develop effective civic education programs, which would use the media, posters, pamphlets, and other means of communication, to inform prospective voters on their rights and responsibilities and on the procedures for voting. In developing these materials, special emphasis will be placed on the significance of a secret ballot, particularly where individuals are unfamiliar with the practice and intimidation is a potential problem.

Election commissions in developing countries often lack the minimum material resources to conduct elections. The institutes, relying on their experience in working in other countries, will advise on choosing electoral procedures that would meet the constraints imposed by budgetary and logistical considerations.

Where appropriate, the institutes will procure for the election commission, either directly or through solicitations to donor countries, specific commodities necessary for the conduct of an election. These commodities would include, but not be limited to, ballot paper and ballot boxes, computers and computer software programs, other office equipment, indelible ink and stamps, voter registration forms, cards and lists, and general logistical assistance to help ensure a credible election. Short wave and radio telephone equipment may be supplied in countries with difficult terrain and limited infrastructure.

5. International election observer delegation

Activities during this stage include those during election week as well as those associated with post-election monitoring.

(1) Election week

The institutes will organize large, multinational delegations to observe elections in specific countries, particularly where the presence of such a delegation is necessary to promote voter confidence and deter election day fraud. Organizing a delegation that is relatively large in size allows for the deployment of international observers to locations throughout the country on election day. It also facilitates a balance of expertise on a delegation among election technicians, media experts, parliamentarians, political party leaders, civic leaders, democratic activists and academics, and means that the delegation can be a truly multinational effort, drawing delegates from both established and emerging democratic countries.

The observer delegations will operate according to internationally accepted standards for election observer missions, including those developed in *Guidelines for International Election Observing*, written by Larry Garber, NDI Special Counsel for Electoral Processes. It is available in English, French and Spanish. IRI's *International Election Observation Manual*, an introduction for first-time election observers, is now being field-tested and will be published shortly. The institutes will provide copies of these materials to all members of their observer delegations.

For each observer delegation, the institutes will prepare terms of reference which, based on the findings of pre-election missions and on-site monitoring, will identify specific issues for the observers to address (see illustrative example from Zambia in Exhibit 9). The delegation will be briefed by the staff of the institutes upon arrival in the country. After the staff briefings, a series of meetings will be arranged with political party leaders, election officials, representatives of civic organizations and others.

In some cases, the delegation may be divided into functional teams to assess particular aspects of the process, such as the media (this may involve reviewing tapes of television and radio programs), the election law, the complaints process, and the counting process. Each team will receive specific terms of reference and will prepare a substantive report as part of the process of evaluating the entire election process.

Before the elections, the delegates will be deployed throughout the country where they will conduct pre-elections meetings with the relevant political actors and election officials. On election day, the delegates will visit polling sites throughout their assigned region. Using a checklist prepared by the implementing organization (see illustrative example in Exhibit 10), the delegates will evaluate specific aspects of the balloting and counting procedures. The institute will also prepare a form on which the delegate will summarize his or her election day observations (see illustrative example in Exhibit 11).

A key component of the institutes' observation approach is to work with nonpartisan domestic monitoring groups. As discussed above, where appropriate, the institutes will help organize and train such groups. On election day, the observer delegation will coordinate activities with the domestic groups, relying on them for advice on which polling sites to visit and on what is happening generally in a particular region. In this context, it is important to bear in mind that, with the exception of the extraordinary United Nations undertaking in Namibia, international observer

delegations are not capable of placing delegates in every polling site. Credible and well-trained domestic groups thus are necessary to fill the gaps in the international monitoring effort.

Where appropriate, the observer delegation, again working with domestic monitors, may assume responsibility for implementing a parallel vote tabulation. This was the case in Zambia, where NDI and the Carter Center assumed operational control of the parallel vote tabulation and relied on members of the international observer delegation and domestic monitors to obtain the necessary data from the polling sites. The institutes will adapt the parallel vote tabulation training manuals generated for the Zambia project for future endeavors.

Following the elections, the delegation will reassemble for a debriefing session. Each of the teams will report on their observations and a statement will be drafted. Usually, a preliminary statement of findings will be offered 24-48 hours after the polls close.

(2) **Post-election monitoring**

The institutes will continue to monitor the electoral process after the polls close and the preliminary results are announced. This post-election monitoring will involve review of complaints about specific aspects of the election process filed with appropriate authorities, additional review of the election results, and whether the procedures for forming a new government are being met. This effort may require placement of a staff person on the ground for several weeks after the election, as occurred in the Philippines, Bulgaria and Pakistan, or a post-election visit by a high profile monitoring team, or both.

The institutes will use the information gathered by the observer delegation and during the post-election period to prepare a comprehensive report on the election process. An illustrative list of NDI election-related publications is shown in Exhibit 12. The institutes will assure that the report reflects a consensus of the delegation's views and observations.

The reports published by the institutes will serve several purposes: informing the international community regarding the fairness of the election; providing information to scholars regarding the conduct of the elections; and educating individuals in other countries that are seeking to initiate democratic election processes.

6. **Post-election consolidation: long-term support of democratic institutions**

Assistance is primarily provided during the consolidation to civic groups and to election officials for election reform. The partnership is also qualified to provide other kinds of assistance. Typical activities are described below.

(1) **Civic groups**

After a meaningful transition election, the institutes will help domestic election monitoring groups to develop a role in the post-election/consolidation period. The institutes will work to develop indigenous organizations and a civic culture.

The institutes will encourage and assist domestic election monitoring groups to identify a role in the post-election environment. After major transition elections, such organizations can potentially contribute to the consolidation of democracy by developing civic education programs, overseeing the functions of governmental institutions, promoting healthy civil-military relations, and maintaining a network of citizens engaged in public affairs and committed to democracy. Many groups have successfully sustained and consolidated their networks by redefining themselves and undertaking new activities in this way. These include the Grenada Civic Awareness Organization, the Eastern Caribbean Institute for Democracy, the Bolivian Foundation for Democratic Training and Research, the Academy for Liberty and Justice in Guatemala, the Zambian Elections Monitoring Coordinating Committee, the National Citizens Movement for Free Elections (NAMFREL) in the Philippines, the Center for Democratic Studies in Paraguay, Participa in Chile, the Bulgarian Association for Free Elections and Civil Rights, and the Movement for Free Elections, the Citizens Election Committee and the Coordinating Committee on Human Rights in Bangladesh. The partnership will encourage these organizations to promote democratic consolidation by co-sponsoring post-election conferences with such nonpartisan election monitoring groups, as NDI has done, for example, in Zambia, Bulgaria, Romania, Bangladesh and elsewhere.

Program efforts may also include development of civics texts for primary and secondary schools, organization of national networks of civic education support groups through the NGO community, planning for municipal or by-elections, and other activities aimed at strengthening democratic values, practices and institutions.

(2) Election officials/election reform

A comprehensive election assistance program should focus on helping election authorities in the post-election environment. In the immediate post-election period, experts may advise on the adjudication of complaints, the recounting of ballots and the like. They may also advise authorities about the storage and archiving of election records and materials. In addition, relatively shortly after transition elections, election authorities often must conduct local elections.

In the longer term, election authorities often need to focus on reform of election laws and the system of election administration. Review and analysis of the election management and administrative practices with the next election in mind is important. Such a review of the electoral management systems should not be limited to the voting, counting and reporting of results, and the systems which allowed that to go forward. A review of voter education techniques, conflict resolution mechanisms, procedures for handling campaign complaints, and a host of other issues is also essential. Revision of administrative practices to improve voter registration lists, to make procedures for adjudicating complaints more effective, to improve official voter education efforts or to make tabulation and reporting of votes more efficient often require revision of the electoral laws. Thus, the institutes may sponsor visits by election law experts and/or election technicians to work with election authorities and interested political actors in the post-election phase.

(3) Other

The partnership is also fully capable of conducting other post-election programs aimed at consolidating democratic gains. Although these types of programs may be beyond the scope of the assistance contemplated by the Africa Regional Electoral Assistance Fund, the Senior Project Council and AID may in certain circumstances decide to call upon such programming capabilities. The following are examples of services that could be provided.

- **Parliamentary/legislative training**

The institutes are prepared to work with African governing institutions and other organizations to consolidate democratic gains. Thus, they can work with new parliaments, such as NDI's program with the National Assembly of Namibia, to sponsor forums that enable newly elected parliamentarians to learn from the experiences of legislators and parliamentary experts from other countries. The institutes can then continue to work with the parliament by sponsoring additional visits of parliamentarians from other countries and by planning additional workshop programs. Such programs often seek to help to refine parliamentary rules and standing orders, to conduct parliamentary training and education, and to create structures and mechanisms for effective legislating. The institutes can also advise on the establishment of parliamentary research facilities and capabilities.

The institutionalization of a strong, independent legislative branch will be essential to the success of multi-party democracy in many African countries. The parliament can act as a forum for opposing parties, as an institutional check on the executive branch's control of the reins of governmental power, and as the most representative and democratic decision-making institution. The relative dependence of the legislative branch on the executive makes strong legislative leadership and professionalism essential to the establishment of the legislature as a check on executive power and a place for the development and articulation of alternative policies. African parliaments in newly democratic countries, however, face many obstacles, including lack of expertise and resources, years of authoritarian government, and overwhelming social and economic problems. Given these obstacles, technical and substantive assistance to fledgling legislatures is critical.

- **Political parties**

Political parties either establish presence in government or disappear after transitional elections. The leaders of the parties who have been the driving forces in the campaign and election are in office and concerned with the processes of government. The volunteers have returned to other jobs, and the routine tasks of party organization and membership recruitment are a low priority until the next election. In a transitional society, these institutions can be abandoned and lost.

If this kind of programming is authorized under AREAF, the partnership will identify those leading activists in each party who can carry on the party's recruitment and organizational work. Experts may be made available to help offset the loss of institutional momentum following an election. Training teams may be sent to regional and local levels to help mobilize local organizers. They may also advise the national leadership on effective techniques for membership recruitment in campaign off-years.

IRI and NDI have conducted political party development activities throughout Latin America, the Caribbean, and Central and Eastern Europe, and are now working in the new Republics of the Commonwealth of Independent States. The conduct of these activities is wholly consistent with the policies of AID and the Department of State.

- **Local government**

As elsewhere, the fall of authoritarian regimes in Africa will leave many polities unprepared for a more decentralized political environment. Thus, empowerment of local governments will be critical to African democratization. It is often at the local level that people look for solutions to their most pressing problems. Local government is where the roots of democracy can and must be extended. Because of the highly centralized structures of many African regimes, local government authorities have been unable to exercise functions, take responsibilities and define relationships to other levels of government in a way that will make them accountable to local concerns.

Moreover, after major transition elections many countries will hold local government elections, as in Namibia and Zambia. They will need to quickly enact legislation to define the powers of these governments and their relationships to national structures. Addressing these issues serves to demonstrate both the scope and the limits of local government, enhance its effectiveness, and build public trust necessary for a more stable, democratic system.

- **Civil-military**

Healthy relations between the armed forces and civilian authority is a precondition for stable democracy. A military committed to a professional rather than a political role is a critical element to the success of democracy in Africa. At the same time, the development of civilian expertise in military affairs is necessary for the effective oversight of the armed forces. As it has elsewhere, the institutes can bring together African military and political leaders to promote dialogue and establish mechanisms for improving civil-military relations. Experts from democracies that have successfully integrated the military into civil society would be active participants in these programs.

(7) **Regional conferences, seminars, and workshops**

The partnership will sometimes use regional conferences to bring together democratic activists from a number of countries facing similar democratization challenges or at similar stages of a democratic transition process. This approach has two important benefits. First, it represents an efficient use of resources to allow individuals from a number of countries to learn from the experiences and advice of persons from other established and emerging democracies. Second, it facilitates communication between and among democratic activists, election professionals, and political leaders within a given part of Africa.

The partnership will organize and sponsor regional seminars and workshops to expose African political leaders, election professionals and democratic activists to the experiences and advice of experts who have developed successful monitoring projects in other countries in transition to democracy, both in Africa and elsewhere in the world. (See Exhibit ___ for illustrative agenda for NDI seminar on "Advancing and Strengthening Democratic Elections in South Africa" held in Namibia in January 1992. Regional programs not only enable international trainers to impart a

wealth of information to a wide group of activists but also establish relationships among those living in the same region who share the common commitment and approach to promoting democracy. African participants can then share this knowledge with their colleagues and followers in their own countries. Building on this regional base, the partnership is then well-positioned to conduct follow-up projects in individual countries.

8. Innovations

Serious attention to Africa is a relatively recent development in the democracy arena. While the U.S. battled communist ideology by advancing support for freedom of the press and assembly and basic institutions of democracy in closed societies of Eastern Europe, and while it encouraged expansion of popular participation in the military regimes of Latin America, few organizations or institutions focused on Africa. Ironically, Africa, isolated from democratic developments elsewhere, had the weakest institutional bases for democratic government. Due in large part to oppressive, autocratic regimes that successfully suppressed citizen input in matters of government, these institutional weaknesses have grown over the past 25 to 30 years. While the continent did not lack civil societies, these societies were ill-suited to contribute to competitive party-based democratic government.

The changes of the past two years have dramatically altered the picture as Africans have joined the global democratization movement. Now Africans are searching for help in transforming their societies into market-oriented democratic nation-states with popularly elected leadership. The new challenge to professionals in the field is to offer assistance that is relevant and appropriate to societies that lack not only the historical experience, but also suffer acute economic and social distress.

The partnership is particularly well-suited to address this challenge. AAI is known and trusted by the leadership, opposition and NGO leaders in more than 40 African countries and can advise on the appropriateness and acceptability of certain intervention strategies. NDI and IRI, working extensively in Africa as well as other regions, have developed impressive methodologies, techniques, and curricular materials that collectively comprise unparalleled expertise on the electoral process from the first tentative calls for change through the struggle, transition/pre-electoral, electoral, and consolidation phases of democratization. Jointly, the partnership can offer a series of innovative, relevant, culturally appropriate strategies that enable Africans to build capability in electoral systems management.

In some instances, Africa offers opportunities for creative adaptation of existing technologies and methodologies. In others, new Africa-specific innovations are appropriate. This section is divided into two parts. First, it describes existing technologies – unique to this partnership and initially innovated by its members – and propose creative methods to adapt them to the African context. Second, it describes innovations developed specifically for this effort. All proposed innovations reflect the partnership's priority concerns for high quality and cost-effectiveness. As a matter of policy, the partnership's internationally respected outside advisors, experts, and international participants – almost without exception – serve on a pro bono basis. This will permit allocation of this project's limited resources directly to programs and maximize the project's impact

in Africa. The technical and procedural innovations proposed below also help reduce costs and stretch resources while enhancing program effectiveness in Africa.

(1) Creative adaptations

● **Increasing the quantity and quality of information on African transition**

The partners are well known for their authoritative capability to collect and disseminate accurate and timely information concerning the pace of democratization around the world. The partnership will increase the availability and accessibility of important information about changes taking place specifically in Africa. The availability of such information will encourage discussion of democratization initiatives in Africa among Africa specialists and will promote sharing of lessons learned.

NDI and IRI have proven their commitment to publishing comprehensive materials about the process of election monitoring and about comparative election and democratization processes. For example, after each major election observer delegation, NDI and IRI publish a comprehensive report that simultaneously serves as historical documentation of the elections and provides useful, practical information and recommendations for future elections in the given country and elsewhere. NDI has also prepared more analytical, scholarly studies of election processes and democratic transitions in many parts of the world. The institutes' work not only serves as a tool for future delegations and students of the political history of a given country but is also contributing increasingly to the academic literature on political participation and democratic transitions.

AAI is the publisher of *Africa Report*. This magazine has a circulation of 5,000, primarily among Africa specialists. It is highly regarded as the most reliable resource for those interested in developments on the continent. Documentation and publication of project results will strengthen the consolidation process and deepen confidence in the efficacy of participation. The magazine is widely read both in the U.S. and Africa, so there is a multiplier effect as well.

Marshalling and integrating all of the partners' information dissemination resources, the quality and quantity of information available about developments in Africa will greatly increase, allowing for a more informed discussion of Africa policy among NGOs and policymakers.

● **Multinational approach applied to African democratization**

NDI's and IRI's innovative political development programs have included an international training network of experts from established democracies, from countries that have successfully made the transition to democracy, and from emerging democracies in eastern and central Europe, Asia, and Latin America as well as in Africa. In all of their projects, the institutes draw expert participants from a variety of countries and representing political ideologies across the democratic spectrum.

Recognizing that the U.S. is but one of several successful democratic models, the two institutes have established close working relationships with political and civic leaders, government officials, election experts, diplomats, journalists and democratic activists in Africa, Asia, Europe and the Western Hemisphere. These experts share their expertise and experiences with their

counterparts in developing, emerging and potential democracies. As many nations are joining the community of transitional democracies, NDI's relationships in countries from Albania to Zambia enable the institute to provide relevant advice and to share appropriate experiences with people working to establish democratic transitions in other countries. And as more countries begin down the road to democratic government and plural politics, NDI's network continues to grow dramatically, as does that of ITI. A NDI training seminar for domestic election monitoring groups in Zambia, for example, featured international experts from Bulgaria, Chile, Namibia and the Philippines. Another recent training seminar in Romania featured international experts from Nicaragua, Paraguay and Zambia. Also, IRI included party trainers from Chile, Colombia, Guatemala, and Honduras in seminars in Nicaragua.

Consistent with this approach, the partnership will integrate Africans into its international network of democratization experts. It will call upon Africans to participate in international programs where their experience and expertise will enable them to make valuable contributions to transitions elsewhere. Many of these are expected to be influential AFGRAD alumni with close connections to AAI. This strategy will also enable Africans to seek and maintain valuable contacts with internationals that are independent of their relationship with the members of the partnership.

- **Multinational financial support for election assistance programs**

Elections are an expensive proposition, ranging in cost from \$5 million upwards. This partnership has excellent relations with donors and can seek additional funding in a coordinated fashion. AAI has especially good access to those donors with a strong commitment to Africa. NDI has become a pioneer in marshalling multinational funding specifically for election programs. Its program in Zambia was unique, receiving support from a broad consortium of international donors, and that approach holds great promise for this project. Diplomatic representatives in Zambia of a number of European and North American countries came together to coordinate their expertise and resources in support of the democratization and electoral process. They chose to support a multinational and Zambian effort coordinated by NDI and the Carter Center. This extraordinary support and coordination gave important legitimacy and credibility to NDI as a representative of the international community and greatly increased the effectiveness of the program. The long-term knowledge of AAI, combined with the catalytic role played by NDI in coordinating other forms of international assistance has the potential to marshal scarce resources for long-term change on the continent.

- **Establishing functional teams within international observer delegations**

NDI has pioneered the technique of dividing an election observer delegation into teams charged with assessing particular aspects of the process. Teams are divided along the lines of specific expertise to maximize the involvement of every individual and provide even more comprehensive, substantive analysis of such issues as the media, the election law, the complaints process. Each team receives specific terms of reference and is asked to prepare a substantive report as part of the process of evaluating the election as a whole. For the 1990 elections in Pakistan, for example, NDI assigned certain members of its 40-person delegation from 17 countries to teams with responsibility to review the broadcast and print media's coverage of the campaign, to analyze the "accountability tribunal" process set up to investigate allegations of government corruption and to

evaluate the Central Election Commission's handling of election-related complaints. Teams were designated based on delegates' particular backgrounds and expertise. The media team, for example, was made up of the editor of *The New Republic*, the editor of the Senegalese paper *Subhebdo*, the former press secretary for Senator Dan Quayle, and a free-lance journalist.

In Africa, the partnership will explore the feasibility of expanding the mix of functional teams so that issues specific to Africa's social setting – for example, the impact of multiparty politics on pre-existing, long-standing relationships within clans and among distinct ethnic groups, and the impact of democratization reforms on international aid programs – can be examined and accounted for. Also, the relative isolation of some areas of Africa will require special teams to be assigned and deployed well in advance of the actual elections. The partnership will explore the practicality of such deployments as the need arises, drawing on AAI's extensive network of African contacts as needed.

- **Creative strategies for voter education**

Low literacy rates in Africa and other parts of the developing world pose special problems in voter education. The voter education message is complex, and in many communities written media are ineffective. Both IRI and NDI have developed innovative approaches to this problem. For example, in Guatemala, IRI used comic style pamphlets to teach citizens how to register to vote, locate the correct polling site, and mark their ballot. This is a particularly cost-effective technique, as the pamphlet can be passed from one user to another. IRI is in the process of developing transportable, self-powered audiovisual programs for use by mobile training teams in remote areas to gain access to a wider audience of eligible voters. NDI has also developed a comprehensive video presentation on the electoral process for voter education programs in Africa and elsewhere. This presentation uses photographs and materials from a number of countries to depict the stages of an electoral process, from voter registration to announcement of results. Originally developed for NDI's voter education program in South Africa, it has been adapted and translated in French for use in francophone Africa. These kinds of materials and communications strategies have excellent potential applicability in this project.

- **In-country video production**

To ensure timeliness during the election period as well as overall cultural relevance, the partners have used in-country video units to produce public service announcements for election commissions. This is especially helpful in many African countries that lack well-established local advertising and marketing firms. In addition, the technique is easily adapted for radio presentations in country's with limited television coverage.

- **Developing civic education and party training materials in local languages**

IRI has pioneered the development of indigenous-language, country-specific manuals on civic education and political party development. These manuals have been tailored to the local environment so that they can be used effectively by local party activists. The workbooks clearly explain key terms and essential components associated with preparing for an elections. They also provide simple worksheets that help organize people and resources for impending elections. For example, the worksheets guide in designating volunteers, locations for rallies and speeches, and equipment needs.

NDI and IRI have led the world in the development of professional standards for the organization of international election observer missions and for the development of internationally accepted criteria by which to judge whether an election is free and fair. NDI Senior Counsel for Electoral Processes, Larry Garber, wrote the leading book on the subject, entitled Guidelines to International Election Observing. In order to promote a serious and professional approach to international election observing, NDI has distributed the book, which is available in English, French and Spanish, both to all participants in NDI observer delegations and to party and civic election monitors in countries all around the world. Based on seven years of extensive experience, NDI has also adapted the standards and approaches suggested by the book to develop its own methodology and standards. An updated treatise on election observation procedures is also forthcoming from IRI. For each election and each mission, these standards and methodology are reflected in the mission's specific terms of reference.

Using the pre-existing contacts maintained by AAI, IRI and NDI will be able to translate the considerable volume of material they have published and collected concerning democratic transitions, election laws and organizational support. With 40 years of experience on the continent, and with long-standing relationships with African academic institutions, AAI will expedite the translation process upon which the success of many training programs depends.

- **Mock polling stations for voter education**

As another technique for voter education, NDI has developed a mock polling station program. NDI trainers set up the mock polling station and then guide participants in playing out various roles involved in a given country's established or proposed balloting process. This innovation is especially important considering that many Africans have never seen a polling station or even a ballot. Early exposure to the mechanics of casting ballots is designed to reduce uncertainty and confusion on election day. The partnership expects that this technique will have wide application in this project.

- **Use of focus groups**

Most African countries lack reliable, scientifically sound measures to gauge public attitudes toward a range of issues. Poorly developed infrastructures make wide-scale data collection on public opinion difficult. IRI has extensive experience in using small, representative groups of citizens to help develop the information vital to tailoring civic education programs and other forms of programs designed for large target audiences. Focus groups facilitate this process. They also allow the pre-testing of messages and communications strategies before considerable human and financial resources are invested. Also, the high degree of sensitivity to local concerns reflect in this technique enhances the effectiveness of programming and the receptivity of local populations to public messages.

- **Increasing security at polling stations**

The partnership recognizes the power and impact of video documentation. Video recording devices have proved invaluable in gathering evidence and deterring misconduct. The partnership will explore the practicality of equipping some teams of pre-election monitors and international election observer delegates with inexpensive, portable cam-corders as a tool in election monitoring.

- **Increasing ballot box security**

Experience in election monitoring throughout the world has uncovered deficiencies in ballot and ballot-box security that undermine the credibility of the counting process. Specifically, the use of wax as a sealing media has proven to be problematic and the source of allegations of fraud. In Zambia, NDI and the Carter Center made available to election monitoring groups, on an experimental basis, numbered adhesive seals to ensure the security of a number of randomly selected ballot boxes. By diminishing the opportunity for tampering, the seals increased the confidence of those monitoring the counting process. The partnership will explore the feasibility of providing special adhesive seals to Election Commissions and NGOs to increase confidence in the integrity of ballot boxes.

- **Vote count verification in an African context**

NDI has developed the methodology and capability to organize programs to verify vote counting procedures. In many countries, it has worked with political parties and independent election-monitoring groups conducting their own parallel vote tabulation (PVT). With trained individuals present at the site of the vote tabulation and an efficient communications system in place, a PVT independently aggregates the vote tallies in order to check and validate the official count. Sometimes such a count is done quickly in randomly selected sample districts; other times it is done on a comprehensive, nationwide basis.

Based on a random sample of actual results, a typical PVT enables observers to project election results within a specified margin of error before the results are announced by the election authorities. A PVT thus allows international observers to verify officially announced results and to check the integrity of the ballot counting process and detect certain types of electoral fraud. It can also deter officials who might try to manipulate the count. Such a parallel vote count serves to make the process more transparent and thus more credible to the public.

In Zambia, NDI organized its own parallel vote count when it became clear that the belated organization of domestic monitoring groups would make it impossible for them to mount such an effort on their own. While domestic groups or intergovernmental organizations, such as the United Nations and the Organization of American States, have performed such independent tallies in past transitional elections, such as in Nicaragua and Haiti, NDI's effort in Zambia marked the first time that a private group of international observers independently conducted a PVT. This was remarkably successful, and NDI learned valuable lessons that will make it easier to adapt this system to Africa's unique conditions, using wireless communication and couriers where necessary.

In addition, NDI Advisor Lee Feldman, a statistician and computer expert, has designed for NDI a statistical analysis program to analyze election results. This is based on a program Feldman designed for the 1988 and 1990 Pakistan elections, which proved crucial in assessing allegations of fraud by the opposition Pakistan People's Party. The program can assist observer delegations in countries where no local group has established an effective independent vote counting system. The program permits district-by-district comparisons of data for current and previous elections with respect to the following factors: voter registration, voter turnout and vote totals received by each candidate or party. By evaluating this data, a delegation can identify patterns of behavior, statistical anomalies and internal inconsistencies that can suggest, even if they do not prove, possible

irregularities. Where appropriate, the partnership will explore strategies for using this technology in Africa.

- **Incorporating national leadership in local-level training**

The inclusion of national leadership in local-level training sessions enhances intra-party communication and helps develop mutual respect between national and local leaders. In nascent political parties, it is easy for local leaders to blame problems on their national leadership and also to demonstrate their lack of support. Integration of the two groups, using national leaders to train at the local level, helps foster communication and the development of parties around united beliefs and ideas. This strategy has been used extensively by IRI and is expected to be useful in this project.

- **Non-partisan approach to political party support**

The partners are thoroughly familiar with the policies of AID and the Department of State that require a completely non-partisan approach to democratization activities. They also recognize that political parties in transition countries are often young and need various kinds of developmental assistance. In consultation with AID and the Department of State, the partners have therefore developed a system to select a broad range of political parties and help them strengthen their internal organizations on a non-partisan basis. This system equalizes access to assistance to all parties, regardless of their ideological orientation, and has been successfully implemented in Haiti and Romania. AID-supported political party training in Angola is scheduled to begin soon. This approach has potential applicability in transitional countries that may receive assistance under this project.

