

PIO/T

APPROVED

AGENCY FOR  
INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

PROJECT IMPLEMENTATION  
ORDER/TECHNICAL  
SERVICES

1 Cooperating Country Eastern  
European Regional

2. PIO/T No.  
180-0017-3-1183338

3  Original or  
Amendment No. \_\_\_\_\_

4. Project Activity No and Title  
180-0017  
Political Process Project

OFFICE OF FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT

DISTRIBUTION

FONDS RESERVED BY:  
M/OP/OS/EE  
6/7/91

5. Appropriation Symbol  
72-11X1010 (184-63-180-01-69-11)

6. Budget Plan Code  
OAIK-91-33180-IG-12

7. Obligation Status  
 Administrative Reservation  Implementing Document

8. Project Assistance Completion Date  
(Mo., Day, Yr.) June 1994

9. Authorized Agent  
MS/OP/OS/EE

10. This PIO/T is in full conformance with PRO-AG No. \_\_\_\_\_  
Date \_\_\_\_\_

11a. Type of Action and Governing AID Handbook  
 AID Contract (HB 14)  AID Grant or Cooperative Agreement (HB 13)  PASA/RSSA (HB 12)  Other

11b. Contract/Grant/Cooperative Agreement.  
PASA/RSSA Reference Number (if this is an Amendment)

12. Estimated Financing (A detailed budget in support of column (2) is attached as Attachment No. \_\_\_\_\_)

Maximum AID Financing Available	A. Dollars	(1) Previous Total	(2) Increase	(3) Decrease	(4) Total to Date
		-0-	\$2,500,000		
	B. U.S.-Owned Local Currency				

13. Mission References

14A. Instructions to Authorized Agent

Authorized agent is requested to negotiate a cooperative agreement with the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) for the work described herein.

14B. Address of Voucher Paying Office  
M/FM/A/PNP, Room 700, SA-2

15. Clearances - Include typed name, office symbol, telephone number and date for all clearances

A. The Project Officer certifies that the specifications in the statement of work or program description are technically adequate. ENE/DR/DPI: GHyman <i>Gerald Hyman</i>	Phone No. 7-9229	B. The statement of work or program description lies within the purview of the initiating office and approved agency programs. ENE/EUR: T Mahoney <i>T Mahoney</i> ENE/PD: R Redman <i>Ron Redman</i>	Date 6/5/91
	Date 6/3/91		Date 6/5/91
C. ENE/EUR: D Pressley <i>D Pressley</i>	Date 6/6/91	D. Funds for the services requested are available	Date
E. ENE/PDP: JRudasill-Bey <i>JRudasill-Bey</i>	Date 6/6/91	FM: R Anderson	

16. For the Cooperating Country: The terms and conditions set forth herein are hereby agreed to

Signature \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

17. For the Agency for International Development

Signature *Robert Nachtrieb* Date 6-7-91

Title Robert Nachtrieb, ENE/PDP

\*See HB 3, Sup. A, App. C, Att. B, for preparation instructions. Note: The completed form contains sensitive information whose unauthorized disclosure may subject an employee to disciplinary action.

drafted by CRegan:ENE/DR/DPI:5/30/91

18. Statement of work or program description for this project is described in Attachment No. 1

19. Special Provisions

- A.  Language Requirements (specify) \_\_\_\_\_  
(If marked, testing must be accomplished by AID to assure desired level of proficiency.)
- B.  Access to classified information  will  will not be required by technical specialists. (Indicate level) \_\_\_\_\_
- C.  Duty post(s) and duration of technical specialist(s) services at post(s) (months) \_\_\_\_\_
- D.  Dependents  will  will not be permitted to accompany technical specialist(s).
- E.  Geographic code applicable to procurement under this PIO/T is  000  899  935  941  Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_ (see M below)  
(If other than authorized in HB 1, Sup B, Chap 5, Para 5A1d, attach waiver(s).)
- F.  Salary approval(s) to exceed FS-1 salary ceiling are  attached  in process  N/A.
- G.  Cooperating country acceptance of this project (applicable to AID/W projects only)  
 has been obtained  is in process  is not applicable to services required by PIO/T.
- H.  Justification for use of external resources for consulting services is  attached  N/A.
- I.  Clearance for procurement of ADP equipment, software, and services is  attached  in process  N/A.
- J.  OMB approval of any report to be completed by ten or more members of the general public under the statement of work is  
 attached  in process  N/A.
- K.  Participant training  is  is not being funded as part of this PIO/T.
- L.  Requirement (contracts only) is recommended for  small business set-aside  SBA 8(a) Program  neither.
- M.  Other (specify): Poland, Hungary, Czech and Slovak Republic, Yugoslavia, Romania, Albania, Bulgaria

20 Provisions for Logistic Support

A Specific Items (Insert "X" in applicable column at right. If entry needs qualification, insert asterisk and explain below in C. "Comments.")	IN KIND SUPPLIED BY		FROM LOCAL CURRENCY SUPPLIED BY		TO BE PROVIDED OR ARRANGED BY SUPPLIER	N/A
	AID	COOPERATING COUNTRY	AID	COOPERATING COUNTRY		
(1) Office Space					X	
(2) Office Equipment					X	
(3) Housing and Utilities					X	
(4) Furniture					X	
(5) Household Appliances (Stoves, Refrig., etc.)					X	
(6) Transportation in Cooperating Country					X	
(7) Transportation To and From Country					X	
(8) Interpreter Services/Secretarial					X	
(9) Medical Facilities (Health Room)						X
(10) Vehicles (official)						X
(11) Travel Arrangements/Tickets					X	
(OTHER SPECIFY) (12) Nightwatchman for Living Quarters						X
(13)						
(14)						
(15)						

**20. Provisions for Logistic Support (Continued)****B. Additional Facilities Available From Other Sources** Diplomatic pouch PX Commissary Other (specify, e.g., duty free, entry, tax exemption)**C. Comments****21. Relationship of Contractor or Participating Agency to Cooperating Country and to AID****A. Relationships and Responsibilities****B. Cooperating Country Liaison Officials****C. AID Liaison Officials**

The recipient will consult with and receive necessary approvals from the ENE/DR/DPI Project Officer, Gerald Hyman.

**22. Background information (additional information useful to authorized agent)****23. Summary of attachments that accompany the PIO/T (check applicable boxes)**

- A. Detailed budget estimate in support of increased funding (Block 12) Attachment 2
- B. Evaluation criteria for competitive procurement (Block 14A)
- C. Justification for procurement by other than full and open competition or noncompetitive assistance Attachment 3
- D. Statement of work or program description (Block 18) Attachment 1
- E. Waiver(s) justification(s), clearance(s), certification(s) (Block 19) (specify number \_\_\_\_\_)

/x/ Authorization memorandum for the Political Process project

PROGRAM DESCRIPTION  
Cooperative Agreement with NDI

I. PURPOSE:

The objective of the cooperative agreement between the Agency for International Development (A.I.D.) and the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) is to (1) provide support for election observation activities and (2) to provide training, technical assistance and infrastructure support to electoral commissions, civic organizations, and a broad spectrum of democratic political parties in Central and Eastern Europe. These activities will be implemented primarily in the southern tier countries of Bulgaria, Romania and Yugoslavia, but may also include activities in the northern tier countries of Poland, Hungary, and the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic. Assistance may be provided to Albania pending authorization by the A.I.D. Project Officer.

II. BACKGROUND:

The Political Process Project (180-0017) will provide assistance to Poland, Hungary, the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Romania during the critical period of their transition from one-party, Communist regimes to open, democratic societies in Central and Eastern Europe. The Political Process project includes four components: election-related assistance; training and organization of citizens' networks; assistance to organizations involved in the political process; and assistance for free trade union activities in the transition to democracy.

The proposed agreement, which falls under the election-related assistance and the support for political organization components, responds to an unsolicited proposal submitted by NDI for projects relating to the election and political organization components of the Project. A copy of NDI's proposal is attached.

The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs has built and maintained a record of achievement in its democratic development work. NDI works in partnership with those individuals and organizations committed to strengthening the democratic process within their own countries.

In FY 1990, A.I.D. granted through the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) approximately \$1.6 million for NDI efforts (1) to undertake election observation activities and (2) to provide training, technical assistance and infrastructure support to electoral commissions, civic organizations, and a broad spectrum of democratic political parties in the countries of Poland, Hungary, the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Romania.

### III. DESCRIPTION OF ACTIVITIES

NDI shall receive a \$2.5 million cooperative agreement to implement the activities as described. Of this amount, \$1.5 million will be allocated for the specific activities described in Part A below. The remaining \$1 million will be allocated upon approval of workplans to be submitted by NDI in the areas listed in Part B below. Approval must be given by Gerald Hyman, Chief of the Democratic Pluralism Initiative (DPI) program, or his successor as the A.I.D. project officer responsible for the DPI program in Central and Eastern Europe (hereinafter the Project Officer). All activities will be completed prior to September 30, 1994.

A. The recipient will implement the specific activities described below. Any necessary modifications to these activities must be approved in writing by the Project Officer.

#### 1. Bulgaria

##### a. Pre-Election Activities

**Civic Education:** Teams of civic education experts will travel to Bulgaria to conduct two training workshops with volunteers for the Bulgarian Association for Fair Elections and Civil Rights (BAFECR). Topics will include such areas as: election monitoring; development of a parallel vote count; civic education during upcoming campaigns; working with the media; and BAFECR administration at the local level.

**Pre-Election Survey:** The same civic education experts will remain in Bulgaria to gather information on developments regarding the electoral law and its administration.

**b. Election Observation and Monitoring:** NDI, in conjunction with such organizations as the National Republican Institute for International Affairs (NRI), will organize an international delegation to observe the national elections. NDI and NRI will be responsible for selecting and financing the delegation members. The delegation will consist of prominent political leaders of democratic countries, democratic activists, and experts in elections and election monitoring. While the delegation's primary purpose will be to observe the elections and to draw international attention to the elections, NDI will also use the opportunity to organize a training program for delegation participants that would emphasize the successes of the BAFECR so that, where appropriate,

they may apply the lessons learned by BAFECR to their own struggling democracies. NDI will issue a preliminary statement shortly after the elections, and will prepare and publish a comprehensive report on the election.

c. Cooperation with BAFECR: NDI will continue to support the work of BAFECR by providing it with a grant of \$100,000: \$50,000 to support BAFECR's infrastructure costs for the period from July 1991 until December 1991 and \$50,000 to produce and distribute a series of pamphlets, seminar reports, analytical surveys and other publications.

d. Consultation Missions: Consultation missions will be conducted by an appropriate international expert to respond to requests by Bulgarian democratic leaders for advice and assistance in areas such as mass media, civic education, and parliamentary process.

## 2. Romania

a. Long Term Advisors: NDI will base at least one long term advisor in Bucharest to coordinate NDI's civic education activities in the country. It is envisioned that the advisor(s) should reside in Romania for approximately one year. The advisor(s) will work primarily with non-partisan civic organizations and will help coordinate NDI activities in the region on an as-needed basis. NDI will supply office space, equipment, administrative support, and other infrastructural and programming support as needed.

b. Civic Education: Activities in this area will focus on the organizational and programmatic development of the civic association Pro Democracy, and will include town meetings, candidate forums, and election monitoring programs. Activities will be conducted by the in-country advisor(s) and through at least three workshops with international experts. A cooperative agreement for \$35,000, most likely with Pro Democracy, will provide infrastructural assistance required to conduct these programs.

c. Local Party Development and Constituent Services: NDI's in-country advisor(s) will assist political parties develop constituency contact and servicing capabilities. NDI will organize a series of consultations in targetted towns with sustained follow-up and development of training materials.

d. Pre-Election Missions and Technical Assistance: NDI's in-country advisor(s) and international experts will coordinate visits by international delegations to assess preparations for the next elections and work with the parliamentary commission and other relevant bodies to implement recommended electoral law and administrative reforms.

