



INTERNATIONAL
REPUBLICAN
INSTITUTE

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112295

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1212 New York Avenue, N.W.
Suite 900
Washington, D.C. 20005
Telephone: (202) 408-9450
Telex: 5106000161 (IRI)
FAX: (202) 408-9462

QUARTERLY REPORT

GRANTEE NAME: International Republican Institute

GRANT/COOPERATIVE AGREEMENT NUMBER: CCS 0007-A-00-2021-00
Central Asia - Northern Tier

PERIOD COVERED IN THIS REPORT: 1/1/94 To 3/30/94

ANTICIPATED DATE FOR EVALUATION:

As pursuant to your request for the status of our project, this report will contain two, major sections--first, a synopsis of work conducted during the first quarter of 1994 (January 15-April 15); second, a projection of our work for the second quarter of 1994.

It must be noted that the IRI Central Asia office's plans for work continued to be seriously disrupted during this quarter after a February 2 attack on the IRI Resident Program Officer. This may or may not have been politically motivated, but resulted in the loss of nearly one month of programming time. The IRI Central Asia office has endeavored to cooperate fully with the US Embassy, the USAID mission, and IRI's Washington office on program activities, seeking not to aggravate an already tense situation. The IRI has continued to conduct lower-profile work in Kazakstan and focused more of its activities in Kyrgyzstan. Despite these, and a host of other problems, the IRI Central Asia office was able to successfully conduct a wide range of activities, including its first major conference within the territory of Kazakstan since the ban on activities that was imposed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Summer 1993).

PROGRAM GOALS & PURPOSES

The IRI works in the general field of democratic development and political training programs. IRI programming seeks to develop and consolidate institutions which (1) support pluralistic societies, (2) strengthen democratic

institutions, and (3) foster the inclusion and constructive involvement of various segments of society in increasingly open and competitive political processes. As the IRI is committed to the belief that grassroots political development is the most long term and fundamental aspect of democratization, the bulk of the Institute's programming attempts to involve those groups, organizations, movements and activists which help move political power closer to the people, rather than remaining in the hands of a "political elite."

To these ends, IRI seeks: (1) to provide Kazakstani and Kyrgyzstani political activists with a conceptual framework around which effective, responsible, and representative political parties may be built; (2) to work with the parties' leaderships in approaching the fundamental building blocks of political party development, membership recruitment, structural consolidation, and name recognition; (3) to enhance the practical expertise of local activists in improving the management and organization of local party structures, in enumerating organizational and political goals and formulating plans of action to meet them, and strengthening links between political parties and the electorate through voter contact and social outreach projects.

Given the rapidly changing realm of politics in both republics, the IRI has sought to be increasingly dynamic and flexible in its training programs by matching programs to perceived needs, and by attempting to be responsive to local requests and needs for information and training.

FIRST QUARTER 1994 ACTIVITIES

POLITICAL PARTY TRAINING SEMINARS

LARGE-GROUP FORMAT

Almaty, Kazakstan--(3rd Week, January) A major conference entitled, "Campaigns & Elections--Part 3," was held as the final in a series of three conferences dealing with the process of elections and promoting candidates to office. The conference topics covered a number of specific areas and were designed to answer numerous

requests from local organizations. All three conferences were planned to act as an intensive preparation for up-coming elections. The format for the three conferences was:

CONFERENCE 1
Oct 22-24

- A. Campaign Financing
- B. Campaign Research
- C. Elementary Campaign Planning
- D. Campaign Organization

CONFERENCE 2
Dec 10-13

- A. Advanced Campaign Planning
- B. Campaign Scheduling
- C. Elementary Campaign Tactics
- D. Elementary Campaign Communications

CONFERENCE 3
Jan 21-23

- A. Election Strategies and Tactics
- B. Advanced Campaign Tactics
- C. Advanced Campaign Communications
- D. Review of Total Program/Mock Campaign

IRI planned and developed materials for this series based upon the belief that elections in both republics would be held much earlier than originally scheduled, although no one had anticipated that events in Kazakstan would move so quickly. After the passage of an election law and the dissolution of parliament, elections were called for early March (as opposed to the anticipated early- to mid-Summer). As a means to help the ill-prepared Kazakstani parties, IRI restricted conference participation strictly to Kazakstani organizations. Some 88 representatives of political parties, movements, the Central Election Commission, from the Presidential apparat, and journalists from Kazakstan attended the conference, despite being in the midst of a candidate registration process. (Due to political sensitivities, IRI sought to keep its conference a minimum of 30 days prior to the start of the official campaign period.)