- **Increasing the exposure and visibility of African participants**

As shown in Section I, the partners have extensive databases on which they draw for various kinds of activities. Africans joining project teams through other avenues, such as AAI's extensive contacts with NGOs and universities, will be added to these databases. This will bring these participants into the mainstream of international democratization. It will also facilitate their joining other teams fielded by the partners in other AID and non-AID election assistance programs.

(2) **Innovations**

- **Coordination with the Organization of African Unity**

The ultimate goal of this project is to build African capability to manage future elections and sustain democratic structures and processes. Therefore, the partnership proposes to work with the OAU in all phases of the project. The OAU has agreed to provide participants in pre- and post-election technical missions as well as in the observations themselves. This innovation will provide an important African perspective to the team and help strengthen its credibility. It will also develop new linkages between international election assistance experts and the OAU itself, thus broadening the base of the international constituency for democratization.

- **Coordination with African NGOs**

As part of its capacity-building objective, this partnership will also work with five African NGOs that have relevant experience and are continent-wide in scope. These include the Africa Leadership Forum, an eminent group of former presidents, intellectuals, and opinion leaders; the African Academy of Sciences (AS), a pan-African institute of the leading social and natural sciences researchers of the continent; GERDDES, a non-partisan democratic development civic organization; the Pan-African Institute for Development (PAID), an Africa-wide development institute that focuses on rural development with current projects devoted to increasing popular participation; and the Federation of African Voluntary Development (FAVDO), the principal Africa-wide consortium of non-governmental and voluntary organizations. AAI has long-standing relationships with all of these groups and currently collaborates with AAS in the ATLAS program. These groups will contribute experts to technical assistance and observer missions. In addition, they will help ensure widespread dissemination of project accomplishments and expand the visibility of democratization successes in Africa.

- **Coordination with the United Nations**

In the reorganization currently underway, the United Nations, under the direction of the Undersecretary General for political affairs, James Jonah, will begin offering technical assistance in election observation. The Undersecretary has agreed to collaborate with this partnership. This relationship will permit the application of combined resources in country programs. It will also allow the partnership to take advantage of the pro bono experts available through the United Nations network and will further the development of linkages between election assistance experts already underway by all three partner organizations.

- **Involving the African academic community**

African universities are a rich resource in terms of specific country knowledge, inter-African ties, and participants and trainees for electoral missions and observations. Through its vast network of AFGRAD alumni and its association with the African Academy of Sciences and the Association of African Universities, AAI has excellent access to the African academic community. This partnership will involve these institutions in all aspects of country programming. In addition, it will use academic networks to disseminate information about program successes.

- **Special workshops on women**

In each program country, this partnership will organize special workshops for women. The subject will be women and political participation, with special emphasis on the electoral process. African women, though pivotal to the process, are rarely involved in politics in a public way. Requests already received from women's groups in Benin, Nigeria, Uganda, and South Africa suggest that women need discrete programs addressing participation issues from a gender-specific perspective. The partnership will also organize multi-country workshops and invite women who have successfully participated in the electoral process in all four phases. For instance, the Zambian Women's Lobbying Group has already travelled to South Africa to share its experiences. In this project, the partnership might unite Zambian women with Nigerian, Beninois, Togolese, and Ugandan women to develop an inter-African network and support group.

- **Broadening the base of teams to increase the U.S. constituency for Africa**

The U.S. constituency for Africa is still far too limited, and AID's December 1990 Democracy Initiative acknowledges the need to strengthen it. The partnership proposes to include on selected teams local-level elected officials and journalists from small newspapers and magazines as election observers. This citizen involvement promotes the visibility of Africa in the U.S. It also benefits Africans, who in many countries rarely have an opportunity to meet "average" Americans and look for international colleagues who will remain in contact.

- **Creative civic education in a formerly closed society**

The partners are prepared to incorporate people from diverse, formerly suppressed occupations in training sessions for civic groups and political parties. For example, teaching and journalism professionals who participate would benefit from exposure to this new area and from practical political experience. Although much of the training focuses on the needs of the civic group or party, participation by these professionals will do much to enrich the country's teaching of and journalism on politics. It is especially vital in societies where journalists and teachers were forced to write and discuss only one ruling ideology.

- **Electronic bulletin boards**

Democratization information is scarce in Africa, and often out-of-date. At the same time, many African countries have limited infrastructure and cannot take advantage of new communications media. However, the partnership will explore the feasibility of creating an electronic bulletin board using readily available technology that is increasingly available throughout the world. This bulletin board would contain valuable resource information, such as a menu of election laws from other democracies, information on recent elections and democratic reforms, and an international electronic mailbox system.

9. Project management

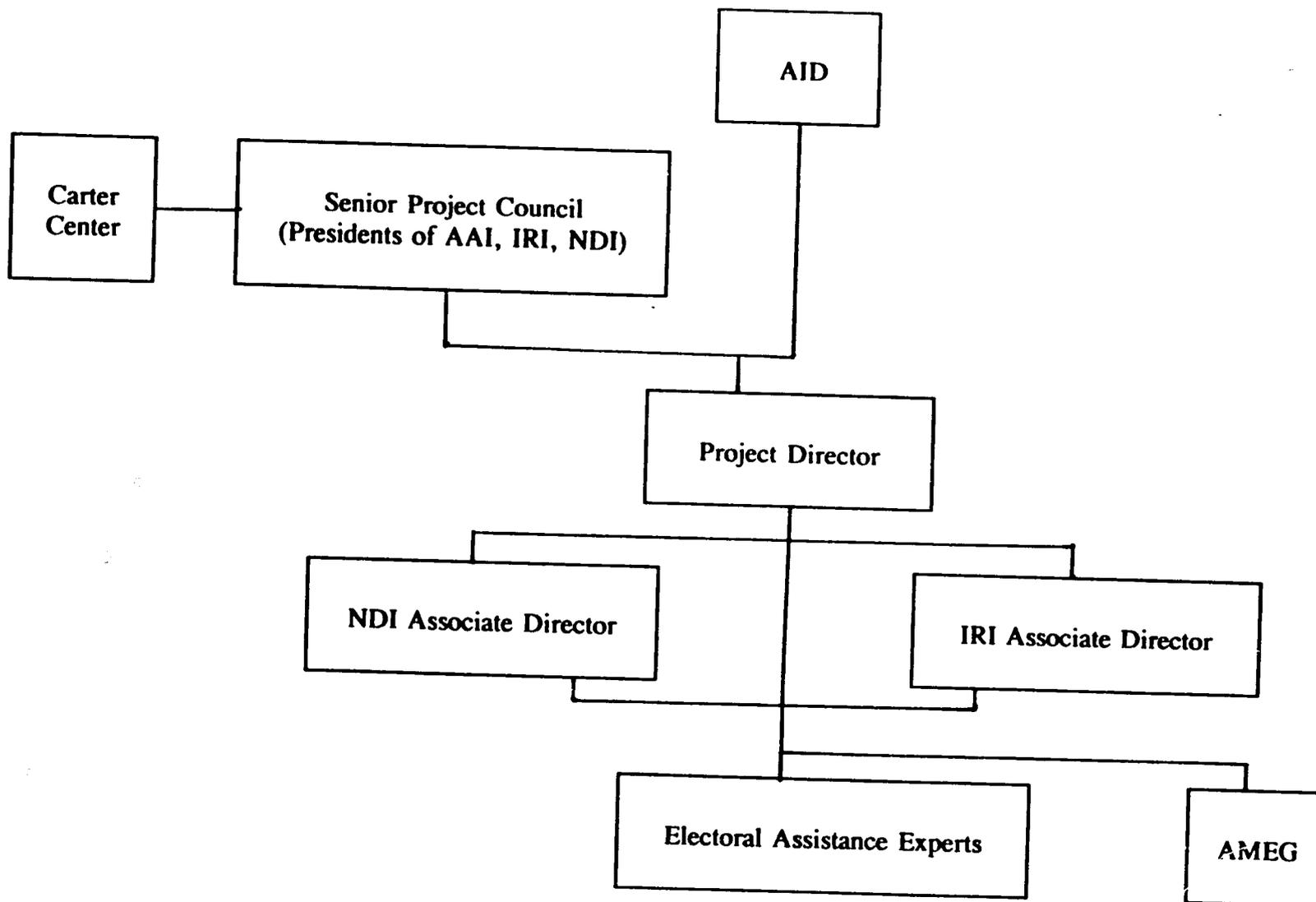
This section describes the proposed management structure and the partnership's approach to key management tasks. It is organized as follows:

- project organization
- program development and administration
- recruitment and selection of experts
- fielding and management of teams
- preparation of work plans and reports
- procurement
- evaluation

Project organization

This project will be administered as a partnership between AAI, NDI, and IRI. The Carter Center will serve as a collaborating organization. The proposed organizational structure is shown in Figure II-1. AAI will serve as the lead institution and enter into a direct cooperative with AID.

Figure II - 1 PROJECT ORGANIZATION CHART



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Most experts will provide services on a pro bono basis.

All three organizations will be represented on the management staff and on the policy-making Senior Project Council (see below). Each country, functional, and/or regional program activity will be implemented by one of the three partners. That partner will serve as the lead for that activity and will be responsible for assembling the appropriate team. Depending on the pre-assessment findings, project implementation teams may be drawn entirely from the implementing organization's staff and consultants, or they may include representatives of the other partners and/or the Carter Center. Procurement of election commodities will be contracted out to an experienced procurement agent with a solid track record in supplying these commodities and in meeting AID's special procurement standards and requirements. This agent has well-established logistics and management systems that guarantee timely, efficient service.

As shown in Section I, all three partners are already engaged in technical, training, monitoring, and other electoral assistance activities for AID and other organizations, and all three have well-established systems and procedures for implementing these activities. In addition, AAI has a 40-year history of working in Africa with African leaders -- governmental and non-governmental -- and has on-the-ground representation in 24 countries. The objective is to channel AID resources available through this cooperative agreement into continuing support for existing activities, making the well-respected electoral assistance and other resources of the three partners available to African nations in transition toward democracy.

The proposed administrative structure has a number of significant strengths that are thoroughly consistent with AID's rationale for using the cooperative agreement vehicle:

1. It is designed to take advantage of the high-quality, independent electoral assistance project implementation capacities already resident within each of the partner organizations.
2. It permits these capacities to be used independently or to be united, depending on the specific needs of each activity. In combination, the partners offer the full range of electoral assistance services.
3. While preserving the uniqueness and individuality of each partner, it provides AID and the State Department with a centralized, accountable structure that permits easy agency monitoring of activities funded.
4. ~~It establishes a~~ new entity and does not allocate resources to ~~establishing~~ new capacity.
5. It is efficient and cost-effective. It requires no more administrative infrastructure than would a single organization preparing to administer this cooperative agreement.
6. It facilitates close collaboration between AID and all three implementing partners.

The presidents of the three partner organizations will constitute the Senior Project Council. Although not charged to the cooperative agreement, the presidents will have a substantive role in

project policy making and oversight. During the initial six months, the Council will meet at least every two weeks. During the remaining agreement period, meetings will take place at least monthly, and more frequently when needed. Some will be held in conjunction with regularly scheduled meetings with AID and the Department of State (see II.C.1 above).

The specific responsibilities of the Council are:

- **to make recommendations to AID regarding country selection**
- **to review and approve overall strategies for each country project prior to submission for AID approval**
- **to review and approve the Annual Work Plans, prior to submission for AID approval**
- **to assign projects and activities to partner organizations**
- **to ensure inter-organizational collaboration in order to maximize resources and share lessons learned**
- **to monitor and evaluate progress**

In addition, the Council will resolve major strategic issues and address any significant problems common to funded project activities as a whole. Each Council member will assure that his or her organization commits appropriate resources and meets the high performance standards already established within each organization.

A small core staff will oversee and monitor all activities. AAI will employ a Project Director charged with overall administration. The Project Director will be responsible for:

- **servicing as the partnership's principal liaison with AID on all project-related matters**
- **developing and managing a program information system that will generate routine responses to AID's basic information needs**
- **monitoring implementation progress and ensuring compliance with the terms of the cooperative agreement**
- **drafting the Annual Work Plans, in collaboration with the Associate Directors of the other partners (see below), for submission to the Council and then to AID**
- **preparing comprehensive program and financial reports for submission to the AID Project Officer**

- reporting to the Council on project progress, including accomplishments and expenditures
- consolidating activity evaluation data for Council review

In addition, the Project Director will oversee all technical activities and programs assigned by the Council to AAI.

NDI and IRI will each assign a half-time Associate Director to work with the Project Director on overall coordination and administration. These individuals will be responsible for:

- overseeing the administration of programs and activities assigned to his or her organization by the Project Director at the direction of the Senior Project Council
- marshalling all organizational resources necessary to implement assigned activities
- ensuring that appropriate personnel are recruited and assigned to each activity
- fielding and supporting teams for each assigned activity
- designating (or serving as) a Team Leader for each assigned activity
- overseeing the documentation and evaluation of each assigned activity
- submitting activity and financial reports to AAI for inclusion in regular project reports for AID
- representing the organization at regular coordination meetings with AID and the Department of State

Program development and administration

As shown above (II.C.2), decisions about which countries will receive electoral assistance will be made jointly with AID. The Council will then outline the broad strategy. The outline will be shared with AID during the routine coordination meetings. Project staff will develop specific project and activity ideas and present them to the Council for approval. The Council will assign further development of these projects and activities among the partners.

Upon receiving an assignment, the implementing organization will develop a detailed plan to carry out the activity. This plan will set forth objectives, resource requirements (both personnel and materials), the projected schedule, the evaluation strategy, and the proposed budget. Wherever appropriate, it will also indicate the local organizations expected to be involved in the activity. Many electoral assistance activities are developed incrementally, with latter phases becoming better defined as the activity progresses. Therefore, these plans may provide detail only about the initial phase.

In these cases, the plan will indicate key decision points for later phases and the options that might be considered at each one. This will allow the needed flexibility to respond to developments as they occur on the ground. Regular progress reports during the implementation phase will advise the Council regarding decisions made.

Plans will be submitted to the Senior Project Council for review and approval. They will then be submitted to AID for review and approval. Following AID approval, the Council will authorize the implementing organization to proceed.

Recruitment and selection of experts

Each implementing organization will be responsible for assembling the appropriate team. All three partners have well-established in-house recruitment and selection systems (see Section I above) and collectively have extensive databases of experts in all aspects of electoral assistance programs (see examples in Section III). Although the systems were developed independently, they operate in parallel fashion, with many characteristics in common, and all of them guarantee timely selection of the most appropriate personnel for each and every assignment. The majority of the outside experts used by the partners contribute their services, requiring reimbursement of expenses only. This cost savings helps stretch project resources and maximizes the amount of direct assistance services available through the project.

The partners have pioneered the use of third-country nationals on electoral assistance teams and propose to make maximum use of these experts -- both Africans and others -- in this project. Coming from countries with recent experience in successful democratization and electoral reform, these individuals bring a unique, practical perspective to all aspects of the electoral process, from transition to consolidation. They also bring added credibility through their own experience in meeting the kinds of challenges faced by their colleagues in the target countries.

The following is an overview of the common recruitment and selection process. Upon receiving an assignment, the implementing organization will analyze the assignment to establish detailed personnel requirements, indicating the number and types of experts needed as well as the specific skills, experience, and other qualifications they must bring to the assignment. The organization will use its in-house database and, where appropriate, may ask the other partners for recommendations. Whenever appropriate, teams will include staff and/or consultant experts from the other organizations. **Basic criteria for evaluating candidates will include:**

- technical skill level
- international reputation and stature
- knowledge of and experience in Africa
- knowledge of and experience in the target country
- demonstrated capacity to provide electoral assistance in other countries within the guidelines established by AID and the Department of State

- **demonstrated ability to work collaboratively on multi-disciplinary, multi-national teams**
- **demonstrated capacity to develop innovative solutions to problems as they arise**
- **prior relationship with the implementing organization**
- **language capability, where necessary**
- **availability**

In situations that are expected to require continuing assistance through all three phases, the selection process will also consider whether or not the candidate is able to make a long-term commitment to the country project. All three partners recognize the need to minimize "familiarization time" and facilitate the development of longer-term working relationships between team members and their in-country colleagues.

The implementing organization will select team members and collect the appropriate documentation for submission to AID. This documentation will be forwarded to the Project Director, who will submit it to AID with a standard letter requesting travel concurrence from the Mission. Following concurrence, the provide each team member with terms of reference specifying all relevant terms of the assignment, including the specific scope of work and requirements regarding reports and other deliverables.

One member will be designated as Team Leader. In addition to technical tasks, the Team Leader will have overall responsibility for coordinating all in-country activities and will be the primary liaison with the AID Mission and the implementing partner organization (see below). He or she will also liaise with the AAI in-country Representative. With input from other team members, the Team Leader will prepare a trip report summarizing activities and accomplishments (see illustrative trip report in Exhibit 14).

Fielding and management of teams

The implementing organization will be responsible for providing a pre-departure orientation for each team (see tables of contents from NDI and IRI briefing books in Exhibit 15). The Project Director will participate in this briefing. It will ensure that all team members have a clear understanding of the following:

- **the purpose of the assignment**
- **the proposed implementation strategy**
- **the specific scope of work for the team**
- **individual roles and responsibilities**

- the local environment
- basic AID and State Department policy and regulations concerning electoral assistance programs
- in-country protocol and procedural requirements
- key local individuals and organizations expected to be involved in the activity
- how to request technical assistance from the implementing organization during the assignment
- AID regulations regarding travel, per diem, and local procurement

In addition, the implementing organization will provide each team member with an information packet containing background information on the country and the assignment. It will also make all necessary logistical arrangements for the trip.

Upon arrival in-country, the Team Leader will schedule an initial team briefing with appropriate Mission staff to review the assignment, elicit Mission suggestions and advice, and explain the proposed implementation strategy. Agreement will also be reached on protocol for contacting and joint programming with local institutions. The Team Leader will notify the implementing organization and the Project Director of important decisions reached during this briefing.

While in-country, the Team Leader will report regularly to the implementing organization's Associate Director by phone, fax, or telex. Information from these reports will be incorporated into the regular progress reports required under the subgrant agreements. The Team Leader will also keep the Mission apprised of progress and notify the Mission immediately if problems arise. The implementing organization also will notify the Project and the Senior Project Council of all significant problems.

Upon completion of the assignment, the Team Leader will arrange for a team debriefing with Mission staff to summarize accomplishments and discuss any follow-on activities or other support that might be needed. At the request of the Mission, interim briefings may also be held.

Preparation of work plans and project reports

The ~~initial~~ work plan will be developed by project staff within 30 days after the cooperative agreement is signed. It will be submitted for Senior Project Council review before submission for AID approval. It will include the following:

- countries slated for selection assessments
- specific country programs and activities
- estimated schedule of events
- estimated budget
- projected assignments for each partner organization

- estimated resource requirements
- projected process and impact evaluation milestones
- evaluation strategy

The plan will be updated, with additional detail added, as the project progresses. All additions and enhancements will be submitted to AID for approval. In subsequent years, when more data is available about specific countries and activities, the plan will be prepared at the beginning of the year and will require less specification and modification during the plan year.

The Project Director will prepare quarterly progress reports, with input from each organization. The format and content of these reports will be determined with AID during the initial coordination meetings described earlier. The partners anticipate that the reports will cover at least:

- activities completed during the reporting period
- comparison of activities with the work plan, with an explanation of any discrepancies
- significant achievements
- significant problems
- follow-on activities indicated
- implications, if any, for activities scheduled during the next quarter
- lessons learned with potential application to future activities planned

AID will also receive copies of trip and end-of-activity reports, and any other interim reports required.

Regular financial reports will be submitted by AAI, summarizing expenditures by all partners.

Procurement

The partnership will contract out the procurement of election-related commodities to the American Manufacturers Export Group (AMEG), an AID-registered Procurement Services Agent (PSA) (see Section I). AMEG will be responsible for all aspects of the procurement cycle and for ensuring that all procurement activities are consistent with AID regulations. Field teams will identify basic commodity needs and will work closely with national organizations and donor agencies to determine which commodities should be purchased with AREAF assistance. In Zambia, for example, NDI was able to arrange leveraging of funds so that 90 percent of the commodities funding came from other donors. The partners will seek similar leveraging opportunities in this project. If another donor wishes to provide funds and requests that the procurement be done under project supervision, AAI can make arrangements with AMEG for non-project-funded procurements.

AMEG will be responsible for the entire procurement cycle, including the following tasks:

- preparing the Invitation for Bid
- developing specifications
- issuing solicitation documents
- negotiating procurements (under informal procedures for small purchases)
- planning and scheduling
- advertising
- evaluating bids
- negotiating with bidders
- awarding contracts
- handling protests
- establishing banking procedures, establishing letters of credit
- receiving and inspecting
- warehousing and consolidation
- delivery services
- freight forwarding and international transportation
- on-site clearance and receipt
- insurance and claims
- reporting and recordkeeping

9. Evaluation

The partners recognize that carefully designed monitoring and evaluation procedures enhance the value of programs. They facilitate better planning of activities and enable the application of lessons learned to future work. This is particularly important in this project, where the demand for assistance services is expected to far exceed the availability of resources, and it is critical that nothing be wasted. In addition, good evaluation thinking can help assure that this activity feeds into achievement of AID's goals.

The partners also recognize that AID is in the midst of aggregating its program impacts through the innovative Program Performance Information for Strategic Management (PRISM) system. The Africa Bureau is well advanced within AID in thinking through the program aims of its Mission and Bureau activities. The partners have followed this development closely and are aware that new Agency guidance on PRISM (which includes Africa Bureau Supplementary Communication) is now in clearance and the PRISM system is on track.

PRISM has direct relevance to evaluation of AREAF. It focuses on four Agency-wide themes, one of which is Democratic Initiatives. Within the Democratic Initiatives theme, four objectives have been identified: (1) strengthening democratic representation; (2) supporting human rights; (3) promoting lawful governance; and (4) encouraging democratic values. The first and last of these are directly related to this project. PRISM work to date indicates clearly that monitoring progress toward these objectives can be fairly easily established so that management is informed by both careful qualitative and accurate quantitative information.

Evaluation of the effectiveness and impact of assistance intended to promote democracy is a far more difficult art. AID's experience is that it is virtually impossible to establish tradition, "scientific" links between such assistance and the political/governance outcomes in particular situations. This is because transition environments are so fragile and so complex. It is particularly difficult in Africa, where severe development crises put extra demands on emerging democracies. AID's key consultant on PRISM, Management Systems Incorporated (a partner on another major AAI-led AID project), has worked with a large number of AID Missions and Bureaus to establish plausible "linkages" between AID's democracy programs and end results. This has proven to be a particularly useful approach in numerous Mission and Bureau programs. The partnership will adapt that approach in this project, as appropriate. In addition, all three partners are experienced in managing a wide range of monitoring and evaluation activities that meet their own program needs as well as AID's. The partnership will amalgamate this experience to design the specific monitoring and evaluation system for this project. For example, NDI's detailed Program of Evaluation and Planning has been used successfully in a large number of AID-financed activities, and the proposed Project Director developed a system in the Schistosomiasis Research Project in which data was generated, collected, and aggregated on some 60 subgrants. Further, appropriate elements of the general (and rapidly evolving) guidances being developed by AID for program level evaluation will be incorporated.

Based on these models and experiences, the partners will develop relevant evaluation objectives and a sound evaluation system to support implementation monitoring and -- to the extent feasible -- impact evaluation. An overall evaluation framework will be developed. This framework will help track the relationship between implementation activities and project goals and purposes. The relationship between project activities and successful fostering of democratic elections will be as tight as possible in order to show plausible linkage. Based on this framework, systems will be designed to monitor progress and achievements. These systems will generate the routine information needed for step-by-step management and successful implementation of all activities. Data developed will feed the formative or process evaluation component. It will verify the timely, efficient, and prudent production of inputs and their translation into outputs. In addition, procedures will be developed to collect qualitative data (from interviews, for example) and, to the extent possible, quantitative data related to outcome and impact. This qualitative component will also help provide quick feedback on implementation issues that may need attention.

To make the evaluation system meaningful, data will be gathered from the ground up. Individual team leaders will be the front-line monitors. Their interim and extensive final reports will be the principal vehicles for regular information gathering. These reports will have evaluative elements within them so that by reporting on local events as well as the reactions of trainers, trainees, delegates, in-country colleagues, the press, etc., the Senior Project Council and the staff of the implementing organizations can identify strategies to improve the effectiveness of on-going activities. Evaluation data will be shared with AID during regular coordination meetings.

The partners will conduct a mid-project process evaluation in which all project parties carefully assess progress to date and determine any lessons learned which could materially improve implementation during the second half. The partners will also cooperate as required with any external evaluations that might be implemented by AID.

While it will be important to protect and nurture relationships with African electoral leaders in order to effectively carry out the project, the partnership is also aware of the need in matters of

governance and democracy to inculcate a respect for transparency in actions. Therefore, every effort will be made to share findings with counterparts as part of on-going and summary evaluation efforts. This will also add to the quality of these reviews. In addition, as part of the evaluation program, the partnership will review with AID opportunities to publicize the results of project work. IRI and NDI routinely publish reports of their electoral assistance projects, and AAI regularly reports political developments and assessments of elections in the main journal on African political developments, AAI's Africa Report.

SECTION III. PERSONNEL

AAI, NDI, and IRI have collective access to election assistance experts in virtually every discipline and to international consultants with an indepth knowledge of Africa. This depth and scope of this access is reflected in the variety of programs already implemented by the partners, as illustrated in Section I. Thus, this partnership can appropriate staff and support all the types of assistance required by AREAAF. The skills, experience, and prestige of partnership teams will guarantee high-quality services and maximize this project's potential for success.

This section describes the personnel responsible for project policy and management. It also illustrates the types of individuals who will participate on field teams. It is organized as follows:

- A. Matrix of skills and experiences
- B. Narrative summaries of skills and experience
- C. Resumes

A. MATRIX OF SKILLS AND EXPERIENCES

The matrix appearing on the next eight pages shows the related skills and experience of proposed staff and consultants.