3. Yugoslavia

a. Skill-Building Workshops: Four workshops will be conducted with political party leaders to focus on building skills in political decision-making, leadership and mediation, and the functioning of democratic institutions.

b. Support for Local Centers: Cooperative agreements will be formed between NDI and at least two indigenous non-partisan civic education centers created as the result of, or identified at the time of, the skill-building workshops described in 3.a. above. The agreements, for \$35,000 each, would provide infrastructure to and training for these centers to permit them to conduct follow-on work, and for cooperation and workshops to be held with those local groups.

4. Albania NOTE: No activity may be implemented and no funds may be expended with respect to activities in Albania without the prior written authorization of the A.I.D. Project Officer and until an authorized officer of the United States Government has certified that Albania is qualified to receive assistance under the program of Eastern European Assistance.

a. Civic Education: Through a \$42,000 cooperative agreement, NDI will provide training and infrastructure support to help found an Albanian organization which would conduct a national program of civic education. NDI will provide organizational training and technical assistance on developing civic education materials. The model for this program is NDI's work with BAFECR in Bulgaria.

b. Parliamentary Training: NDI will facilitate the provision of information to members of the parliament regarding domestic governance and the functioning of multiparty legislatures through (1) a conference and at least two follow-on symposia with MP's and experts from stable democratic legislatures; and (2) a parliamentary exchange program to send Albanian MP's to both newly democratic and more established legislatures.

5. Regional Activities

a. Support for Young Democratic Leaders: NDI will enter into a cooperative agreement with the Democracy after Communism (DAC) Foundation to provide \$35,000 to support the infrastructure needs of the Foundation during 1991. The newly-established, Budapest-based DAC Foundation will organize educational programs in practical political training for young democratic party activists and emerging political leaders throughout

Central and Eastern Europe. The funds would be used to support: symposia for young political leaders on democratic transition issues; publication and distribution of a newsletter with information and analysis of democratic developments throughout the region; and development of a database of reform legislation passed in the parliaments of the region.

b. Party Building Workshops: NDI will organize a series of regional political party development workshops to enhance the ability of political parties to promote the consolidation of democracy and regional integration in Eastern and Central Europe. The workshops will provide information and techniques relating to the practice of politics in a democratic state in areas such as: grassroots organization; research (including survey techniques); message development; and communications (internal and external).

B. N.D.I. will organize comprehensive election monitoring efforts in Central and Eastern European countries. Additionally, N.D.I. will implement projects involving training, technical assistance and infrastructure support to electoral commissions, civic organizations, and a broad spectrum of democratic political parties in Central and Eastern European countries. Under the terms of the agreement, A.I.D. will support activities in the following areas:

1. Additional Pre-Election Activities and Election Observer Missions

a. Pre-Election Activities: Prior to the elections, NDI will provide training, technical assistance and infrastructure support, as necessary, to electoral commissions, civic organizations, and/or democratic political parties. In the event that assistance is provided to political parties, it must be made available on an equitable basis to a broad spectrum of political parties committed to the democratic process. If necessary, NDI will perform pre-election surveys to gather information on developments related to the electoral process.

b. Election Observation and Monitoring: NDI will organize international delegations to observe elections in the region. Delegations will include prominent political leaders of democratic countries, democratic activists, and experts in elections and election monitoring. The delegations' primary purpose will be to observe the elections and to draw international attention to the elections. NDI will issue preliminary statements shortly after each election and will prepare and publish a comprehensive report on each election observed.

## 2. Support for Civic Organizations and Democratic Political Parties

NDI will provide training, technical assistance, and infrastructure support to civic organizations and democratic political parties, as appropriate to the political atmosphere and circumstances within each country. NDI shall conduct such programs on a country-specific or transnational, regional basis. The training and technical assistance should take the form most appropriate for the situation in each country, but illustrative activities include training through workshops and seminars, civic education campaigns through pamphlets and other printed materials or through television and radio commercials, and infrastructure support in the form of fax machines, duplication machines, office supplies, etc.

## IV. IMPLEMENTATION

The recipient will:

- 1) Recruit, engage, and support at least one long term advisor for Romania, and the qualified personnel to participate on pre-election observation missions, advance teams, election day observer missions and training missions as described above.
- 2) Provide logistical support for program activities, (observer missions, training, technical assistance and infrastructure support) including travel and lodging arrangements, interpreters, delivery of commodities and clerical and administrative support.
- 3) Provide participants with briefing materials and arrange itineraries for delegates of election observation missions.
- 4) Produce and distribute to A.I.D. the reports required following each election observation mission, the semi-annual reports and a final report.
- 5) Perform other duties as necessary to implement the activities described above.

## V. SPECIAL PROVISIONS

Substantial involvement is anticipated between A.I.D. and N.D.I. during performance of the proposed activities. Specifically, the form of that involvement will be the following:

Except for the restrictions on the proposed activities in Albania, the activities outlined in Part A above are hereby approved and may be implemented immediately by NDI. Prior to initiating any activities outlined in Part B (additional

pre-election activities, election observer missions, and training, technical assistance, and infrastructure support program to civic organizations and democratic political parties), NDI will submit written workplans in a timely manner to the Project Officer. The Project Officer must approve each workplan submitted by NDI in writing before NDI expends any funds under this cooperative agreement for the proposed activity. Any substantive modifications to the activities described above must be approved by the Project Officer.

Implementing details on procurement of goods and services, host country duties/taxes, and environmental impact are outlined in the attached Political Process authorization, signed February 15, 1991.

## VI. REPORTING REQUIREMENTS

NDI shall provide to the A.I.D Project Officer:

-- ten (10) copies each of reports, describing activities undertaken for each election observation mission within 90 days after the completion of the election observation mission;

-- five (5) copies each of semi-annual reports, describing activities undertaken to support civic organizations and democratic political parties as well as the activities of the long-term advisor(s) in Romania;

-- two (2) copies each of updated lists of participants on pre-election and election observer missions prior to departure of the observer missions; and

-- two (2) copies each of significant documents prepared for the use in or resulting from project activities supported under this grant (examples include briefing materials and press releases).

Within fifteen (15) days of receiving the grant, NDI shall provide to the Project Officer specific evaluation criteria and benchmarks against which each activity will be evaluated upon its completion.

Within ninety (90) days of termination of the grant, NDI shall provide to the Project Officer ten (10) copies of a comprehensive final report consisting of a summary description of project activities and an independent, outside evaluation of NDI's performance and effectiveness in achieving project objectives.

**VII. BUDGET**

The activities to be carried out under Section A of the Program Description are summarized in the following budget:

Bulgaria:	\$295,000
Romania:	265,000
Yugoslavia:	225,000
Albania:	117,000
Support for Young Leaders	48,000
Regional Party Building	250,000
<u>NDI Program Management</u>	<u>300,000</u>
Total	\$1,500,000

Program descriptions and budgets are attached.

The activities to be carried out under Section B of the Program Description will not exceed an additional \$1,000,000. Detailed budgets and program descriptions of these activities will be submitted for approval as previously described.

drafted by ENE/DR/DPI:cregan/skosinski:3870F:5/31/91



# NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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## BULGARIA: SUPPORT FOR CIVIC EDUCATION AND THE 1991 ELECTION PROCESS

### SUMMARY

The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) proposes to continue its program in support of the election process and emerging democratic institutions in Bulgaria. The program includes (1) continued support for the nonpartisan Bulgarian Association for Fair Elections and Civil Rights (BAFECR or BAFE), (2) pre-election assessment missions, consultations and election-related reports, (3) consultations for key decisionmakers with international experts in election systems, mass media, civic education and other issues, and (4) a significant multinational election observer delegation for the upcoming national elections. In addition, NDI expects to support and participate in BAFE-sponsored training programs for local elected officials and parliamentarians. NDI will organize all training programs, consultations, fact-finding missions and election observing missions in close cooperation with BAFE.

### BACKGROUND

Prior to November 1989, Bulgaria was one of the most isolated societies of the Warsaw Pact with minimal traditions of dissidence or pluralism. On November 10, 1989, a "palace coup" brought down long-time communist leader Todor Zhivok and signalled the beginning of a transition toward democracy led by a reformed and renamed communist party, the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP).

At the beginning of March 1990, NDI sent a survey mission to Sofia to explore ways to support democratic development in Bulgaria. As a result of that initial survey mission, NDI implemented a comprehensive program in the period before the June 1990 national legislative elections to support and strengthen the electoral process. This program involved three multinational pre-election study missions and material and technical support for the newly formed Bulgarian Association for Fair Elections. In two short months, BAFE recruited more than 10,000 pollwatchers and organized a parallel vote tabulation. For the elections, in cooperation with the National Republican Institute for International Affairs (NRIIA), NDI also organized a 60-member international observer delegation.

The elections for the Grand National Assembly (GNA) in June 1990 represented an important step in the process of democratization in Bulgaria. The campaigning and voting processes created an opportunity for many Bulgarians to participate freely in democratic civic culture for the first time and led to the development of pluralism to a degree absent from the country since the 1930s. In the months preceding the elections, BAFE made a major contribution to the process of developing a civic culture based on democracy and pluralism.

Since the elections, NDI has continued to be active in Bulgaria, promoting the institutionalization of democratic change through a series of widely publicized seminars sponsored in cooperations with the BAFE, now renamed the Bulgarian Association for Fair Elections and Civil Rights. Held in July and September 1990, these seminars for members of parliament from all four parties represented in the GNA focused on parliamentary procedures, local government, human rights and civic education. Due to the wide publication in the print and broadcast media before, during and after these events, the seminars were well-attended, and the primary conclusions were reported to the country at large. BAFECR distributed a 100-page transcript of the parliamentary procedures seminar to the 400 members of the GNA in October.

As a follow-on to the parliamentary procedures seminar, NDI sent two experts to Sofia for a two-week period in November to consult with parliamentarians and President Zhelev's advisors on the revision of rules for the Grand National Assembly to comport with its newly democratic character. In December, the GNA approved its parliamentary rules. Many Bulgarians involved in the process stated that the NDI program had made a significant contribution.

In addition, in the months following the human rights seminars, BAFECR organized a program of free consultations with volunteer attorneys for Bulgarian citizens to discuss matters relating to the taking of private property during the period of Communist rule. These consultations have proven highly successful, with approximately 5,000 citizens throughout the country having taken advantage of this free service in late 1990 and early 1991. The lawyers also prepared a report for the GNA, which summarized information they gathered and offered recommendations on pending legislation.

NDI's cooperation with BAFECR has ensured that the topics covered at the seminars reflect the stated urgent needs of the new GNA and the newly democratizing Bulgarian society. BAFECR's

cooperation with NDI in bringing international experts to Bulgaria has succeeded in garnering widespread press and television coverage for the Association that has increased its presence and credibility throughout the country. As a result, BAFECR has become a unique, self-sustaining national organization with a major role to play in Bulgaria's democratic transition.

These NDI/BAFECR activities were conducted using AID-NED funds provided under special Congressional appropriations. They included an initial program of \$299,000 in April 1990 and a supplement of \$182,000 in July.