The conference series was designed to work with the leadership of the various political parties through intensive small-group seminars, inter-active workshops, and through a number of other

techniques which required a high degree of participant involvement. IRI brought in consultant specialists from the United States to conduct the practically oriented seminars. Given the unfamiliarity of parties and representatives with the new election law, IRI concentrated on the new law, problems that parties and candidates might encounter with it, and questions that might need to be answered by the Central Election Commission. Members from the Central Election Commission were invited throughout the conference as guests and asked to participate whenever appropriate. The thirteen parties and political organizations from Kazakstan attending the conference included:

- SNEK--the presidentially sponsored *Unity* movement,
- The Socialist Party,
- The Social Democrats,
- The Azat Movement,
- The National Democratic Party of Kazakstan,
- The Republican Party,
- Tabigat--The Green Party,
- LAD--The Slavic Union,
- The Edinstvo Movement,
- The Party of Democratic Progress of Kazakstan,
- The Party of Legal Development of Kazakstan,
- The People's Congress,
- The Independent Trade Unions.

Specific Seminar/Workshop topics included:

- *Voter Education: From Party Platforms to Ballot Structure,"*
- *"Campaign Ethics: What's Right, What's Wrong,"*
- *"Election Monitoring--How to Help an Election Stay Honest,"*
- *"Forging Coalitions,"*
- *"Targeting Voters--How to Identify Voters Your Party Should Appeal to,"*
- *"Campaign Staff Organization,"*
- *"Public Speaking--How to Make a Good Speech,"*
- *"Press Conferences--How to Hold a Good Press Conference,"*
- *"Press Releases--What to Write, What not to Write,"*
- *"Fundraising,"*
- *"Get-out-the-Vote Campaigns,"*
- *"Running the Campaign--Setting priorities, Working the Candidate, Damage Control."*

SMALL-GROUP FORMAT

Almaty, Kazakstan--(2nd Week, March) The IRI Central Asia office selected activists from a representative sampling of Kyrgyzstani political parties and the government to attend the elections in Kazakstan as fully accredited election monitors. The 23-person IRI delegation, the largest international delegation attending the elections, met (both before and after the election) with local and regional Kazakstani party officials; with local, regional, and oblast' election commission officials; with city administration officials; with government officials; and with voters. During the election day, the IRI delegation was split into nine independent teams which opened randomly selected polling sites, travelled to more than 150 urban and rural locations, interviewed dozens of local election officials and voters, closed polling sites, and followed the ballots through city and rural tally locations. The group took copious notes and were very interested in the process. Before their departure, the delegation presented their findings and comments to the Central Election Commission. Upon their return to Kyrgyzstan the election monitors served as trainers for an IRI conference on how a post-Communist election was carried out.

Almaty, Kazakstan--(2nd Week, March) IRI hosted a formal briefing for all international observers to meet with opposition political parties and candidates. Although the Central Election Commission planned a similar event, many observers commented that it appeared the CEC was orchestrating observer activities. Thus, IRI tried to offer a more neutral environment for observers to meet with those individuals involved in the election process.

REGIONAL ASSESSMENT/FIELD TRAINING MISSIONS

Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan: November 1993 (4th Week)--Met with local party heads and representatives to discuss political developments, to discuss potential aid that IRI might be able to offer on draft election laws, to conduct conference follow-up work, and to plan for IRI's subsequent conference.

Alma-Ata, Kazakstan: February 1994 (2nd-3rd Week)--Meetings were held with party heads regarding implementation of IRI conference materials and on the progress of the political campaigns. Additional copies of translated materials were distributed, and topics and problems regarding subsequent conferences were discussed.

SPECIAL MEETINGS & BRIEFINGS

Out of country

USAID; Washington, DC--January
USIA; Washington, DC--January
US Dept. of State; Washington, DC--January
US Senate Foreign Affairs Committee; Washington, DC--
January
IRI Presentation on Russian Elections on Capital Hill

In country

US Embassy Bishkek, Pol/Econ--January
US Embassy Almaty, Ambassador--January
USAID Almaty Director--January
US Democracy Initiatives Group--January
US Embassy Bishkek, Pol/Econ--February
US Embassy Almaty, Ambassador--February
USIS Almaty--February
USAID Almaty--February
US Embassy Bishkek, Pol/Econ--February
US Democracy Initiatives Group--February
US Embassy Almaty, Ambassador--March
USIS Almaty--March
USAID Almaty--March
US Embassy Almaty, Pol/Econ--March
US Democracy Initiatives Group--March
US Senator Claiborne Pell, Almaty--April
US Embassy Bishkek, Pol/Econ--April
US Embassy Almaty, Ambassador--April
USIS Almaty--April

USAID Almaty--April
US Embassy Almaty, Pol/Econ--April
US Democracy Initiatives Group--April

SPECIAL REPORTS/ARTICLES

"Political Observer Report"
"Central Asia Political Survey Statistics & Findings"

WOMEN'S PROGRAMS

Meetings were held with members of the Women's Congress Movement in Bishkek and ways in which USNGO's can help the advancement of women's issues in Kyrgyzstan were discussed. Also, ideas on potential ways that IRI can focus its up-coming Central Asian Women's Conference to local needs and concerns were discussed.