MATRIX OF SKILLS AND EXPERIENCES

PERSONNEL	Assessment Missions	Electoral Law	Voter Registration &/or Census	Election Administration	Commodities Procurement	Public Opinion & Research	Voter/Civic Education	Political Party Training	Non-Partisan Domestic Election Monitor Training
Sedikou Alao	x								
Charles N. Andreane	x	x		x			x		x
Rafael Vargas Antillon		x	x	x			x	x	
Peter Anyang'Nyong'o									
J.B. Atwood	x	x	x	x		x	x		x
Christopher J. Bakwegha			x		x	x	x	x	x
Eric C. Bjornlund	x	x		x		x	x		x
Michael Bratton	x						x		x
Jack Buschner	x	x				x	x		x
Edouard Bustin		x					x	x	
Margaret Calhoun	x					x			
Jimmy Carter	x					x			
Carol Castiel							x	x	x
Shirley Cooks			x	x		x	x		
Dorothy Cotton		x	x	x			x	x	x
Glenn Cowan	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x
Victoria K. Craig					x	x	x	x	x
Robert Dahl		x	x	x				x	
Stephen M Davis	x								
Francis Deng		x				x			
Vivian Lowery Derryck	x		x	x		x	x		
							x	x	x

MATRIX OF SKILLS AND EXPERIENCES

PERSONNEL	Poll Watcher Training	Media Analysis	Vote Count Verification Including Parallel Vote Count	International Election Observation	Consolidation	Level of Education	Language Ability	Field Team Management	African Field Experience
Sadikou Alao	x			x	x	JD / PhD	F,I	x	x
Charles N. Andrae				x	x	MA		x	x
Rafael Vargas Antillon	x		x		x	JD	S		x
Peter Anyang'Nyong'o				x	x	PhD	F,S		x
J.B. Atwood				x		BA	F,S	x	x
Christopher J. Bakwesegha				x		PhD	I	x	x
Eric C. Bjornlund				x		JD / MA		x	x
Michael Bratton		x		x	x	PHD		x	x
Jack Buechner		x		x	x	JD			x
Edouard Bustin					x	PHD	F,I,P,S	x	x
Margaret Calhoun		x		x		MA		x	x
Jimmy Carter		x	x	x			S		x
Carol Castiel		x		x	x		F,S	x	x
Shirley Cooks	x					BA			x
Dorothy Cotton	x					MA			
Glenn Cowan	x	x	x	x	x	BA		x	x
Victoria K. Craig		x				MA	F,S		
Robert Dahl	x			x	x	JD / MA			
Stephen M. Davis		x				PHD	F	x	x
Francis Dang					x	LLB / JSD	I,O		x
Vivian Lowery Derryck	x			x	x	MIA	F	x	x

NOTE:

F - French
 S - Spanish
 P - Portuguese
 I - Indigenous
 O - Other

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MATRIX OF SKILLS AND EXPERIENCES

PERSONNEL	Assessment Missions	Electoral Law	Voter Registration &/or Census	Election Administration	Commodities Procurement	Public Opinion & Research	Voter/Civic Education	Political Party Training	Non-Partisan Domestic Election Monitor Training
Larry Diamond	x								
Craig M. Engle		x	x	x		x			
Lee Feldman	x		x	x				x	
Bernd Fischer						x			
Jeffrey L. Flake	x					x		x	x
Larry Garber	x	x	x	x			x		
Nahum J. Gorelick							x		x
Ron A. Gould	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x
Mery Scott Guest	x	x		x	x		x	x	x
Honore Guie		x		x			x	x	x
Laurah N. Harrison	x		x	x			x		x
Fred Hayward	x	x		x					x
Robert Henderson	x					x	x		
Steve Horblitt	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	
Goran Hyden	x	x		x			x	x	x
Michael Johns	x						x		
Lionel C. Johnson	x					x			
Richard Joseph	x						x	x	x
Patrica Keefer	x					x			
							x	x	x

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MATRIX OF SKILLS AND EXPERIENCES

PERSONNEL	Poll Watcher Training	Media Analysis	Vote Count Verification Including Parallel Vote Count	International Election Observation	Consolidation	Level of Education	Language Ability	Field Team Management	African Field Experience
Larry Diamond					x	PHD	I	x	x
Craig M. Engle						JD			
Lee Feldman			x	x		BS		x	x
Bernd Fischer		x		x	x	PHD	O	x	x
Jeffry L. Flake					x	MA	I		x
Larry Garber	x		x	x		JD		x	x
Nahum J. Gorelick	x	x			x	MA	F,I	x	x
Ron A. Gould	x		x	x	x		F		x
Mary Scott Guest	x			x		JD / MBA	F,O	x	
Honore Gule	x		x	x		JD	F,I	x	x
Laurah N. Harrison	x	x	x	x	x	JD	I	x	x
Fred Hayward		x		x	x	PHD	F,I		x
Robert Henderson				x	x	MA	S	x	x
Steve Horblitt	x			x	x	PHD	I		
Goran Hyden						PHD	F,I	x	x
Michael Johns				x		BA		x	x
Lionel C. Johnson				x	x	BA	F	x	x
Richard Joseph				x	x	PHD			x
Patrica Keefer				x	x	BA		x	x

NOTE:

- F - French
- S - Spanish
- P - Portuguese
- I - Indigenous
- O - Other

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MATRIX OF SKILLS AND EXPERIENCES

PERSONNEL	Assessment Missions	Electoral Law	Voter Registration &/or Census	Election Administration	Commodities Procurement	Public Opinion & Research	Voter/Civic Education	Political Party Training	Non-Partisan Domestic Election Monitor Training
Michael Kostiw	x							x	
Michelle D. Kourouma	x						x	x	x
Willie Lamouse-Smith	x					x			
Carol Lancaster	x						x		
William Lee	x							x	
Carol L. Martin	x	x							
Shawn McCormick	x					x			
Danny McDonald	x	x	x	x	x				
Donald F. McHenry	x								
Edward McMahon	x						x	x	x
Thomas O. Melia	x	x		x			x	x	x
George Neavoll			x			x	x		
Neil Newhouse	x					x		x	
David F.A. Norcross	x	x	x	x				x	
Margaret Novicki						x			
Georges Nzongola Ntalaja	x	x				x	x		
Hubert Oulaye	x								
Louis Picard	x	x		x			x		
Frederick Quinn	x	x							
Pearl Robinson	x	x				x	x		
Fuston Sabela	x						x		x

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MATRIX OF SKILLS AND EXPERIENCES

PERSONNEL	Poll Watcher Training	Media Analysis	Vote Count Verification Including Parallel Vote Count	International Election Observation	Consolidation	Level of Education	Language Ability	Field Team Management	African Field Experience
Michael Kostiw				x		BA	F,S,O		x
Michelle D. Kourouma		x		x	x	BS	F		x
Willie Lamouse-Smith					x	PHD	F,I	x	x
Carol Lancaster					x	PHD	F,I,S		x
William Lee		x			x	BA	S		x
Carol L. Martin		x			x	MA	F,I,P,S		x
Shawn McCormick						BA	P,S	x	x
Danny McDonald		x	x	x		BA		x	
Donald F. McHenry			x	x		MA	F	x	x
Edward McMahon	x			x	x	MA	F,O	x	x
Thomas O. Melie	x			x	x	MA	F	x	x
George Neavoll		x		x		BA	S		x
Neil Newhouse				x	x	MA			
David F.A. Norcross				x	x	JD		x	x
Margaret Novicki		x	x	x	x	MIA	F,P	x	x
Georges Nzongola Ntalaja		x			x	PHD	F,I		x
Hubert Oulaye	x	x	x	x		JD	F,I	x	x
Louis Picard						PHD	F,I	x	x
Frederick Quinn					x	PHD	F,O		x
Pearl Robinson					x	PHD	F,I		x
Foston Sakala	x		x	x		BA	F	x	x

NOTE:

F = French
 S = Spanish
 P = Portuguese
 I = Indigenous
 O = Other

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MATRIX OF SKILLS AND EXPERIENCES

PERSONNEL	Assessment Missions	Electoral Law	Voter Registration &/or Census	Election Administration	Commodities Procurement	Public Opinion & Research	Voter/Civic Education	Political Party Training	Non-Partisan Domestic Election Monitor Training
Annette Sheckler		x				x			
Carl Schieren	x			x	x		x		
Duncan W. Sellers	x					x	x		
Miroslav Sevlievski	x	x	x	x		x	x		x
Ellen Johnson Sirleaf	x						x		x
John M. Simms			x				x	x	
Richard E. Sincere, Jr.	x					x			
Boyce Slayman	x		x			x	x	x	x
Jasper K. Smith	x						x	x	
Dayle Spencer	x								
Stephen Stedman	x					x	x		
Edward B. Stewart	x				x		x	x	
Rose Strong								x	
Mose P. Tjitendero	x	x	x					x	
Antonio Vitorino	x	x	x	x				x	
Laurie Wiseburg		x				x	x		
Abiedun Williams	x	x				x			
Lynore Williams	x					x	x		
Kenneth Wollack	x					x	x		x

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MATRIX OF SKILLS AND EXPERIENCES

PERSONNEL	Poll Watcher Training	Media Analysis	Vote Count Verification Including Parallel Vote Count	International Election Observation	Consolidation	Level of Education	Language Ability	Field Team Management	African Field Experience
Annette Steckler					x	MA	F,I		x
Carl Schieren		x		x	x	MTA	F,O		x
Duncan W. Sellars				x	x	MA			x
Miroslav Sevlievski	x	x	x	x	xx	BA	O		x
Ellen Johnson Sirleaf				x		MA	F,S		x
John M. Simms				x	x	JD			
Richard E. Sincere, Jr.					x	MA	F		x
Boyce Slayman	x	x				BA			x
Jasper K. Smith						PhD	F,I		x
Dayle Spencer				x		JD			x
Stephen Stebnar					x	PhD			x
Edward B. Stewart				x		MA			x
Rose Strong					x	BA			
Mose P. Tjitendero					x	EdD / MA	F,I		x
Antonio Victorino	x		x	x	x	JD	P,S		x
Abiedun Williams						MA	F		x
Lynore Williams		x			x	BA	I		x
Laurie Wiseburg		x			x	PhD	F		x
Kenneth Wollack				x		BA			x

NOTE:
 F - French
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 P - Portuguese
 I - Indigenous
 O - Other

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B. NARRATIVE SUMMARIES OF SKILLS AND EXPERIENCE

1. Senior Project Council

Vivian Lowery Derryck became President of the African-American Institute on June 1, 1989 capping a twenty-five year career working on African development and governance issues. Her present position as head of the premier private American institution concerned with US-African relations, puts her into daily contact with African leaders of politics, governance, business and academia. She is recognized as a leading spokesperson on political developments in Africa as is evidenced in numerous ways: frequent appearances as the American keynoter in meetings of African leaders; invited testifier before the foreign affairs committees of Congress; board member with leading international organizations, etc.

At the African-American Institute, in addition to being the CEO in charge of a program in excess of \$23 million/year and administering a staff in 24 countries and two major U.S. offices, Ms. Derryck has instituted a number of innovations. She has greatly strengthened the development and governance work of the Institute; launched a new office in South Africa (the first such U.S. group to do so); created new working relationships with a number of key non-governmental groups in Africa, such as the African Academy of Science; and led the Institute's efforts to foster conflict resolution in Africa.

Ms. Derryck is a recognized authority in fostering democracies in Africa and the Caribbean. She has had significant experience as well in other parts of the world. As Vice President for Programs of the National Democratic Institute, she conceptualized and designed programs to strengthen democracy in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean. These entailed focused activities to support democratic political development, dialogues with political party leaders, working with elected officials and creating cooperative links with leaders in a variety of private sectors. The net result has been strengthened democracies around the world.

Ms. Derryck recognizes that the move to democracy is never simple. While it can entail relative smoothness, as shown in her work in Botswana, it can also entail danger, as she found as a member of a high level election observer mission to Haiti which found itself under gun fire. Her knowledge and experience has led her to be invited to observe a number of African elections.

Ms. Derryck's facility of working with senior officials has been amply demonstrated in a variety of senior assignments. As Deputy Assistant Secretary of State in both the Carter and Reagan Administrations, Ms. Derryck held portfolios directly under four Secretaries of State. In addition to her own responsibilities, she was a member of the senior staff at the State Department and was involved in international organization affairs.

At the National Council of Negro Women she served as Executive Vice President and Director of the International Division where she was responsible for the administration of projects in Swaziland, Togo, Senegal, and Mauritania.

Ms. Derryck has also served simultaneously as Executive Director of the Washington Visitors Center and as Vice President of Meridian House International where she was responsible for training numerous senior visitors from abroad in the functioning of U.S. governance and development. In addition she conceived and administered a major program of study seminars often creating sounding boards for major policy innovations for such groups as senior U.S., African and World Bank officials.

In the 1970s Ms. Derryck served as a consultant to the Agency for International Development and to the U.S. House of Representatives. She also taught and developed curriculum materials on African development and culture in the United States (New York Community College and the Education Development Center in Boston) and in Africa. For four years she taught at the University of Liberia and worked with the Ministry of Education to Liberianize the social studies curriculum.

Throughout her career Ms. Derryck has been a recognized American leader in fostering the role of women in development and politics. She is part of a network of senior women political leaders around the world and is a frequent spokesperson on the role of women in the developing world.

Ms. Derryck has received numerous honors in Africa and the United States. She is particularly proud to have been named Woman of the Year by a major woman's group in Sierra Leone. Ms. Derryck serves on over 10 boards of directors of organizations based in the United States and in Africa.

Educated at Chatham College (B.A. in Political Science) and at Columbia University (M.A. in International Affairs), Ms. Derryck also is the recipient of a Certificate in Executive Management from the Federal Executive Institute. She speaks French fluently.

As president of NDI, J. Brian Atwood directs an organization dedicated to strengthening democratic institution and pluralistic values internationally. Atwood assumed the leadership of NDI in 1985. Since that time, NDI has grown from an annual budget of \$700,000 and a staff of five to one of over \$5 million and a staff of 35. NDI has made major contributions to democratic change in Chile, Nicaragua, Namibia, Pakistan, Panama, the Philippines and the six nations of Eastern and Central Europe and has worked in more than 40 nations.

Atwood has testified before Congress on numerous occasions, authored articles for leading publications and lectured extensively on foreign policy and international politics. He has written on such diverse topics as war powers, East-West relations, diplomacy in Africa, civil-military relations, U.S. policy toward Haiti, resolving conflict in Northern Ireland, policy toward Nicaragua, and the African National Congress. He has appeared on all three network evening new programs, the MacNeil-Lehrer Report, The Today Show, Night Watch and National Public Radio, commenting on aspects of U.S. foreign policy.

During his tenure as Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations (1979-81), Atwood handled a number of sensitive foreign policy issues including the SALT II and Panama Canal treaties, the Taiwan Relations Act, Foreign Assistance programs, and the humanitarian assistance package for Nicaragua. He also coordinated consultations with Congress on such delicate questions as the Iran hostage crisis and the Camp David Accords. At the end of his Administration,

President Jimmy Carter commended Atwood's service, stating: "I deeply appreciate the wisdom and skill with which you have carried out your responsibilities. You have played a major role in securing passage in Congress of many of our foreign policy initiatives. Of particular importance were your tireless efforts on the historic Panama Canal Treaty. Your efforts have contributed greatly to the foreign policy accomplishments of the Administration."

At the Foreign Service Institute (FSI) (1981-82), Atwood served as Dean of Professional Studies and Academic Affairs, presiding over a staff of 25 professional instructors and a curriculum that annually trained more than 700 career diplomats. Courses included junior and mid-level officer training, "core" classes in administration, economics, political analysis, and consular training, and special courses in science and technology, the policy process, arms control, political-military issues and labor reporting. He also handled the diplomats-in-residence program and various fellowship and exchange programs. He was a member of the Association of Deans of Foreign Service Colleges.

Atwood served as Vice President in charge of information and analysis at International Reporting and Information Systems (IRIS) (1982), which provided analyses of political and economic issues to subscribers around the world. He managed a staff of 50 journalists, academics and former diplomats and a network of over 60 correspondents in 40 countries.

Atwood began his career as a foreign service officer, serving as a U.S. diplomat in the Ivory Coast and Spain (1967-72). He moved to Capitol Hill as a Legislative Assistant for foreign Policy and Defense on the staff of Senator Thomas Eagleton (D-MO) (1972-1977). He later served as executive director of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee (1983-84).

The Honorable Jack Buechner is President of IRI. Under Buechner's leadership, the Institute has provided training to encourage and support the evolution of democratic political processes in Africa, Eastern Europe, Asia, the Baltics, the former Soviet Union, Central and Latin America, Mexico, and other areas of the world. He has travelled extensively to all continents and has been active in international politics and business during his professional life. Having a long-standing interest in African affairs, Buechner has been a member of missions to Nigeria, Gabon, Kenya, Cape Verde, Zaire, Zimbabwe, and Zambia. He has worked with AAI and personally solicited some 14 tons of materials and food for relief of refugees from Mozambique in Malawi. He has also led international election monitoring missions in Bulgaria, Albania, and El Salvador, assessment missions to Mongolia, and training seminars in Moscow.

Prior to acceptance the Presidency of IRI in February 1991, Mr. Buechner served two terms (1986-1990) in the U.S. Congress as the Representative for Missouri's 2nd District. Located in suburban St. Louis County and the adjoining St. Charles County area, the 2nd District was a marginal District that saw Congressman Buechner win a 1986 election to the 100th Congress. In that election he was the only Republican in the nation to unseat an incumbent Democrat for Federal office.

While a member of Congress, Buechner was picked by the prestigious "National Journal" as one of Congress' rising stars. He became a member of the powerful Budget Committee as a freshman and became the ranking member of the Economics and Trade Policy Task Force. He also served on the Defense and International Affairs Task Force of that committee. While in Congress, he was the Republic Strategy Whip for Communications. He also served as Vice-Chairman of the

Republican Study Committee and as the Regional Representative to the Committee on Committees.

Mr. Buechner has received the "Family and Freedom Award," the "National Security Leadership Award," and 1987, 1988, 1989, and 1990 "Golden Bulldog" awards from the Watchdogs of the Treasury for his record of fiscal responsibility, and in 1988, 1989, 1990, and 1991 the U.S. Chamber of Commerce "Spirit of Enterprise" awards, and the "Guardian of Small Business" awards from the National Federation of Independent Business for his pro-business efforts. He also received awards from health care, public safety, and education groups.

Buechner is an accomplished public speaker and lecturer on topics involving international affairs and comparative politics. He has hosted a series on public television, appeared on such programs as 20/20, NPR, and even escorted the late night TV's David Letterman on a televised tour of the Capitol.

Buechner is a graduate of the St. Louis University School of Law, where he received a Juris Doctoris degree in 1965. He later went on to form the Chesterfield, Missouri firm of Buechner, McCarthy, Kaemmerer, Leonard, Owen, and Laderman. His background also includes teaching as an adjunct professor of political science for three Missouri universities, as well as serving as an officer in several local civic organizations that stress voluntarism. Prior to his congressional service, Buechner represented his hometown of Kirkwood for ten years as a Representative in the Missouri State Legislature.

2. Project staff

AAI's Vice President for Programs, **Carl V. Schieren**, will serve as Project Director. He brings to this assignment a wealth of experience in Africa and in managing complex development initiatives. Since joining the AAI in February 1991, Mr. Schieren has led two observer delegations to the Presidential Elections in Benin and represented AAI at the National Reconciliation Conference in Liberia. He has developed AAI's initiatives in democracy and governance and was principally responsible for a UNIFEM-funded conference for Nigerian women political candidates scheduled in early March in Lagos. He has established AAI contacts with a wide range of institutions and groups working on or in Africa, including the African Academy of Sciences, the Study and Research Group on Democracy and Economic and Social Development, as well as numerous American and African scholars. In June, 1991 he organized a meeting in Washington, D.C. of American organizations involved in work on democratization in Africa. In a good deal of this work he has been able to draw upon established links with such groups as the Association of African Universities which he helped support for many years.

Mr. Schieren's principal reputation has been as a superior administrator. He began his experience in Africa by driving across the Sahara to begin an internship with Shell Oil Company of Ghana. After his studies, he led a Crossroads Africa group to Niger in 1966. The next year he began an 18 year association with the American University in Cairo, the last 15 years resident in Egypt. During that time he oversaw program and project development, including the creation of an office of sponsored projects. He was especially involved in facilitating projects related to socio-

economic development, resulting in establishment of a desert development center, extensive training programs for managers, the largest AID-funded English language training program outside the United States, population research, and very early work in child survival. Other programs he managed and directed involving training of private sector managers, linkage programs with other educational institutions, direct service programs in West and East Africa, and exchange activities. He also undertook principal staff work with USAID and the U.S. Embassy leading to endowment financing of \$30 million for the University.

Since his return from Egypt, Mr. Schieren established the office of the Council of Overseas Research Centers at the Smithsonian Institution, undertook an assignment as Chief of Party for the Scholarship and Training Project in the Sultanate of Oman which included all phases of team leader management and controls, and established a project office and grants management system for the Schistosomiasis Research Project in Cairo. As manager of the latter project he was responsible for managing a \$39 million program involving the hiring and management of a senior team. He gained a reputation in these projects as a professional manager who accepts and manages difficult project assignments successfully. He is thoroughly experienced with team hiring, planning and management of complex work, training assessments and supervision of training programs, managing financial controls, reporting and evaluation, and building team morale.

Mr. Schieren now oversees AAI's educational and training programs for Africans in the United States. These programs include ATLAS and other activities which together total approximately \$15 million annually. Mr. Schieren has initiated a number of innovations to aid better management of these programs.

Mr. Schieren holds a Masters in International Affairs degree from Columbia University where he concentrated in African Studies and was a Fellow of the African Institute. He is fluent in French and Arabic.

Eric C. Bjornlund will serve as NDI Associate Director. He is a lawyer and Senior Program Officer at the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs. From 1984 to 1988, he practiced corporate and business law at Ropes & Gray, a 300-lawyer firm in Boston, Massachusetts, and from 1981 to 1982 he was an admissions officer at Williams College. At NDI, Mr. Bjornlund has managed multifaceted programs in Zambia, Namibia and Bangladesh. He has also served as NDI's liaison with U.S. Agency for International Development and, acting as legal counsel, has advised NDI senior management and professional staff on various legal issues.

In Zambia, Mr. Bjornlund co-managed a \$1.5 million joint project with the Carter Center of Emory University in support of October 1991 multiparty elections. He designed and supervised a four-month comprehensive international observation program, which included organization of multinational pre-election teams, training of Zambian election monitoring groups, and implementation of a parallel vote tabulation. He prepared NDI's proposal and budget, negotiated agreements with the Carter Center and international funders of the program, supervised NDI's project representative in Lusaka, and managed an eight-person project staff. In August 1991, Mr. Bjornlund organized and led an eight-person pre-election delegation to Zambia to assess the election system and campaign environment, and drafted delegation report. He advised Zambian groups organizing poll-watching and civic education programs. For the October elections, Mr. Bjornlund served as a senior adviser to former President Carter and as chief organizer and member of the NDI/Carter Center 40-person international election delegation. He also was the principal author of the delegation's

comprehensive, book-length report. Mr. Bjornlund manages NDI's continuing program in support of the consolidation of democracy in Zambia that focuses on Zambian political parties, civic organizations and national assembly.

In Bangladesh, Mr. Bjornlund has managed NDI's multifaceted program in support of political parties, civic organizations, and the election process. In anticipation of February 1991 national elections, he organized training programs for groups involved in election monitoring. In July 1991, he conceived and organized a three-day conference for 200 Bangladeshi participants and seven international experts on the role of civic organizations and political parties in strengthening democratic institutions. He participated in a delegation to observe March 1990 local elections, led a small multinational delegation to observe the February 1991 parliamentary elections, and drafted comprehensive reports for both delegations.

In Namibia, working with the speaker of Namibian national assembly, Mr. Bjornlund conceived, developed, and prepared a proposal and agenda for an international conference of parliamentarians in March 1991. He also participated in a June 1990 symposium in Namibia on freedom of the press. Before he joined the NDI staff, Mr. Bjornlund acted as legal advisor and rapporteur for NDI's delegation to November 1989 elections in Namibia. He was the principal author of NDI's report to Congress and subsequent book on U.N. role in the Namibian transition to independence.

In January 1992, Mr. Bjornlund organized and managed a week-long program in Washington to advise the five members of the newly constituted Election Commission of Liberia on the design and implementation of an electoral system for that country. Mr. Bjornlund also acted as legal adviser and press liaison for NDI's international delegation to controversial October 1990 national elections in Pakistan, and he drafted a major portion of that delegation's report, including the chapter on Pakistan's election law and electoral system.

Before coming to NDI, Mr. Bjornlund worked on important international human rights cases in Namibia, including *State v. Angula*, 2 SA 532 (1987), and *Free Press of Namibia v. Cabinet of Interim Government*, 1 SA 614 (1987). He also contributed to Amnesty International's *amicus* brief in *Haitian Refugee Center v. Gracey* (D.C. Cir. 1987), which challenged the U.S. government's forced repatriation of Haitian refugees.

Mr. Bjornlund has written extensively on election-related, legal and African issues. He is a co-editor, with Larry Garber, of *THE NEW DEMOCRATIC FRONTIER: A COUNTRY-BY-COUNTRY REPORT ON ELECTIONS IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE* (1992) and co-authored the book's introductory chapter. This book analyzes the 1990 elections and democratic transitions in eastern and central Europe and includes 17 chapters contributed by international democratic development experts. He is author of *The Devil's Work? Judicial Review under a Bill of Rights in South Africa and Namibia*, 26 *Stanford Journal of International Law* 401 (1990), a major study of the legal systems of South Africa and Namibia, and *Namibia Under Sail*, published in the *Christian Science Monitor* (July 10, 1990). For NDI, Mr. Bjornlund has been the principal author, either by himself or with Mr. Garber, of *THE OCTOBER 1991 NATIONAL ELECTIONS IN ZAMBIA* (1992), *PRE-ELECTION REPORT: OCTOBER 31, 1991 ZAMBIAN ELECTIONS* (1991), *BANGLADESH PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS* (1991), *NATION BUILDING: THE U.N. AND NAMIBIA* (1990), and *REPORT OF THE BANGLADESH ELECTION ASSESSMENT MISSION* (1990). He also authored the chapter on "The Legal and Administrative Framework for the Elections" in *THE OCTOBER 1990 ELECTIONS IN PAKISTAN* (1991).

Mr. Bjornlund has been a guest lecturer on democratic movements in Africa at the Foreign Service Institute and on electoral and constitutional systems of southern Africa at Boston College Law School. As a consultant to Citizens Energy Corporation, Mr. Bjornlund helped organize and participated in a 30-person delegation, which included a U.S. congressman and other dignitaries, to Angola, Congo and Namibia in August 1989.

Mr. Bjornlund received his Juris Doctor degree from Columbia University in New York, New York and a Master in Public Administration degree from the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. He also has a Bachelor of Arts, magna cum laude, in economics from Williams College.

Edward B. Stewart will serve as the IRI Associate Director. He is currently the IRI Regional Program Officer for Africa and the Middle East. Having served in this capacity since late 1990, he has been responsible for the design and implementation of a variety of programs designed to strengthen political parties and other democratic institutions in underdeveloped countries.

In Africa, he has served on assessment missions to Nigeria, Angola, and Zaire. His work in Angola is particularly notable, as he was one of the first Americans to travel there after the implementation of the 1990 Estoril Accords. He is co-author of "UNITA After the Ceasefire: The Emergence of a Political Party." In addition, he has managed program grants in Africa.

As part of his current work in Asia, Mr. Stewart advises Nobel Peace Prize winner Aung San Suu Kyi's Burmese political party, the National League for Democracy.

In Eastern Europe, Mr. Stewart has been extensively involved with the historic political changes still underway in the region. He has conducted research on virtually every Eastern European country and helped lead numerous survey teams in Bulgaria and Romania to assess those countries' transitions to democracy. As a result of these missions, he designed a comprehensive program of training for political party activists, with emphasis on party organization, campaign management, communications, and grassroots development. While working in Romania, he directed teams of Western political consultants in executing these unprecedented training programs.

Early in his tenure at IRI, Mr. Stewart managed the Institute's largest multi-lateral party development program, the Caribbean Democrat Union. As such, he has consulted with and advised the heads of government and political party leaders from virtually all Caribbean nations.

Mr. Stewart won U.S. Department of State praise for his development of a program to aid multiple political parties in Haiti during that country's 1990 pre-election stage.