NDI designated \$145,000 of the money it received for cooperative agreements with BAFE to support the Association's infrastructural needs. The first cooperative agreement for \$95,000 was to support the Association for the period from April until June 1990. BAFE used the funds to pay salaries, rent, supplies and equipment needed to establish its volunteer network and national and regional offices and to conduct its parallel vote count. Another \$50,000 cooperative agreement was envisioned for the period from July until December 1990. Because BAFE successfully solicited contributions from Bulgarian donors, however, the Association was able to sustain its activities through the end of 1990 without need for the second grant. Thus, NDI did not enter into the second cooperative agreement with BAFE until December 1990, and that grant provided support for the organization's activities from January to June 1991.

In 1991, NDI has begun its follow-on program with a series of workshops on civic education and election monitoring issues in Sofia and two other cities during the last week of May. In order to fund this part of the Institute's continuing program, NDI has reprogrammed \$60,000 of AID-NED funds previously allocated to work in Romania. Before this reprogramming, all previous AID funds for NDI activity in Bulgaria had been expended.

Over the past year, a series of government crises have plagued Bulgaria and have resulted in plans for a new round of elections for the national legislature. In early December, Prime Minister Andrei Lukanov, a member of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) that had won 211 of 400 seats in the GNA, was forced to resign after prolonged student and trade union strikes and demonstrations over the quickly declining standard of living. On December 6, 1990, the GNA elected Dimiter Popov, a judge and independent who had served as Secretary of the Central Election Commission for the

June Elections, to succeed Lukanov as Prime Minister and to lead an interim government.

Discussions between the parties following Popov's election resulted in a political agreement on a new cabinet, which includes members of three of the GNA parties and several independents, and on a tentative schedule for national and local elections. The political agreement, signed in early January, calls for the adoption of several important pieces of legislation before the GNA is dissolved and new national elections are held. These include laws governing the reprivatization of land, local government, local elections, national elections and the administrative divisions of the country, as well as approval of a new constitution. National elections are now expected to take place in the fall; local elections, once envisioned for the fall of 1990, have not yet been held.

In light of NDI's recent and continuing involvement, NDI is well-positioned to respond to the needs confronting Bulgarians as they prepare for another round of elections. NDI is responding with an effective, long-term program that will enable the Bulgarians to mount an effective election monitoring program and enable NDI to begin immediately after the elections with training programs on governance.

## PROPOSAL

NDI proposes a multi-faceted program to assist democratic development in Bulgaria.

### 1. Cooperation with the Bulgarian Association for Fair Elections and Civil Rights (BAFECR)

Through June of this year, BAFECR is operating with a \$50,000 cooperative agreement with NDI for the basic infrastructure costs of the organization. NDI proposes to continue to support the work of this very successful organization in the second half of the year by providing another grant \$100,000. At least \$50,000 of this funding will support BAFECR's infrastructure costs for the period from July until December. Another \$50,000 will be provided for the organization of seminars and the production and distribution of a series of pamphlets, seminar reports, analytical surveys and other publications.

### 2. Pre-Election Activities

a. Civic Education/Pre-Election Surveys: Before upcoming local or national elections, NDI plans to organize two training programs combined with pre-election assessment missions. The first such program is a one-week training program for BAFECR volunteers in Sofia and other cities throughout the country. An international group of civic education experts will travel to Sofia, where they will divide into two groups and spend three days in the field talking with BAFECR volunteers, local officials and party representatives. Then, the international experts would regroup in Sofia for a two-day seminar for BAFECR volunteers from around the country. The seminar would cover organizing tactics of civic education and election monitoring organizations.

In the second planned program, a team of three civic education experts will travel to Bulgaria to conduct a seminar for BAFECR volunteers on election monitoring activities and development of a parallel vote count.

b. Pre-Election Survey Missions: Both of the above teams would also have the dual role of remaining in Bulgaria to gather information on developments regarding the electoral law and its administration. Following each of the BAFE civic education programs, the experts will conduct interviews in Sofia with government officials and political party representatives. Discussions in the countryside and Sofia will form the basis for a pre-election report on the electoral situation in Bulgaria that would be useful for subsequent pre-election delegations, election observers and other organizations.

### 3. Consultations on Transition Issues

NDI expects to respond to requests from members of the GNA, the staff of President Zhelov, or BAFE to arrange consultations with international experts on such issues as reform of mass media, civic education or election law.

### 4. Election Observation and Monitoring

NDI will organize a 30-member international delegation for the national elections. The delegation will consist of prominent Americans and western Europeans, as well as democratic activists from countries that are striving to initiate democratic transitions. While the delegation's primary purpose will be to observe the elections and to draw international attention to the elections, NDI will also use the opportunity to organize a training program for delegation participants that would emphasize the successes of

the BAFECR. NDI expects that, as is customary for institute-sponsored observer delegations, the delegation would issue a preliminary statement shortly after the elections, and NDI will prepare and publish a comprehensive report on the 1991 electoral process. That report will supplement the report of the international delegation to the 1990 elections.

#### 5. BAFE Parliamentary and Local Government Training Programs

After national elections, NDI expects to organize in cooperation with BAFECR training programs for the newly elected members of Bulgaria's National Assembly. In addition, after local elections, NDI expects to cooperate with BAFE in organizing training programs for newly elected local officials.

#### ANTICIPATED OUTCOMES

Responding to the expressed needs of Bulgarians, NDI expects that its comprehensive approach to democratic development in Bulgaria will provide useful information that can be used during the campaign period, on election day and in the post-election transition environment.

First, NDI has successfully cooperated with the Bulgarian Association for Fair Elections and Civil Rights on many survey and election observing missions and training workshops, and BAFE has become a respected national organization that has played a critical role in promoting democratic values in Bulgaria. As a result of this program, NDI expects that BAFECR will continue to pursue a successful program of activities.

Second, pre-election activities will prepare BAFECR volunteers to develop and refine an effective, nationwide monitoring program for both national and local elections. In addition, consultations with legislators and election administrators on electoral reform and administration will contribute to the smooth administration of these elections. The pre-election survey missions will collect background information for the use of the election observer delegation and the international community and will ensure that the observer delegation is well-briefed and able to maximize its effectiveness. The pre-election mission will also provide the opportunity for international experts to comment and advise on the campaign and the election system.

Third, the presence of the international election observer delegation will promote confidence in the election process and draw international attention to the elections. The delegation will also contribute to improving the monitoring capabilities of indigenous organizations. In addition, the delegation will have the added benefit of demonstrating to democratic activists from around the world the effective organization and functioning of a nonpartisan civic education and monitoring association.

**BULGARIA: 1991 ELECTIONS & CIVIC EDUCATION**

<b>I. Supplies and Equipment</b>		<b>\$2,500</b>	
<b>A. Supplies</b>	<b>\$1,250</b>		
<b>B. Equipment Rental</b>	<b>1,250</b>		
<b>II. Communications</b>		<b>3,000</b>	
<b>A. Telephone/Fax/Telex</b>	<b>2,000</b>		
<b>B. Postage</b>	<b>1,000</b>		
<b>III. Travel and Per Diem</b>		<b>164,818</b>	
<b>A. Airfare</b>	<b>102,000</b>		
1. BAFE Workshops (2) combined w/ pre-election missions @ \$13,000 each (4 international experts @ \$2,000/person; 2 staff @ \$2,000 each; and 10 in-country flights @ \$100/each)		<b>13000</b>	<b>26000</b>
2. Pre-election Missions/Consultations on Transition Issues (2) @ \$2,000 each (1 international expert @ \$2,000)			<b>4000</b>
3. Election Observation Mission @ \$72,000 (30 international observers @ \$2,000/person; 4 staff @ \$2,000/ person; and 40 in-country flights @ \$100/each)			<b>72000</b>
<b>B. Per Diem</b>	<b>58,818</b>		
1. BAFE Workshops (2) combined w/ pre-election missions @ \$10,082 (4 experts x 6 days x \$184/day; 2 staff x 9 days x \$184/day; 25 Bulgarians x 2 days x \$25/day)		<b>8832</b> <b>6624</b> <b>2500</b>	<b>20164</b>
2. Consultations on Transition Issues/ Pre-election Missions (2) @ \$1,104 (1 expert x 6 days x \$184/day)		<b>2208</b>	<b>5520</b>

<b>3. Election Observing Mission @ \$38,654</b>			
(30 observers x 5 days x \$184/day;		27600	
4 staff x 14 days x \$184/day; 15		10304	
interpreters x 2 days x \$25/day		750	
			<b>38654</b>
<b>C. Local Travel</b>	<b>3,250</b>		<b>64338</b>
<b>D. Other Travel Costs</b>	<b>750</b>		
<b>IV. Contractual Services</b>		<b>9,832</b>	
<b>A. Interpretation/Translation</b>	<b>4,282</b>		
<b>B. Printing</b>	<b>2,500</b>		
<b>C. Interns</b>	<b>3,000</b>		
<b>D. Photographers</b>	<b>50</b>		
<b>V. Consultants</b>		<b>11,250</b>	
(1 person x 2.25 months x \$5,000/month)			
<b>VI. Other Direct Costs</b>		<b>3,600</b>	
<b>A. Bank Charges</b>	<b>300</b>		
<b>B. Workshops, Meetings, Conf.</b>	<b>3,000</b>		
<b>C. Public Information Costs</b>	<b>100</b>		
<b>D. Training &amp; Debriefing Materials</b>	<b>200</b>		
<b>VII. Cooperative Agreement</b>		<b>100,000</b>	
(with BAFECR)			
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>\$295,000</b>	



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## ROMANIA: CIVIC EDUCATION AND PARTY TRAINING

### SUMMARY

The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) proposes to conduct a comprehensive program of training and technical assistance for civic organizations and political parties in Romania.

### BACKGROUND

Eighteen months after the most violent revolution in Central and Eastern Europe, the direction of political transition in Romania remains uncertain. The development of democratic institutions and processes has been hindered by the extent to which civil society was subsumed, indeed destroyed, during decades of communist rule. Democratic activists in Romania are attempting to rewrite Romania's past, present and future -- a process not unique to Romania, but vastly more difficult because of the fragile foundation to support it.

NDI has been active in Romania since March 1990. Having initially explored the feasibility of assisting the development of Romania's emerging democratic parties, NDI concluded that its program should focus on civic education efforts that would cultivate an understanding of democratic institutions and practices at the most fundamental levels. Ultimately, the effectiveness of political parties depends on the emergence of a civic culture. The Institute initiated this work in the period prior to the May 1990 elections with an international seminar for independent civic groups (students, trade unions, and intellectuals) that introduced basic concepts of nonpartisan activities to promote democratic politics. Modest success was achieved in assisting independent campaign and election monitoring efforts similar to NDI programs in other countries. These accomplishments were relatively limited, however, by the reluctance of independent groups to work together.

Since the May elections, NDI has assisted in the development of an independent association (Pro Democracy) that would grow at the initiative of individuals committed to nonpartisan programs of civic education and civic participation. This approach stems from the premise that regardless of which parties govern Romania, the vast majority of the population remains uneducated about its rights and responsibilities in a democratic system. NDI activities with Pro Democracy have included training in organizational and communications skills and modest material support.

In addition to working with Pro Democracy, NDI has maintained contacts with Romanian political party leaders and representatives

of other organizations. Pro Democracy's small program of organizing town meetings with parliamentarians and local officials has been generally well received by the parties and provides an avenue for NDI-initiated programs conducted directly with the parties. In keeping with NDI's multipartisan approach and its aim to work at a grass-roots level in Romania, the Institute submits the following proposal for AID support.