IRI representatives also met with the leader of the Independent Trade Union's Women's organization on possible ways that IRI could cooperate and contribute to an up-coming conference to be held in Almaty.

PROGRAM IMPACT/ASSESSMENT

This particular reporting period was a very busy one for the IRI Central Asia office, between the "attack," three major program activities, elections, moving the office location again, AID project evaluators, and home leaves. However, there were some exceptional opportunities to gauge the progress of the work that we have been involved in. The immediate move towards elections in Kazakstan caught everyone off guard, yet the political parties in Kazakstan made good use of IRI materials and training. The following are five "success stories" that indicate the type of difference we are seeing as a result of IRI's work in the region:

1. CAMPAIGN PREPARATION: In Kazakstan, during the recent parliamentary elections, IRI-trained parties and candidates definitely showed extensive use of IRI materials and seminar information in their efforts. For example, campaign volunteers were recruited and organized with card systems (registering skills, time spent, etc.) as mentioned in demonstrated and discussed in several seminars and workshops [*resource allocation skills*]. Posters and fliers created by IRI-trained candidate teams were far superior (attractive and informative) than the standard, state-issued ones [*advanced communication and messaging skills*]. One IRI-trained candidate divided his 10-minute block of television time on State TV into four, equal blocks. He said that, after attending IRI communication seminars, he felt it was more important to reach his audience with a shorter, more frequent message, than the long block that all other candidates were using [*risk-taking, advanced communication and messaging skills*].

2. ADVANCED PROBLEM SOLVING: After attending two IRI conferences in Kyrgyzstan on the topics of coalition building and conflict resolution, the Democratic Movement of Kyrgyzstan (DDK) created a special Board of Minorities. DDK leaders said that IRI's emphasis on inclusive politics forced them to rethink their strategies and eventually create a board for including the concerns of ethnic minorities into DDK's platform and work [*advanced coalition-building and platform-writing skills*]. DDK also wanted to use the board for raising consciousness among minority groups regarding the party's out-reach efforts, and to help expand DDK's membership base [*message development and recruitment skills*].

3. ROUNDTABLE EFFORTS: IRI helped establish a regular, on-going series of political party roundtables in both Kazakstan and Kyrgyzstan. The meetings, now in their second year in Almaty, have helped groups with completely opposing points of view get together and work on problems of concern--such as party registration, drafts of election laws, the ousting of party candidates, etc [*tolerance, coalition-building and problem-solving skills, democratic values*]. All parties have expressed gratitude for IRI's programming on conflict resolution and problem solving, but also for the IRI office's regular work and encouragement with groups.

4. **ELECTIONS:** Political parties in Kyrgyzstan have pressed for, and received, the right to be included on an oversight committee regarding the work of the Central Election Commission (CEC). The CEC now works with political party representatives as a direct result of IRI's seminar work on election laws and processes. Party representatives were intrigued by the trainers who spoke at one conference on the lessons of Central and Eastern Europe, at another conference on comparative election laws, and at a third on the pitfalls of election law procedure. The Kyrgyzstani groups explained that--at their roundtable meeting, they came up with the idea for the oversight committee, presented it to the President and to the Parliament, and pushed the passage of the committee idea through [*coalition-building and advanced election procedure skills*].

5. **ELECTION LAWS:** In Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, parties and movements worked together to write election laws and to submit them to their respective parliaments, after having attended several IRI workshops on election law. In Kazakhstan the effort was particularly impressive, as the groups wrote a single draft which all groups agreed was democratic and representative. Though the political groups severely disagree on many issues in politics, they were able to coalesce, write, and agree on a draft election law which was submitted for consideration to the parliament. The groups then worked together to try and push the draft forward [*coalition-building and advanced election procedure skills*].

The parties in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan have begun to rely on the IRI office for practical advice and counsel. For example, party complaints on CEC practices were brought throughout the election to IRI. The IRI office staff logs no fewer than five informational requests each day from parties, groups and organizations, but during the campaign, election, and post-election periods that number was twice as high on average. The Kazakstani Republican Election Commission has also sought the IRI office's help on a consultative basis.

Another signpost that the message is getting through also was observable during the Kazakstani election monitoring mission. The IRI group from Kyrgyzstan was praised by the US Embassy, by the IFES representatives, by the CSCE and other groups as being the most active and prepared monitoring delegation. After the election, the group met

with the CEC and levelled many of the same criticisms as were raised in the CSCE report, but also other very sophisticated criticisms. The Kyrgyzstani group left Kazakstan very concerned that similar "abuses" could take place during their future parliamentary elections.