3. Election assistance experts

Sadikou Alao is legal counsel to the African Development Bank in Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire, and president of GERDDES AFRIQUE (Group for Study and Research on Democracy and Economic and Social Development), a non-partisan, democratic development organization with national organizations in 18 African countries. Under Mr. Alao's direction GERDDES led an international observation mission in Benin for the 1991 legislative and presidential elections. Mr. Alao has led GERDDES participation in a number of collaborative training projects with NDI. In addition to numerous professional publications, he has authored a GERDDES research publication entitled Democracy and Development.

Prior to his current position as president of Andreae and Associates, Mr. Charles N. Andreae worked in numerous campaigns and political posts. He has many contacts in the area of political party training and is a consultant dealing with and specializing in party development and organization, party polling, and many other electoral assistance related issues. He holds an MA in Government and National Security Studies from Georgetown University and a BA in Political Science combined with History from Denison University.

Rafael Vargas Antillon is Magistrate of the Supreme Court of Costa Rica. He is a Professor of Political Science at the University of Costa Rica and a member of the Center for Research and Political Training. From 1983-85 Mr. Antillon served as the Director of Voter Registration in Costa Rica. He is also currently a member of the Center of Elections.

Peter Anyang'Nyong'o is a political scientist in Kenya and currently serves as the Secretary General of the African Association of Political Science. He is a major leader of the Foundation for the Restoration of Democracy (FORD) in Kenya. Professor Anyang'Nyong'o formerly served as the Head of Programmes for the African Academy of Sciences and was Associate Professor of Political Science and International Relations at Addis Ababa University. He is the co-author of Popular Struggles for Democracy (1987), Afrique: La Longue Marche vers la Democratie (1988) and Hope Born out of Despair: Managing the African Crisis (1988). Professor Anyang'Nyong'o holds a Masters and Ph.D. from the University of Chicago and has studied French and Spanish at the Universite de Besancon and Universidad Nacional Autonoma de Mexico, respectively. Professor Anyang'Nyong'o was a member of the NDI/Carter Center election observer and post-election delegations to Zambia.

Christopher Bakwesegha is currently the Director of the Organization for African Unity Bureau of Refugees. He is responsible for designing policies, strategies and programs for promoting the protection of refugees in Africa. Formerly Dr. Bakwesegha was the Head of the Refugee Department of the All Africa Conference of Churches/World Council of Churches. In that position he was responsible for designing policies and programs for refugees in 18 African countries. Dr. Bakwesegha holds a Ph.D. in Urban Planning and Policy Development from Rutgers University and a Master's Degree in City and Regional Planning also from Rutgers. He has organized and participated in numerous conferences on regional African issues in Zambia, Angola and Namibia. He participated in one of the Carter Center/NDI pre-election missions to Zambia and organized the OAU observer team for the Zambian elections. He also served as a faculty member at NDI's regional seminar on elections in Namibia in January 1992.

Professor **Michael Bratton** is jointly with the Department of Political Science and the African Studies Center, Michigan State University. Dr. Bratton is very widely known as a leading American Africanist, expert in politics, development and governance. Prior to coming to Michigan State, Dr.

Bratton was with the Ford Foundation's East Africa office where he designed a program of support for governance, public policy and rural development. Dr. Bratton has written very widely in his fields of expertise in dozens of articles and several notable books, most recently Governance in Africa (Lynne Rienner Press, 1991) which he co-edited with Goran Hyden. He has taught at a number of African universities. Of great relevance to this project has been Dr. Bratton's extensive consulting work with a number of donors, including USAID, GTZ, Catholic Institute for International Affairs and CILCA. This work has included evaluation, design and policy advice. This work has given Dr. Bratton a particularly strong understanding of the importance of the dynamics of governance where people are, which, in Africa is largely in the rural areas.

Dr. Edouard Bustin is Associate Professor of Political Science and Research Associate in the African Studies Center at Boston University. A specialist in African political systems, constitutional law, social change and international relations, Dr. Bustin taught for eight years in Zaire and recently consulted for USAID/Zaire on its democracy initiative. Educated at the University of Liege in law and political science, he is fluent in French, Spanish, Italian and German, and reads Portuguese and Afrikaans.

As a senior Africa Analyst for the International Freedom Foundation (Washington, D.C.), **Ms. Margaret Calhoun** monitors and analyses events in Africa as well as U.S. foreign policy towards the continent. In addition to authoring and editing "Angola Peace Monitor," she researches and writes opinion articles for other IFF Publications, including "Sub-Saharan Monitor," and "International Freedom Review," as well as other newspapers and publications. Ms. Calhoun has many media and government contacts in Africa, and often coordinates government, media, and think-tank meetings as well as other requested activities for foreign dignitaries and visitors. Ms. Calhoun has her MA from Georgetown University in National Security Studies and her BA from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Jimmy Carter served as 39th President of the United States. He served as a Georgia State Senator and Governor of Georgia before becoming president. After leaving the White House, Mr. Carter established the Carter Center of Emory University to assist, particularly in Liberia and the Horn of Africa, the cause of human and civil rights around the world. President Carter led one pre-election mission and the international election observation delegation to the 1991 Zambian elections. He has played an important role in negotiating peace and encouraging the development of democratic society throughout Africa. President Carter has received numerous award and honorary degrees from around the world, including the Albert Schweitzer Prize for Humanitarianism in 1987. President Carter has written several books including, Negotiation: The Alternative to Hostility.

Carol S. Castiel, Program Officer for Portuguese-speaking Africa at AAI, has been monitoring the political, economic and social developments in the five former Portuguese colonies and spanish-speaking Equatorial Guinea for the past seven years. She has published articles on the unprecedented multi-party elections which recently took place in Sao Tome and Principe and in Cape Verde. Her fluency in Portuguese, Spanish and French has enabled her to conduct interviews with and obtain first-hand information from senior government and opposition leaders to the grassroots community. The Portuguese-speaking countries with which works have a significant number of AFGRAD graduates active in democratization processes. Ms. Castiel's ATLAS work will complement the proposed democratization initiative.

Shirley Cooks is Director of AAI's Congressional Staff Programs. She has extensive experience in the areas of citizenship education and political organization having lectured and conducted workshops and symposia on these subjects over the last 25 years. As Director of the Congressional Staff Program, Mrs. Cooks ensures that Members of Congress and their staffs are well briefed on events and trends taking place in Africa. By eschewing a partisan perspective, she has secured the reputation of the Institute's Congressional Program to be one of the most objective sources of information on African Affairs. During the height of the American civil rights movement, Mrs. Cooks worked for the organizations which administered voter registration and education program activities to the southern rural poor. These included the Voter Education Project, Inc., the Southern Elections Fund and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. Her work experience has included the planning, direction and evaluation of numerous academic, cultural and legislative programs with emphasis on her special interests of political affairs and public policy concerning the Third World.

Dorothy F. Cotton is the Director of Student Activities at Cornell University. From 1960 to 1972 she was the Education Director for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference where as a member of the Executive Staff she worked closely with Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. in designing and conducting training programs which developed local leadership in the South. These programs included citizenship/voter education, political party training, field organizing, basic education, poll watching and election monitoring. Her work remains an example of using non-violent strategies to promote social change. Prior to coming to Cornell University, Ms. Cotton directed a number of social programs and served as Regional Director for ACTION. Ms. Cotton has consulted for a large number of corporations and organizations on race relations, multiculturalism/diversity, communication and human relations. She has participated in numerous workshops and senior level conferences on these topics throughout the world including Senegal, Liberia, Ghana, Kenya and Zambia in the course of which she has developed a formidable reputation for challenging emerging leaders and developing leadership skills.

NDI adviser **Glenn Cowan** is one of the leading authorities in elections related activities (see, e.g., Cowan and Garber, "Power to the Process," *Christian Science Monitor*, June 1, 1990). Mr. Cowan has participated in NDI training programs in Chile, Panama, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Haiti, Mexico, Russia, Zambia and Pakistan. In Zambia, he joined the initial NDI training seminar for Zambian election monitors, introducing the concept of a parallel vote tabulation to domestic monitoring groups. Mr. Cowan also advised the Organization of American States in the development of a parallel vote tabulation for the 1990 Nicaraguan elections and was a member of the official U.S. observer delegation to the 1989 Namibian elections. Mr. Cowan is currently President of Bob Beckel and Associates, where he specializes in the strategy and tactics of direct constituent contact. He has served as Mayor of Lambertville, New Jersey and was a voter contact consultant to the 1980 Carter/Mondale Presidential Committee. Mr. Cowan also worked from 1982 to 1984 as Budget Director for the Mondale Presidential Campaign.

Victoria K. Craig is an election specialist and political scientist working most often in the private sector coordinating, organizing and consulting with a variety of top-level officials from many regions including Latin America, on such issues as: regarding election processes, legal research, and media relations. She is fluent in the Spanish and French languages and has numerous contacts and experiences that bear on election related assistance. Ms. Craig holds degrees in International and Latin Affairs, French Language, and History and Civilization from the American University,

Washington, D.C., the Centre de Linguistique Appliquee, Besancon, France, and the University of Bordeaux respectively.

As part of his field work in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, Mr. Robert Dahl has advised democratic political parties and national election commissions on matters pertaining to election codes, ballot security, and poll watching in Bulgaria, Romania, Russia, the Baltics, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Poland. A 1974 graduate of Augustana College in Rock Island, Illinois, Mr. Dahl received his Master's degree from the University of Maryland in College Park and his Juris Doctor degree from the University of Chicago in Illinois.

Steven M. Davis is a senior analyst on southern Africa and the founding director of the Global Shareholder Service at the Investor Responsibility Research Center in Washington, DC. Between May 1987 and November 1988, Dr. Davis served as principal advisor on southern Africa policy for the Dukakis for President campaign. Dr. Davis has written extensively on Africa. His publications include: Apartheid's Rebels: Inside South Africa's Hidden War (1987) which was nominated for a Pulitzer Prize and widely praised as the first comprehensive study of the African National Congress's insurgency campaign. Dr. Davis received his Ph.D. from Tufts University and is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations.

Ambassador Francis M. Deng is Senior Fellow, The Brookings Institution, in charge of its Africa programs. His special emphasis is on conflict resolution and popular participation. He has mediated political disputes in the Horn of Africa region, including his native Sudan. Ambassador Deng has had a distinguished career as a diplomatic, international lawyer, peace maker, and anthropologist. Before coming to Brookings in 1988, Ambassador Deng held distinguished fellowships at the U.S. Peace Institute, the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, the Woodrow Wilson Center and the Ford Foundation. He served his country as Ambassador to the United States and Canada and as Minister of State for Foreign Affairs. Dr. Deng has also served as a senior advisor to the United Nations, to the Interaction Council of Former Heads of Government, and to the World Bank. Dr. Deng was educated at Yale, King's College, and Khartoum University. He speaks Dinka, Arabic, and German.

Larry Diamond is the Senior Research Fellow at the Hoover Institution and co-editor of the quarterly Journal of Democracy. He is a specialist on democracy in developing countries and Nigerian politics and development. Before joining the Hoover Institution, Dr. Diamond was Assistant Professor of Sociology at Vanderbilt University. Dr. Diamond has written prolifically on Africa, including the book Class, Ethnicity and Democracy in Nigeria: The Failure of the First Republic (1988). He has served as a consultant for the US Agency for International Development on democracy initiatives. He received his Ph.D. in Sociology from Stanford University and a Master's Degree from the Food Research Institute at Stanford University.

Mr. James Dwinell is a leading authority on politics. He is publisher of Campaigns and Elections, a national journal devoted to political campaign management. An experienced campaign manager at the local and national levels, Mr. Dwinell is also an entrepreneur having presided over three corporations. Mr. Dwinell has lectured widely in the U.S. and abroad on the political process. He has been a featured speaker at political training seminars on electoral campaigns in Eastern Europe, Latin America, and Nigeria.

Craig M. Engle, upon invitation by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., conducted field work in the U.S.S.R. reviewing the system of campaigns and elections, and making recommendations on how to conduct competitive, democratic elections. Throughout his field work he has witnessed political campaigns, and state and local election administration. Mr. Engle is the author of numerous publications including *The Evolution of the Electoral Process in the Soviet Union*, and *Presidential Campaign and Election Law Symposium*. He holds a J.D. from Georgetown University Law Center and a BA in Political Science and Economics, Summa Cum Laude, from the University of Cincinnati. He is a member of Phi Beta Kappa.

Lee Feldman is President of Global Analysis, Inc., a consulting firm specializing in the application of advanced analytical techniques in a broad range of business and government applications. He is also President and C.E.O. of HealthSmart, a diversified health services company, which is internationally recognized for its expertise in the management, design, implementation and study of sophisticated systems. Mr. Feldman is particularly noted for his contribution to the U.S. government as Chief Scientist and Technical Director on classified projects for military, planning and intelligence missions, several of which were established by Presidential Directive.

Mr. Feldman was a member of two international observer missions assembled to observe and analyze the national elections in Pakistan in 1988 and 1990. In both instances, he prepared the statistical analysis, which was used by the delegations to analyze allegations of electoral fraud. Mr. Feldman has since designed a generic software program to analyze comparative election results and to identify statistical anomalies in countries around the world.

Bernad Fischer is head of the office of foreign relations of the Christian Democratic Union of Germany. Previously, he served in the West German Foreign Service in Tokyo and at the United Nations in New York. Dr. Fischer wrote his doctoral thesis on electoral geography in the European Community and was awarded a Ph.D from the University of Heidelberg in 1984. He has participated as a faculty member at NDI's regional conference on elections in Namibia in January 1992.

Jeffrey L. Flake is presently the president of Interface Public Affairs (IPA) in Washington, D.C. In this capacity he provides public affairs and public relations services for companies and institutions based in Southern Africa. His work includes monitoring legislation and advisement on trade issues. Mr. Flake was also the Director for the Foundation for Democracy in Windhoek, Namibia where he created and distributed information on electoral systems and assisted in the creation of Namibia's constitution. He is a translator of Afrikaans for delegations from various legislative bodies. Mr. Flake holds an MA in Political Science and a BA in International Relations, both from Brigham Young University.

Mr. Larry Garber, a lawyer by training, is NDI Special Counsel for Election Processes and an internationally recognized elections expert. During his tenure with NDI, he has coordinated more than a dozen international election observer delegations in countries such as Bulgaria (1990 & 1991), Chile (1988 and 1989), Haiti (1987 and 1990), Namibia (1989), Pakistan (1988 and 1990), Panama (1989), the Philippines (1986, 1987 and 1988) and Zambia (1991). Mr. Garber also has participated as a trainer and adviser in many NDI programs, including those conducted in Senegal (October 1990), Zambia (August 1991), Benin (November 1991), Ethiopia (November 1991) and Namibia (January 1992).

Between August 1989 and February 1990, Mr. Garber served as a special advisor to the Organization of American States (OAS) observer mission to the Nicaraguan elections. In this position, he prepared two handbooks for OAS observers to use in the field and helped to develop the parallel vote tabulation utilized by the OAS as part of its monitoring operation. Mr. Garber also served as a public member of the U.S. delegation to the 1990 Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe meeting in Copenhagen, where he advised on the language for the election-related provisions of the historic Copenhagen Declaration.

Before working with NDI, Mr. Garber served as the Acting Director of the International Human Rights Law Group. While at the Law Group, Mr. Garber prepared the organizations Guidelines for International Election Observing, published in October 1984, and since translated into Spanish and French. Mr. Garber has published several other articles on election monitoring and related subjects, including: "Pollwatching and Peacemaking," *Journal of Democracy*, Fall 1991 (co-authored with others); *Palestinian Elections - Working Out the Modalities* (Fall 1989); and "Power to the Process," *Christian Science Monitor*, June 1, 1990 (with Glenn Cowan). Mr. Garber also is the co-editor of the forthcoming NDI publication, The New Democratic Frontier: 1990 Elections in East and Central Europe, and is the author of two of the chapters included in the volume.

Nahum J. Gorelick is currently the Director-General of the Namibian Broadcasting Corporation. From September 1989 to April 1990, he served as Director of Namibia Peace Plan 435, which conducted civic education programs and in-depth analysis of the Namibian media in the period preceding the November 1989 elections. Mr. Gorelick has extensive experience in media and broadcast affairs. He holds a Master's degree in Communications from Fairfield University. Mr. Gorelick has produced numerous films and documentaries including "On the road to Namibia" a one-hour TV film and "An Investigation into the Extent of Impartiality of the South West African Broadcasting Corporation" in 1989.

Ronald A. Gould has been the Assistant Chief Electoral Officer of Canada since 1981. Previously, he was the Registrar of Canadian Citizenship and Director General for Citizen's Participation. Mr. Gould has organized and participated in a large number of election observation teams to countries such as El Salvador, Honduras, Guatemala, Bulgaria, Costa Rica, Namibia, and Zambia. He also led a U.N. technical team to Cambodia to devise a plan of action in anticipation of elections in that country in 1993, which will be held under U.N. auspices. Mr. Gould speaks fluent French.

Since 1980 Dr. **Stanley Greenberg** has been president of Greenberg-Lake, Inc., where he has worked for a range of public interest organizations, corporations, unions and political campaigns in his areas of expertise: comparative electoral and issues research; public interest organizations; democratic economics, political transitions and special interest in Southern African electoral systems. From 1970-89 he was linked with Yale University where he was associate director of their Southern Africa Research Program conducting research in South Africa and serving on observer missions in Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Zambia and Angola. Dr. Greenberg received his Ph.D. in political science from Harvard. He speaks fluent Afrikaans.

A legislative and financial consultant, Mrs. **Mary Scott Guest** joined O'Conner & Hannan in 1985, specializing in the development of strategies concerning legislative and financial efforts. She has strong ties in the Administration, on Capitol Hill, and within the international business community. Mrs. Guest has been active in many campaigns of present and former Members of the

House and Senate, and has conducted political organization and mobilization training throughout the world. She received her BA from the University of South Carolina as well as her business and law degrees.

Mr. Honore Guie is Secretary General of GERDDES (Group for study and research of democracy and social and economic development) in Abidjan, Ivory Coast and a participant in the 1991 international observation of presidential and legislative elections in Benin. Mr. Guie, who has a law degree from the University of Dijon, teaches law at both the National University and the National School of Administration in Abidjan and is a member of several Abidjan legal and constitutional associations. A specialist in constitutional law, Mr. Guie is currently doing research on the recent national conferences in Africa.

Laurah N. Harrison is the chairperson of the National Women's Lobby Group in Zambia. In 1991, as a director of the non-partisan Zambia Elections Monitoring Coordinating Committee (ZEMCC), Ms. Harrison organized and trained a nationwide network of several thousand Zambian pollwatchers. She also was responsible for writing training manuals used by local Zambian election monitors. Since the Zambian elections, NDI has used Ms. Harrison's talents in training programs in South Africa and Romania. A lawyer and staff development fellow at the University of Zambia's School of Law, she has held workshops for women on inheritance laws and is setting up an NGO to assist women in the Mtendre region. Ms. Harrison holds a law degree from the University of Zambia and speaks Nyanja, Bemba and French.

Professor Fred M. Hayward is currently a consultant to the International Foundation for Electoral Systems to review the constitution, electoral code and general preparation for the return to multi-party democracy in the Congo. He is also a consultant to the American Council on Education to review the state of African higher education. From 1967 to 1991 he taught at the University of Wisconsin except for a two year stint at the University of Sierra Leone. In the last few years he has returned to Sierra Leone to advise the Government on democratization, the transition from a one-party state to a multi-party system, presidential government, elections, and related political matters. Dr. Hayward's academic background includes a number of senior university positions including Chair, African Studies Program; Chair, Political Science Department; Coordinator, Language and Area Studies Program and Acting Dean, International Studies. He has recently consulted to PBS and BBC and to USIS all related to African developments.

Currently the president of Henderson International Consulting, **Mr. Robert Henderson** is the former Vice President of the International Republican Institute and continues to serve as their senior African consultant. A veteran election observer, Mr. Henderson served three years as the program director of the Institute prior to his appointment as Vice President. He continues to work closely with democratic political parties, and civic, business and educational organizations around the world. Mr. Henderson also served as Special Assistant in the International Organizations Bureau of the U.S. State Department, and specialized in African Affairs under the tutelage of Chester Crocker when he was Research Fellow in the Third World Studies Program of the Center for Strategic and International Studies. He received a BA degree in Government from Harvard College in 1972 and a MA in Foreign Service from Georgetown.

Stephen A. Horblitt is Senior Associate at Creative Associates International, a Washington based consulting firm, where he leads work on transitions to democracy and coordinates the Haiti Consultative Group. Mr. Horblitt is well experienced in political organization and the dynamics of

elections. For nine years (1981-90) he was Legislative Director for Congressman Walter E. Fauntroy with whom he shared very significant interests in Third World political and economic development, including staff leadership of the U.S. Congressional Task Force on Haiti. He served on election and political development delegations of NDI. He has been actively involved in a number of electoral campaigns. Mr. Horblitt holds a Masters degree in social science from Hofstra University. His language skills include Spanish and Creole.

Dr. Goren Hyden is Professor of Political Science at the University of Florida. After six years teaching Political Science and Public Administration at the University of Dar es Salaam and another five years as the social science representative of the Ford Foundation in Nairobi, Hyden's insights into development policies and administration in Africa are exceptional. They have evolved into a strong concern for governance and human rights and been expressed in major publications that are at the forefront of international thought on these issues. Dr. Hyden received his Ph.D. in political science at the University of Lund. He speaks French, Swahili and German.

Prior to his present position as Special Assistant to the President of Drew University, former Governor Tom Kean, **Mr. Michael Johns** was engaged with one of the world's eminent policy analysis institutes as a specialist in third world and African affairs. At the institute, he was entirely responsible for studies regarding economic, political, and security issues in Africa. He also had sole superintendency of U.S. policy toward the African continent. His recent professional works include analysis of U.S. policy toward Angola, Ethiopia, South Africa, Sudan, Zaire, Nigeria, Somalia, Kenya, the Middle East, and other regions throughout the world. In addition to his frequent field work in Africa, Mr. Johns visits many areas of the world in his professional charge including: Latin America, Southeast Asia, and the Middle East. He is the author of numerous publications including *U.S. and Africa Statistical Handbook*. Among other achievements, Mr. Johns' education includes a degree in third world development, therein receiving highest honors, and studying at both the University of Miami and Cambridge University, England. Mr. Johns' depth of experience and expertise, especially as regards Africa, in a myriad of practical and philosophical matters, enables him to understand various cultures and situations professionally.

As Senior Program Officer, **Mr. Lionel C. Johnson** conducts NDI programs in East Africa. He also has coordinated NDI's programs in Haiti, which involved an intensive six-month monitoring of the election process and various training programs, the Philippines and Poland. Formerly a Foreign Service Officer with the U.S. Department of State, Mr. Johnson served as Secretary for Political Affairs at the U.S. Embassy in Kenya; and Special Assistant to Secretaries of State James A. Baker, II and George P. Schultz among other posts. Mr. Johnson speaks french fluently and graduated from Rutgers University in 1982.

Dr. Richard Joseph, Fellow for African Governance at the Carter Center of Emory University, is the Director of the Institute of African Studies and the Asa G. Candler Professor of Political Science at Emory University. Dr. Joseph is a scholar of international renown actively engaged in tracking and fostering democratization in Africa. He has pioneered in bringing together U.S., African, and European leaders and other experts to discuss issues in democratization, with emphasis on Africa and with very special inclusion of election dynamics. His newsletter, *Africa Demos*, is must reading for those keeping track of the quick-paced changes in African politics today. At the Carter Center, Dr. Joseph has been writing, organizing major conferences, and putting forth quite stimulating ideas. His 1989 conference report on his inaugural conference on governance in Africa, *Perestroika without Glastnost*, is considered a classic analysis.

Dr. Joseph's expertise has been widely sought by African governments and such groups as the World Bank and the Global Coalition for Africa. He was appointed Executive Secretary of the Zambia Voting Observation Team and led the team last year during the successful election process. He has travelled and worked in many other parts of Africa and has developed an extensive network of indigenous contacts, including policy-makers, academics, and officials of non-governmental and private voluntary organizations. His writing includes major studies of the democracy process in Nigeria and Cameroon.

Dr. Joseph received his undergraduate education at Dartmouth and his graduate degrees at Oxford. He has held several of our country's most prestigious fellowships.

Ms. Patricia Keefer is NDI Senior Associate for Political Training and Civic Education. Since joining NDI, she has been responsible for organizing NDI programs in the Philippines, Chile, Pakistan, Czechoslovakia and in southern Africa. Ms. Keefer coordinated NDI's support for the Democracy Project in Botswana; 1989 program in support of free and fair elections in Namibia; 1991 parliamentary training program in Namibia; civic education workshops in South Africa; and a week-long January 1992 program in Namibia, which featured participants from nine southern African countries. Prior to joining NDI, Ms. Keefer worked for Common Cause, where she prepared the organization's Citizens Action Network. She also has considerable experience as a political organizer and as a trainer of Democratic Party activists.

Formerly a Foreign Service Officer for the U.S. Department of State, Mr. Michael Kostiw served in overseas posts in Africa, Europe, and Latin America. From 1982-1986, he was the International Operations Manager for Texaco, Inc. for the West Africa Division. Currently he serves as the Federal Government Affairs Executive for Texaco, Inc. in Washington, D.C. His duties include the management and direction of Texaco's relations with the legislative and executive branches of the U.S. government on all international issues affecting Texaco's worldwide operations. Fluent in Spanish, Ukrainian, Russian, Italian and conversational in French and Polish, Mr. Kostiw graduated with his BA from St. Bonaventure University in New York.

Michelle D. Kourouma is the executive director of the National Conference of Black Mayors, Inc. She is responsible for administering the NCBM in its goal of promoting the growth and development of 331 member cities and towns. Prior to joining the NCBM, Ms. Kourouma was project coordinator for the Project, Inc., a minority company contracted to conduct the City of Atlanta's housing and community development programs. Ms. Kourouma participated in the second pre-election mission and the international observer delegation to Zambia.

Dr. Wille Lamouse-Smith is Professor of Sociology at the University of Maryland, Baltimore. He is a consultant on good governance for the Economic Commission for Africa. He is currently preparing a report on good governance for the Global Coalition for Africa. His research has focused on industrial organization, the labor workforce, rural/urban relationships vis a vis decentralization and trends in migration. Dr. Lamouse-Smith received his Ph.D. in industrial and organizational sociology from the University of Muenster. He is proficient in French and fluent in Akan.

Carol Lancaster is currently Assistant Professor at the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service. Formerly, she was a Visiting Fellow at the Institute for International Economics in Washington, DC and Research Director of African Studies at Georgetown University. Dr. Lancaster is a former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs. She received her

Ph.D. and Master's Degree in International Relations from the London School of Economics. Dr. Lancaster speaks Spanish, French and German. She has written numerous books and articles on Africa including U.S. Aid to Sub-Saharan Africa: Constraints, Challenges and Choices and Debt, Adjustment and Development in Low Income Africa. Dr. Lancaster participated in the 1991 NDI survey mission to West Africa, which set the basis for NDI's current programs in Francophone Africa.

President of his own political consulting firm since 1978, Mr. William Lee is a veteran political strategist who addresses the issues of: survey research, public opinion research, media analysis, fundraising, and party organization. His various fieldwork has included an extensive political party assessment mission to Angola, and political party strategy in Guatemala. Valued for political party training as well as analysis and program development, Mr. Lee's experience in the field is only accented by his considerable access in domestic electoral processes. He holds a BA from North Texas State University in government.