## PROPOSAL

NDI proposes to place one or two Institute representatives in Romania for up to 12 months to facilitate and develop a series of educational and training programs for and with civic organizations and parties:

### Nature of On-the-Ground Presence

NDI functions as an independent organization facilitating training and consultations with a broad range of Romanian organizations, including civic groups and parties. Activities would consist of NDI-initiated consultations with Romanian groups in the areas of civic education and participation, organizational and communications skills, and coordinating international seminars sponsored by NDI. Personnel would also oversee implementation of cooperative agreements with Romanian organizations. The NDI representatives would also identify appropriate Romanian participants to participate in related NDI programs in other countries. Finally, personnel would also be available to assist with NDI programs in other parts of Central and Eastern Europe.

### Types of Programs

1. Civic Education/Participation Programs: NDI personnel would assist with the organizational and programmatic development of the Pro Democracy Association. Primary program activities would be the organization of town meetings, candidate forums, and election monitoring programs and the development of necessary training materials to conduct these programs. In addition to providing direct training to Pro Democracy, NDI personnel would also coordinate training programs drawing upon the expertise of practitioners in other countries.

2. Political party development - constituency servicing: NDI personnel would assist political parties in developing constituency contact and servicing capabilities. NDI would organize a series of consultations in targeted towns with sustained follow-up and development of training materials.

3. Election Monitoring and Technical Assistance: NDI personnel would coordinate visits by international delegations to assess preparations for next elections and work with the parliamentary commission and other relevant bodies to implement recommended electoral law and administrative reforms.

4. Cooperative Agreements: NDI would provide infrastructure assistance required to conduct the above programs. Such infrastructure would be provided under the terms of cooperative agreements arranged between NDI and Romanian groups (currently Pro Democracy, but others may also be considered).

### OBJECTIVES

Through this program, NDI anticipates the following outcomes:

- Improved capability of Romanian citizens, civic organizations, and political parties to define, communicate and implement policy alternatives;
- Improved capability and professionalism of political parties to cultivate informed support and respond to the needs of constituents;
- Implementation of reform measures to enhance public confidence in the electoral process;
- Expanded cooperation among Romanian democratic organizations that share common goals and lack strategic focus.

**ROMANIA: CIVIC EDUCATION**

<b>I. Salaries</b>		<b>\$100,000</b>
<b>A. Salaries</b>		
2 representatives in Bucharest x 1 year (includes lodging)	<b>\$80,000</b>	
<b>B. Benefits @ 25%</b>	<b>20,000</b>	
<b>II. Supplies and Equipment</b>		<b>8,500</b>
<b>A. Supplies</b>	<b>1,500</b>	
<b>B. Equipment Rental</b>	<b>2,000</b>	
<b>C. Equipment Purchase</b>	<b>5,000</b>	
<b>III. Communications</b>		<b>7,000</b>
<b>A. Telephone/Fax/Telex</b>	<b>5,000</b>	
<b>B. Postage</b>	<b>2,000</b>	
<b>IV. Travel and Per Diem</b>		<b>86,090</b>
<b>A. Airfare</b>	<b>54,000</b>	
1. Civic Education Workshops (3) (5 international experts, 2 staff @ \$2000)		
2. Pre-Election Missions/Transition Consultations (2) (2 international experts, 1 staff @ \$2000)		
<b>B. Per Diem</b>	<b>27,690</b>	
1. Civic Education Workshops (3) (5 experts x 7 days x \$142; 2 staff x 9 days x \$142)		
2. Pre-Election Missions/Transition Consultations (2) (3 persons x 6 days x \$142)		
<b>C. Local Travel</b>	<b>3,200</b>	
<b>D. Other Travel Costs</b>	<b>1,200</b>	

<b>V. Contractual Services</b>		<b>17,750</b>
<b>A. Interpretation/Translation</b>	<b>10,000</b>	
<b>B. Printing</b>	<b>3,000</b>	
<b>C. Interns</b>	<b>4,500</b>	
<b>D. Photographers</b>	<b>250</b>	
<b>VI. Other Direct Costs</b>		<b>10,660</b>
<b>A. Bank Charges</b>	<b>300</b>	
<b>B. Workshops, Meetings, Conferences     (including office space in Bucharest)</b>	<b>7,000</b>	
<b>C. Public Information Costs</b>	<b>360</b>	
<b>D. Training &amp; Debriefing Materials</b>	<b>3,000</b>	
<b>VII. Cooperative Agreement</b>	<b>35,000</b>	<b>35,000</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>\$265,000</b>



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## YUGOSLAVIA

### FACILITATING DEMOCRATIC DIALOGUE

#### SUMMARY

The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) proposes a project on conflict resolution and democratic political institutions in Yugoslavia. The project would consist of four training sessions focused on the republic level. In addition, part of the grant would be used to assist the development of one or more indigenous organizations designed to further develop and disseminate conflict resolution techniques needed in a democratic political environment.

#### BACKGROUND

Over the past year, NDI has gained considerable understanding of the state of Yugoslavia politics and the status of the democratization process. An NDI survey team first visited Yugoslavia in March-April, 1990. The team's assessment was that given the differentiated rate of democratization and the importance of nationalism in Yugoslav politics, a seminar on democratic governance in multi-ethnic states would be timely and respond to expressed needs for ideas on how to manage democratization at a time of rising ethnic tensions.

The seminar took place in October 1990. Over 50 leading political figures and opinion makers met during a four-day period with experts in various aspects of democratic governance from seven democratic nations that have undergone experiences with similarities to the current Yugoslav situation. Individual workshops were held on the following subjects: elections systems, parliamentary structures, executive branch structures, political parties and conflict resolution mediating structures.

Conference participants repeatedly stressed that NDI, by bringing together under one roof diverse and opposing political parties, was performing a service that no Yugoslav institution could perform, because there was no inter-republic, non-partisan political organization. The response by the participants to all of the workshops was extremely positive, especially regarding the workshop on mediating structures. This was explained by the fact that in Yugoslavia today there is a significant lack of the sense of tolerance and compromise that is a *sine qua non* for political stability and development in a pluralistic and diverse democratic society. Political discourse in Yugoslavia takes largely the form of ultimatums and threats. Politics appears to be mainly zero-sum in nature, in which improvements in the lot of one community, political party or ethnic group come at the expense of others. There appears to be a lack of familiarity with the workings of a

political system in which it is legitimate to coalesce around interests, place them on the bargaining table, mediate between them while keeping various constituencies informed, and produce a result that is accepted by the people. The process by which political negotiation within a democratic framework takes place is lacking.

Facilitating meaningful dialogue on the political level is vital to the success of Yugoslavia's fragile experiment with democracy. While the formal structures of democracy may be present, they have had little chance to develop in an environment suffused with competing nationalist emotions. Without the beginning of meaningful dialogue, including the understanding of other points of view, authoritarian rule may well re-emerge.

## PROPOSAL

NDI proposes to develop a series of training seminars for political leaders, parliamentarians, influential opinion makers and potential mediation experts from the republics of Yugoslavia to introduce them to methods of interest-based mediation processes. Elements of the program would include models of dispute resolution, facilitation and consensus decision-making, building a broader public participation process, working with fragmented constituencies and multi-party negotiating exercises. A corollary effect of the project would be to facilitate the development of personal relationships between key politicians who now have little contact with each other in the currently polarized political environment.

Two workshops would be held, if possible, in the summer. One would be held in Slovenia, the other in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Participants from Montenegro would be invited to the latter seminar. Workshops would be held approximately six weeks later for Croatia and Serbia (Macedonians would be invited to the Serbian workshop). The workshops would last three days and would be conducted by a team of four trainers; two from the U.S., one from Israel and one from Europe.

NDI also proposes to enter into cooperative agreements with up to two indigenous non-partisan civic education centers created as a result of, or identified at the time of, the skill-building workshops. Through such agreements, NDI would provide infrastructure and training to these centers to permit them to conduct follow-on work and for cooperation and workshops to be held with those local groups. In addition, after the workshops, NDI might organize a follow-on conference to bring together participants from the workshops. The purpose of the conference would be to enable conflict resolution skills to be further developed in a multi-ethnic, inter-republic environment.

A major goal of the project will be to foster the development of local groups that would further disseminate information on

conflict resolution methodologies and act as catalysts for continued focus on this crucial aspect of the development of a democratic political culture. Funding would be available for assistance in start-up costs of these organizations.

### ANTICIPATED OUTCOMES

It is anticipated that as a result of this project:

1. Yugoslav political leaders and influential opinion-makers will have developed a deeper understanding of methods by which conflicts can be resolved and meaningful democratic dialogue can take place.
2. An indigenous organizational framework and network of potential mediators will have been developed through which focus can be sustained on these issues.
3. Leading political figures -- who in the current polarized political climate have little contact with each other -- will have developed personal relationships and a better appreciation of the influences motivating them.
4. Through substantive discussions in the mediation process, a clearer view of future relations between the Yugoslav republics will have been developed.

### EVALUATION

A comprehensive questionnaire was developed for the conference in democracy in multi-ethnic states. This questionnaire, along with oral evaluations received by Yugoslav participants, has been extremely valuable in providing NDI with an accurate assessment of the efficacy of its program. This program proposal is a result of the evaluation process. NDI proposes to continue to continue to rely heavily upon its established evaluation and feedback mechanisms as the project progresses. Specifically, participants will be required to fill out evaluations forms at each workshop. A portion of the latter stage of each workshop will be set aside for discussion of how well the program is meeting its objectives. Program planning is purposely kept sufficiently flexible to allow for adjustments within the overall project guidelines.

## YUGOSLAVIA

<b>I. Supplies and Equipment</b>		<b>4,500</b>
<b>A. Office Supplies</b>	1,000	
<b>B. Equipment Rental</b>	3,500	
<b>II. Communications</b>		<b>5,000</b>
<b>A. Telephone/Fax/Telex</b>	3,000	
<b>B. Postage</b>	2,000	
<b>IV. Travel and Per Diem</b>		<b>116,000</b>
<b>A. Airfare</b>	48,000	
(2 U.S. x 1 advance visit;		4,000
4 staff, 1 U.S., 1 Israel,		32,000
2 Europe x 2 trips*; 2 staff,		12,000
2 U.S., 1 Europe x 2 local center		
workshops)		
<b>B. Per Diem</b>	53,900	2,500
(2 x \$125 x 10 days x 1 advance trip;		14,000
4 staff x \$125 x 14 days x 2 trips* ; 4		10,000
int'l's x \$125 x 10 days x 2 trips* ; 30		14,400
Yugo x \$40 x 3 days x 4 seminars; 5		7,500
interp. x \$125 x 3 days x 4 seminars;		500
2 staff, 2 U.S., 1 Europe x 2 workshops;		5,000
\$125 x 4 days x 1 grant oversight trip)		
<b>C. Local Travel</b>	12,000	
<b>D. Other Travel Costs</b>	2,100	
<b>V. Contractual Services</b>		<b>16,000</b>
<b>A. Printing</b>	1,500	
<b>B. Translation</b>	11,500	
<b>C. Interns</b>	1,500	
<b>D. Temporary Services</b>	1,000	
<b>E. Photography</b>	500	
<b>VI. Other Direct Costs</b>		<b>6,500</b>
<b>A. Workshops, Meetings and Conferences</b>	5,000	
<b>B. Bank Charges</b>	1,000	
<b>C. Public Information Costs</b>	300	
<b>D. Training and Debriefing Materials</b>	200	
<b>VII. Cooperative Agreements</b>	70,000	70,000
2 local centers @ \$35,000		
<b>VIII. Consultants</b>		<b>7,000</b>
<b>Total</b>		<b>225,000</b>

\* 2 seminars/workshops per trip



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## ALBANIA: CIVIC EDUCATION AND PARLIAMENTARY TRANSITION - 1991

### SUMMARY

NDI proposes a two-part program to support democratic development in Albania. The first part will provide technical training and infrastructure support to promote the establishment of a non-partisan, Albanian civic education organization. The second part will assist newly elected members of the People's Assembly to learn about how democratic multiparty legislatures work.