PROBLEMS/OPPORTUNITIES

It is difficult to gauge the impact of projects like ours on so intangible a commodity as democratization and political reform. The former-Communists and elites of the old system still hold a tremendous amount of power and dominate the political scene. The new political parties are still growing and developing. They are going to need a tremendous amount of work particularly in the post-elections period in both countries.

One of the problems that we have been continually faced with is a lack of resources. Our conferences are continually over-subscribed, we turn people away regularly, only to find them slipping in later. Our registration lists are set for between 60-80 people per conference (in order to keep the small-groups sessions small), but random head counts generally top 100 participants. The interest is keen, the groups are willing and participants interactive, but our ability to handle the vast numbers is constrained by resources. We also have been deluged with requests to take our program "into the field" and conduct oblast' conferences. However, fuel problems and the great amount of time needed to place and remove our volunteer trainers makes this almost an impossibility.

Another problem we face is the general need for ancillary programs--student programs, journalism programs, etc.--which are related and have a direct bearing on what we do. For instance, many parties have their own publication or semi-regular broadcast, but are desperate for journalistic training. We have run programs on an *ad hoc* basis, but we could do much more.

Regional work also is an area in need of development, not just in Kazakstan, for example, but say between Kazakstan and Russia (the Urals). This region was economically developed as a single entity, despite the Soviet borders, and parties on both sides have expressed a desire to build contacts and to search for common solutions to their problems. The impediments to this lie in cross-program reporting,

clearances and other bits of red tape. Nevertheless, we are attempting to work between our offices in various regions to conduct this type of effort, and hope to break some new and useful ground in the coming year.

SECOND QUARTER, 1994 (PROPOSED)

SATELLITE OFFICE

Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan--(June) IRI plans to open a satellite office in Bishkek, staffed with at least an answering machine, but also with more regular staff visits throughout the summer. The regional office will cut programming costs tremendously and will help intensify IRI's efforts in the region, particularly with the planned Women's Conference.

POLITICAL PARTY TRAINING SEMINARS

SMALL GROUP FORMAT

Almaty, Kazakstan--(April) In a joint program with NDI, IRI will conduct post-election workshops and discussion groups with political parties, the CEC, the Presidential Apparat, and political candidates to review the election process. The goal of the program is to assess positives and negatives in the process, to make concrete suggestions, and to issue a report for the government and new parliament to use.

Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan--(April) IRI will conduct a similar post-election workshop and discussion group session with political parties, the CEC, the Presidential Apparat, and political candidates in Kyrgyzstan, to review the election process in Kazakstan and to look at the results of the Presidential referendum in Kyrgyzstan. The goal of the program is to assess positives and negatives in the

process, to make concrete suggestions, and to issue a report for the government and new parliament to use.

Rural Kazakstan, Rural Kyrgyzstan--(May & June) IRI hopes to hire a consultant, or two consultants, to spend two three-week periods in the field conducting regional party training seminars. The idea being to run small workshops across a two- to three day period in both rural Kazakstan and Kyrgyzstan. The goal is to hit at least eight cities in each republic.

REGIONAL ASSESSMENT/FIELD TRAINING WORK/SPECIAL PROGRAMS

POST-ELECTION REPORT

Almaty, Kazakstan--(April) IRI will review the election process and the comments of the monitoring team, analyze potential opportunities in the elections process, and make recommendations. IRI representatives will gather materials from different oblast's in order to gain a broader example of first-hand information on the election process, campaign preparations, and how officials coped with their first post-Communist election.

COORDINATING ACTIVITIES

Almaty, Kazakstan--(April-June) The IRI Central Asia office has volunteered to continue coordinating the efforts of democratic initiative groups, to act as a resource for local contacts, and to host bi-weekly meetings on democratic development for the USNGO/PVO activities.

WOMEN'S PROGRAMS

Almaty, Kazakstan--(June) IRI will be conducting a major conference for women and women's groups from all five Central Asian States. Some 200 trainees will be invited to participate in a conference

covering a range of political, social, economic, business, and other spheres of interest. This conference will be based upon the highly successful Novgorod Conference that IRI ran in the Fall of 1993.

SPECIAL REPORTS

----- Regular weekly reports are scheduled -----
Political/Social/Economic Survey Report
Kazakstani Election Monitoring Report
Kyrgyzstani Pre-Election Report (Tentative)

OTHER ACTIVITIES

Given the dynamics of the political situation in both countries, IRI will attempt to take advantage of those opportunities that present themselves.