Dr. Victor LeVine is a Professor at Washington University in St. Louis, Missouri. He was Executive Director of International Research and Training Associates, Inc. (IRT), with offices in Alexandria, Virginia and Harare, where he directed the Human Resources Development Research Center at the University of Zimbabwe for four years. A major goal of IRT is the utilization of African scholars and experts in development activities. He has specialized in the economics of education. As Rockefeller Foundation consultant he conducted an assessment of institutional capacity in five sub-Saharan African countries for the donor agency task force on female school participation. Dr. LeVine received his Ph.D. in economics and education from Columbia University. He is fluent in French.

Carol L. Martin is currently conducting dissertation research in Dakar, Senegal. She holds a Master's Degree in Political Science from Yale University and will receive her Ph.D. from Yale also. Ms. Martin's areas of expertise are *Legitimacy and Africa*, *Social Policy and African Politics*. Prior to beginning her doctoral dissertation, Ms. Martin worked as a Program Officer for Yale University, reviewing grant proposals relating to Africa, education and the environment. Ms. Martin speaks fluent Spanish, French and Portuguese and is proficient in Wolof and Dutch. Ms. Martin helped coordinate NDI's work in Namibia following the 1989 elections and drafted the report on the parliamentary training conference co-sponsored by NDI and the Speaker of the Namibian Assembly. She participated in the July 1991 NDI survey mission to four Southern African countries, which set the basis for NDI's current work in the region.

Currently a policy analyst for the Center for Strategic and International Studies, African Studies Program, Mr. Shawn H. McCormick's expertise in sub-Saharan Africa has come from researching and analyzing political, military and economic trends and events in the region. He has many on-going contacts in the region and provides briefings to Members of Congress, their staffs, and the executive branch. Mr. McCormick also serves as a consultant to the State Department on Angola while doing unclassified analytic assessments, and as a political and economic advisor to The Economist where he prepares bi-annual reports on developing trends in U.S. policy toward South Africa and future scenarios for corporate reinvestment. Mr. McCormick has conversational ability in both Portuguese and Spanish, he is enrolled in the Masters Program at SAIS (Johns Hopkins) and has received his BA from USC in International Relations.

Danny McDonald is currently a Commissioner on the Federal Election Commission. Mr. McDonald has extensive experience in administering and advising on election procedures. He has served as an advisor on Elections to the Secretary General of the Organization of American States in Nicaragua (1989-90) and El Salvador (1990-91). He has also served as an advisor to NDI during the 1990 Bulgarian Elections.

Ambassador Donald McHenry is currently University Research Professor of Diplomacy and International Relations at Georgetown University and president of the IRC Group, Inc., an international consulting firm. Ambassador McHenry served as U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations from September 1979 until January 1981. As chief U.S. representative to the United Nations he was also a member of President Jimmy Carter's cabinet. Ambassador McHenry also acted as the US negotiator on the question of Namibia. Ambassador McHenry holds a Master's Degree from Southern Illinois University. Ambassador McHenry led the October 1990 NDI mission to Senegal, which evaluated Senegal's election code and prepared extensive recommendations that were ultimately adopted by the Senegalese government. He also has participated in NDI programs in Czechoslovakia and Namibia.

As Senior Program Officer, **Mr. Edward R. McMahon** directs numerous NDI programs in Francophone Africa. He coordinated the October 1990 NDI mission to Senegal and helped draft the delegation report. He also coordinated NDI's West Africa training program, which was held in November 1991 in Cotouou, Benin. Prior to coming to NDI, Mr. McMahon was a Foreign Service Officer with the U.S. Department of State. During that time he served in a number of posts including, Country Officer for Liberia, Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs and Country Officer for the Congo. Mr. McMahon holds M.A.'s in Political Science (African Affairs) from Boston University and International Relations from the Johns Hopkins University. Mr. McMahon speaks both French and Italian fluently.

Mr. Thomas O. Melia currently serves as NDI Program Director and oversees all of the Institute's program activities. He has been responsible for coordinating NDI activities in Liberia, which included training programs in 1988-89. Prior to joining NDI, Mr. Melia was the Associate Director of the Free Trade Union Institute of the AFL-CIO. Mr. Melia is co-editor of How They Rate, a compendium of interest group assessments of congressional voting records and has authored several dozen articles on international affairs, American history and politics. His work has been published in such magazines as The New Republic, Reason, and The New Leader. Mr. Melia holds a M.A. from the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies and speaks French.

George Neavoll is a well recognized expert on media with strong international interests which date back to his days in the Peace Corps. He has been editor of the editorial page of the Wichita Eagle since 1978. Previously he has been an editor or editorial writer for the Detroit Free Press, the Journal-Gazette of Fort Wayne, Indiana, the Idaho State Journal and the Lebanon (Oregon) Express. Winner of a number of awards for editorial writing and human rights, Mr. Neavoll has served as a juror for the Pulitzer Prize. He is an occasional guest on the MacNeil/Lehrer News Hour.

A veteran political strategist, **Mr. Nail Newhouse** is a partner and co-founder of Public Opinion Strategies, a national public opinion and polling firm. His experience around the world (mostly in the Middle East, Latin America and Eastern Europe) conducting seminars in political

party training with emphasis on public opinion research will be of great importance in Africa. Mr. Newhouse has his BA from Duke University and attained his MA from the University of Virginia.

As an attorney, Mr. David F. A. Norcross is engaged in government relations matters. He is Counsel to The Center for Democracy and the International Republican Institute, and works with election boundary matters and election law. Mr. Norcross received an L.L.B. from the University of Pennsylvania Law School and a BA from the University of Delaware. He has a background in international election law having studied Nigerian, Nicaraguan, Tunisian, Burmese, Bulgarian and Soviet election laws for international missions.

Margaret Novicki, Editor-in-Chief of Africa Report was a member of the March 24, 1991 observer team to Benin and the October 31, 1991 election observer delegation to Zambia. She has organized written coverage of democratization processes in Africa in Africa Report and personally interviewed many of the principal actors, including Monsignor Isidore de Souza, President of the High Council of the Republic, and President Soglo of Benin and President Frederick Chiluba of Zambia, three of the most important figures responsible for precipitating, inspiring and guiding the democratization process in Africa. Editor-in-Chief since 1983, Ms. Novicki has written on African affairs since 1979. Ms. Novicki and African Affairs are committed to providing continued coverage of democratic reform in Africa. Educated at Georgetown University and Columbia University, Ms. Novicki is fluent in French and has Portuguese and Spanish skills.

Dr. Georges Nzongola-Ntalaja is Professor of African Studies at Howard University, where he has taught since 1978. Starting with original research on urban administration in his native Zaire, Dr. Nzongola-Ntalaja has become an expert in governance and public management in Africa. He has served as a resource person for the Africa Technical Department and the Economic Development Institute of the World Bank. He has also consulted for the State Department, the Government of Sweden and UN University. Dr. Nzongola-Ntalaja received his Ph.D. in political science from the University of Wisconsin at Madison. He is bilingual in English and French.

Mr. Hubert Oulaye is President of the department of public law and professor of law and political science at the National University in Abidjan. He is also an elections consultant and former President of the Ivory Coast Branch of GERDDES. Mr. Oulaye has substantial experience with election observation, having observed the presidential and legislative elections in Benin in 1991 with GERDDES, and having taught in election monitoring seminars in Benin, Ivory Coast, Niger and Congo. Experienced in the legal aspects of a wide range of fields including human rights, health, development, international and constitutional law, Mr. Oulaye is a frequent participant in seminars and colloquium around Africa.

Dr. Louis Picard is Associate Dean and Associate Professor of the Graduate School of Public International Affairs at the University of Pittsburgh. He has researched capacity building in South Africa, Botswana, Guinea, Swaziland, Uganda and Niger, among many other African countries. Dr. Picard has directed USAID projects. His areas of expertise currently include political transformation and the capacity to build for policy change and sustainability. He also has expertise in the development of local governments in Africa. Dr. Picard received his Ph.D. in political science from the University of Wisconsin at Madison. He is proficient in French, Swahili and Setswana.

Mr. Frederick Quinn is an International Coordinator, with the Bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution, where he consults with constitution writers in Africa, Europe, Asia, and Latin America regarding substantive law reform. He brings a wide range of legal and other professionals together from various countries, including Africa, to foster understanding and reform of legal systems and law writing. Mr. Quinn has worked extensively with communication networks such as radio and television as well as producing publications pertaining to his area of international legal reform in which capacity he was a frequent advisor to the White House. In addition to assignments as a Foreign Service Officer in Yaounde, Cameroon, and Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso, Mr. Quinn also designed a comprehensive bilateral and multilateral exchange program for professionals and graduate students in public policy topics, the arts, sciences, media, and humanities in the African area. He has worked closely with AID and the United Nations on various programs spawning community development programs in Africa. Mr. Quinn holds a Ph.D. in History from the University of California at Los Angeles, an M.A. in African history, anthropology, and literature; an M.A. in Modern European History; and a B.A. from Allegheny College. Mr. Quinn is bilingual in French and has working knowledge of Czech, German, and Haitian Creole.

The Reverend Foston Sakala served as Chairman of the Zambian Election Monitoring Coordinating Committee (ZEMCC), a nonpartisan civic organization formed in September 1991 to conduct civic education and election monitoring programs in support of the historic October 1991 multiparty elections in Zambia. In only five weeks, ZEMCC recruited and trained more than 7,000 volunteers for the pollwatching and election monitoring effort. Rev. Sakala has been principal at Justo Mwale Theological College in Lusaka since 1979. He has also been chairman of the Christian Council of Zambia. In January 1992, Rev. Sakala participated in an NDI organized fact-finding mission Kenya.

Annette C. Sheckler, Program Officer, International Visitor Program at AAI, is expected to receive her Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of Illinois in the Winter 1992. Her dissertation is a comparative analysis of rural development in Somalia and Ethiopia. In addition to her work of designing and coordinating visitor programs in the U.S., she is managing editor of Horn of Africa, a scholarly quarterly. Ms. Sheckler has been studying attempts to create a democracy in Ethiopia and her most recent contribution to Horn of Africa is "Creating Democracy in an Undemocratic State: Mass Organizations in Ethiopia" to be published in the spring issue. Ms. Sheckler has traveled extensively throughout Africa and speaks, to varying degrees, French, German, Spanish and Amharic.

Currently the chairman of the International Freedom Foundation, **Mr. Duncan W. Sellars** is the former executive director of the Council on Southern Africa, and a veteran of election observation missions (including Namibia). His duties as chairman of IFF include program development and implementation, fundraising, public relations, congressional testimony, management of international staff (including an office in Johannesburg), and the writing and editing of publications. IFF focuses on economic, foreign policy, national security and democratic development issues through a variety of publications, seminars and in-country programs. During his tenure at the Council on Southern Africa, he also was the senior editor of the "African Intelligence Digest," a monthly analysis of political, social, economic and military development throughout sub-Saharan Africa. He has an on-going extensive network of contacts in the region. Mr. Sellars has his BA in History from the University of Arizona, as well as his MA in Modern European History.

Miroslav Sevlievski is the Executive Secretary of the Bulgarian Association for Fair Elections and Civil Rights (BAFECR). His responsibilities include coordinating the activities of the association, which include election monitoring, civic education and recording election violations and human rights abuses. Mr. Sevlievski has participated in a large number of civic education programs both in Bulgaria, and in NDI-sponsored programs in Albania, Bangladesh, Romania and South Africa.

Mr. John M. Simms is the founder and president of Freedom's Light Foundation, Inc. (FLF) a non-profit 501 (C) (3) educational organization founded to develop and disseminate information on the process and traditions of freedom and democracy of the United States. One of FLF's main goals is to assist people of other countries in the understanding and perpetuation of democratic governments and free market economies. Mr. Simms consults in the area of party training and election processes with field experience in various European countries. He is a graduate of Yale University and Emory Law School.

Currently the director of African Affairs of the International Freedom Foundation (Washington, D.C), **Mr. Richard E. Sincere's** duties include the coordination of African issues analysis with congressional staff members, preparation and delivery of testimony to congressional committees, and editing the "Sub-Saharan Monitor", a bi-monthly newsletter. He has a long record in research and analysis of African issues, and has many on-going contacts in the African political and governmental spheres. Mr. Sincere, who has reading ability in French and German, has his Master of Science from the London School of Economics and Political Science in International Relations, and his BS in Foreign Service from Georgetown in International Affairs.

Ellen Johnson Sirleaf is a leader in African political change. Having served in senior positions in the Government of Liberia, including holding the portfolio as Minister of Finance, Ms. Johnson Sirleaf became the popular opposition party leader. She was arrested on a charge of sedition before the 1985 election. In the balloting she received the largest number of votes of any candidate and was elected to the Senate. She was rearrested, charged with treason, and sent before a military tribunal. International pressure led to her release, but continual threats against her life and family prompted her to leave Liberia. Currently she is based in Washington, D.C. as Vice President of Equator Advisory Services and Equator Bank. Ms. Johnson Sirleaf is a Harvard-trained banker. She was Vice President of Citibank based in Nairobi. She has also served as a senior loan officer at the World Bank, an institute she continues to serve as a member of the Bank's prestigious Council of African Advisors. She chairs the Board of the Africa News Service and serves on a large number of other boards. Ms. Johnson Sirleaf remains a leading member of the loyal opposition in Liberia and as such is a senior political figure in Africa.

Since 1980 **Boyce Slayman** has been president of Boyce Slayman & Associates, a Boston-based consulting firm which provides a variety of political, marketing and management services. As such he has advised a number of domestic candidates as well as parties and office seekers in other countries including the Antigua Labour Party, Governor John Silber, Rev. Jesse Jackson, a candidate for president of Haiti, and the Social Democratic and Labour Party of Ireland. Mr. Slayman is politically active in the Boston area and nationally, particularly among Black politicians.

As evidenced by his background, **Mr. Jasper K. Smith** has extensive experience with the design, implementation and administration of a myriad of diverse projects relating to Africa,

electoral campaigns, and communication mediums. He is currently the principal for P.S. Communications in Beaufort, South Carolina where he develops and manages public affairs and communication campaigns for a variety of clients. From this position, he also manages political campaigns both in the international and domestic arena. Mr. Smith has produced a number of publications relating to politics, communication issues, and media research. He has a Ph.D. in Political Science from Boston University, an MA in African Studies from Howard University, and a BA in Liberal Arts from Louisiana Tech University. Mr. Smith speaks French and Swahili and travels extensively to Africa. Mr. Smith brings with him extensive and well founded experience and understanding regarding institutional organization, research projects, and public administration.

Dayle E. Spencer is a lawyer/negotiator who serves as Director of the Conflict Resolution Program of the Carter Center of Emory University. In this capacity, she has collaborated with President Jimmy Carter to develop the International Negotiations Network (INN). The INN convened negotiations between the government of Ethiopia and the Eritrean People's Liberation Front in an effort to end the longest running war in Africa. Ms. Spencer is a senior lecturer at the Emory University Law School, faculty advisor to the International Law Journal, and the author of numerous published articles. She served for almost 10 years as an Assistant United States Attorney in the Northern District of Alabama before joining the Carter Center in 1984.

Stephen Stedman currently serves as Assistant Professor of African Studies and Comparative Politics at the Johns Hopkins University. Previously, he was Assistant Professor of the Department of Political Science and Fellow in Political Economy at Washington University. Dr. Stedman's publications include: Peacemaking in Civil War: International Mediation in Zimbabwe, 1974-1980 (1991), and "Conflict and Conflict Resolution in Africa: A Conceptual Framework" in Conflict Resolution in Africa, F. Deng and I. William Zartman. Dr. Stedman holds his Ph.D. and Master's Degrees from Stanford University.

As a consultant, Ms. **Rose Strong** participated as a trainer in a number of workshops regarding political party training for candidates running for office in the Republic of Haiti in 1990. In the same capacity she conducted seminars on free elections with special emphasis on state and local government and their functions based upon U.S. models. She holds a BA in Political Science and Liberal Arts from Southern University.

Mose P. Tjitendero currently serves as the Speaker of the Namibian National Assembly. As Speaker, Mr. Tjitendero helped organize and coordinate with NDI the March 1991 conference in Namibia on parliamentary procedures. Before entering public office, Mr. Tjitendero was the Director of the United Nation's Vocational and Technical Training Center in Angola. Dr. Tjitendero holds a Ph.D. in Education from the University of Massachusetts and a Master's Degree in History and Political Science. Dr. Tjitendero has organized and participated in a number of conferences on the issue of education in Africa. Dr. Tjitendero speaks Herero, Afrikaans, German, French, Kiswahili, Nama and Ovambo.

Antonio Vitorino is a judge at the Portuguese Constitutional Court and a Professor at the Lisbon Law School where he specializes in constitutional, administrative and comparative electoral law. He also served as a member of the Portuguese parliament for 10 years. Judge Vitorino serves as the Chairman of Constitutional Affairs and Civil Rights Parliamentary Committee. He holds a J.D. and a Master's Degree from Lisbon Law School. Judge Vitorino has participated in NDI programs in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, Hungary and Namibia. In the Namibia program,

he was a member of the faculty and delivered a major presentation on comparative electoral systems at one of the plenary sessions.

Mr. Abiodun Williams is currently Assistant Professor of International Relations at the School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University. Before joining Georgetown, Mr. Williams was Visiting Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Rochester. He has taught courses in International Relations: Theory and Practice, Politics of International Organizations, Government and Politics in Africa and Comparative Politics in Developing Countries. Mr. Williams has published numerous works, including Many Voices: Multilateral Negotiations in the World Arena (1992). Mr. Williams holds masters degrees in English from the University of Edinburgh and an MALD from Tufts University. He also has a PHD in International Relations from Tufts University.

Lynora Williams is a professional journalist and editor who holds the position of Program Coordinator for African Governance at the Carter Center of Emory University. Ms. Williams is a former editor for Africa World Press/ The Red Sea Press Inc. and worked for three years as Information/Development Education Director for the Eritrean Relief Association in Khartoum, Sudan where she managed a full range of information services and organized a major international conference. Ms. Williams served as Executive Director of the Center for Democratic Renewal, a national human rights agency, directing staff in three U.S. cities (Atlanta, Kansas City and Seattle). Ms. Williams combines a number of management skills and civic interests through service on U.S. and internationally attuned boards.

Dr. Laurie Wiseburg is Professor of Human Rights at the University of Ottawa. She is Founder and Executive Director of Human Rights Internet and has consulted widely on matters pertaining to human rights. Her continuing consultancies helped establish and support the African Commission on Human and People's Rights, Banjul. She is an expert on NGO development. Human Rights Internet has published a book on NGO's in Africa. Dr. Wiseburg was educated in political science, economics and international relations at McGill, University of London and UCLA. She is fluent in French.

Mr. Kenneth Wollack serves as NDI Vice President. He has travelled extensively in Eastern and Central Europe, the former Soviet Union, Latin America, the Middle East and Asia on behalf of the Institute's political development programs. In particular, Mr. Wollack has led NDI observer delegations to the Philippines (1987), Romania (1990 and 1992) and Pakistan (1990). Prior to joining NDI in 1986, Mr. Wollack co-edited the Middle East Policy Survey, a Washington-based newsletter. He also wrote regularly on foreign affairs for the Los Angeles Times and was a frequent commentator on national television and radio.

C. RESUMES

Resumes for members of the Senior Project Council, proposed project staff, and the illustrative experts shown above are attached to this proposal as Exhibits 16, 17, and 18 respectively.

Attachment 5
Assistance Checklist

5C(2) - ASSISTANCE CHECKLIST

Listed below are statutory criteria applicable to the assistance resources themselves, rather than to the eligibility of a country to receive assistance. This section is divided into three parts. Part A includes criteria applicable to both Development Assistance and Economic Support Fund resources. Part B includes criteria applicable only to Development Assistance resources. Part C includes criteria applicable only to Economic Support Funds.

CROSS REFERENCE: IS COUNTRY CHECKLIST UP TO DATE?

A. CRITERIA APPLICABLE TO BOTH DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE AND ECONOMIC SUPPORT FUNDS

1. Host Country Development Efforts
(FAA Sec. 601(a)): Information and conclusions on whether assistance will encourage efforts of the country to:
(a) increase the flow of international trade; (b) foster private initiative and competition; (c) encourage development and use of cooperatives, credit unions, and savings and loan associations; (d) discourage monopolistic practices; (e) improve technical efficiency of industry, agriculture, and commerce; and (f) strengthen free labor unions.

This project will foster private initiatives and competition, both political and economic, through support for free and fair elections.

2. U.S. Private Trade and Investment
(FAA Sec. 601(b)): Information and conclusions on how assistance will encourage U.S. private trade and investment abroad and encourage private U.S. participation in foreign assistance programs (including use of private trade channels and the services of U.S. private enterprise).

NA

3. Congressional Notification

a. **General requirement (FY 1991 Appropriations Act Secs. 523 and 591; FAA Sec. 634A):** If money is to be obligated for an activity not previously justified to Congress, or for an amount in excess of amount previously justified to Congress, has Congress been properly notified (unless the notification requirement has been waived because of substantial risk to human health or welfare)?

The CN was submitted to Congress on Dec. 16, 1991 and expired with no objections on December 31, 1991.

b. **Notice of new account obligation (FY 1991 Appropriations Act Sec. 514):** If funds are being obligated under an appropriation account to which they were not appropriated, has the President consulted with and provided a written justification to the House and Senate Appropriations Committees and has such obligation been subject to regular notification procedures?

N/A

c. **Cash transfers and nonproject sector assistance (FY 1991 Appropriations Act Sec. 575(b)(3)):** If funds are to be made available in the form of cash transfer or nonproject sector assistance, has the Congressional notice included a detailed description of how the funds will be used, with a discussion of U.S. interests to be served and a description of any economic poolicy reforms to be promoted?

N/A

4. **Engineering and Financial Plans (FAA Sec. 611(a)):** Prior to an obligation in excess of \$500,000, will there be: (a) engineering, financial or other plans necessary to carry out the assistance; and (b) a reasonably firm estimate of the cost to the U.S. of the assistance?

Plans necessary to meet 611(a) requirements have been prepared.

5. **Legislative Action (FAA Sec. 611(a)(2)):** If legislative action is required within recipient country with respect to an obligation in excess of \$500,000, what is the basis for a reasonable expectation that such action

N/A

will be completed in time to permit orderly accomplishment of the purpose of the assistance?

6. **Water Resources** (FAA Sec. 611(b); FY 1991 Appropriations Act Sec. 501): If project is for water or water-related land resource construction, have benefits and costs been computed to the extent practicable in accordance with the principles, standards, and procedures established pursuant to the Water Resources Planning Act (42 U.S.C. 1962, et seq.)? (See A.I.D. Handbook 3 for guidelines.)

N/A

7. **Cash Transfer and Sector Assistance** (FY 1991 Appropriations Act Sec. 575(b)): Will cash transfer or nonproject sector assistance be maintained in a separate account and not commingled with other funds (unless such requirements are waived by Congressional notice for nonproject sector assistance)?

N/A

8. **Capital Assistance** (FAA Sec. 611(e)): If project is capital assistance (e.g., construction), and total U.S. assistance for it will exceed \$1 million, has Mission Director certified and Regional Assistant Administrator taken into consideration the country's capability to maintain and utilize the project effectively?

N/A

9. **Multiple Country Objectives** (FAA Sec. 601(a)): Information and conclusions on whether projects will encourage efforts of the country to: (a) increase the flow of international trade; (b) foster private initiative and competition; (c) encourage development and use of cooperatives, credit unions, and savings and loan associations; (d) discourage monopolistic practices; (e) improve technical efficiency of industry, agriculture and commerce; and (f) strengthen free labor unions.

See 1 above.

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10. **U.S. Private Trade** (FAA Sec. 601(b)): Information and conclusions on how project will encourage U.S. private trade and investment abroad and encourage private U.S. participation in foreign assistance programs (including use of private trade channels and the services of U.S. private enterprise).

N/A

11. **Local Currencies**

a. **Recipient Contributions** (FAA Secs. 612(b), 636(h)): Describe steps taken to assure that, to the maximum extent possible, the country is contributing local currencies to meet the cost of contractual and other services, and foreign currencies owned by the U.S. are utilized in lieu of dollars.

As this is a regional project, contributions from individual countries are not required.

b. **U.S.-Owned Currency** (FAA Sec. 612(d)): Does the U.S. own excess foreign currency of the country and, if so, what arrangements have been made for its release?

See above.

c. **Separate Account** (FY 1991 Appropriations Act Sec. 575). If assistance is furnished to a foreign government under arrangements which result in the generation of local currencies:

N/A

(1) Has A.I.D. (a) required that local currencies be deposited in a separate account established by the recipient government, (b) entered into an agreement with that government providing the amount of local currencies to be generated and the terms and conditions under which the currencies so deposited may be utilized, and (c) established by agreement the responsibilities of A.I.D. and that government to monitor and account for deposits into and disbursements from the separate account?

N/A

(2) Will such local currencies, or an equivalent amount of local currencies, be used only to carry out the purposes of the DA or ESF chapters of the FAA (depending on which chapter is the source of the assistance) or for the administrative requirements of the United States Government? N/A

(3) Has A.I.D. taken all appropriate steps to ensure that the equivalent of local currencies disbursed from the separate account are used for the agreed purposes? N/A

(4) If assistance is terminated to a country, will any unencumbered balances of funds remaining in a separate account be disposed of for purposes agreed to by the recipient government and the United States Government? N/A

12. Trade Restrictions

a. **Surplus Commodities (FY 1991 Appropriations Act Sec. 521(a)):** If assistance is for the production of any commodity for export, is the commodity likely to be in surplus on world markets at the time the resulting productive capacity becomes operative, and is such assistance likely to cause substantial injury to U.S. producers of the same, similar or competing commodity? N/A

b. **Textiles (Lautenberg Amendment) (FY 1991 Appropriations Act Sec. 521(c)):** Will the assistance (except for programs in Caribbean Basin Initiative countries under U.S. Tariff Schedule "Section 807," which allows reduced tariffs on articles assembled abroad from U.S.-made components) be used directly to procure feasibility studies, prefeasibility studies, or project profiles of potential investment in, or to assist the establishment of facilities specifically designed for, the manufacture for export to the United States or to third country markets in direct competition with U.S. exports, of N/A

textiles, apparel, footwear, handbags, flat goods (such as wallets or coin purses worn on the person), work gloves or leather wearing apparel?

13. **Tropical Forests (FY 1991 Appropriations Act Sec. 533(c)(3)):** Will funds be used for any program, project or activity which would (a) result in any significant loss of tropical forests, or (b) involve industrial timber extraction in primary tropical forest areas?

N/A

14. **PVO Assistance**

a. **Auditing and registration (FY 1991 Appropriations Act Sec. 537):** If assistance is being made available to a PVO, has that organization provided upon timely request any document, file, or record necessary to the auditing requirements of A.I.D., and is the PVO registered with A.I.D.?

Assistance is being made available through a U.S. NGO and provided in accordance with applicable A.I.D. regulations.

b. **Funding sources (FY 1991 Appropriations Act, Title II, under heading "Private and Voluntary Organizations"):** If assistance is to be made to a United States PVO (other than a cooperative development organization), does it obtain at least 20 percent of its total annual funding for international activities from sources other than the United States Government?

Yes.