### BACKGROUND

From 1945 Albania until December 1990, the Party of Labor of Albania (PLA) subjected its citizens to a repressive one-party system that suffocated all dissent and freely organized associations. In 1961, after a thirteen year friendship with the Soviet Union and allegiance to Stalinism, Albania switched allegiance to China and Maoism when Khrushchev made conciliatory motions toward Yugoslavia and the West. The PLA's brand of nationalist communism led to a policy of total isolation and self-sufficiency. The government's extreme fear of outside influences and dependence, led Albania to near social and economic disaster, leaving it the poorest country in Europe (with an average per capita income of \$840).

In December 1990, the governing Party of Labor of Albania (PLA), under pressure from student activists and leading intellectuals, agreed to hold the first multiparty elections in over 45 years. Subsequently, the Democratic Party was formed and began called for postponement of the scheduled February 10, 1991 elections. Throughout January and February parties continued to form and register (Omonia, Republican and Ecological parties). The opposition, sustained by student pressure and several miners' strikes, was eventually able to win limited concessions, including the postponement of the elections until March 31, 1991, the right to publish opposition newspapers and state funding to opposition parties for their electoral campaigns.

The March 31 election was the first contested electoral exercise in modern Albania. Although the Democratic Party won 75 seats and the Omonia Party won 5 seats in the 250 seat legislature, the pre-election campaign was marred by incidents of violence and intimidation and, most significantly, by a disturbingly low circulation of information about the contestants in the process. Election day irregularities were also numerous (although these alone do not seem to have affected the outcome of the election).

While the March 31 elections cannot be interpreted as a complete victory for democracy in Albania, the Albanians have taken the first step on the road toward building a pluralist political

culture. Nevertheless, an enduring legacy of the oppressive Hoxha regime, combined with Albania's virtually complete isolation from the outside world during Communist rule, is a dearth of knowledge about democratic politics and institutions.

The lack of experience, the poor quality and dissemination of information, and short period of preparation for the recent elections made it difficult for any Albanian group and political party to effectively educate the citizenry about options for the country's political future. This is precisely the area that many democrats in Albania told NDI, in March and April, must be developed if the country's progress toward democratization is to be consolidated. Many of the newly elected MPs are also concerned about the ability of the People's Assembly to function in the new multiparty environment. They are aware of their own lack of experience with practical, democratic politics and the functioning of multiparty, parliaments.

### NDI IN ALBANIA

In cooperation with the Bulgarian Association for Fair Elections and Civil Rights (BAFECR), NDI maintained a continuous presence in Albania from March 14 through April 5, 1991. Two BAFECR representatives represented NDI, did preparatory work for NDI and helped prepare a pre-election report. In late March three NDI representatives travelled to Albania to study the immediate pre- and post-election environment. During this visit NDI met with senior government officials, leaders of political parties, student activists and academics.

NDI received numerous requests for assistance in the post-election period. In particular, several individuals expressed interest in enhancing civic awareness and a peaceful democratic transition both within society and the parliament. Many individuals with whom NDI met expressed concern that the situation in Albania could regress and that programs educating the public and the parliamentarians are essential for the foundation of a stable democratic government.

The Institute's presence during this period enabled NDI to establish familiarity and credibility with key democrats in Albania's political process. With the relatively weak showing of the democratic forces in the countryside and among the majority of the rural population and with the relative lack of experience with democratic, multiparty parliaments that the new MPs possess, the following proposal is designed to provide a framework for follow-up work that address these two key areas of stable democratic governance.

## PROPOSAL

### **I. Civic Education**

NDI proposes to provide training and infrastructure support to help found an Albanian organization which would conduct a national program of civic education. The initiative for the organization stems from NDI meetings with student and opposition activists in Albania around the time of the elections. The goal would be to develop a national civic education program to be carried out in the post-election period to help the population understand the changes taking place, to allay fear of change and to encourage participation in public affairs. This will also prepare the population to participate more meaningfully in the next elections, local elections scheduled sometime in the next year. Over the next several months this new Albanian organization will recruit local leaders throughout the country to participate in the program. Beginning in June NDI will identify a viable group of individuals to initiate the necessary preparatory work for organizing this structure. This group, with the assistance of experts brought to Tirane by NDI, will then formulate the organizational structure and program that will be conducted for the next year.

NDI proposes to provide organizational training and technical assistance on developing civic education materials over the next six months. Trainers would be drawn from civic education organizations in other transition countries where NDI has worked, including probably Bulgaria, Greece, the Philippines, Poland, and Turkey, and would include U.S. political professionals with relevant experience in organization and message development. Once the group establishes its organizing body and a responsible program of action, NDI would also provide a \$50,000 grant (for 6 months) to support the group's administration and program operations. This will enable it to research, produce and distribute civic education materials in print and broadcast media, develop a national network of volunteers and activists, and conduct continuing in-country meetings and workshops. The model will be NDI's successful program in Bulgaria in 1990, in which NDI prompted the creation of the Bulgarian Association for Fair Elections (BAFE) and subsequently worked closely with its leaders in a year-long joint program.

### **II. Parliamentary Transition**

NDI proposes to facilitate the provision of information to the parliament and parliamentarians regarding democratic governance and the functioning of multiparty legislatures. First, NDI would organize an initiating conference inviting parliamentarians and parliamentary staff experts from stable democratic legislatures to Albania to facilitate the exchange ideas and experiences. It would continue this education via two small follow-on symposia addressing specific issues raised in the initiating conference more in depth.

The symposia would include topics such as the parliament and members, the parliament and government, responsibilities to constituents, and the parliament and the press. All the parliamentary parties and some independent Albanian experts (if there are any) would be invited for focused practical discussions of legislative options that have been successful in other countries. The trainers would come from Denmark, Hungary Portugal and the UK and would be MP's, academic experts and administrators. The seminars would highlight political party interests and opportunities in a legislative context.

Second, the program would also bring Albanian parliamentarians to newly democratic legislatures, such as the Hungarian National Assembly, to witness the way they function, as well as to see first hand the difficulties that such legislatures face and how they are handling the tasks of creating a functioning professional legislative body. NDI would also send a small group of parliamentarians to Denmark to witness how older more established parliaments work. The Speakers of both the Hungarian and Danish parliaments have already indicated their willingness to work closely with NDI in such a program.

#### BUDGET

NDI anticipates the total costs of the two programs will be approximately \$117,000, including travel, interpretation, conference facility expenses for the consultations, civic education organization expenses and the cooperative agreement (\$42,000 cooperative agreement, \$15,000 for activities relating to the establishment of a civic group, and \$60,000 for work with parliamentarians).

**ALBANIA: CIVIC EDUCATION & PARLIAMENTARY TRAINING**

**I. Supplies and Equipment \$1,463**

**A. Office Supplies \$463**  
**B. Equipment Rental 1,000**

**II. Communications 8,000**

**A. Telephone/fax 5,500**  
**B. Postage 2,500**

**III. Travel and Per Diem 48,847**

**A. Airfare 34,100**

**Civic Group Initiating Seminar:**  
**(1 Greek @ \$400, 1 Bulgarian @ \$700,**  
**1 Turk @ \$1000, 2 staff @ \$2100)**

**Parliamentary Training:**  
**Conference**  
**(1 Hungarian @ \$600, 1 Dane @ \$1500,**  
**1 Portuguese @ \$2000, 2 staff @ \$2100)**

**Follow-on Consultations (2)**  
**(1 UK @ \$1800, 1 Dane @ \$ 1500,**  
**1 Hungarian @ \$600, 1 staff @ \$ 2100)**

**Parliamentary Exchange Program:**  
**Hungarian Parliament**  
**(6 Albanians to Hungary @ \$550)**  
**Danish Parliament**  
**(3 Albanians to Denmark @ \$1400)**

**B. Local Travel 1,050**

**C. Per Diem 13,197**

**Civic Group Initiating Seminar:**  
**(3 Trainers @ \$55 @ 5 days,**  
**2 staff @ \$55 @ 7 days)**

**Parliamentary Training:  
Conference  
(3 Trainers @ \$55 @ 5 days,  
2 staff @ \$55 @ 7 days)**

**Follow-on Consultations (2)  
(3 Trainers @ \$55 @ 4 days,  
1 staff @ \$55 @ 7 days)**

**Parliamentary Exchange Program:  
Hungary  
(6 Albanians @ \$100 @ 7 days)  
Denmark  
(3 Albanians @ \$177 @ 7 days)**

D.	Other Travel Costs	500	
IV.	Consultants 1 person @ 6 days @ \$250	1,500	1,500
V.	Contractual Services		12,040
A.	Printing	3,000	
B.	Photography	500	
C.	Interpretation/Translation	7,040	
D.	Interns	1,500	
VI.	Other Direct Costs		3,150
A.	Bank Charges	350	
B.	Workshops, Meetings & Conferences	2,000	
C.	Training and Briefing Materials	800	
VII.	Cooperative Agreement	42,000	42,000
Total			\$117,000



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## SUPPORT FOR YOUNG DEMOCRATIC LEADERS IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

### SUMMARY

The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) proposes to continue its support for the Democracy After Communism (DAC) Foundation, a regionally focused organization based in Budapest. The DAC Foundation will organize educational programs in practical political training for young democratic party activists and emerging political leaders throughout Eastern and Central Europe.

### BACKGROUND

Student associations, youth movements and youth wings of political organizations have played important roles in the democratic transitions of the countries of Eastern and Central Europe during the last two years. These groups can continue to provide opportunities for young democrats to enter politics and to learn about democratic values, practical political habits and their democratic counterparts in other countries. Young democratic leaders in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary have expressed a desire to share information with one another as their nations move through the present transition. Moreover, organizations of young democratic political leaders in Romania, Bulgaria, Albania and Yugoslavia, who have had much less contact with fellow democrats in other former communist countries and with the West, could benefit especially from expanded contacts and cooperation with counterparts.

Based in Budapest, the DAC Foundation was conceived in 1990 by prominent young democrats as an independent organization to support cooperation among organizations of young political leaders across the political spectrum throughout Europe, as well as in the United States. During the fall, the DAC Foundation developed its statement of purpose, recruited a board of trustees and sought funding.

The Foundation's programs will provide an opportunity for young people to exchange views on democratization with their regional counterparts, who are experiencing many of the same changes, and with counterparts from established democracies. This opportunity should create the basis for dialogue, cooperation and, most importantly, practical learning for the future leaders of these newly democratizing countries.

NDI is an appropriate partner for the DAC Foundation because of the Institute's work with other movements and parties in Eastern and Central Europe, with the member parties of the four political internationals, and with American organizations of young political leaders.