15. **Project Agreement Documentation (State Authorization Sec. 139 (as interpreted by conference report)):** Has confirmation of the date of signing of the project agreement, including the amount involved, been cabled to State L/T and A.I.D. LEG within 60 days of the agreement's entry into force with respect to the United States, and has the full text of the agreement been pouched to those same offices? (See Handbook 3, Appendix 6G for agreements covered by this provision).

N/A

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16. Metric System (Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1988 Sec. 5164, as interpreted by conference report, amending Metric Conversion Act of 1975 Sec. 2, and as implemented through A.I.D. policy):

N/A

Does the assistance activity use the metric system of measurement in its procurements, grants, and other business-related activities, except to the extent that such use is impractical or is likely to cause significant inefficiencies or loss of markets to United States firms? Are bulk purchases usually to be made in metric, and are components, subassemblies, and semi-fabricated materials to be specified in metric units when economically available and technically adequate? Will A.I.D. specifications use metric units of measure from the earliest programmatic stages, and from the earliest documentation of the assistance processes (for example, project papers) involving quantifiable measurements (length, area, volume, capacity, mass and weight), through the implementation stage?

17. Women in Development (FY 1991 Appropriations Act, Title II, under heading "Women in Development"): Will assistance be designed so that the percentage of women participants will be demonstrably increased?

Yes. Effort will be made to assure that women in Africa are full participants in the electoral processes.

18. Regional and Multilateral Assistance (FAA Sec. 209): Is assistance more efficiently and effectively provided through regional or multilateral organizations? If so, why is assistance not so provided? Information and conclusions on whether assistance will encourage developing countries to cooperate in regional development programs.

Assistance will be provided on a regional basis and will include regional activities and in coordination with African regional organizations.

19. Abortions (FY 1991 Appropriations Act, Title II, under heading "Population, DA," and Sec. 525):

a. Will assistance be made available to any organization or program which, as determined by the President, supports or participates in the management of a program of coercive abortion or involuntary sterilization? No

b. Will any funds be used to lobby for abortion? No

20. Cooperatives (FAA Sec. 111): Will assistance help develop cooperatives, especially by technical assistance, to assist rural and urban poor to help themselves toward a better life? No

21. U.S.-Owned Foreign Currencies

a. Use of currencies (FAA Secs. 612(b), 636(h); FY 1991 Appropriations Act Secs. 507, 509): Describe steps taken to assure that, to the maximum extent possible, foreign currencies owned by the U.S. are utilized in lieu of dollars to meet the cost of contractual and other services. See 11 above.

b. Release of currencies (FAA Sec. 612(d)): Does the U.S. own excess foreign currency of the country and, if so, what arrangements have been made for its release? See 11 above.

22. Procurement

a. Small business (FAA Sec. 602(a)): Are there arrangements to permit U.S. small business to participate equitably in the furnishing of commodities and services financed? N/A

b. U.S. procurement (FAA Sec. 604(a)): Will all procurement be from the U.S. except as otherwise determined by the President or determined under delegation from him? Procurement will mainly be from the cooperating country(s) or the U.S.

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c. Marine insurance (FAA Sec. 604(d)): If the cooperating country discriminates against marine insurance companies authorized to do business in the U.S., will commodities be insured in the United States against marine risk with such a company? Yes.

d. Non-U.S. agricultural procurement (FAA Sec. 604(e)): If non-U.S. procurement of agricultural commodity or product thereof is to be financed, is there provision against such procurement when the domestic price of such commodity is less than parity? (Exception where commodity financed could not reasonably be procured in U.S.) N/A

e. Construction or engineering services (FAA Sec. 604(g)): Will construction or engineering services be procured from firms of advanced developing countries which are otherwise eligible under Code 941 and which have attained a competitive capability in international markets in one of these areas? (Exception for those countries which receive direct economic assistance under the FAA and permit United States firms to compete for construction or engineering services financed from assistance programs of these countries.) N/A

f. Cargo preference shipping (FAA Sec. 603): Is the shipping excluded from compliance with the requirement in section 901(b) of the Merchant Marine Act of 1936, as amended, that at least 50 percent of the gross tonnage of commodities (computed separately for dry bulk carriers, dry cargo liners, and tankers) financed shall be transported on privately owned U.S. flag commercial vessels to the extent such vessels are available at fair and reasonable rates? No.

g. Technical assistance (FAA Sec. 621(a)): If technical assistance is financed, will such assistance be furnished by private enterprise on a contract basis to the fullest extent practicable? Will the Yes.
No.

facilities and resources of other Federal agencies be utilized, when they are particularly suitable, not competitive with private enterprise, and made available without undue interference with domestic programs?

h. U.S. air carriers

(International Air Transportation Fair Competitive Practices Act, 1974): If air transportation of persons or property is financed on grant basis, will U.S. carriers be used to the extent such service is available?

Yes.

i. Termination for convenience

of U.S. Government (FY 1991 Appropriations Act Sec. 504): If the U.S. Government is a party to a contract for procurement, does the contract contain a provision authorizing termination of such contract for the convenience of the United States?

Yes.

j. Consulting services

(FY 1991 Appropriations Act Sec. 524): If assistance is for consulting service through procurement contract pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 3109, are contract expenditures a matter of public record and available for public inspection (unless otherwise provided by law or Executive order)?

Yes.

k. Metric conversion

(Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1988, as interpreted by conference report, amending Metric Conversion Act of 1975 Sec. 2, and as implemented through A.I.D. policy): Does the assistance program use the metric system of measurement in its procurements, grants, and other business-related activities, except to the extent that such use is impractical or is likely to cause significant inefficiencies or loss of markets to United States firms? Are bulk purchases usually to be made in metric, and are components, subassemblies, and semi-fabricated materials to be specified in metric units when economically available and technically adequate? Will A.I.D. specifications use metric units of measure from the earliest programmatic stages, and from the earliest

N/A

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documentation of the assistance processes (for example, project papers) involving quantifiable measurements (length, area, volume, capacity, mass and weight), through the implementation stage?

1. Competitive Selection

Procedures (FAA Sec. 601(e)): Will the assistance utilize competitive selection procedures for the awarding of contracts, except where applicable procurement rules allow otherwise? Yes.

23. Construction

a. Capital project (FAA Sec. 601(d)): If capital (e.g., construction) project, will U.S. engineering and professional services be used? N/A

b. Construction contract (FAA Sec. 611(c)): If contracts for construction are to be financed, will they be let on a competitive basis to maximum extent practicable? N/A

c. Large projects, Congressional approval (FAA Sec. 620(k)): If for construction of productive enterprise, will aggregate value of assistance to be furnished by the U.S. not exceed \$100 million (except for productive enterprises in Egypt that were described in the Congressional Presentation), or does assistance have the express approval of Congress? N/A

24. U.S. Audit Rights (FAA Sec. 301(d)): If fund is established solely by U.S. contributions and administered by an international organization, does Comptroller General have audit rights? N/A

25. Communist Assistance (FAA Sec. 620(h)). Do arrangements exist to insure that United States foreign aid is not used in a manner which, contrary to the best interests of the United States, promotes or assists the foreign aid projects or activities of the Communist-bloc countries? Yes.

26. Narcotics

a. Cash reimbursements (FAA Sec. 483): Will arrangements preclude use of financing to make reimbursements, in the form of cash payments, to persons whose illicit drug crops are eradicated? Yes.

b. Assistance to narcotics traffickers (FAA Sec. 487): Will arrangements take "all reasonable steps" to preclude use of financing to or through individuals or entities which we know or have reason to believe have either: (1) been convicted of a violation of any law or regulation of the United States or a foreign country relating to narcotics (or other controlled substances); or (2) been an illicit trafficker in, or otherwise involved in the illicit trafficking of, any such controlled substance? Yes.

27. Expropriation and Land Reform (FAA Sec. 620(g)): Will assistance preclude use of financing to compensate owners for expropriated or nationalized property, except to compensate foreign nationals in accordance with a land reform program certified by the President? Yes.

28. Police and Prisons (FAA Sec. 660): Will assistance preclude use of financing to provide training, advice, or any financial support for police, prisons, or other law enforcement forces, except for narcotics programs? Yes.

29. CIA Activities (FAA Sec. 662): Will assistance preclude use of financing for CIA activities? Yes.

30. Motor Vehicles (FAA Sec. 636(i)): Will assistance preclude use of financing for purchase, sale, long-term lease, exchange or guaranty of the sale of motor vehicles manufactured outside U.S., unless a waiver is obtained? Yes.

31. **Military Personnel** (FY 1991 Appropriations Act Sec. 503): Will assistance preclude use of financing to pay pensions, annuities, retirement pay, or adjusted service compensation for prior or current military personnel? Yes.

32. **Payment of U.N. Assessments** (FY 1991 Appropriations Act Sec. 505): Will assistance preclude use of financing to pay U.N. assessments, arrearages or dues? Yes.

33. **Multilateral Organization Lending** (FY 1991 Appropriations Act Sec. 506): Will assistance preclude use of financing to carry out provisions of FAA section 209(d) (transfer of FAA funds to multilateral organizations for lending)? Yes.

34. **Export of Nuclear Resources** (FY 1991 Appropriations Act Sec. 510): Will assistance preclude use of financing to finance the export of nuclear equipment, fuel, or technology? Yes.

35. **Repression of Population** (FY 1991 Appropriations Act Sec. 511): Will assistance preclude use of financing for the purpose of aiding the efforts of the government of such country to repress the legitimate rights of the population of such country contrary to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights? Yes.

36. **Publicity or Propoganda** (FY 1991 Appropriations Act Sec. 516): Will assistance be used for publicity or propoganda purposes designed to support or defeat legislation pending before Congress, to influence in any way the outcome of a political election in the United States, or for any publicity or propoganda purposes not authorized by Congress? No.

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37. **Marine Insurance (FY 1991 Appropriations Act Sec. 563):** Will any A.I.D. contract and solicitation, and subcontract entered into under such contract, include a clause requiring that U.S. marine insurance companies have a fair opportunity to bid for marine insurance when such insurance is necessary or appropriate?

Yes.

38. **Exchange for Prohibited Act (FY 1991 Appropriations Act Sec. 569):** Will any assistance be provided to any foreign government (including any instrumentality or agency thereof), foreign person, or United States person in exchange for that foreign government or person undertaking any action which is, if carried out by the United States Government, a United States official or employee, expressly prohibited by a provision of United States law?

No.

B. **CRITERIA APPLICABLE TO DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE ONLY**

1. **Agricultural Exports (Bumpers Amendment) (FY 1991 Appropriations Act Sec. 521(b), as interpreted by conference report for original enactment):** If assistance is for agricultural development activities (specifically, any testing or breeding feasibility study, variety improvement or introduction, consultancy, publication, conference, or training), are such activities: (1) specifically and principally designed to increase agricultural exports by the host country to a country other than the United States, where the export would lead to direct competition in that third country with exports of a similar commodity grown or produced in the United States, and can the activities reasonably be expected to cause substantial injury to U.S. exporters of a similar agricultural commodity; or (2) in support of research that is intended primarily to benefit U.S. producers?

N/A

2. Tied Aid Credits (FY 1991 Appropriations Act, Title II, under heading "Economic Support Fund"): Will DA funds be used for tied aid credits?

No.

3. Appropriate Technology (FAA Sec. 107): Is special emphasis placed on use of appropriate technology (defined as relatively smaller, cost-saving, labor-using technologies that are generally most appropriate for the small farms, small businesses, and small incomes of the poor)?

Yes.

4. Indigenous Needs and Resources (FAA Sec. 281(b)): Describe extent to which the activity recognizes the particular needs, desires, and capacities of the people of the country; utilizes the country's intellectual resources to encourage institutional development; and supports civic education and training in skills required for effective participation in governmental and political processes essential to self-government.

The project will directly support increased widespread political participation through civic education and other means, through the conduct of free and fair elections.

5. Economic Development (FAA Sec. 101(a)): Does the activity give reasonable promise of contributing to the development of economic resources, or to the increase of productive capacities and self-sustaining economic growth?

More legitimate accountable and democratic governments elected into office will create a more conducive environment for long-term economic growth.

6. Special Development Emphases (FAA Secs. 102(b), 113, 281(a)): Describe extent to which activity will: (a) effectively involve the poor in development by extending access to economy at local level, increasing labor-intensive production and the use of appropriate technology, dispersing investment from cities to small towns and rural areas, and insuring wide participation of the poor in the benefits of development on a sustained basis, using appropriate U.S. institutions; (b) encourage democratic private and local governmental institutions; (c) support the self-help efforts of developing countries; (d) promote the participation of women in the national economies of developing countries

Project will support increased political participation, especially in rural areas, through local and national elections. Also, the project will stress the need for women's involvement in elections and encourage regional African electoral organizations.

and the improvement of women's status; and
(e) utilize and encourage regional
cooperation by developing countries.

7. Recipient Country Contribution
(FAA Secs. 110, 124(d)): Will the
recipient country provide at least 25
percent of the costs of the program,
project, or activity with respect to which
the assistance is to be furnished (or is
the latter cost-sharing requirement being
waived for a "relatively least developed"
country)?

See answer to 11a.

8. Benefit to Poor Majority (FAA
Sec. 128(b)): If the activity attempts to
increase the institutional capabilities of
private organizations or the government of
the country, or if it attempts to
stimulate scientific and technological
research, has it been designed and will it
be monitored to ensure that the ultimate
beneficiaries are the poor majority?

Project will support widespread
participation in democratic
elections leading to more
accountable governments. Most
freedoms and rights mainly
affect the poor in Africa.

9. Abortions (FAA Sec. 104(f); FY
1991 Appropriations Act, Title II, under
heading "Population, DA," and Sec. 535):

a. Are any of the funds to be
used for the performance of abortions as a
method of family planning or to motivate
or coerce any person to practice
abortions?

N/A

b. Are any of the funds to be
used to pay for the performance of
involuntary sterilization as a method of
family planning or to coerce or provide
any financial incentive to any person to
undergo sterilizations?

c. Are any of the funds to be
made available to any organization or
program which, as determined by the
President, supports or participates in the
management of a program of coercive
abortion or involuntary sterilization?



d. Will funds be made available only to voluntary family planning projects which offer, either directly or through referral to, or information about access to, a broad range of family planning methods and services?

e. In awarding grants for natural family planning, will any applicant be discriminated against because of such applicant's religious or conscientious commitment to offer only natural family planning?

f. Are any of the funds to be used to pay for any biomedical research which relates, in whole or in part, to methods of, or the performance of, abortions or involuntary sterilization as a means of family planning?

g. Are any of the funds to be made available to any organization if the President certifies that the use of these funds by such organization would violate any of the above provisions related to abortions and involuntary sterilization?

10. **Contract Awards (FAA Sec. 601(e)):** Will the project utilize competitive selection procedures for the awarding of contracts, except where applicable procurement rules allow otherwise?

Yes.

11. **Disadvantaged Enterprises (FY 1991 Appropriations Act Sec. 567):** What portion of the funds will be available only for activities of economically and socially disadvantaged enterprises, historically black colleges and universities, colleges and universities having a student body in which more than 40 percent of the students are Hispanic Americans, and private and voluntary organizations which are controlled by individuals who are black Americans, Hispanic Americans, or Native Americans, or who are economically or socially disadvantaged (including women)?

U.S. PVOs referred to in Section 567 will be encouraged to participate in this program.

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12. **Biological Diversity (FAA Sec. 119(g):** Will the assistance: (a) support training and education efforts which improve the capacity of recipient countries to prevent loss of biological diversity; (b) be provided under a long-term agreement in which the recipient country agrees to protect ecosystems or other wildlife habitats; (c) support efforts to identify and survey ecosystems in recipient countries worthy of protection; or (d) by any direct or indirect means significantly degrade national parks or similar protected areas or introduce exotic plants or animals into such areas?

N/A

13. **Tropical Forests (FAA Sec. 118; FY 1991 Appropriations Act Sec. 533(c)-(e) & (g)):**

a. **A.I.D. Regulation 16:** Does the assistance comply with the environmental procedures set forth in A.I.D. Regulation 16?

Yes.

b. **Conservation:** Does the assistance place a high priority on conservation and sustainable management of tropical forests? Specifically, does the assistance, to the fullest extent feasible: (1) stress the importance of conserving and sustainably managing forest resources; (2) support activities which offer employment and income alternatives to those who otherwise would cause destruction and loss of forests, and help countries identify and implement alternatives to colonizing forested areas; (3) support training programs, educational efforts, and the establishment or strengthening of institutions to improve forest management; (4) help end destructive slash-and-burn agriculture by supporting stable and productive farming practices; (5) help conserve forests which have not yet been degraded by helping to increase production on lands already cleared or degraded; (6) conserve forested watersheds and rehabilitate those which have been deforested; (7) support training, research, and other actions

N/A

which lead to sustainable and more environmentally sound practices for timber harvesting, removal, and processing; (8) support research to expand knowledge of tropical forests and identify alternatives which will prevent forest destruction, loss, or degradation; (9) conserve biological diversity in forest areas by supporting efforts to identify, establish, and maintain a representative network of protected tropical forest ecosystems on a worldwide basis, by making the establishment of protected areas a condition of support for activities involving forest clearance or degradation, and by helping to identify tropical forest ecosystems and species in need of protection and establish and maintain appropriate protected areas; (10) seek to increase the awareness of U.S. Government agencies and other donors of the immediate and long-term value of tropical forests; (11) utilize the resources and abilities of all relevant U.S. government agencies; (12) be based upon careful analysis of the alternatives available to achieve the best sustainable use of the land; and (13) take full account of the environmental impacts of the proposed activities on biological diversity?

c. **Forest degradation:** Will assistance be used for: (1) the procurement or use of logging equipment, unless an environmental assessment indicates that all timber harvesting operations involved will be conducted in an environmentally sound manner and that the proposed activity will produce positive economic benefits and sustainable forest management systems; (2) actions which will significantly degrade national parks or similar protected areas which contain tropical forests, or introduce exotic plants or animals into such areas; (3) activities which would result in the conversion of forest lands to the rearing of livestock; (4) the construction, upgrading, or maintenance of roads (including temporary haul roads for logging or other extractive industries) which pass through relatively undergraded

N/A

forest lands; (5) the colonization of forest lands; or (6) the construction of dams or other water control structures which flood relatively undergraded forest lands, unless with respect to each such activity an environmental assessment indicates that the activity will contribute significantly and directly to improving the livelihood of the rural poor and will be conducted in an environmentally sound manner which supports sustainable development?

d. Sustainable forestry: If assistance relates to tropical forests, will project assist countries in developing a systematic analysis of the appropriate use of their total tropical forest resources, with the goal of developing a national program for sustainable forestry?

N/A

e. Environmental impact statements: Will funds be made available in accordance with provisions of FAA Section 117(c) and applicable A.I.D. regulations requiring an environmental impact statement for activities significantly affecting the environment?

N/A

14. Energy (FY 1991 Appropriations Act Sec. 533(c)): If assistance relates to energy, will such assistance focus on: (a) end-use energy efficiency, least-cost energy planning, and renewable energy resources, and (b) the key countries where assistance would have the greatest impact on reducing emissions from greenhouse gases?

N/A

15. Sub-Saharan Africa Assistance (FY 1991 Appropriations Act Sec. 562, adding a new FAA chapter 10 (FAA Sec. 496)): If assistance will come from the Sub-Saharan Africa DA account, is it: (a) to be used to help the poor majority in Sub-Saharan Africa through a process of long-term development and economic growth that is equitable, participatory, environmentally sustainable, and self-reliant; (b) to be used to promote sustained economic growth, encourage

Project will support broad participation through free and fair local and national elections.

Africans at all levels will be consulted, African organizations and groups will be utilized and encouraged.

Funds are coming from AFA but are being authorized under Section 116(e).

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private sector development, promote individual initiatives, and help to reduce the role of central governments in areas more appropriate for the private sector; (c) to be provided in a manner that takes into account, during the planning process, the local-level perspectives of the rural and urban poor, including women, through close consultation with African, United States and other PVOs that have demonstrated effectiveness in the promotion of local grassroots activities on behalf of long-term development in Sub-Saharan Africa; (d) to be implemented in a manner that requires local people, including women, to be closely consulted and involved, if the assistance has a local focus; (e) being used primarily to promote reform of critical sectoral economic policies, or to support the critical sector priorities of agricultural production and natural resources, health, voluntary family planning services, education, and income generating opportunities; and (f) to be provided in a manner that, if policy reforms are to be effected, contains provisions to protect vulnerable groups and the environment from possible negative consequences of the reforms?

16. **Debt-for-Nature Exchange (FAA Sec. 463):** If project will finance a debt-for-nature exchange, describe how the exchange will support protection of: (a) the world's oceans and atmosphere, (b) animal and plant species, and (c) parks and reserves; or describe how the exchange will promote: (d) natural resource management, (e) local conservation programs, (f) conservation training programs, (g) public commitment to conservation, (h) land and ecosystem management, and (i) regenerative approaches in farming, forestry, fishing, and watershed management.

N/A

17. Deobligation/Reobligation
(FY 1991 Appropriations Act Sec. 515): If deob/reob authority is sought to be exercised in the provision of DA assistance, are the funds being obligated for the same general purpose, and for countries within the same region as originally obligated, and have the House and Senate Appropriations Committees been properly notified? N/A

18. Loans

a. Repayment capacity (FAA Sec. 122(b)): Information and conclusion on capacity of the country to repay the loan at a reasonable rate of interest. N/A

b. Long-range plans (FAA Sec. 122(b)): Does the activity give reasonable promise of assisting long-range plans and programs designed to develop economic resources and increase productive capacities? N/A

c. Interest rate (FAA Sec. 122(b)): If development loan is repayable in dollars, is interest rate at least 2 percent per annum during a grace period which is not to exceed ten years, and at least 3 percent per annum thereafter? N/A

d. Exports to United States (FAA Sec. 620(d)): If assistance is for any productive enterprise which will compete with U.S. enterprises, is there an agreement by the recipient country to prevent export to the U.S. of more than 20 percent of the enterprise's annual production during the life of the loan, or has the requirement to enter into such an agreement been waived by the President because of a national security interest? N/A

19. Development Objectives (FAA Secs. 102(a), 111, 113, 281(a)): Extent to which activity will: (1) effectively involve the poor in development, by expanding access to economy at local level, increasing labor-intensive production and the use of appropriate technology, spreading investment out from

The project will support African efforts to increase participation in the political process of all citizens through free and fair elections and civic education.

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cities to small towns and rural areas, and insuring wide participation of the poor in the benefits of development on a sustained basis, using the appropriate U.S. institutions; (2) help develop cooperatives, especially by technical assistance, to assist rural and urban poor to help themselves toward better life, and otherwise encourage democratic private and local governmental institutions; (3) support the self-help efforts of developing countries; (4) promote the participation of women in the national economies of developing countries and the improvement of women's status; and (5) utilize and encourage regional cooperation by developing countries?

20. Agriculture, Rural Development and Nutrition, and Agricultural Research (FAA Secs. 103 and 103A):

a. **Rural poor and small farmers:** If assistance is being made available for agriculture, rural development or nutrition, describe extent to which activity is specifically designed to increase productivity and income of rural poor; or if assistance is being made available for agricultural research, has account been taken of the needs of small farmers, and extensive use of field testing to adapt basic research to local conditions shall be made.

N/A

b. **Nutrition:** Describe extent to which assistance is used in coordination with efforts carried out under FAA Section 104 (Population and Health) to help improve nutrition of the people of developing countries through encouragement of increased production of crops with greater nutritional value; improvement of planning, research, and education with respect to nutrition, particularly with reference to improvement and expanded use of indigenously produced foodstuffs; and the undertaking of pilot or demonstration programs explicitly addressing the problem of malnutrition of poor and vulnerable people.

N/A

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c. Food security: Describe extent to which activity increases national food security by improving food policies and management and by strengthening national food reserves, with particular concern for the needs of the poor, through measures encouraging domestic production, building national food reserves, expanding available storage facilities, reducing post harvest food losses, and improving food distribution.

N/A

21. Population and Health (FAA Secs. 104(b) and (c)): If assistance is being made available for population or health activities, describe extent to which activity emphasizes low-cost, integrated delivery systems for health, nutrition and family planning for the poorest people, with particular attention to the needs of mothers and young children, using paramedical and auxiliary medical personnel, clinics and health posts, commercial distribution systems, and other modes of community outreach.

N/A

22. Education and Human Resources Development (FAA Sec. 105): If assistance is being made available for education, public administration, or human resource development, describe (a) extent to which activity strengthens nonformal education, makes formal education more relevant, especially for rural families and urban poor, and strengthens management capability of institutions enabling the poor to participate in development; and (b) extent to which assistance provides advanced education and training of people of developing countries in such disciplines as are required for planning and implementation of public and private development activities.

N/A

23. Energy, Private Voluntary Organizations, and Selected Development Activities (FAA Sec. 106): If assistance is being made available for energy, private voluntary organizations, and selected development problems, describe extent to which activity is:

N/A

- a. concerned with data collection and analysis, the training of skilled personnel, research on and development of suitable energy sources, and pilot projects to test new methods of energy production; and facilitative of research on and development and use of small-scale, decentralized, renewable energy sources for rural areas, emphasizing development of energy resources which are environmentally acceptable and require minimum capital investment; N/A
- b. concerned with technical cooperation and development, especially with U.S. private and voluntary, or regional and international development, organizations; N/A
- c. research into, and evaluation of, economic development processes and techniques; N/A
- d. reconstruction after natural or manmade disaster and programs of disaster preparedness; N/A
- e. for special development problems, and to enable proper utilization of infrastructure and related projects funded with earlier U.S. assistance; N/A
- f. for urban development, especially small, labor-intensive enterprises, marketing systems for small producers, and financial or other institutions to help urban poor participate in economic and social development. N/A

C. CRITERIA APPLICABLE TO ECONOMIC SUPPORT FUNDS ONLY

1. **Economic and Political Stability** (FAA Sec. 531(a)): Will this assistance promote economic and political stability? To the maximum extent feasible, is this assistance consistent with the policy directions, purposes, and programs of Part I of the FAA?

Free and fair elections will provide greater political stability.

2. **Military Purposes** (FAA Sec. 531(e)): Will this assistance be used for military or paramilitary purposes?

No.

3. **Commodity Grants/Separate Accounts** (FAA Sec. 609): If commodities are to be granted so that sale proceeds will accrue to the recipient country, have Special Account (counterpart) arrangements been made? (For FY 1991, this provision is superseded by the separate account requirements of FY 1991 Appropriations Act Sec. 575(a), see Sec. 575(a)(5).)

N/A

4. **Generation and Use of Local Currencies** (FAA Sec. 531(d)): Will ESF funds made available for commodity import programs or other program assistance be used to generate local currencies? If so, will at least 50 percent of such local currencies be available to support activities consistent with the objectives of FAA sections 103 through 106? (For FY 1991, this provision is superseded by the separate account requirements of FY 1991 Appropriations Act Sec. 575(a), see Sec. 575(a)(5).)

N/A

5. **Cash Transfer Requirements** (FY 1991 Appropriations Act, Title II, under heading "Economic Support Fund," and Sec. 575(b)). If assistance is in the form of a cash transfer:

N/A

a. **Separate account:** Are all such cash payments to be maintained by the country in a separate account and not to be commingled with any other funds?

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b. Local currencies: Will all local currencies that may be generated with funds provided as a cash transfer to such a country also be deposited in a special account, and has A.I.D. entered into an agreement with that government setting forth the amount of the local currencies to be generated, the terms and conditions under which they are to be used, and the responsibilities of A.I.D. and that government to monitor and account for deposits and disbursements?