In December 1990, NDI reprogrammed funds within its 1990 USIA-NED allocation to provide \$15,000 in a cooperative agreement for the Foundation's initial basic infrastructure needs. In 1991, NDI would like to continue to support the basic administrative costs of the DAC Foundation as well as some of the Foundation's programs for young political leaders and democratic activists in Eastern and Central Europe.

#### PROPOSAL

NDI proposes to enter into a second cooperative agreement with the DAC Foundation to provide \$35,000 to support the Foundation's infrastructure needs during 1991. The funds would also be used to support (1) the Foundation's inaugural international symposium in Budapest, (2) symposiums for young political leaders on democratic transition issues, (3) publication and distribution of a newsletter with information and analysis of democratic developments throughout the region, and (4) the development of a database of reform legislation passed in the parliaments of the region. The newsletter will serve as a constant avenue of communication between young political party leaders and democratic activists, while the inaugural conference will enable the young political leaders and activists to formalize an international network upon which to build regional cooperation and to convene future symposia.

NDI will support and complement the work of DAC Foundation by assisting in the identification of appropriate participants from other formerly communist countries, maintaining active contact with the DAC Foundation on development of its program, and bringing young American and West European political leaders to the inaugural conference.

#### ANTICIPATED OUTCOMES

NDI expects that the DAC Foundation will provide an effective clearinghouse for regional cooperation, discussion and education about the difficult issues facing the newly democratizing nations and the emerging young leaders of parties across the democratic

spectrum in such countries. In addition to active cooperation and communication among young democrats in the post-communist countries, the Foundation will produce publications presenting the information and analysis gathered. The work of parliaments will be enhanced by the circulation among young democrats of information about legislation enacted and under consideration in each of the post-communist countries.

**SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRACY AFTER COMMUNISM (DAC) FOUNDATION**

<b>I. Supplies and Equipment</b>		<b>\$300</b>
A. Supplies	<b>\$100</b>	
B. Equipment Rental	<b>200</b>	
<b>II. Communications</b>		<b>600</b>
A. Telephone/Fax/Telex	<b>400</b>	
B. Postage	<b>200</b>	
<b>III. Travel and Per Diem</b>		<b>10,660</b>
A. Airfare	<b>8,500</b>	
1. Inaugural Symposium (2 U.S., 2 staff @ \$1,700)		<b>6,800</b>
2. Grant Oversight @ \$1,700		<b>1,700</b>
B. Per Diem	<b>1,860</b>	
1. Inaugural Symposium (4 people @ \$124 x 3 days)		<b>1,488</b>
2. Grant Oversight (1 person @ \$124 x 3 days)		<b>372</b>
C. Local Travel	<b>150</b>	
D. Other Travel Costs	<b>150</b>	
<b>IV. Contractual Services</b>		<b>950</b>
A. Interpretation/Translation	<b>250</b>	
B. Printing	<b>250</b>	
C. Interns	<b>400</b>	
D. Photographers	<b>50</b>	
<b>VI. Other Direct Costs</b>		<b>490</b>
A. Bank Charges	<b>50</b>	
B. Workshops, Meetings, Conf.	<b>340</b>	
C. Public Information Costs	<b>50</b>	
D. Training & Debriefing Materials	<b>50</b>	
<b>VII. Cooperative Agreement</b>	<b>35,000</b>	<b>35,000</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>\$48,000</b>



# NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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## REGIONAL PARTY BUILDING: EASTERN AND CENTRAL EUROPE

### SUMMARY

The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) plans to organize a series of seminars designed to enhance the ability of political parties to promote the consolidation of democracy and regional cooperation in Eastern and Central Europe. During 1991, NDI plans three such seminars for the benefit of Liberal, Conservative and Christian Democratic, and Social Democratic parties, respectively. These programs will be largely designed for the benefit of parties from Albania, Bulgaria, Romania and Yugoslavia.

This proposal to the Agency for International Development for funding under the Support for Eastern European Democracy (SEED) II program represents a major portion of the cost of the three seminars. The participation of political parties from northern tier countries and certain other costs will be funded by a program previously approved by the National Endowment for Democracy. In addition, the Institute for East-West Security Studies (IEWSS) European Studies Center at Stirin, Czechoslovakia and selected European political pan-national organizations are providing financial and in-kind support for this program.

### BACKGROUND

In 1990, all of the formerly communist countries of Central and Eastern Europe held elections that were, to varying degrees, competitive and meaningful. While political parties have emerged as significant forces in the region, they continue to be rather fragile organizations. Some are loose coalitions formed as movements to oppose the communist governments. Others are small parties or factions of coalitions that are seeking affiliations with Western international party groupings, and many of these have yet to determine the impact of these ideological affinities on party development. Others are organized along appeals to ethnic nationalism. All are weakened by ambivalence within their own ranks and their publics toward party organizations as a means of advancing democratic ideas -- a legacy of the Communist Party approach to politics that is proving difficult to overcome.

Experiments in party development in the aftermath of the historic election season of 1990 are occurring throughout the region, frequently in isolation. Wherever NDI staff and trainers have travelled in the region, they have heard appeals for enhanced

communication and information-sharing. Party leaders want to share experiences with their counterparts in other countries undergoing similar, difficult democratic transitions. They also want to expand contacts with their Western counterparts and to begin the process of East-West political cooperation.

Party leaders are seeking to make these regional contacts by attending meetings of the major international political party organizations. Slowly but surely, affinity groupings are forming along the lines of the Western political tendencies. The internationals, for their part, are searching for parties that can demonstrate political viability while reflecting some semblance of identification with their democratic ideological orientation. Part of the problem, they recognize, is that the principal organizing ideologies of Western Europe are not well understood in the formerly communist countries, particularly from the perspective of how those ideologies would be relevant to the everyday problems a political party faces.

Other parties or movements are seeking regional contacts along something other than ideological lines. These parties may feel that organization along Western ideological lines is not appropriate for them or for the historical circumstances in which they find themselves. Yet these parties, too, believe that regional integration will aid in mitigating the dangers of excessive nationalism and help build confidence in the ultimate goals of a democratic Europe.

## PROPOSAL

During 1991, NDI proposes to conduct three regional training seminars for political parties in eastern and central Europe: one for Liberal political parties from the region to be held in June, one for Conservative and Christian Democratic parties in July, and one for Social Democratic parties in the fall.

This proposal to the Agency for International Development represents part of NDI's larger planned program. This proposal is for three programs for the benefit of political parties from Romania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Albania; the participation of political parties leaders from northern tier countries will be funded by a program approved by the National Endowment for Democracy. The IEWSS European Studies Center in Stirin, Czechoslovakia is working with NDI to organize the seminars and will provide lodging for a number of the participants, and participating

European political party organizations will provide additional financial and/or other support.

These seminars will provide information and techniques about the practice of politics in a democratic state. The seminars will encourage regional integration by enabling participants to develop contacts in nations undergoing similar transitions. The training will occur in an environment conducive to open exchange in that, for these three seminars, the parties will belong to affinity groups along the political lines prominent in Europe (Liberal, Social Democratic, Christian Democratic or Conservative).

It is important that these training programs occur as long before the next round of national elections as possible, in a period reasonably free from intrusion by the imperatives of national election campaigns. This will provide each participating party's leadership with the opportunity to plan the building of an organization with a program and constituency defined on principle.

Whatever their current predilections toward the formation of regional affinity groups, political parties and movements in the region need training in the practical techniques of politics to maximize their effectiveness and to perform their institutional role in society. NDI believes that the delivery of "how-to" political training is best done in a non-threatening environment -- among parties with reasonably similar ideologies and which are not competitors within their own nations. NDI also believes that the goal of increasing regional contacts is extremely valuable in and of itself.

The format NDI proposes -- involving a number of regional parties with similar programmatic tendencies -- should best enable international trainers and experts to transmit vital information to the largest possible audience. In addition, the programs will use workshops and one-on-one consultations. These will cover practical techniques such as grassroots organization, research (including survey techniques), message development, and communications (internal and external). These skills will be examined in the context of three aspects of party development: party institutionalization, party operations in the parliament, and election campaigns. There will be enough time between each seminar to allow assessment and evaluation.

For each seminar, NDI is collaborating with a Western European political organization that has extensive contacts in its own region as well as throughout Central and Eastern Europe. In the

first seminar (for Liberal parties), the European co-sponsor is the Netherlands-based Dettmeyer Foundation, affiliated with the Dutch Free People's Party (VVD). The VVD is actively involved in the Liberal International and has conducted political training programs in several former socialist countries. The seminar with Christian Democratic and Conservative parties will be co-sponsored with the European Union of Christian Democrats (EUCD). The EUCD membership includes parties throughout Europe and has contacts and programs with several parties in Central and Eastern Europe. The co-sponsor for the third seminar is the European Parliament's Confederation of Socialist and Social Democratic Parties. In each seminar, a representative of the relevant political party international (LI, CDI, SI) will also participate.

NDI plans to reinforce the idea of integrating political leaders of similar ideologies by using trainers from the United States (Democrats and Republicans) and throughout Europe who reflect the ideological orientation of the group. NDI will also invite a few observers to these seminars from other countries that are beginning the process of political transition.

#### ANTICIPATED OUTCOMES

NDI expects that these regional seminars will:

- \* Provide information and techniques relating to the building of strong political parties and the practice of democratic politics to a group of leaders and organizers of new political parties in Eastern and Central Europe.
- \* Encourage cooperation among the political parties of the Eastern Europe;
- \* Explore the two central organizing principles of political party formation -- ideological and coalition -- in a manner that will enable parties from the region to see more clearly the choice that would be most appropriate given their histories, their current political systems, and their aspirations for European integration; and
- \* Enhance the capabilities of political parties to build their organizations, expand their constituency support, frame their parliamentary initiatives, and communicate their positions, inside the party and to the public.

\* Assist in the development of training materials that can be used in the participating countries and in other NDI programs.

## EVALUATION

The nature of the program necessitates evaluation on two levels to measure accomplishment of the objectives set forth above. These are:

1. Evaluation of the individual seminars from both substantive and logistical perspectives;
2. Evaluation of the overall program, ie. at the completion of the seminar series.

Results of the evaluation and monitoring process will be integrated into ongoing implementation of the seminar series and the development of ongoing and subsequent NDI programs in the individual participating countries.

The evolving nature of political party development requires the establishment of both qualitative and quantitative indicators that can be measured over a period of time. Evaluation indicators established for this program include:

- Enhanced professionalism of participating parties in the functional areas addressed in the seminars;
- The evolution of cooperative institutions and processes involving participating parties from Central and Eastern Europe;
- New or expanded contacts between Eastern and Western political parties;
- Expanded involvement of Eastern European parties in pan-European institutions and processes.

NDI plans to monitor and evaluate the program as follows:

1. During each seminar, participants and trainers will complete written questionnaires with their assessments of the substantive and logistical aspects of the program. The questionnaires will assist in the modification of subsequent seminars, and the comments contained therein will be reflected in written reports completed by

NDI staff after each seminar and in the final program report on the series.

2. Eastern European participants will be contacted by NDI program staff on a quarterly basis to provide information about follow-on activities and contacts that participants attribute as a direct result of the seminar. These consultations will be conducted through a combination of phone, correspondence, and on-site visits coordinated in concert with NDI's existing programs in the individual countries for a period of not less than 18 months.