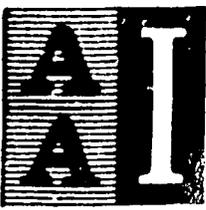
N/A

c. U.S. Government use of local currencies: Will all such local currencies also be used in accordance with FAA Section 609, which requires such local currencies to be made available to the U.S. government as the U.S. determines necessary for the requirements of the U.S. Government, and which requires the remainder to be used for programs agreed to by the U.S. Government to carry out the purposes for which new funds authorized by the FAA would themselves be available?

N/A

d. Congressional notice: Has Congress received prior notification providing in detail how the funds will be used, including the U.S. interests that will be served by the assistance, and, as appropriate, the economic policy reforms that will be promoted by the cash transfer assistance?

Upon availability of ESF funds for this activity, the Congress will be notified. No obligation of ESF will take place until all appropriate Congressional notifications are undertaken.



THE AFRICAN-AMERICAN INSTITUTE

Cost Proposal

for

**The Africa Regional Electoral Assistance Fund
(AREAF)**

Request for Application

to

The United States Agency for International Development

March 2, 1992

Submitted by:

**The African-American Institute
833 United Nations Plaza
New York, New York 10017**

with

**The International Republican Institute
The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs**

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The African-American Institute

HEADQUARTERS

833 United Nations Plaza
New York, New York 10017
Tel: (212) 949-5666
Cable: AFRAM
Telex: 666-565

WASHINGTON OFFICE

1625 Massachusetts Ave., N.W.
Washington, DC 20036
Tel: (202) 667-5636

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Office of the President

March 2, 1992

Ms. Jean Hacken, Agreement Officer
Agency for International Development
Office of Procurement
1100 Wilson Boulevard, 15th Floor
Arlington, VA 22209

Dear Ms. Hacken:

The African-American Institute is pleased to submit this cost proposal in response to Request for Application, African Regional Electoral Assistance Fund (AREAF). It accompanies a Technical Proposal, which we are submitting on behalf of a partnership composed of the African-American Institute, the International Republican Institute and the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs.

We know of no more cost-effective means of fulfilling AID objectives of promoting free and fair elections in Africa. The proposed grant mechanism will use the current capacity of the three institutes to support African elections.

The bulk of the proposed budget, \$10,670,000, is for direct program expenses. Schedules 2-4 present an informed and plausible scenario for expenditure of funds in response to requests from African governments for a range of election programs. Actual expenditures will be the result of applying, in close coordination with AID, criteria described in the Technical Proposal. On the basis of the previous experience of the partner institutions, this proposal assumes realistically that most technical assistance required under this project will be provided at no cost, other than reimbursement of travel and per diem expenses.

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Senior policy guidance from the heads of the three institutes will also be provided at no cost to the project. Project funds will reimburse the Institutes for professional time of a small staff of existing professionals. This will be a halftime person for each of the three Institutes and an additional halftime for the senior AAI core officer.

We have projected election commodity procurement requirements of \$2,000,000. These will be obtained through a subcontract with American Marketing Export Group, a Grey Amendment Firm with whom all three partners have worked in the past.

We stand ready to respond to any questions you may have.

Sincerely,

Vivian Lowery Derryck
Vivian Lowery Derryck

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7. NDI - Core Support
8. Budget Notes

2. CONTRACTOR EMPLOYEE BIOGRAPHICAL DATA SHEETS

1. Carl Schieren
2. Eric Bjornlund
3. Edward Stewart

3. CERTIFICATIONS, ASSURANCES, AND OTHER STATEMENTS OF APPLICANT/GRANTEE

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AFRICA REGIONAL ELECTORAL ASSISTANCE FUND
 PROPOSED BUDGET
 HYPOTHETICAL ALLOCATION OF PROGRAM FUNDING

	Number of Projects	Cost per Project	Total Cost	Supporting Schedule
PROGRAM COSTS				
ELECTION ASSESSMENT PROGRAMS	6	55,000	330,000	1
ELECTION ASSISTANCE ACTIVITIES				
Type 1	12	520,000	6,240,000	2
Type 2	6	300,000	1,800,000	3
REGIONAL WORKSHOPS: ELECTORAL ASSISTANCE	3	100,000	300,000	4
COMMODITIES			2,000,000	

Total Program Costs			10,670,000	

ADMINISTRATIVE COSTS				
The African - American Institute			1,280,595	5
International Republican Institute			265,000	6
National Democratic Institute			266,400	7

Total Administrative Costs			1,811,994	

Total Costs			12,481,994	
			=====	

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AFRICA REGIONAL ELECTORAL ASSISTANCE FUND
 PROPOSED BUDGET
 MODEL PROGRAM BUDGET - ELECTION ASSESSMENT PROGRAM

	Number in party		Number of days	Daily Rate	Total Cost
SALARY COSTS					
Assessment Team	3		7	300	6,300
Administrative Support	1		10	250	2,500

Total Salary Costs					8,800 =====
	Number in party	Airfare	Number of days	Daily Rate/ Per Diem	Total Cost
TRAVEL AND PER DIEM					
International Travel: Assessment Team	6	3,500	7	150	22,050

Total Int'l Travel and Per Diem					22,050 =====
Local Travel Assessment Team	6	500			3,000

Total Local Travel and Per Diem					3,000 =====
Other Program Costs:					
Resource Materials					500
Interpretation/Translation					2,000
Workshops/Meetings					3,500
Public Information					500

Total Other Program Costs					6,500 =====
Other Program Administrative Costs					
Supplies					3,500
Telecommunications					4,050
Printing/Duplicating					3,600
Postage/Shipping					3,500

Total Program Administrative Costs					14,650 =====
COST SUMMARY					
SALARY COSTS					8,800
INTERNATIONAL TRAVEL					22,050
LOCAL TRAVEL					3,000
OTHER PROGRAM COSTS					6,500
OTHER PROGRAM ADMIN. COSTS					14,650

TOTAL COST					55,000 =====

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**AFRICA REGIONAL ELECTORAL ASSISTANCE FUND
PROPOSED BUDGET
ELECTION ASSISTANCE ACTIVITIES - TYPE 1**

	Compensated Individuals	Number of days	Daily Rate	Total Cost
SALARY COSTS				
Pre-election (Team one)	3	7	300	6,300
Pre-election (Team two)	3	7	300	6,300
Election Observer Mission	3	7	300	6,300
Post-election Team	3	30	300	27,000
Training (Team one)	3	7	300	6,300
Training (Team two)	3	7	300	6,300
Local Representative	1	90	100	9,000
Administrative Support	4	30	250	30,000

Total Salary Costs 97,500
=====

	Number in party	Airfare	Number of days	Daily Rate/ Per Diem	Total Cost
TRAVEL AND PER DIEM					
International Travel:					
Pre-election (Team one)	6	3,500	7	150	22,050
Pre-election (Team two)	6	3,500	7	150	22,050
Election Observer Mission	30	3,500	7	150	106,050
Post-election Team	6	3,500	30	150	25,500
Training (Team one)	4	3,500	7	150	15,050
Training (Team two)	4	3,500	7	150	15,050
Local Representative	1	500	90	150	14,000

Total Int'l Travel and Per Diem 219,750
=====

Local Travel				
Pre-election (Team one)	6	500		3,000
Pre-election (Team two)	6	500		3,000
Election Observer Mission	30	500		15,000
Post-election Team	6	500		3,000
Training (Team one)	4	500		2,000
Training (Team two)	4	500		2,000
Local Representative	1	500		500

Total Local Travel and Per Diem 28,500
=====

Other Program Costs:	
Local Organization Support	50,000
Civic Education Program	25,000
Resource Materials	5,000
Interpretation/Translation	10,000
Workshops/Meetings	24,000
Public Information	5,000

Total Other Program Costs 119,000
=====

Other Program Administrative Costs	
Supplies	12,250
Telecommunications	13,000
Printing/Duplicating	15,000
Postage/Shipping	15,000

Total Program Administrative Costs 55,250
=====

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COST SUMMARY	
SALARY COSTS	97,500
INTERNATIONAL TRAVEL	219,750
LOCAL TRAVEL	28,500
OTHER PROGRAM COSTS	119,000
OTHER PROGRAM ADMIN. COSTS	55,250

TOTAL COST	520,000
	=====

**AFRICA REGIONAL ELECTORAL ASSISTANCE FUND
PROPOSED BUDGET
ELECTION ASSISTANCE ACTIVITIES - TYPE 2**

	Compensated Individuals	Number of days	Daily Rate	Total Cost
SALARY COSTS				
Pre-election Team	3	7	300	6,300
Election Observer Mission	3	7	300	6,300
Post-election Team	3	30	300	27,000
Training Team	3	7	300	6,300
Local Representative	1	60	100	6,000
Administrative Support	2	30	250	15,000
Total Salary Costs				66,900 =====

	Number in party	Airfare	Number of days	Daily Rate/ Per Diem	Total Cost
TRAVEL AND PER DIEM					
International Travel:					
Pre-election Team	4	3,500	7	150	15,050
Election Observer Mission	20	3,500	7	150	71,050
Post-election Team	4	3,500	30	150	18,500
Training Team	4	3,500	7	150	15,050
Local Representative	1	500	60	150	9,500
Total Int'l Travel and Per Diem					129,150 =====

Local Travel					
Pre-election Team	4	500		2,000	
Election Observer Mission	20	500		10,000	
Post-election Team	4	500		2,000	
Training Team	4	500		2,000	
Local Representative	1	500		500	
Total Local Travel and Per Diem					16,500 =====

Other Program Costs:					
Local Organization Support				20,000	
Civic Education Program				5,000	
Resource Materials				5,000	
Interpretation/Translation				7,500	
Workshops/Meetings				12,000	
Public Information				3,000	
Total Other Program Costs					52,500 =====

Other Program Administrative Costs					
Supplies				8,000	
Telecommunications				8,000	
Printing/Duplicating				10,000	
Postage/Shipping				8,950	
Total Program Administrative Costs					34,950 =====

COST SUMMARY					
SALARY COSTS				66,900	
INTERNATIONAL TRAVEL				129,150	
LOCAL TRAVEL				16,500	
OTHER PROGRAM COSTS				52,500	
OTHER PROGRAM ADMIN. COSTS				34,950	
TOTAL COST					300,000 =====

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AFRICA REGIONAL ELECTORAL ASSISTANCE FUND
 PROPOSED BUDGET
 MODEL PROGRAM BUDGET - REGIONAL WORKSHOPS: ELECTORAL ASSISTANCE

	Compensated Individuals	Number of days	Daily Rate	Total Cost
SALARY COSTS				
International Experts	3	14	300	12,600
Administrative Support	3	10	250	7,500
Total Salary Costs				20,100 =====

	Number in party	Airfare	Number of days	Daily Rate Per Diem	Total Cost
TRAVEL AND PER DIEM					
International Travel:					
International Experts	6	3,500	7	150	22,050
African Participants	15	1,500	7	150	23,550
Total Int'l Travel and Per Diem					45,600 =====

Local Travel					
International Experts	6	100			600
African Participants	15	100			1,500
Total Local Travel and Per Diem					2,100 =====

Other Program Costs:					
Resource Materials					5,000
Interpretation/Translation					5,000
Workshops/Meetings					5,000
Public Information					500
Total Other Program Costs					15,500 =====

Other Program Administrative Costs					
Supplies					3,500
Telecommunications					5,000
Printing/Duplicating					5,000
Postage/Shipping					3,200
Total Program Administrative Costs					16,700 =====

COST SUMMARY	
SALARY COSTS	20,100
INTERNATIONAL TRAVEL	45,600
LOCAL TRAVEL	2,100
OTHER PROGRAM COSTS	15,500
OTHER PROGRAM ADMIN. COSTS	16,700
TOTAL COST	
	100,000 =====

AFRICA REGIONAL ELECTORAL ASSISTANCE FUND
 PROPOSED BUDGET
 THE AFRICAN - AMERICAN INSTITUTE - CORE SUPPORT

			Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Year 4	Total
	Annual Salary	Level of Effort					
Salaries:							
Project Director	67,500	100%	67,500	70,875	74,419	78,140	358,434
Administrative Asst.	30,000	100%	30,000	31,500	33,075	34,729	159,305
Finance Manager	30,500	25%	7,625	8,006	8,407	8,827	63,365
Total Salaries			105,125	110,381	115,900	121,695	581,104
Fringe Benefits (at 29% of total salaries)			30,486	32,011	33,611	35,292	168,520
Other Administrative Costs:							
Supplies			3,000	3,000	3,000	3,000	12,000
Telecommunications			5,000	5,000	5,000	5,000	20,000
Printing/Duplicating			2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000	8,000
Postage/Shipping			3,000	3,000	3,000	3,000	12,000
Sub-total			13,000	13,000	13,000	13,000	52,000
Total Administrative Costs before overhead			148,611	155,392	162,511	169,987	801,624
Overhead (at 59.75% of total admin. costs)			88,795	92,847	97,101	101,567	478,971
Total Administrative Costs			237,406	248,238	259,612	271,554	1,280,595

AFRICA REGIONAL ELECTORAL ASSISTANCE FUND
 PROPOSED BUDGET
 INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE - CORE SUPPORT

	Annual Salary	Level of Effort	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Year 4	Total
Salaries:							
Associate Program Director	50,000	50%	25,000	26,250	27,563	28,941	107,753
Program Assistant	22,000	50%	11,000	11,550	12,128	12,734	47,411
Total Salaries			36,000	37,800	39,690	41,675	155,165
Fringe Benefits			9,403	9,873	10,367	10,886	40,529
Other Administrative Costs:							
Supplies			4,000	4,000	4,000	3,500	15,500
Telecommunications			4,500	4,500	4,000	4,000	17,000
Printing/Duplicating			1,597	1,327	942	940	4,806
Domestic Travel			2,500	2,500	2,500	2,500	10,000
Contractual Services- Audit and Legal Fees			3,500	3,500	3,500	3,500	14,000
Office space and utilities			2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000	8,000
Sub-total			18,097	17,827	16,942	16,440	69,306
Total Administrative Costs			63,500	65,500	66,999	69,001	265,000

AFRICA REGIONAL ELECTORAL ASSISTANCE FUND
 PROPOSED BUDGET
 NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS
 CORE SUPPORT

	Annual	Level of	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Year 4	Total
	Salary	Effort					
Salaries:							
Associate Project Director	50,080	50%	25,000	26,300	27,600	29,000	107,900
Program Assistant	25,000	50%	12,500	13,100	13,800	14,500	53,900
Total Salaries			37,500	39,400	41,400	43,500	161,800
Fringe Benefits			9,400	9,900	10,400	10,900	40,600
Other Administrative Costs:							
Supplies			1,500	1,500	1,500	1,500	6,000
Telecommunications			1,500	1,500	1,500	1,500	6,000
Domestic Travel			1,800	1,800	1,800	1,800	7,200
Contractual Services-Audit Fees			2,500	2,500	2,500	2,500	10,000
Office Space and Utilities			7,100	7,500	7,900	8,300	30,800
Meetings, research materials			1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	4,000
Sub-total			15,400	15,800	16,200	16,600	64,000
Total Administrative Costs			62,300	65,100	68,000	71,000	266,400

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BUDGET NOTES

- 1) The hypothetical allocation of program funding serves as a model of how the funds available for this project can be used. Budgets for individual projects will be prepared when the specifics of a project are determined. Included in the model are election assistance activities with two different levels of effort, identified as Type 1 and Type 2. The administrative budgets described on Schedules 5,6 and 7 are not project specific but represent the core administrative costs required for the overall administration of the project.
- 2) The daily salary cost rates utilized in the program cost estimates represent blended rates of the consortium partners and include salary, fringe benefit and overhead costs. Actual rates and cost estimates will be determined for each specific project when projects are proposed based upon the actual projected costs of the consortium partner(s) participating in each project.
- 3) Actual costs of election commodities for each type of election assistance project will vary widely from country to country. The hypothetical allocation of program funding includes \$2 million as an aggregate estimate of election commodities to be purchased with the funds from this cooperative agreement by subcontract with American Manufactures Export Group.
- 4) The salary costs reflected in the program budgets reflect only the costs of individuals who will be compensated for their time. The program budgets reflect the actual experience of the partners that the majority of expert time is obtained without compensation. In most cases individuals who actually receive compensation will be staff members of the partner organizations.

CONTRACTOR EMPLOYEE BIOGRAPHICAL DATA SHEET

(SEE PRIVACY ACT STATEMENT ON REVERSE)

INSTRUCTIONS

Submit in triplicate to contracting officer. See reverse for Contractor Certification.

1. Name (Last, First, Middle) <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Mr. <input type="checkbox"/> Mrs. <input type="checkbox"/> Miss <input type="checkbox"/> Ms. SCHIEREN, Carl Victor, Jr.		2. Contractor's Name The African-American Institute	
3. Address (include ZIP Code) 60 Sutton Place South, Apt 4GN New York, NY, 10022		4. Contract No. AFR-AREAF	5. Position Under Contract Project Director
9. Telephone Number (include area code) (212) 752-1628	10. Marital Status <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Married <input type="checkbox"/> Single <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	6. Proposed Salary \$67,500	7. Country of Assignment U.S.A.
12. Date of Birth 5 March 1940	13. Place of Birth Glen Ridge, New Jersey	8. Duration of Assignment 4 Years	
14. Citizenship (if non-U.S. citizen, give visa status) American		11. Names and Ages of Dependents to Accompany Individual (if applicable) None	

15. EDUCATION (include all secondary, business college or university training)

NAME AND LOCATION OF INSTITUTION	MAJOR SUBJECTS	Credits Completed		Type of Degree	Date of Degree
		Semester Hours	Quarter Hours		
Columbia Univ School of Intl Affairs, NY	International Affairs	60		MIA	6/67
Princeton University, Princeton, NJ	American History	120		BA	6/62
Phillips Academy, Andover, MA		120	Diploma		6/58

16. EMPLOYMENT HISTORY

1. Give last three (3) years. Continue on reverse to list all employment related to duties of proposed assignment.
2. Salary definition - basic periodic payment for services rendered.
Exclude bonuses, profit-sharing arrangements, commissions, consultant fees, extra or overtime work payments, overseas differential, or quarters rates of living or dependent education allowances.

POSITION TITLE	EMPLOYER'S NAME AND ADDRESS	Dates of Employment (Mo., Yr.)		Salary	
		From	To	Dollars	Per
Vice Pres - Programs	The African-American Institute 833 United Nations Plaza, NY, NY 10017	2/91	Present	\$81,500	Yr
Home Office Proj Mgt Grant Mgmt Specialist	Medical Service Corp International 1716 Wilson Blvd, Arlington, VA	8/89	2/91	66,287	Yr
Chief of Party, Oman Schol/Training Project	Checchi and Company Consulting, Inc 1730 Rhode Island Ave, NW Wash DC	4/86	4/88	61,950	Yr
Executive Director	Council of American Overseas Research Centers, Smithsonian Inst, Wash DC	9/85	4/86	33,792	Yr

17. SPECIFIC CONSULTANT SERVICES (use last three (3) years)

SERVICE PERFORMED	EMPLOYER'S NAME AND ADDRESS	Dates of Employment (Mo., Day, Yr.)		Salary
		From	To	
Project Development Child Survival	Medical Service Corp International 1716 Wilson Blvd, Arlington VA	6/15/89	8/15/89	\$265
Grant Management Specialist	Vector Biology and Control Project 1611 North Kent Street, Arlington, VA	3/29/89	6/14/89	\$265
Evaluator, Peace Fellowship Prog Egypt	Checchi and Company Consulting, Inc 1730 Rhode Island Ave, NW Wash DC	2/27/88	1/30/89	\$250

18. LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY

LANGUAGE	Speaking			Reading			Writing			Understanding		
	Fair	Good	Excl.	Fair	Good	Excl.	Fair	Good	Excl.	Fair	Good	Excl.
	Arabic			X		X	X					
French			X		X	X						X

19. Special Qualifications (honors, professional or special licenses, publications, research reports, and relevant education not previously mentioned on reverse side of form, if necessary)

Social Security No:
135-30-7053

20. CERTIFICATION

To the best of my knowledge, the above facts as stated are true and correct.
Signature of Employee: *Carl Victor Schieren* Date: 1 March 1992

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CONTRACTOR EMPLOYEE BIOGRAPHICAL DATA SHEET

(SEE PRIVACY ACT STATEMENT ON REVERSE)

INSTRUCTIONS:
 Submit in triplicate to contracting officer.
 See reverse for Contractor Care Section.

1. Name (Last, First, Middle) <input type="checkbox"/> Mr. <input type="checkbox"/> Mrs. <input type="checkbox"/> Miss <input type="checkbox"/> Ms. Eric Chapman Bjornlund		2. Contractor's Name African-American Institute	
3. Address (include ZIP Code) 3515 Bradley Lane Chevy Chase, MD 20815		4. Contract No. AER-REAF	5. Position Under Contract Associate Director
6. Proposed Salary \$50,000		7. Country of Assignment U.S.A.	8. Duration of Assignment 4 years
9. Telephone Number (include area code) (202) 328-3130	10. Marital Status <input type="checkbox"/> Married <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Single <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	11. Name and Age of Dependents to Accompany Individual (if applicable)	
12. Date of Birth 8/7/58	13. Place of Birth Pittsburgh, PA		
14. Citizenship (if non-U.S. citizen, give visa status) U.S.A.			

15. EDUCATION (include all secondary, business college or university training)

NAME AND LOCATION OF INSTITUTION	MAJOR SUBJECTS	Credits Completed		Type of Degree	Date of Degree
		Regular Class	Other Class		
Williams College	Economics			BA	1980
Harvard University - Kennedy School of Gov't	Public Administration			MA	1980
Columbia University Law School	Law			JD	1984

16. EMPLOYMENT HISTORY

- Give last three (3) years. Conditions on reverse to list all employment related to duties of proposed assignment.
- Salary definition - basic periodic payments for services rendered. Exclude bonuses, profit-sharing arrangements, commissions, consultant fees, fees or overtime work payments, expense differential, or quarters, cost of living or dependent education allowances.

POSITION TITLE	EMPLOYER'S NAME AND ADDRESS	Date of Employment (Mo., Yr.)		Salary	
		From	To	Dollar	Pct.
Senior Program Officer	National Democratic Institute 1717 Massachusetts Avenue, Wash. D.C.	1989	present	46,000	yr.
Associate	Ropes and Gray Boston, MA	1985	1989	34,000	yr.

17. SPECIFIC CONSULTANT SERVICES (see last three (3) years)

SERVICE PERFORMED	EMPLOYER'S NAME AND ADDRESS	Date of Employment (Mo., Yr., Day)		DAILY RATE
		From	To	

18. LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY

LANGUAGE	Speaking		Reading		Writing		Understanding	
	Fair	Good	Fair	Good	Fair	Good	Fair	Good

18. Special Qualifications (honors, professional societies, special licenses, publications, research, special skills, and relevant education not previously mentioned; see reverse side of form, if necessary)

19. CERTIFICATION: To the best of my knowledge, the above facts stated are true and correct.

Signature of Employee: Eric Bjornlund Date: 2/27/92

CONTRACTOR EMPLOYEE BIOGRAPHICAL DATA SHEET

(SEE PRIVACY ACT STATEMENT ON REVERSE)

INSTRUCTIONS:
 Submit in triplicate to contracting office.
 See reverse for Contractor Certification.

1. Name (Last, First, Middle) <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Mr. <input type="checkbox"/> Mrs. <input type="checkbox"/> Miss <input type="checkbox"/> Ms. Stewart, Edward Burton		2. Contractor's Name African American Institute	
3. Address (include ZIP Code) 1212 New York Ave, N.W. #900 Washington, D.C. 20005		4. Contract No.	5. Position Under Contract Associate Director
9. Telephone Number (include area code) 202 408 9750	10. Marital Status <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Married <input type="checkbox"/> Single <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	6. Proposed Salary \$50,000	7. Country of Assignment
12. Date of Birth 3/25/64	18. Place of Birth West Palm Beach, FLA	8. Duration of Assignment	
14. Citizenship (if non-U.S. citizen, give visa status) United States		11. Names and Ages of Dependents to Accompany Individual (if applicable) N/A	

15. EDUCATION (include all secondary, business college or university training)

NAME AND LOCATION OF INSTITUTION	MAJOR SUBJECTS	Credits Completed		Type of Degree	Date of Degree
		Semester Hours	Quarter Hours		
University of Kentucky Lexington, Kentucky	International Political Affairs	32		MA	1988
Wofford College Spartanburg, South Carolina	History Government	95		BA	1986

16. EMPLOYMENT HISTORY

1. Give last three (3) years. Continue on reverse to list all employment related to duties of proposed assignment.
 2. Salary definition - basic periodic payment for services rendered.
 Exclude bonuses, profit-sharing arrangements, commissions, consultant fees, extra or overtime work payments, overseas differential, or quarters, cost of living or dependent education allowances.

POSITION TITLE	EMPLOYER'S NAME AND ADDRESS	Dates of Employment (Mo., Yr.)		Salary	
		From	To	Dollars	Per.
Regional Program Officer	International Republican Institute	1990	Present	50,000	Yr.
Program Officer	International Republican Institute	1988	1990	34,000	Yr.
Political Coordinator	Dunn for Governor Committee Nashville, Tennessee	1986	1986	24,000	Yr.

17. SPECIFIC CONSULTANT SERVICES (give last three (3) years)

SERVICE PERFORMED	EMPLOYER'S NAME AND ADDRESS	Dates of Employment (Mo., Day)		DAILY RATE
		From	To	
N/A				

18. LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY

LANGUAGE	Speaking			Reading			Writing			Understanding		
	Fair	Good	Excl.	Fair	Good	Excl.	Fair	Good	Excl.	Fair	Good	Excl.
	Spanish	X			X			X			X	

19. Special Qualifications (honors, professional societies, special licenses, publications, research, special skills, and relevant education not previously mentioned use reverse side of form, if necessary)

See Reverse

20. CERTIFICATION: To the best of my knowledge, the above facts as stated are true and correct.

Signature of Employee: Date: 28 FEBRUARY 1992

CERTIFICATIONS, ASSURANCES, AND OTHER STATEMENTS OF APPLICANT/GRAANTEE 1/

1. ASSURANCE OF COMPLIANCE WITH LAWS AND REGULATIONS GOVERNING NON-DISCRIMINATION IN FEDERALLY ASSISTED PROGRAMS

(a) The applicant/grantee hereby assures that no person in the United States shall, on the bases set forth below, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be otherwise subjected to discrimination under, any program or activity receiving financial assistance from A.I.D., and that with respect to the grant for which application is being made, it will comply with the requirements of:

- (1) Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (Pub. L. 88-352, 42 U.S.C. 2000-1), which prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, color or national origin, in programs and activities receiving Federal financial assistance;
- (2) Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 (29 U.S.C. 794), which prohibits discrimination on the basis of handicap in programs and activities receiving Federal financial assistance;
- (3) The Age Discrimination Act of 1975, as amended (Pub. L. 95-478), which prohibits discrimination based on age in the delivery of services and benefits supported with Federal funds;
- (4) Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 (20 U.S.C. 1681, et seq.), which prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex in education programs and activities receiving Federal financial assistance (whether or not the programs or activities are offered or sponsored by an educational institution); and
- (5) A.I.D. regulations implementing the above nondiscrimination laws, set forth in Chapter II of Title 22 of the Code of Federal Regulations.