**EASTERN EUROPE REGIONAL PARTY BUILDING**  
**[Southern Tier]**

<b>I. Equipment and Supplies</b>		<b>9,500</b>
A. Supplies	2,000	
B. Equipment Rental	1,500	
C. Equipment Purchase	6,000	
<b>II. Communications</b>		<b>11,000</b>
A. Telephone/Fax/Telex	6,000	
B. Postage	5,000	
<b>III. Travel and Per Diem</b>		<b>140,380</b>
A. Airfare	90,700	
(4 U.S., 1 Canada, 1 Albania, 7 Romania, 9 Yugoslavia, 9 Bulgaria, 5 NDI Staff x 3 seminars)		
B. Per Diem	47,880	
(12 presenters x \$210 x 4 days x 3 seminars; 4 staff x \$210 x 7 days x 3 seminars)		
C. Local Travel	1,500	
D. Other Travel Costs	300	
<b>IV. Contractual Services</b>		<b>39,320</b>
A. Printing	5,600	
B. Translation	9,120	
C. Interns	20,000	
D. Photography	600	
E. Transcription/Video	4,000	
<b>V. Other Direct Costs</b>		<b>10,600</b>
A. Meetings and Conferences	2,500	
B. Bank Charges	100	
C. Public Information	1,000	
D. Training Materials	6,000	
E. Subscriptions	1,000	
<b>VI. Consultants</b>		<b>39,200</b>
	<b>Total</b>	<b>250,000</b>



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## PROGRAM MANAGEMENT COSTS FOR NDI EASTERN AND CENTRAL EUROPEAN PROGRAM

### SUMMARY

The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) requests \$300,000 to cover salaries, equipment purchases, and communication and reporting costs associated with management and implementation of urgent NDI programs in Eastern and Central Europe.

### BACKGROUND

In 1990, NDI received approximately \$1.5 million from Congressional appropriations under SEED I legislation. These funds were channeled to NDI via AID and the National Endowment for Democracy (NED). In order to cover the administrative costs involved in managing and implementing the programs in Eastern and Central Europe in 1990, NDI submitted a separate budget to AID and the NED that covered salaries, benefits, equipment purchase and other general costs associated with administering the funds in Washington, DC. With these funds, NDI was able to cover the salaries of Project Managers, Program Officers and Program Assistants working on the projects. In addition, NDI used the funds to pay the salaries of an NDI representative who resided in Bulgaria for five months and to pay the living expenses of a pro bono lawyer who resided in Czechoslovakia and Hungary for several months. Both of these individuals were integral to the successful programs implemented in the region during the year.

### PROPOSAL AND BUDGET

NDI requests \$300,000 to cover administrative expenses associated with NDI's projects in 1991 in Eastern and Central Europe that would be funded by AID under this proposal. With this package, NDI is submitting six proposals for urgent AID funding using special Congressional appropriations under SEED II legislation. These proposals include (1) a program to cooperate with a nonpartisan regional youth organization based in Budapest (2) an inclusive regional party-building program (3) a program to support civic education and training democratic parliamentarians in Albania (4) a project to foster communication and mediation in political institutions in Yugoslavia (5) a comprehensive program in Bulgaria to support the electoral process and the strengthening of democratic institutions, and (6) a comprehensive civic education program in Romania.

In order to implement these programs, NDI submits the attached budget to cover the annual salaries and benefits of the equivalent of one Project Manager, three Program Officers, and three Program Assistants and the part-year salary and benefits of one secretary. It is expected that this part of the NDI staff will be engaged almost wholly during the year in Eastern and Central European projects. In addition, NDI expects that the six-person accounting staff will devote time to managing the financial dimension of this grant (and reporting on it) and has included a portion of their salaries (interns, consultants, etc.) that will be required for individual projects have been incorporated into the individual Uprogram budgets as needed.

**ADMINISTRATIVE COSTS FOR NDI EASTERN  
AND CENTRAL EUROPEAN PROGRAM**

<b>I. Salaries</b>		<b>\$231,250</b>
<b>A. Salaries</b>		
1. 1 Project Manager x 1 year	\$40,000	
2. 3 Program Officers x 1 year	75,000	
3. 3 Program Assistants x 1 year	60,000	
4. Accounting Department Salaries	4,000	
5. Secretary x 4 months	6,000	
<b>B. Benefits @ 25%</b>	<b>46,250</b>	
<b>II. Space and Utilities</b>		<b>40,800</b>
(Lease \$204,000 x 20%)		
<b>II. Supplies and Equipment</b>		<b>20,000</b>
<b>A. Supplies</b>	<b>2,000</b>	
<b>B. Equipment Rental</b>	<b>3,000</b>	
<b>C. Equipment Purchase</b>	<b>15,000</b>	
<b>III. Communications</b>		<b>3,450</b>
<b>A. Telephone/Fax/Telex</b>	<b>2,000</b>	
<b>B. Postage</b>	<b>1,450</b>	
<b>VI. Other Direct Costs</b>		<b>4,500</b>
<b>A. Bank Charges</b>	<b>500</b>	
<b>B. Workshops, Meetings, Conf.</b>	<b>2,000</b>	
<b>C. Public Information Costs</b>	<b>1,000</b>	
<b>D. Subscriptions/Publications</b>	<b>1,000</b>	
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>\$300,000</b>

Agency for International Development  
Washington, D.C. 20523

MEMORANDUM

TO: Diane Miller  
OP/OS/EE

FROM: Gerald Hyman   
ENE/DR/DPI

SUBJECT: Certification for Non-Competitive Cooperative  
Agreement with the National Democratic Institute for  
International Affairs (NDI)

The attached PIO/T indicates the desire of this office to enter into a cooperative agreement with NDI to (1) provide support for election observation activities and (2) to provide training, technical assistance and infrastructure support to electoral commissions, civic organizations, and a broad spectrum of democratic political parties in Central and Eastern Europe.

I hereby certify that this award would meet the conditions outlined in Handbook 13, part 2B, paragraphs 3 (a) and (b), "Exceptions," describing circumstances under which grants need not be competed:

- (1) The proposed cooperative agreement responds to an unsolicited proposal by NDI, and
- (2) NDI has predominant capability to carry out the proposed activities based on its experience, technical competence, and existing relationship with the intended beneficiaries.

NDI has built and maintained a record of achievement in its democratic development work through its efforts in partnership with groups committed to strengthening the democratic process within their own countries. For example, NDI is primarily responsible for the development and success of a civic organization in Bulgaria, the Bulgarian Association for Fair Elections and Civil Rights. Continued work with BAFE is the basis for NDI's proposed Bulgarian program in FY 1991.

The cooperative agreement will strengthen the ability of NDI to provide Eastern and Central Europe with much-needed and important technical assistance. This proposal has significant merit and contributes greatly to the A.I.D. democratic pluralism initiative program.

FILE

ACTION MEMORANDUM FOR THE DEPUTY ASSISTANT ADMINISTRATOR, BUREAU FOR EUROPE AND NEAR EAST

FROM: ENE/PDP, Robert Nachtrieb *R.N.*  
ENE/EUR, Donald Pressley *D.P.*

SUBJECT: Political Process Project (180-0017);  
Request for Authorization

Issue: Your authorization is requested for grants totalling up to, in FY 91, \$8,300,000 for the East European Regional Political Process Project (180-0017) for activities which support the institutionalization of the democratic political process in Central and Eastern Europe. The Political Process Project will have three components: election-related assistance; support for a citizens' network of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to support programs which will encourage community-based self-help; and assistance for general political organization and the institutionalization of the democratic process. The Project Assistance Completion Date (PACD) will be three years from the date of this authorization.

Background: After more than forty years of Soviet occupation, the countries of Central and Eastern Europe have begun the transition from single-party Communist political systems to multi-party, pluralistic democratic systems. In FY 1990, under the authority of the Support for Eastern European Democracy (SEED) Act and Title II of the Urgent Assistance for Democracy in Panama (Panama) Act, the Assistant Administrator of the Bureau for Europe and Near East (ENE) approved a total of \$12.8 million in assistance for that transition. With the exception of \$92,000 for an audit of activities under the FY 90 transition to democracy assistance program, all of the \$12.8 million approved by the Assistant Administrator in FY 1990 has been obligated. A Congressional Notification for an additional \$1.2 million was sent to the Congress on September 14, 1990 and, after being placed on hold, was withdrawn. With your concurrence through a subsequent authorization memorandum, the \$1.2 million is expected to be programmed as soon as the Congressional Notification procedure has been worked out.

The Political Process Project will build on that part of the FY 1990 democratic assistance package which supported the political

infrastructure necessary for a pluralistic, multi-party political system: political parties, NGOs prepared to contribute to community self-help and the like. Because the northern tier countries of Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia have already held free and fair elections and established the basis for pluralistic multi-party democracy, this project will emphasize the southern tier countries of Romania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, although the northern tier countries will continue to be represented.

Discussion: Subject to changes in the allocation of funds among the following components, you are requested to authorize an \$8,300,000 program of assistance to support the political infrastructure necessary for a pluralistic, multi-party political system. In the event that more than \$8,300,000 is determined to be necessary to implement the Political Process Project as described in this authorization memorandum, we will seek your written approval through an amendment to this authorization.

The Political Process Project (180-0017) will be divided into three components:

1. \$2,000,000 for assistance to support the election mechanisms for free, fair, and open elections at the national and sub-national levels and to support international observers for those elections where there remains some doubt that they will be free, fair and open.
2. \$2,000,000 for assistance in the training and organization of a citizens' network of indigenous NGOs.
3. \$4,300,000 for material assistance and training for organizations involved in the political and public policy process and in the transition to democracy, such as political parties and non-partisan NGOs.

The amounts allocated to each of the three components is tentative and subject to reallocation depending on changing conditions in Central and Eastern Europe, the quality of the grant proposals received, and other factors. Any such reallocation will be effected by Democratic Pluralism Initiative staff with your concurrence and that of the Special Advisor for Eastern European Assistance to the Deputy Secretary of State.

This project was reviewed and approved by an interagency committee on December 12, 1990. The Project Decision Paper considered at that meeting, the minutes of the meeting, and the Project Memorandum or "Green Paper" (the Project Decision Paper revised to reflect the discussion at the meeting) are Attachments A, B and C to this Action Memorandum.

## 1. Election-Related Assistance:

In the aftermath of national parliamentary elections, we will confront two election-related problems in FY 1991. First, there will continue to be local and regional elections and in some cases new national elections. Although we do not intend to provide international observers for every election in Central and Eastern Europe, we do expect to support international observers for some elections in some countries, particularly in the southern tier countries of Romania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. International observers will be provided for those elections where there remains some doubt in the domestic or international community about the commitment to hold free, fair and open elections or where some certification by the U.S. Government with respect to the elections may be required.

Second, because the initial elections were often ad hoc, the countries of Central and Eastern Europe will need to create the institutions that make regular, periodic elections a matter of ordinary course. For example, election commissions will be established, new election statutes will be drafted, and the entire general machinery for multi-party elections will be developed.

For urgent election assistance, we expect to provide grants based on limited solicitations to organizations such as the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES), the National Endowment for Democracy (NED), the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) and the National Republican Institute for International Affairs (NRI). Where such assistance is needed on a non-urgent basis, grants will be provided on a competitive basis. Requests for expressions of interest will be solicited through the Commerce Business Daily and through professional newsletters of such academic organizations as the American Political Science Association, the American Sociological Association, and the American Anthropological Association. After the request for expression of interest has been issued, initial solicitations will be made to those groups which respond to ascertain which of them is capable of providing such assistance. We also hope to integrate our support with assistance from the appropriate institutions of the European Community, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and other national and international bodies.