(b) If the applicant/grantee is an institution of higher education, the Assurances given herein extend to admission practices and to all other practices relating to the treatment of students or clients of the institution, or relating to the opportunity to participate in the provision of services or other benefits to such individuals, and shall be applicable to the entire institution unless the applicant/grantee establishes to the satisfaction of the A.I.D. Administrator that the institution's practices in designated parts or programs of the institution will in no way affect its practices in the program of the institution for which financial assistance is sought, or the beneficiaries of, or participants in, such programs.

(c) This assurance is given in consideration of and for the purpose of obtaining any and all Federal grants, loans, contracts, property, discounts, or other Federal financial assistance extended after the date hereof to the applicant/grantee by the Agency, including installment payments after such date on account of applications for Federal financial assistance which were approved before such date. The applicant/grantee recognizes and agrees that such Federal financial assistance will be extended in reliance on the representations and agreements made in this Assurance, and that the United States shall have the right to seek judicial enforcement of this Assurance. This Assurance is binding on the applicant/grantee, its successors, transferees, and assignees, and the person or persons whose signatures appear below are authorized to sign this Assurance on behalf of the applicant/grantee.

Vivian Lavery Derryl

1/ When these Certifications, Assurances, and Other Statements are used for cooperative agreements, the following terms apply: "Grantee" means "Recipient," "Grant" means "Cooperative Agreement," and "A.I.D. Grant Officer" means "A.I.D. Agreement Officer."

2. CERTIFICATION REGARDING DRUG-FREE WORKPLACE REQUIREMENTS

(a) Instructions for Certification

(1) By signing and/or submitting this application or grant, the applicant/grantee is providing the certification set out below.

(2) The certification set out below is a material representation of fact upon which reliance was placed when the agency determined to award the grant. If it is later determined that the applicant/grantee knowingly rendered a false certification, or otherwise violates the requirements of the Drug-Free Workplace Act, the agency, in addition to any other remedies available to the Federal Government, may take action authorized under the Drug-Free Workplace Act.

(3) For applicants/grantees other than individuals, Alternate I applies.

(4) For applicants/grantees who are individuals, Alternate II applies.

(b) Certification Regarding Drug-Free Workplace Requirements

Alternate I

(1) The applicant/grantee certifies that it will provide a drug-free workplace by:

(A) Publishing a statement notifying employees that the unlawful manufacture, distribution, dispensing, possession or use of a controlled substance is prohibited in the applicant's/grantee's workplace and specifying the actions that will be taken against employees for violation of such prohibition;

(B) Establishing a drug-free awareness program to inform employees about—

1. The dangers of drug abuse in the workplace;
2. The applicant's/grantee's policy of maintaining a drug-free workplace;
3. Any available drug counseling, rehabilitation, and employee assistance programs; and
4. The penalties that may be imposed upon employees for drug abuse violations occurring in the workplace;

(C) Making it a requirement that each employee to be engaged in the performance of the grant be given a copy of the statement required by paragraph (b)(1)(A);

(D) Notifying the employee in the statement required by paragraph (b)(1)(A) that, as a condition of employment under the grant, the employee will—

1. Abide by the terms of the statement; and
2. Notify the employer of any criminal drug statute conviction for a violation occurring in the workplace no later than five days after such conviction;

(E) Notifying the agency within ten days after receiving notice under subparagraph (b)(1)(D)1. from an employee or otherwise receiving actual notice of such conviction;

(F) Taking one of the following actions, within 30 days of receiving notice under subparagraph (b)(1)(D)2., with respect to any employee who is so convicted—

1. Taking appropriate personnel action against such an employee, up to and including termination; or

2. Requiring such employee to participate satisfactorily in a drug abuse assistance or rehabilitation program approved for such purposes by a Federal, State, or local health, law enforcement, or other appropriate agency;

(G) Making a good faith effort to continue to maintain a drug-free workplace through implementation of paragraphs (b)(1)(A), (b)(1)(B), (b)(1)(C), (b)(1)(D), (b)(1)(E) and (b)(1)(F).

(2) The applicant/grantee shall insert in the space provided below the site(s) for the performance of work done in connection with the specific grant:

Place of Performance (Street address, city, county, state, zip code)

The African-American Institute
1625 Massachusetts Avenue
Suite 210
Washington, D.C. 20036

Alternate II

The applicant/grantee certifies that, as a condition of the grant, he or she will not engage in the unlawful manufacture, distribution, dispensing, possession or use of a controlled substance in conducting any activity with the grant.

3. CERTIFICATION REGARDING DEBARMENT, SUSPENSION, AND OTHER RESPONSIBILITY MATTERS

(a) The applicant/grantee certifies to the best of its knowledge and belief, that it and its principals:

(1) Are not presently debarred, suspended, proposed for debarment, declared ineligible, or voluntarily excluded from covered transactions by any Federal department or agency;

(2) Have not within a three-year period preceding this application/proposal been convicted of or had a civil judgement rendered against them for commission of fraud or a criminal offense in connection with obtaining, attempting to obtain, or performing a public (Federal, State, or local) transaction or contract under a public transaction; violation of Federal or State antitrust statutes or commission of embezzlement, theft, forgery, bribery, falsification or destruction of records, making false statements, or receiving stolen property;

(3) Are not presently indicted for or otherwise criminally or civilly charged by a governmental entity (Federal, State, or local) with commission of any of the offenses enumerated in paragraph (a)(2) of this certification; and

(4) Have not within a three-year period preceding this application/proposal had one or more public transactions (Federal, State, or local) terminated for cause or default.

4. CERTIFICATION REGARDING LOBBYING

The undersigned certifies, to the best of his or her knowledge and belief, that:

(1) No Federal appropriated funds have been paid or will be paid, by or on behalf of the undersigned, to any person for influencing or attempting to influence an officer or employee of any agency, a Member of Congress, an officer or employee of Congress, or an employee of a Member of Congress in connection with the awarding of any Federal contract, the making of any Federal grant, the making of any Federal loan, the entering into of any cooperative agreement, and the extension, continuation, renewal, amendment or modification of any Federal contract, grant, loan, or cooperative agreement.

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(2) If any funds other than Federal appropriated funds have been paid or will be paid to any person for influencing or attempting to influence an officer or employee of any agency, a Member of Congress, an officer or employee of Congress, or an employee of a Member of Congress in connection with this Federal contract, grant, loan, or cooperative agreement, the undersigned shall complete and submit Standard Form-LLL, "Disclosure of Lobbying Activities," 1/ in accordance with its instructions.

(3) The undersigned shall require that the language of this certification be included in the award documents for all subawards at all tiers (including subcontracts, subgrants, and contracts under grants, loans, and cooperative agreements) and that all subrecipients shall certify and disclose accordingly.

This certification is a material representation of fact upon which reliance was placed when this transaction was made or entered into. Submission of this certification is a prerequisite for making or entering into this transaction imposed by section 1352, title 31, United States Code. Any person who fails to file the required certification shall be subject to a civil penalty of not less than \$10,000 and not more than \$100,000 for each such failure.

By signature hereon, the applicant/grantee certifies that the information contained herein is accurate, current, and complete to the best of its knowledge and belief, and that the applicant/grantee is aware of the penalty prescribed in 18 U.S.C. 1001 for making false statements in applications or proposals.

5. AUTHORIZED INDIVIDUALS

The applicant/grantee represents that the following persons are authorized to negotiate on its behalf with the Government and to bind the applicant/grantee in connection with this application or grant: (list names, titles, and telephone numbers of the authorized individuals).

Vivian Lowery Derryck, President (212) 949-5666

Carl V. Schieren, Jr. Vice President for Programs, (212) 949-5666

Warren Ruppel, Chief Financial Officer, (212) 949-5666

6. TAXPAYER IDENTIFICATION NUMBER (TIN)

If the applicant/grantee is a U.S. organization, or a foreign organization which has income effectively connected with the conduct of activities in the U.S. or has an office or a place of business or a fiscal paying agent in the U.S., please indicate the applicant's/grantee's TIN:

53-0218859

7. DUNS NUMBER

Insert the Dun and Bradstreet Universal Numbering System (DUNS) number applicable to the applicant's/grantee's name and address. If the applicant/grantee does not have a DUNS Number, it may obtain one from any Dun and Bradstreet branch office. No applicant/grantee should delay the submission of its application/proposal pending receipt of its DUNS Number.

07-103-6065

8. LETTER OF CREDIT (LOC) NUMBER

If the applicant/grantee has an existing Letter of Credit (LOC) with A.I.D., please indicate the LOC number:

72-00-1473, 72-00-1474

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9. PROCUREMENT INFORMATION

(a) Applicability. This applies to the procurement of goods and services planned by the applicant/grantee (i.e., contracts, purchase orders, etc.) from a supplier of goods or services for the direct use or benefit of the applicant/grantee in conducting the program supported by the grant, and not to assistance provided by the applicant/grantee (i.e., a subgrant or subagreement) to a subgrantee or subrecipient in support of the subgrantee's or subrecipient's program. Provision by the applicant/grantee of the requested information does not, in and of itself, constitute A.I.D. approval.

(b) Amount of Procurement. Please indicate the total estimated dollar amount of goods and services which the applicant/grantee plans to purchase under the grant:

\$ 2,000,000

(c) Nonexpendable Equipment. If the applicant/grantee plans to purchase general purpose equipment or special purpose equipment which would require the approval of the Grant Officer, please indicate below (using a continuation page, as necessary) the types, quantities of each, and estimated unit costs. General purpose equipment for which the Grant Officer's approval to purchase is required is any article of nonexpendable tangible personal property, the use of which is not limited only to research, medical, scientific, or other technical activities (e.g., office equipment and furnishings, air conditioning equipment, reproduction and other equipment, motor vehicles, and automatic data processing equipment), having a useful life of more than two years and an acquisition cost of \$500 or more per unit. Special purpose equipment for which the Grant Officer's approval to purchase is required is any article of nonexpendable tangible personal property which is used only for research, medical, scientific, or other technical activities (e.g., microscopes, x-ray machines, surgical instruments, and spectrometers), and which has a useful life of more than two years and an acquisition cost of \$1,000 or more per unit.

Equipment to be purchased for each country activity will be determined case by case, in light of each country's requirements and the specific cash or in-kind contributions to be made by as yet unspecified donors. Grant Officer approval will be requested once the commodities for a given country have been specified.

(d) Source, Origin, and Componentry of Goods. If the applicant/grantee plans to purchase any goods which are not of U.S. source and/or U.S. nationality, and/or does not contain components which are not at least 50% U.S. source and origin, please indicate below (using a continuation page, as necessary) the types and quantities of each, estimated unit costs of each, and probable source and/or origin, to include the probable source and/or origin of the components if less than 50% U.S. components will be contained in the commodity. "Source" means the country from which a commodity is shipped to the cooperating country or the cooperating country itself if the commodity is located therein at the time of purchase. However, where a commodity is shipped from a free port or bonded warehouse in the form in which received therein, "source" means the country from which the commodity was shipped to the free port or bonded warehouse. Any commodity whose source is a non-Free World country is ineligible for A.I.D. financing. The "origin" of a commodity is the country or area in which a commodity is mined, grown, or produced. A commodity is produced when, through manufacturing, processing, or substantial and major assembling of components, a commercially recognized new commodity results, which is substantially different in basic characteristics or in purpose or utility from its components. Merely packaging various items together for a particular procurement or relabeling items does not constitute production of a commodity. Any commodity whose origin is a non-Free World country is ineligible for A.I.D. financing. "Components" are the goods which go directly into the production of a produced commodity. Any component from a non-free world country makes the commodity ineligible for A.I.D. financing.

With a high level of contribution by other donors, it should be possible for all commodities to be U.S. source and origin (Code 000). Exact requirements, however, can only be known when countries have been selected and the needs for project financed commodities have been identified. Since delivery of commodities for elections are highly time sensitive, the Grantee should have the flexibility to undertake procurement from "Special Free World" (Code 935) countries in standard order of preference, if necessary.

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(e) Restricted Goods. If the applicant/grantee plans to purchase any restricted goods, please indicate below (using a continuation page, as necessary) the types and quantities of each, estimated unit costs of each, intended use, and probable source and/or origin. Restricted goods are Agricultural Commodities, Motor Vehicles, Pharmaceuticals, Pesticides, Rubber Compounding Chemicals and Plasticizers, Used Equipment, U.S. Government-Owned Excess Property, and Fertilizer.

N/A

(f) Supplier Nationality. If the applicant/grantee plans to purchase any goods or services from suppliers of goods and services whose nationality is not in the U.S., please indicate below (using a continuation page, as necessary) the types and quantities of each good or service, estimated costs of each, probable nationality of each non-U.S. supplier of each good or service, and the rationale for purchasing from a non-U.S. supplier. Any supplier whose nationality is a non-Free World country is ineligible for A.I.D. financing.

N/A

(g) Proposed Disposition. If the applicant/grantee plans to purchase any nonexpendable equipment with a unit acquisition cost of \$1,000 or more, please indicate below (using a continuation page, as necessary) the proposed disposition of each such item. Generally, the applicant/grantee may either retain the property for other uses and make compensation to A.I.D. (computed by applying the percentage of federal participation in the cost of the original program to the current fair market value of the property), or sell the property and reimburse A.I.D. an amount computed by applying to the sales proceeds the percentage of federal participation in the cost of the original program (except that the applicant/grantee may deduct from the federal share \$100 or 10% of the proceeds, whichever is greater, for selling and handling expenses), or donate the property to a host country institution, or otherwise dispose of the property as instructed by A.I.D.

It is anticipated that almost all nonexpendable equipment will be donated to host country institutions immediately upon purchase to support free and fair elections and that title would vest in such institutions. There may be limited instances, such as in the case of communications equipment, in which procurements for a specific election would be better retained by the Grantee for use in elections in other countries, in which case title would vest in the Grantee.

10. TYPE OF ORGANIZATION

The applicant/grantee, by checking the applicable box, represents that -

(a) If the applicant/grantee is a U.S. entity, it operates as a corporation incorporated under the laws of the ~~State of~~ District of Columbia, an individual, a partnership, a nongovernmental nonprofit organization, a state or local governmental organization, a private college or university, a public college or university, an international organization, or a joint venture; or

(b) If the applicant/grantee is a U.S. entity, it is, is not a Gray Amendment entity, as defined below.

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(c) If the applicant/grantee is a Gray Amendment Entity, it is [] a business concerns (as defined in 48 CFR 19.001) owned and controlled by socially and economically disadvantaged individuals (as defined in 48 CFR 726.101), [] an institution designated by the Secretary of Education, pursuant to 34 CFR 608.2, as a historically black college or university (HBCU), [] a college or university having a student body in which more than 40% of the students are Hispanic American, or [x] a private voluntary organization which is controlled by individuals who are socially and economically disadvantaged (as defined in 48 CFR 726.101).

(d) If the applicant/grantee is a non-U.S. entity, it operates as [] a corporation organized under the laws of _____ (country), [] an individual, [] a partnership, [] a nongovernmental nonprofit organization, [] a nongovernmental educational institution, [] a governmental organization, [] an international organization, or [] a joint venture.

11. AGREEMENT ON GRANT TERMS AND CONDITIONS

The applicant/grantee certifies that it has reviewed and is familiar with the proposed grant format and the standard provisions applicable thereto, and that it agrees to comply with all such terms and conditions, except as noted below (use a continuation page as necessary):

None

Solicitation No. _____
Application/Proposal No. _____
Date of Application/Proposal March 2, 1992
Name of Applicant/Grantee The African-American Institute
Typed Name and Title Vivian Lowery Derryck, President

Signature *Vivian Lowery Derryck*
Date March 2, 1992

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Attachment 6

RFA Dated January 24, 1992

Issuance Date: JAN 24 1992
Closing Date: MAR 2 1992
Closing Time: 3:00 p.m. EDT

Subject: Request for Application, Africa Regional Electoral Assistance Fund (AREAF)

The Agency for International Development (A.I.D.) wishes to support activities in sub-Saharan Africa of U.S. non-governmental organizations (or consortiums of such organizations) that provide a wide range of technical, training, monitoring and other electoral assistance to help Africans carry out free and fair elections. Accordingly, A.I.D. is seeking applications from such organizations in support of such activities.

A.I.D. considers this support to be primarily assistance to an institution or an organization for a public purpose, rather than the acquisition of services. Accordingly, an assistance instrument (i.e. a Cooperative Agreement), in lieu of a contractual relationship, has been determined to be the most appropriate vehicle for transferring U.S. institutional experience in this area to countries in Africa. An assistance instrument is used when the principal purpose of the relationship between A.I.D. and the other party or parties is the transfer of funds or services to the Recipient in order to accomplish a public purpose through support stimulation of the Recipient's own program or project. Under an assistance instrument, A.I.D.'s involvement is on a partnership basis, as opposed to the relationship established under a contract where the Agency is acquiring specific goods or services for its own use or benefit. Unlike other types of assistance instruments, however, a Cooperative Agreement entails substantial involvement by A.I.D. in the program of the Recipient.

Consequently, it is not the Agency's intention to pay a fee or profit for the program that results from this RFA.

Subject to the availability of funds and the Congressional notification process, A.I.D. and the Department of State intend to support the proposed Cooperative Agreement for four years with approximately \$12.5 million in total A.I.D. funding from the Development Fund for Africa and from the Economic Support Fund to be allocated over two fiscal years. It is envisioned to obligate approximately \$7.5 million during Fiscal Year 1992, with an initial obligation of \$2.5 million.

For the purposes of this program, this RFA is being issued and consists of this cover letter and the following:

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Section No.Title

I	Background
II	Program Description
III	Substantial Involvement
IV	Evaluation Criteria
Exhibit 1	Cooperative Agreement Format
	- Cover Letter
	- Attachment 1 - Schedule
	- Section II above- Program Description
	- Attachment 2 - Mandatory Standard Provisions
	- Attachment 3 - Optional Standard Provisions
Exhibit 2	Certifications, Assurances and other Statement of Applicant/Recipient
Exhibit 3	List of Interested Parties

If you decide to submit an application, it must be received no later than 3:00 p.m. EDT on the date indicated at the top of this letter at the place designated below for receipt of applications. Applications and modifications thereof shall be submitted in sealed envelopes with the name and address of the applicant inscribed therein, to:

(by U.S. Mail)

Agency for International Development
Office of Procurement
Washington D.C. 20523-1425

(by all other means of delivery)

Agency for International Development
Office of Procurement
1100 Wilson Blvd., 15th Floor
Arlington, VA 22209

Applicants are being requested to submit both technical and cost applications together. Award will be made to the responsible applicant whose application offers the greatest value.

Issuance of this RFA does not constitute an award commitment on the part of the Government, nor does it commit the Government to pay for costs incurred in the preparation and submission of an application. Further, the Government reserves the right to reject any or all applications received. In addition, final award of any resultant cooperative agreement cannot be made until funds have been fully appropriated, allocated, and committed through internal A.I.D. procedures. While it is anticipated that these procedures will be successfully completed, potential applicants are hereby notified of these requirements and conditions for award. Applications are submitted at the risk of

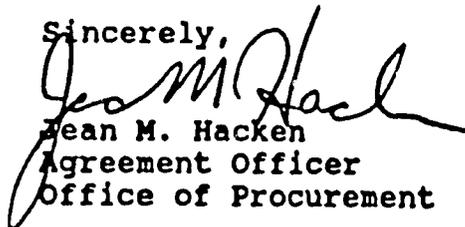
the applicant; should circumstances prevent award of a cooperative agreement, all preparation and submission costs are at the applicant's expense.

Telegraphic applications or telegraphic notices of intent to apply are not authorized for this RFA and will not be accepted.

Any technical questions concerning this RFA should be directed to Mr. William Hammink who can be reached by phone at (202) 647-0443.

Applicants should retain for their records one copy of any and all enclosures which accompany their application. If you are unable to submit an application, you are requested to so advise the Office of Operations and New Initiatives in the Africa Bureau.

Sincerely,



Jean M. Hacken
Agreement Officer
Office of Procurement

AFRICA REGIONAL ELECTORAL ASSISTANCE FUND

I. BACKGROUND

A fundamental democratic revolution throughout the world is changing the political landscape, as evidenced by recent changes in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. In Africa, authoritarian regimes are under siege and governments across the continent are facing pressure for political change on a scale unprecedented since independence. During the past two years, over two-thirds of African countries announced political changes to increase pluralism and political competition. Some have called it a "second liberation."

Fostering democracy is a long-established goal of the United States. Experience has shown that our relations with democratic countries tend to be more constructive and to enjoy more consistent domestic support than our relations with authoritarian regimes. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, there is growing evidence that open societies that value individual rights, respect the rule of law and have open and accountable governments provide better opportunities for sustained economic development than do closed systems which stifle individual initiative.

During the transition to more pluralistic and democratic societies, African countries are depending on the holding of free and fair elections to usher in broad political participation and democratic change. However, elections must be free, fair and meaningful if Africans are to have confidence in the legitimacy of their governments and the emerging political systems. Over 20 elections or referenda are planned in Africa over the next two years and the need and demand for immediate assistance is high as evidenced by requests for U.S. government assistance from ten countries since September 1991.

Therefore, in order to support free and fair elections throughout Africa, A.I.D. wishes to make up to \$12.5 million available, pending availability of funds and the Congressional notification process, for electoral assistance in African countries preparing for and holding free and fair elections. A.I.D. does not want to fragment its efforts by giving disparate grants for different countries, but wishes to channel the available funds through one cooperative agreement to be competitively selected.

II. PROGRAM DESCRIPTION

A. Objective: The purpose of the A.I.D.-funded Electoral Assistance Fund is to support free and fair local and national elections and referenda on constitutional issues throughout sub-Saharan Africa.

B. Programs: A.I.D. wishes to support funding for activities leading to: (1) improved electoral systems and processes and wider national participation in the electoral process; (2) free and fair monitored elections; (3) increased confidence in the democratic nature of the electoral process; (4) strengthened institutions key to sustaining free and fair elections and a more democratic society; and (4) increased civic participation and education leading up to and following elections.

Therefore, A.I.D. desires to support the following possible types of assistance:

• **Pre-Election Stage:**

- Organize and carry out pre-election diagnostic survey and needs assessment.
- Assist in conducting census and voter registration efforts, prepare accurate voter rolls, install nationwide electoral communications and reporting system.
- Organize and provide civic education training to the public, especially rural audiences to encourage broad and knowledgeable voter participation.
- Provide technical advisors on electoral codes, civic education programs and organizing and supervising elections.
- Provide training to strengthen all viable and recognized political parties and civic organizations committed to the democratic process on a non-partisan and non-discriminatory basis. Such training shall be provided without reference to specific policy positions taken by these organizations.

• **Election Campaign Stage:**

- Provide required commodities/equipment for elections such as ballot boxes, ballots, voter cards, radios, computers, photocopiers and, in limited cases, vehicles.
- Identify and work with indigenous non-government organizations (NGOs) to recruit and train election monitors and provide local observers at all polls.
- Organize and/or support international election monitoring efforts.

• **Consolidation Stage:**

- Provide longer-term organizational assistance to electoral commissions, civic organizations and other groups involved in the elections to build capacity for future elections.
- Provide organizational support to non-governmental organizations and educational institutions to provide civic education training and materials.

A.I.D. desires to provide funds for these types of activities through a cooperative agreement to a qualified U.S. non-governmental organization or a consortium of U.S. NGOs with a lead NGO. The U.S. NGO will assist sub-Saharan African governments and African NGOs, including civic organizations and, to a limited extent, political parties, in order to support and promote electoral system reform and free and fair elections in selected countries. Assistance under the cooperative agreement should be provided to African countries where there is a genuine commitment to free and fair elections.

The exact type or level of assistance will vary for each country requesting assistance, depending on the needs assessment, appropriate U.S. response for the needs under the cooperative agreement, role of other donors and commitment of the host country to carry out free and fair elections. The recipient U.S. NGO should suggest options for assistance for different countries and should work closely with African governments and election commissions, African NGOs, civic associations, political parties, other donors and the U.S. Missions in assessing needs and providing appropriate levels of assistance.

A.I.D. and the Department of State wish to provide support for activities which assist African countries in developing the elements which are critical in building the capacity for free and fair elections in the future. These could include the development of an appropriate legal environment (i.e. electoral codes); an organizational framework, through electoral commissions and indigenous NGOs, including civic associations and political parties; and broad-based participation in election monitoring which all build democratic sustainable electoral processes.

C. Limitations:

- By law A.I.D.-funded assistance may not be used to influence the outcome of any election.
- Any direct or indirect support to campaigns for public office is strictly prohibited.

• Where A.I.D.-funded assistance is provided to political parties or groups in civil society that have political missions, it must be completely non-partisan, impartial, available to all parties or groups committed to the democratic process, and provided without reference to specific policy positions taken by competing candidates or parties.

In addition, the intention of A.I.D. in providing funds for electoral assistance in Africa under the cooperative agreement is that these funds should not be used for building the capacity of the U.S. NGO implementing the agreement nor for establishing offices in Africa, but instead all funds should be used for programs and activities benefitting Africans.

D. Implementation: It is envisioned that the U.S. NGO chosen to receive funds will develop specific proposals for country-level electoral and related assistance based upon either an existing analysis and assessment, or an assessment to be carried out by the U.S. NGO. The country-specific proposals will be developed in close coordination with recipient governments, election commissions, indigenous NGOs, including civic organizations and political parties, other donors and the U.S. government mission in the country. The level of assistance to be provided under the cooperative agreement will vary by country and will be jointly determined by A.I.D., the State department and the U.S. NGO.

III. SUBSTANTIAL INVOLVEMENT

The level of substantial involvement of A.I.D. during the performance of the cooperative agreement will include but not be limited to the following:

- Approval of the annual workplan, and
- Approval of all country-specific or regional proposals for field activities under the cooperative agreement.
Note: Field must approve all personnel sent out under the agreement.
- Periodic meetings as needed.

IV. EVALUATION CRITERIA

This is a new area for the A.I.D. Africa bureau, and one that is extremely sensitive. Thus it is critical that the recipient of the cooperative agreement has relevant experience in Africa related to elections and democracy. The recipient shall present an application to A.I.D. in which it will discuss how it proposes to carry out the activities described in this RFA, the present capabilities of the organization(s) to carry out these

activities, and the individuals it proposes to use to manage the activities for the recipient.

Selection Criteria for the Technical Evaluation Are:

- ★ Firm's Experience and Qualifications 40%

 - The U.S. NGO will be evaluated on its demonstrated ability to provide, on a timely and consistent basis, electoral assistance envisioned under the cooperative agreement.
 - Relevant experience in Africa related to elections and democracy.
 - Demonstrated ability to establish contacts with Africans, NGOs, foundations, civic organizations, political parties, donors and other related groups.
 - Current management capability to handle all required logistics.

- ★ The Application 25%

 - Application shows a clear understanding of the issues and requirements of A.I.D. and the State department in providing electoral assistance.
 - Application shows a sensitivity to the problems of the sustainability of elections and of political participation and competition in Africa.
 - Application shows innovation and creativity.

- ★ Personnel 25%

 - Personnel proposed have relevant African experience related to electoral and related assistance activities.
 - For short term personnel, senior, experienced professionals and experts with language capabilities are required.
 - The quality of the proposed personnel is especially important. The commitment and ability of the organization to provide such personnel must be demonstrated.

- ★ Value 10%

 - The overall value of the application to the U.S. government, costs and other factors considered.