## 2. Citizens' Network

Among the most effective means of self-government and one of the most effective checks on the power of government in the United States is the network of NGOs, particularly public-policy oriented NGOs such as "think tanks," environmental, civil rights and other advocacy groups, parent-teacher associations, the League of Women Voters, youth organizations, foundations, and so forth. These "civil and political associations," as Tocqueville called them, also provide future political leadership and contribute to the formation and continuation of mature political parties. The Citizens' Network component of the Political Process Project will support American organizations interested in nurturing such organizations in Central and Eastern Europe.

Because of its experience with such organizations and therefore its "unique and predominant capability," the Citizens' Network component of this project will be implemented by USIA pursuant to an interagency transfer or allocation.

## 3. Political Organization

FY 1990 saw the dramatic emergence of organized political oppositions in Central and Eastern Europe, oppositions which challenged and ultimately displaced the Communist regimes imposed by the Soviet Union at the end of World War II.

After the general elections in the northern tier countries of Poland, Hungary, and the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, the opposition in those countries, united by its opposition to the Communist regime, has naturally begun to splinter into more ideologically coherent political parties vying with one another for political power in free and fair elections. In Poland, Solidarity divided into at least two "camps" to contest the presidential elections and these "camps" are expected to evolve into mature political parties prior to the parliamentary elections anticipated for Spring 1991. In Hungary, at least half a dozen political parties contested in the national parliamentary elections and then in the local elections. In the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, the original umbrella organization Civic Forum contested the presidential election under the direction and influence of Vaclav Havel, but Civic Forum was opposed by other political organizations (not quite organized political parties perhaps) and threatens to divide in the future. While we must be careful not to interfere -- or appear to interfere -- in the domestic political system of fellow democracies, the process by which those original anti-Communist opposition groups mature into full political parties is not yet complete, and additional assistance in that process may be warranted. As in the past, any assistance

provided will be available on an equitable basis to all parties committed to the democratic process, respect for human rights and the rule of law. Still, we must be careful to avoid taking sides in domestic political disputes (or appear to be doing so) and we expect this part of our assistance program to diminish or disappear in the years ahead.

The welcome developments of the northern tier countries have not been replicated in the southern tier countries of Romania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. In Romania, the National Salvation Front retained power after a flawed election; the political opposition remains divided, unorganized, mutually suspicious and ineffective. In Bulgaria, the Bulgarian Socialist Party (the renamed Bulgarian Communist Party) won a majority of parliament in a national election but lacked the legitimacy necessary to govern effectively and invited the opposition to join a coalition government, an invitation which the opposition declined. The various republics of Yugoslavia have held elections, but not with equal success. The NRI monitored all of these Yugoslavian republican elections except for Slovenia, and in its preliminary statement, questioned the fairness of the context in which, for example, the Serbian elections took place. A long-term, sustained effort will be necessary if true, effective, stable democracy is to take root in the countries of the southern tier, assuming that the states of the southern tier survive intact. The difficulties are formidable, and unlike our political organization assistance in the northern tier, this assistance in the southern tier should be expected to last several years.

The Political Organization component of this project will be implemented by ENE. Competition will be pursued to the maximum practicable extent but there is a need to retain flexibility to use other than fully competitive procedures where appropriate. The grant solicitation procedures to be followed will be worked out as the year progresses by the Democratic Pluralism Initiative staff under your direction and that of the Director of the Office for European Assistance.

#### Implementing Details:

a) Congressional Notification: A Congressional Notification (CN) for \$400,000 to cover urgently needed election-related activities such as the NRI election observation team in Yugoslavia was submitted to the Congress on December 3, 1990 and expired on December 18, 1990. A grant of \$170,000 of the funds notified under that CN will be made to the NRI to cover its expenses in monitoring elections and providing election-related assistance in the Yugoslavian republican elections held on November 11 and 18 and on December 9, 1990. This NRI activity

was approved orally by the Assistant Administrator prior to the initial obligation of funds by NRI, but NRI undertook the activities at its own risk and without A.I.D. obligation. A letter to that effect by NRI's counsel is attached to this Action Memorandum as Attachment D.

A CN covering the remainder of the funding for this project was submitted to the Congress on December 14, 1990 and was scheduled to expire on December 29, 1990. However, Congress put a hold on the CN pending clarification from A.I.D. regarding program content and implementation of the project (open competition, limited solicitation, unsolicited grants, etc.). Your authorization of this project beyond the \$400,000 covered by the first CN is contingent upon Congress' lifting of the hold on the CN.

b) Host Country Duties/Taxes: Appropriate provisions will be made for the funds obligated under this project to ensure that A.I.D. funds are not used to pay host country duties/taxes. We anticipate concluding bilateral agreements in the near future with these Eastern European governments which will, inter alia, provide such exemption for A.I.D.-financed goods and services. Until such agreements are in place, however, this matter will be handled on an ad hoc basis.

c) Environmental Determination: This project qualifies for a categorical exclusion because it supports the development of the political infrastructure necessary for a pluralistic, multi-party political system through training and organization of a citizens' network of indigenous non-governmental organizations; material assistance and training for organizations involved in the public policy and political process such as political parties; and assistance to support the mechanisms for free, fair, and open elections, including international observers. A.I.D. assistance for education, technical assistance or training programs are generally categorically excluded from environmental examination under 22 CFR 216 Environmental Procedures in Sections 216.2 (c)(1)(i), and 216.2 (c)(2)(i). An Initial Environmental Examination Determination is included at Attachment E.

d) Grant Solicitation Procedures:

1. Election-related Assistance - We expect to provide grants based on limited solicitations to organizations such as IFES, NDI and NRI for urgent election-related assistance. Where such assistance is needed on a non-urgent basis, grants will be provided on a competitive basis.

With your concurrence, \$170,000 will be granted to NRI on a non-competitive basis for its November and December 1990

election observation in Yugoslavia. This exception to competition is allowed under Handbook 13, Chapter 2(B)3(b), "Assistance awards for which one recipient is considered to have exclusive or predominant capability, based on experience, specialized facilities or technical competence, or based on an existing relationship with the cooperating country or beneficiaries," and Chapter 2(B)3(e), "Such other circumstances as are determined to be critical to the objectives of the foreign assistance program by the cognizant AA or Office Director who reports directly to the Administrator."

The presence of an election observer team was essential in Yugoslavia to determine if the republican elections were free, fair and open. This determination is critical to the objectives of the foreign assistance program because under the Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Act, 1991 ("the Appropriations Bill"), the Department of State must certify that Yugoslavia has had free, fair and open elections if Yugoslavia is to be eligible to receive U.S. Government funds. The elections were announced on a short notice, and there was little time between the passage of the Appropriations Bill and holding of elections in Yugoslavia, so that a fully competitive solicitation could not be done.

NRI and NDI were solicited as potential grantees for the election observation mission because they have predominant capability to observe elections. NDI could not mount an election observation mission for the Yugoslavian elections. NRI has done extensive election observation projects in Bulgaria, Croatia, the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, Haiti, Hungary, Panama, the Philippines and Romania, and has an internationally recognized reputation for impartiality and professionalism in the analysis of elections. Because NRI had observed the elections held in FY 1990 in Croatia, another of the Yugoslavian republics, and because NDI was unable to participate in the election monitoring effort, NRI was uniquely positioned to observe the later elections held in the other republics of Yugoslavia.

2. Citizens' Network - Pursuant to section 532 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, USIA will receive funds via an interagency agreement to implement the Citizens' Network component.

3. Political Organization - This component will be implemented by ENE. Competition will be pursued to the maximum practicable extent but there is a need to retain flexibility to use other than fully competitive procedures where appropriate.

e) Source/Origin/Nationality: The eligible source/origin/nationality for goods and services procured under

individual grants to U.S. institutions are, in order of preference, the following:

- (A) The United States (Code 000)
- (B) The Cooperating Countries
- (C) Selected Free World (Code 941)
- (D) Special Free World (Code 935)

Application of the order of preference will be as specified in the Standard Provisions for grants to U.S. NGOs (A.I.D. Handbook 13).

f) Evaluation: The program of each grantee or transferee will be subject to its own evaluation procedures and to evaluation by the Office of the Special Advisor for Eastern European Assistance to the Deputy Secretary of State, by A.I.D., or by independent evaluators chosen by A.I.D.

g) Audit: Grants under this project will be subject to audit by the General Accounting Office and the Inspectors General of A.I.D and USIA. The organizations receiving funds under this project should have an annual audit performed by a CPA firm. The grants will contain a provision for audit by an A.I.D.-determined firm.

h) Reports: Interim reports will be required of each grantee every six months. These reports will contain (1) a narrative report describing the actual project, results and accomplishments, problems identified and methods in which they were resolved, and (2) a financial report comparing amounts budgeted with amounts expended. A final report will be required of each grantee at the end of the of the project. In addition to the usual information contained in the interim progress reports, the final report will include an evaluation of each activity including conclusions and recommendations.

i) Monitoring: The entire project will be subject to a formal interagency review at least once during the fiscal year. The individual grants will be monitored by ENE/TR/HR on an ongoing basis.

Authority: Title II of the Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Act, 1991, Section (a)(1) for technical assistance and training and Section (a)(4) for activities to foster democratic pluralism.

Recommendation:

(a) That by your signature below, subject to proper and completed notification of Congress, you authorize project 180-0017 in the amount of up to \$8,300,000 under the terms contained in this Action Memorandum and its attachments. Obligation of funds would be subject to the availability of funds under the A.I.D./OYB process.

(b) That by your signature below, you authorize the selection of NRI to receive a \$170,000 grant for election monitoring in Yugoslavia on a non-competitive basis allowed under Handbook 13, Chapter 2(B)3(b) and Chapter 2(B)3(e).

(c) That by your signature on the Initial Environmental Determination located at attachment E, you approve the categorical exclusion of this project from environmental examination under 22 CFR 216 Environmental Procedures in Sections 216.2(c)(1)(i), and 216.2(c)(2)(i).

Approved: *Janis Mervis*

Disapproved: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: 2/15/91

Attachments:

- Tab A - Project Decision Paper
- Tab B - Minutes of Interagency Review Meeting
- Tab C - Project Memorandum (Green Paper)
- Tab D - Letter from NRI Counsel
- Tab E - Initial Environmental Examination Determination

Funding: Special Assistance Initiative:  
Assistance for Eastern Europe \$2.0 million  
Appropriation Symbol: 72-11X1010

Budget Plan Code: QAIX-91-33180-IG-12 (184-63-180-01-69-11)

Funds Control Number: 1183336

Clearances:

SA/AA/ENE:LCheney (draft)	Date 2/13/91
ENE/TR:GHyman <i>Callad Hyman</i>	Date 2/6/91
ENE/PD:RRedman (draft)	Date 2/1/91
GC/ENE:RSarkar (draft)	Date 2/1/91
ENE/PDP/F:LRogers (draft)	Date 2/1/91
ENE/TR/ENV:RGreenberg (draft)	Date 1/31/91
STATE/D:JCurtin (draft)	Date 1/31/91
OP/OS/ENE:DMiller (draft)	Date 2/1/91
PPC/PB/C:SMerrill (information)	Date 1/31/91

ENE/TR:GHyman&SKosinski:7-9229:2/6/91:3473F

FUNDS RESERVED BY:

Initials: R. Anderson

Date Posted: 4-3-91

PFM/FM/A/PNP

OFFICE OF FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT