

# The Europe and Eurasia Report



MAKING DEMOCRACY WORK

November-December 2000

## BOSNIA ELECTIONS AND AEOBiH CONFERENCE

On 11 November, BiH citizens elected representatives at the cantonal and state levels. The bodies and offices that were elected included the BiH House of Representatives, the Republika Srpska (RS) President and Vice President, the RS National Assembly, the Federation's House of Representatives, and the Cantonal Assemblies. The strongest parties remain the Social Democratic Party (SDP) and the Party of Democratic Action (SDA) in the Federation, and the Serb Democratic Party (SDS) in the RS. Total turnout was 64.4% (65% in April) of the 2.5 million eligible voters. (Complete results by party on pg. 8)

Removal of the top vote getters in several areas is generating animosity among the partisans, particularly within the Croatian community. In Canton 8, the biggest vote getters for the Croat Democratic Community Party (HDZ), Maric Jozo and Matic Zlatko, were both removed from their party slate. In Canton 10 the Minister of Interior, Branko Matic, was removed from office. He is the fourth such Minister to be removed and is refusing to step down.

### Bosnia Cooperative Agreement Election Activities

The joint Polling Station Committee training program, which IFES/AEOBiH coordinated with the OSCE Elections Department, was a success. Nearly all polling station committees were trained, and review sessions were conducted with polling station chairpersons leading up to the election. There are now thirty-two AEOBiH trainers with PSC experience, which will provide a core group of potential trainers for future elections in BiH. The trainers received high marks from all observers. Some constructive comments have been offered regarding improvements to the program for the future, including the need to focus on practical issues such as counting, packaging, and filling out forms.

IFES/AEOBiH had great success with the local voter information activities that were carried out. Approximately one-third of all municipalities participated in the program. The increased involvement of MECs in local voter information activities contributed to the smoother operation of elections on polling day; most voters were able to find their polling stations and understood how to vote. An OSCE report stated that election officers noted a visible improvement in the level

of pro-active behavior among the MEC members in regard to voter information in their area of responsibility.

### The Annual AEOBiH Conference

The AEOBiH Second Annual Conference and Assembly Meeting was held from 8-10 December. Over two hundred election officials from over one hundred municipalities attended this conference together with international guests, including high-ranking election professionals from the USA, Hungary, Romania, Spain, Poland, and Macedonia. The main topic of the conference was analysis of the General Elections recently held in Bosnia, with special focus on the voter education and information program conducted by AEOBiH members. Election officials discussed the problems they encountered during implementation of the voter education campaign, and gave recommendations for future improvements. Some of the more important recommendations are:

- To make special efforts to motivate the young, displaced persons, and refugees to register for elections;
- To work with educational institutions to introduce elections subjects into the curriculum; and
- To educate citizens, political parties, NGOs, and local authorities about the importance of elections and consolidation of the democratic process.

Then there was a discussion about the roles and activities of the AEOBiH in 2001. One of the priorities of AEOBiH in the coming year will be to form a working group that will forward its proposals and recommendations to the bodies in

*Continued on page 8*



*Ed Morgan and CCI Observer Edin Topcic of Vitez observed the counting process at the Pensioners Club PS in Vitez.*

*Elections*

*Governance*

*Civil Society*

*Rule of Law*

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### EUROPE

#### **ACEEEO**

##### *Secretariat Development*

The Association for Central and Eastern European Election Officials (ACEEEO) has expanded its Secretariat and increased its capacity this past year. In the fall of 2000, the ACEEEO received funding from the Mott Foundation to hire Mr. Mate Radics who spent three weeks with IFES in Washington, DC, undertaking an intensive training regime including meetings with foundations, government specialists, budget and management sessions, and project management briefings.

##### *The ACEEEO-IFES-ESSEX Web Compendium*

An on-line database of electoral legislation and election results from post-communist countries has been co-constructed by the University of Essex, IFES, and the ACEEEO. This joint project continues to provide a dynamic web-based resource of election legislation and results from throughout Central and Eastern Europe aimed to assist lawmakers, election officials, and academics. The database is available on-line at <http://www.essex.ac.uk/elections>. National level parliamentary election results and election legislation from more than a dozen countries in the region are currently available. The site continues to be updated with new information as it becomes available.

##### *Visit to Washington, D.C.*

As part of an on-going relationship between IFES and the ACEEEO, a delegation of Hungarians visited IFES meeting with IFES staff, the Federal Election Commission (FEC), and members of the DC Board of Elections en route to New York City. Participants of this delegation included Urban György, Head of the Central Office of Ministry of Interior; Katona László, Head of the ACEEEO Secretariat; and a number of other Hungarian officials.

The delegation met with IFES staff to evaluate over 10 years of cooperation looking into ways of expanding our cooperation, discussing cooperation on the scheduled 2001 ACEEEO Zagreb conference, and to learn more about the structure and focus of IFES. Meetings with the FEC and DC Board of Elections focussed on the U.S. Presidential Elections.

#### **ALBANIA**

##### *Overview*

During November, five special elections were held to repeat the vote for mayor in some municipalities and communes. The major IFES initiatives in November and December were the Central Election Commission (CEC) planning seminar in the city of Durres on 21-23 November and consulting with

other international and national officials on the development of a proposal to update the National Voter Registry.

#### *Seminar for the Central Election Commission*

In November, the CEC began receiving strong criticism from national and international observers of the election process. The criticism was based on the demonstrated inability of the Commission to work effectively. In recognition of this problem, IFES proposed to hold a seminar with the CEC following the fall local elections to assist the body in analyzing its work over the past five months, and to begin preparations for the national elections anticipated for June 2001. At the seminar, each member of the CEC was required to make a presentation regarding his/her responsibilities during the election period, and identify areas where the CEC could improve its efficiency. In addition, presentations were made to the CEC by the OSCE legal staff, a judge of the High Court, the Chair of the CEC of Bulgaria, and the IFES Albania Project Manager. Participants reported that the seminar was very useful and successful. Ultimate success will depend on how well participants follow through with the goals and decisions arrived at during the seminar.

In accordance with the Electoral Code, the CEC Secretary called the first meeting of the new Zone Boundary Commission in November. The purpose of the Commission is to establish, through public consultation, new electoral boundaries for the national elections in 2001. By law, boundaries must be approved by the National Assembly by the end of February 2001. The interim report of the Commission was issued during the last week of November and public comment is now being received. IFES has supported the work of the CEC in this area.

Following the fall local elections in Macedonia, IFES sponsored a 2-day seminar to review the elections and identify where changes to the Macedonian electoral system were required. As part of this activity, the Chair of the Albanian CEC and the Project Manager of IFES Albania were invited to attend. This event was useful in helping IFES Albania design its seminar for the Albanian CEC.

#### *New Initiative for Voter Registry and Voter Identification Cards*

Inaccuracies on the voters' list and subsequent errors on the voter identification cards were a major problem during the local government elections in September and October. In the fall, IFES, OSCE and USAID officials began to pursue the development of a new voter registry proposal designed to correct the mistakes and complete the job of the Election Assistance Project. Preliminary meetings with the CEC were held on this issue, and during November and December, more detailed discussions took place between the international community and Albanian government officials and the CEC. Based on those discussions, a decision was made to proceed with the development of a detailed proposal, which could be

used to prepare a strategic plan and solicit funds from the international community.

The agreed upon proposal had IFES as the lead technical agency dealing directly with the 'clean-up' of the voters' list, and the UNDP retaining responsibility for the voter identification cards. The CEC voiced its approval of the project in early December. Through the OSCE, an approach was made to the Governments of Norway and Sweden to donate staff that could undertake an audit of the current voter registry database. Sweden will be undertaking this task to begin in January 2001.

#### *Changes to the Composition of the CEC*

In December, discussions on possible changes to the composition of the CEC intensified. The international community expressed its desire to see changes, aimed at improving the efficiency and professionalism of the CEC. The idea also received the support of opposition parties, but the ruling coalition (mainly the Chairman of the CEC) has been strongly resistant, expressing its intention to remain in power.

#### *Impact Summary*

Through the development of a strong working relationship with the CEC and the international community, IFES has become trusted and depended upon in Albania. As a result, IFES has been asked to head up the new voter registry project in Albania. In addition, IFES is being looked to for strong leadership and assistance to the CEC through the administration of the national elections to be held in 2001.

## **MACEDONIA**

#### *IFES-Sponsored Post-Election Seminar*

In November, IFES sponsored a seminar entitled *Looking Forward: The Future of Elections in Macedonia*. Over one hundred individuals participated in the event, which consisted of a series of panel discussions, each moderated by an international participant. Seven panels reviewed the major issues that had arisen during this year's local elections; explored weaknesses in the legal and administrative framework for elections; and discussed approaches to reform. High on the agenda was bringing an end to the accusatory and polarizing rhetoric that had become so common in the previous weeks.

The President of Macedonia, Boris Trajkovski, opened the seminar after being introduced by the United States Ambassador to Macedonia, M. Michael Einik. The President noted the relative youth of Macedonia's democracy, and stressed the importance of fair elections to its legitimacy. In acknowledging the problems with the recent elections, the President said: "There is no room for pessimism. Nine years ago, our country chose the way of reform, based upon the rule of democracy and the rule of law, respect for human right, and, above all, respect for civil and political rights." He urged seminar participants, particularly the political parties, to use



*IFES/Macedonia Project Director Dan Blessington Opens the Seminar on Electoral Reform Held in Skopje on 17-18 November.*

the seminar to work towards a political consensus for improving conditions for elections in Macedonia.

Over the course of the two days, panelists and other participants discussed a wide range of electoral issues, such as the reliability of the voters' list and the need to harmonize current laws. Among the participants were the Head of the OSCE/ODIHR Election Monitoring Mission, the Chairman of the State Electoral Commission and political party leaders. Journalists, NGOs, municipal election commissions, polling station committees and the Ministry of Justice were all represented. While the discussions were frank, a tone of civility and mutual respect prevailed.

In his introduction to the last panel discussion, *The Future – Proposals for Change*, Ambassador Einik spoke of the need for consensus if reforms are to succeed. He said: "No law is self-validating. If reform is to work, there must be a general acceptance of it." He noted that, during the seminar, there had been a proposal for the establishment of a broad-based commission to consider various proposals for reform. He pledged his support for the establishment of such a group. IFES has met the Macedonian Ministry of Justice and USAID to further explore the option and the nature of assistance that IFES could provide.

#### *Political Crisis for Democratic Alternative*

Late November and early December saw political crisis in Macedonia. The ruling coalition partner, Democratic Alternative (DA), joined with the opposition SDSM in a bid to change the Parliamentary majority and the government of VMRO-DPMNE. The revolution failed. In the process, DA lost five ministers, the Speaker of Parliament, and four of its

Members of Parliament. The Parliament chose a member of the Liberal Party as its new Speaker, replacing the Speaker from the DA. The general, if obvious conclusion, is that DA was the political party most damaged by this turn of events.

#### *Participation in Conference of Election Officials in Bosnia and Herzegovina*

In December, IFES Macedonia Project Manager Dan Blessington attended a conference for election officials in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Remarks on the electoral environment in Bosnia and Herzegovina made during the conference were considered relevant to electoral reform in Macedonia. Recently published research demonstrates that a permanent administrative structure for elections is the preferred method of election administration. Moreover, elections under a permanent election body have consistently proven less costly.

#### *Impact Summary*

The IFES-sponsored seminar brought together local actors to conduct a civilized and detailed examination of elections in Macedonia after weeks of recriminations. Political parties, which had been attacking one another, appeared together and pledged to cooperate on securing improvements to the legal and administrative framework for elections. In the end, there was general support for the creation of a broad-based commission to work with Parliament on reforming the electoral system.

## **MOLDOVA**

#### *IFES & the CEC*

IFES/Moldova continued to work closely with the Central Electoral Commission (CEC) in November and December. On 15 November, IFES and the CEC held a roundtable to consider issues related to verification of signatures in support of electoral contestants or initiating a referendum. Additionally, IFES/Moldova Project Director Charles Lasham and NGO Coordinator Ina Gutium met with Dumitru Nidelcu, Chairman of the CEC, and Vice-Chair Nicolae Televco. The purpose of the meeting was to follow up on Management Information Systems Specialist Mike Yard's review of their proposed automated vote returns system. Mr. Lasham shared Mr. Yard's report with the Chairman, which evaluates the project's strengths and weaknesses. The report will assist the CEC in further defining the scope of the project and support its bids for further assistance from the donor community. Finally, the Chairman thanked IFES for offering them the chance to observe elections in Romania.

### *IFES & Parliament*

IFES and the Juridic Direction of Parliament have turned their attention toward revising the electoral system. To this end, the parties jointly sponsored four roundtable discussions in November and December. The principal issues focused on during these sessions were: mechanisms for stimulating the formation of electoral blocs; establishing greater levels of accountability within local public administration; ensuring the efficient administration of referenda; and enhancing the transparency of the electoral process at diplomatic posts abroad.

The issue of electoral blocs is of great importance to MPs, given that a primary feature of the 26 July declaration on reforming the electoral system was a commitment to stimulating the formation of parliamentary majorities. During one roundtable, it was suggested that the Electoral Code be amended to grant itemized rights to electoral blocs. Other recommended amendments included a provision barring mayors from holding office for more than 2 consecutive terms and a decrease in the required turnout for valid referendums from 1/2 to 1/3 of registered voters. In addition to amendments to the Electoral Code, the participants discussed a draft law requiring that citizens groups be registered with district courts before initiating referenda for recalling mayors. The law would clarify a number of currently undefined procedures and establish the administrative hierarchy for oversight of local referenda.

### *NGOs*

The IFES/Moldova and Contact Center working groups joined their efforts to define the draft law on non-commercial organizations. In the course of five sessions, the group considered a broad range of recommendations pertaining to each Article of the draft law. Also of special importance was the development of sample financial and activity reports, which will be made available to all organizations applying for public benefit status. NGO Program Coordinator Ina Gutium held a series of meetings with Natalia Izdebschi, Chair of the Certification Commission, and Tatiana Prisacari of the Association of Accountants to finalize the content of the sample reports. The sample activity report will include: general data on the organizations board and staff; type of organization; bylaws; activities carried out within the reporting period; and a declaration indicating that the organization has not distributed income among founders and members and has not supported any candidate or political party. The sample financial report includes a balance sheet and income statement.



*IFES/CDDP staff upon the completion of a four day training course.*

Following the preparation of sample reports, the first training seminar, entitled "Public Benefit Certification", was held. Representatives of 27 NGOs seeking public benefit status attended the event. Training focused on the legislation regulating public benefit status, taxation and fiscal benefits, and transparency of activity. NGO Program Coordinator Ina Gutium made a presentation on international practice in building public/private partnership, as well as Moldovan success stories in the field. The participants were issued a full copy of the current legislation, the draft law on non-commercial organizations, the study "Public Benefit Status of Non-Commercial Organizations in Moldova", the sample reports, and a sample application form. All the participants praised the high quality of the training and suggested that such training become regular.

Mass Media Coordinator Gabriel Mumjiev had a series of meetings with Alexandru Cantir of the Committee for the Freedom of Press. The two considered potential modifications to mass media legislation currently under review in Parliament. In addition, Mr. Cantir requested information on countries where the President is elected by Parliament. Finally, the parties discussed media coverage of the current campaign for President. The excessive bias of some journalists was noted.

### *Electoral School*

IFES/Moldova and Stars of Europe conducted seven sessions of the Electoral School for the youth branch of CDM-XXI. The lectures dealt with: "Political Elite Impact on the Social Progress", "Political Leaders", "Presidential Elections in the

United States", "Human rights", and "Citizen's Electoral Rights." In addition, sessions of the Electoral School were held for the CDM-XXI youth branches in Soroca and Cahul Counties on 11 November and 2 December. The lecture in Soroca County was attended by 50 participants and focused on "Modern Electoral Systems." The lecture in Cahul County and was dedicated to Elections in Romania.

IFES/Moldova also organized six open sessions of the Electoral School. The youth branches of seven political parties participated in these sessions. Contemporary political doctrines; the evolution of political doctrines; and modern political doctrines were all featured during these sessions.

#### *CDPD\* Transition Activities*

The IFES/CDPD staff attended a number of training and professional development seminars. A discussion of the legal rights of NGOs featured Natalia Izdebschi of the Ministry of Justice and Ina Gutium, NGO Program Coordinator. Joel Martin of ABA/CEELI offered a course in business ethics. Joe Bradley of Bradley Associates conducted a two-day project management course. And Aria Consulting took CDPD through a comprehensive strategic planning exercise. Future training will include a financial management course that will likely be performed by KPMG and a fundraising course.

On 23 November, CDPD held a meeting of its Advisory Board. The agenda included: reports on CDPD activity, CDPD public benefit certification, a strategic plan for CDPD, and the election of a new board member (Margareta Mama-liga). Project Director Charles Lasham also attended the meeting as an observer.

#### *Civic Voice*

IFES and LADOM continued to broadcast the *Civic Voice* radio hour on the Chisinau Municipality ANTENNA C Radio Station. A total of twelve shows were aired throughout the months of November and December. The broadcasts featured a variety of political and civic issues, including:

- Proposed alterations to the electoral system;
- The recently published study "Public Benefit Status for Non-Commercial Organizations in Moldova" (co-sponsored by IFES/Moldova)
- Reports on observing elections in Burlaceni Commune and Edinet County;
- Public administration activity during electoral campaigns; and
- The rights and responsibilities of local councils.

IFES/Moldova Public Administration Program Coordinator Margareta Mamaliga was invited to the 15 November broadcast to speak about the role of observers in free and fair elections. She also touched upon the issues of observer rights, observer responsibilities and the history of observer movements in Moldova. The shows broadcast in the first week of

December featured Vlad Melnic, Paul Strudzescu, and Igor Botan, who all discussed the process of observing presidential and parliamentary elections in Romania

#### *Impact Summary*

IFES was active this period in providing advice and assistance in regards to the evolving technical and legal frameworks for elections. A review of the methodology employed in the signature verification process was undertaken with the CEC. Strengthening these procedures is critical to ensuring that overall election administration is transparent and efficient. In another effort to assist the CEC in streamlining and modernizing electoral procedures, IFES shared an expert assessment of the CEC's proposed automated voting system. The assessment provides a positive review of the proposed technology and is intended to assist the CEC in refining its approach to implementation and diversification of funding.

The Juridic Direction of Parliament and the Ministry of Justice Certification Commission are other important partners in the effort to strengthen legal frameworks. IFES and the Juridic Direction worked to refine proposed amendments to the electoral code and laws this month. A stated goal of the sitting Parliament has been to establish an environment that promotes the formation of electoral blocs and parliamentary majorities. IFES provides information and advice to help guide delegates toward achieving these goals. Work with the Certification Commission and Contact Center has also focused on legal issues. The jointly produced draft law on non-commercial organizations seeks to establish a more coherent and fair regulatory structure for NGOs.

Finally, IFES/Moldova's civic education programs were particularly active this month. The Electoral School, which promotes youth involvement and understanding of political issues, featured eight individual sessions for the youth wings of a number of interested political parties. The *Civic Voice* radio series, which is currently the only non-partisan, independent source of information on civic issues, aired a total of eight broadcasts. *Civic Voice* is intended to heighten awareness of civil society organizations and activities.

\* The Center for the Development of Participatory Democracy (CDPD) is a registered Moldovan NGO that consists of current IFES/Moldova staff and an independent board of directors. In 2001, CDPD will succeed IFES in its role as a non-partisan supporter of free and fair elections in Moldova.

## **ROMANIA**

#### *Elections Held*

Parliamentary and the first round of Presidential elections were held in Romania on 26 November. In advance of these elections, IFES provided technical assistance to the Central

Election Bureau (BEC) and developed a brochure on election procedures. Technical assistance included accreditation of observers, a review of the nomination petitions, and meeting with local officials in the three pilot judets of Bacau, Valcea, and Bihor regarding compliance and interpretation of the law. The local experts took an active role in the training of secretaries in mayors' offices as well as the chairs and vice-chairs of the polling station commissions in these three regions. IFES local experts also attended the Central Technical Commission Meetings to discuss issues related to election administration including the distribution of voting cards, ballot printing, polling stations abroad, etc.

The local experts also produced the election procedures brochure, entitled "Step by Step" (Alegeri pas cu pas), which contained four sections:

1. Actors of the election process and their attributions;
2. Practical suggestions for specific situations that can occur in the election process;
3. Model forms for the election process; and
4. An update of the legislative framework regulating the electoral process in Romania.

The brochure was finalized in late October and printed in early November. CENTRAS distributed the 17,500 copies to the Prefect's Offices, who in turn distributed it to the polling station commissions. When CENTRAS contacted the Prefect's Offices to confirm their delivery, they received positive feedback on the content, particularly its practical approach and legislation update.

#### *First Round Election Day Activities*

In the first round of elections on 26 November, IFES consultant Daniel Finn and Office Assistant Mike Plesea observed ten polling stations in Ilfov, Prahova, and Dâmbovita prefectures. The day after the election they visited the Dâmbovita BEJ, located in Târgoviste. For the most part, the polling stations that Finn and Plesea visited were adequately laid out and followed orderly procedures. No shortages of voting or other election materials were reported. Many of the presidents and vice presidents of the stations had received training and communicated it to the other members of the polling bureaus. Most stations had informational materials, including the election compilation produced by the BEC and the brochure prepared and distributed by IFES and its local counterpart CENTRAS. However, there were some stations where there was a crisscrossing of the paths of voters coming in to obtain ballots and going from the voting booths to the ballot box. This presents opportunities for exchange of ballots, as part of "vote-buying" arrangements; but no such activity was observed and would have been made difficult by the generally open floor plans. There were relatively few domestic observers, and some NGO observers presented questionable credentials.

The ODIHR report concluded that elections were "conducted

in accordance with the OSCE commitments for democratic elections." It also noted that peaceful transfers of power through the electoral process have become regular in Romania. The positives that ODIHR pointed out included the inclusion of numerous political parties on election bureaus, broad participation by parties and other political formations, availability of information, and a high level of media exposure. Negatives in the election were the absence of a standing election authority; the reliance on emergency ordinances and decrees, including late changes in the legislative and procedural framework; restrictive rules on domestic observers; use of special voter lists; and inadequate review of presidential candidate signature petitions. The election laws were found to be adequate but subject to the defects noted.

#### *First Round Election Results*

Eighty parties and over 20,000 candidates contested these elections; however, only seven main parties competed: (1) Social Democratic Pole of Romania (PDSR), an alliance led by the Party of Romanian Social Democracy (PDSR) of former President Ion Iliescu; (2) Democratic Convention of Romania 2000 (CDR 2000), which includes the National Christian Democratic Peasants Party (PNTCD), the leading party in the outgoing Government; (3) National Liberal Party (PNL), members of the outgoing Government, and former members of the CDR alliance from 1996; (4) Party of Greater Romania (PRM); (5) Alliance for Romania (ApR); and members of the outgoing government (6) the Democratic Party

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## Romania Elections 2000

### Parliamentary Results\*

#### Senate

PDSR-PUR-PSDR	65 seats
PRM	37 seats
PD	13 seats
PNL	13 seats
UMDR	27 seats

#### House of Deputies

PDSR-PUR-PSDR	155 seats
PRM	84 seats
PD	31 seats
PNL	30 seats
UMDR	27 seats
Minority Associations	18 seats

\* - provided by the Central Election Bureau (BEC)

**Bosnia and Herzegovina: Election Results\***

Office	Results By Party**			
	RS:		BiH:	
House of Representatives of the Parliamentary Assembly of BiH	SDS	39.7%	SDP	27.3%
	PDP RS	15.6%	SDA	27.0%
	SNSD-DSP	10.8%	HDZ BiH	19.3%
Republika Srpska President and Vice-President	SDS	49.8%		
	SNSD	25.7%		
RS National Assembly	SDS	36.1%		
	SNSD	13.2%		
Federation House of Representatives	SDA	26.8%		
	SDP	26.1%		
	HDZ BiH	17.5%		

\* - results certified by the Provisional Election Commission

\*\* - parties not listed received less than 10% of the vote

In addition to monitoring the voting process in 108 polling stations and observing the vote count in twenty-one of these stations, IFES staff interviewed 440 voters as they left these stations.

The Civic Education teams indicated that this was the best of the five elections that they have participated in to date. The effort OSCE has put into improving the process is apparent and the newly created Association of BiH Election Officials has made constructive suggestions. Most polling stations show improvement, with less overall voter confusion. The number of invalid ballots varied from less than 1% to as high as 20% in some polling stations, although remaining deficiencies must be addressed before the voting public will be comfortable with the process and confidence posted results:

*“Bosnia” from page 8*

charge of preparing and passing the Permanent Election Law. AEOBiH should make efforts to accelerate the process of the adoption of this law, as it is the basis for establishment of state electoral administration in BiH.

A special guest of the Second Annual Conference and Assembly Meeting was Ambassador Robert L. Barry, Head of the OSCE Mission to BiH. Ambassador Barry praised the readiness of national election staff to take on responsibility for the elections process. He pointed out that the election law adoption and the implementation of the Constitutional Court decision on constitutionality of BiH peoples is of critical importance for the nationalization of the election process.

Canadian Institute for Conflict Resolution Seminar

Two modules of the Canadian Institute for Conflict Resolution Seminar have been held to educate the twelve trainers that will train members of the AEOBiH next year. The first module took place 20-24 November in Mostar and the second from 27 November-2 December in Banja Luka. The five AEOBiH members who previously completed the first phase of the Canadian Institute for Conflict resolution course this summer were eligible to join the new group during the second phase of this course. The third and fourth phases are planned for spring 2001. All participants who successfully complete the course will be awarded the trainer's certificate.

*Civic Education Activities*

Election Day Activities

IFES had twenty-two teams in the field on Election Day to observe the balloting process and conduct exit surveys. Each team visited five polling stations and observed the counting process in one polling station. As a whole, the teams observed voting in forty-nine opchinas and the District of Brcko.

- Nearly 50% of voters did not see candidates lists before election day;
- The Voter Register was improved but is still not perfect;
- Voters remain too passive about correcting Voter Register;
- Voters are not clear about the Mult-Member Constituency concept;
- 50% of voters indicated they understood the preferential system used in the RS Presidency elections, but did not use it;
- Optimism for the future has diminished;
- PSCs still require additional training; and
- In many instances, corrections submitted to MECs after the 8 April election were not made on the list used for this election.

The IFES exit poll consisted of five basic questions with multiple sub-components. It was designed to identify voters' knowledge and attitudes on such items as access to information related to the Voter Register and polling station assignment, open lists, multi-member constituencies, preferential voting for the RS Presidency, and level of confidence with the election process. The exit poll was conducted in thirty-one municipalities in the Federation of BiH, eighteen municipalities in the Republika Srpska, and the District of Brcko.

The report from this survey can be obtained from IFES. Generally it showed that voters appeared to be passive and make little advance effort to check their voting status despite the commotion in April. The early distribution of the voter register appears to have had modest success. Almost half of the interviewed voters never knew about the opportunity to check their name before Election Day. The OSCE sample ballot posters were the only source of information for many voters.



Party materials reached on average one-third of the voters and appear to have been a main source of information in some areas like the Livno and Dobož office opstinas. It appears that the prevailing portion of interviewed voters have an unclear idea what Multi-Member Constituencies are and why they have been introduced. Voters did, however, know the region to which they belonged as voters. Clearly there is a great need for continued civic education.

The polling station survey was performed by twenty-two IFES teams on 11 November. This survey was designed to provide basic data needed for a quick assessment of the technical aspects of the polling process, the levels of management and efficiency. The results of the survey confirm statements made by local and international authorities and politicians that the elections were technically organized and conducted on a higher level than previous post-war elections in this country.

### GOGs

IFES trainers reached 36,828 voters in 2,652 GOGs. These sessions were held in thirty municipalities in the Republika Srpska and forty-four municipalities of the Federation. In addition to the regular GOGs, trainers aired twenty radio GOGs and assisted local communities in holding fifteen candidate fora. In Bihac, small stores distributed voter education material to their customers. A survey of these Partners in Democracy showed that fifty-three sites throughout the Una Sana Canton distributed over 3,100 pieces of material.

Election results GOGs were held throughout the month of December. According to the RS teams, questions and comments by GOG attendees indicate widespread distrust as to the implementation of the election results. In addition to post-

election GOGs, trainers spent a great deal of time helping people understand privatization and advising them of options. This new process has been the number one issue in the RS, and IFES seems to be the only source of information on this important topic at the grassroots level.

### GAINs

Designed to encourage civic action, IFES' GAIN program has accomplished a great deal since its inception in 1998. The goal of the program is to empower citizens to recognize their own ability to affect change in their communities. By the end of the previous contract, 160 successful results were reported out of the 350 GAINs initiated. Teams continue to discover completed GAINs. For example, Ivana and Ivica met the Retired Persons Association in Canton 8 as they were having their inaugural session. Site selection for new GAINs in both the RS and the Federation is currently underway.

### *Impact Summary*

Through the joint Polling Station Committee training program and MEC local voter information activities, IFES/AEOBiH contributed to smoother elections and less voter confusion in November. At the annual AEOBiH conference the election results were analyzed, and useful suggestions for improvements to the process were discussed. Civic Education teams reached over 36,000 voters before the 11 November election through GOGs, and they continue to provide important information at the grassroots level by disseminating post-election information as well as being involved with local community projects through the GAINs program. Both groups have been crucial in the voter education process and election operations; they are optimistic about the integral role IFES will play in BiH in the coming year.



*IFES trainers devoted more time to high school audiences in the GOGs leading up to the elections this year. Here, Snjezana and Kosa address a high school class in Bijeljina.*

*"Romania" from page 8*

(PD) and (7) the Democratic Alliance of Hungarians in Romania (UDMR). The BEC released the official results of the parliamentary elections (see below).

Twelve candidates competed in the 2000 Presidency election. The main contenders were outgoing Senator and former President Ion Iliescu (PDSR), outgoing Senator Corneliu Vadim Tudor (PRM), former Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan (PNL), independent candidate and outgoing Prime Minister Mugur Isarescu, outgoing Senator Gyorgy Frunda (UDMR), and outgoing Foreign Minister Petre Roman (PD). The first round results from the Presidential election were Iliescu, 36.54%; Tudor, 28.88%; Stolojan, 11.92%; Isarescu, 9.18%; Frunda, 5.88%; Roman, 2.90%; Melescanu, 1.86%; and others the remainder. A second round of elections between Iliescu and Tudor was necessary.

*Second Round Election*

On 10 December, this second round of elections was held for the Presidential race. Finn and Plesea observed polling in five stations in Brasov and four in Sibiu. They chose these judets because in both of these Transylvanian counties support for candidate Corneliu Vadim Tudor was strongest during the first round and the PDSR had won the parliamentary seats. This implied not only that these counties would be hotly contested, but that there also might be complaints about polling procedures.

Election day was characterized by an air of normalcy and regularity. No complaints were reported to IFES observers at the polling stations or the BEJ. However, Election Day was quiet and the absence of complaints also tended to hide significant deviations from correct procedures at the polling stations. The polling stations visited were largely devoid of voters, and the polling station presidents said that the levels of voting at comparable times during the day were only about 50-60% of that experienced in the first round elections two weeks earlier. Based on figures available the next morning, the Sibiu BEJ placed turnout at only 53.48% of eligible voters in that county. The final voter turnout figure published by the BEC for the entire country was 57.5%.

Eight of nine polling stations visited had informational materials present—either the BEC compilation or the IFES brochure. Of the eight, the breakdown was as follows: both booklets, 5; BEC only, 1; and IFES only, 2. At most polling stations the IFES booklet was clearly in greater use than the compilation published by the BEC. Presidents there also warmly endorsed the IFES brochure.

Election procedures observed at polling stations were generally regular and in accordance with good practices. It was reported by the president of one polling station that requests by voters to practice family or other proxy voting had de-

clined during these elections, particularly the second round. This was because voters had become aware that such practices would not be permitted.

There were minor but widespread irregularities and deficiencies, mainly in the areas of voter identification, the presence of security officers, and the relatively small number of domestic observers. These and other irregularities observed appeared to derive from three main causes:

1. the failure of polling station officials, other government officials, the press, and the public to understand and follow the law and relevant ordinances;
2. a requirement for further regulations to implement the laws; and
3. a need for improved training, communication, and education.

The BEC published the results of the election on 12 December: Iliescu 66.83% and Tudor 33.17%. Tudor took only one county, Bistrita-Nasaud, in northern Transylvania, by winning 54.56% of the vote there. He also ran strongly, winning over 40% of the vote, in several other Transylvanian counties.

*Impact Summary*

IFES' conclusion from its observation of both rounds of elections was that the minor but consistent problems from this election would be best addressed through the establishment of some form of permanent election administration in Romania. Despite IFES best efforts, this was not attainable in this election cycle. As IFES activities in Romania wind down, we continue to encourage election officials to create such an election body.

**UKRAINE***IFES, SOCIS Field Public Opinion Poll*

In December, IFES and SOCIS-Gallup concluded the fieldwork for a nationwide public opinion survey. Over the course of ten days, 1200 personal interviews were conducted throughout Ukraine, with oversamples in Kyiv and the western part of the country. As in the past, IFES has partnered with SOCIS-Gallup. Dr. Thomas Carson is directing the survey and traveled to Kyiv in early November to consult with USAID, as well as other international and domestic NGOs, to gain their feedback on the proposed questionnaire.

This survey is the seventh in a series of nationwide public opinion polls IFES has supported since 1994. It will gauge public understanding and opinion of the transition process and government's rating on moving Ukraine towards political, social, and economic stability. As usual, it will monitor trends on the level and quality of information citizens receive regarding these developments. This survey will also more thoroughly examine citizens' relationships with elected and

appointed officials while studying the level of public participation in civil society. Scheduled release date is late January.

#### *IFES, NDI, ALI Host Roundtable*

On 13 November, IFES, in conjunction with NDI and the Agency for Legislative Initiatives (ALI), hosted a roundtable in Kyiv on the role of political parties in the electoral process. Participants considered different electoral systems and their impact on political parties and constituent relations. This topic is especially timely, as Parliament is considering adopting a new parliamentary election law that would change the current mixed system to a purely proportional system. The panel featured several Parliament members, such as Oleksandr Lavrynovych, Deputy Chair of the Legal Policy Committee; Taras Chornovil; and Borys Bepalyi. Representatives from several Ukrainian NGOs also participated in the event. A post-conference publication that includes transcripts of the roundtable and comparative analysis examining the role of parties and governing legislation in several countries was produced in late November.

#### *IFES Closes Kyiv Office*

The IFES/Ukraine office officially closed on 30 November. All questions regarding the Ukraine project should be forwarded to the Washington office. The web site can still be accessed at [www.ifes-ukraine.org](http://www.ifes-ukraine.org).

#### *Impact Summary*

The administration of a nationwide survey will allow IFES, as well as other US and international organizations, to assess public opinion regarding the political process and measure Ukrainians' knowledge of and access to information concerning their rights and the law. As similar surveys have been conducted since 1994, the report will examine trends that have become apparent over the past several years. In addition to serving as a useful source of unbiased information, the data help organizations evaluate the impact of their programming and identify areas of future assistance.

The joint roundtable conducted by IFES, NDI, and ALI provided a forum for parliament members, political analysts, and NGO representatives to consider the impact the choice of electoral system has on the process and development of political parties. The event allowed participants to evaluate the 1998 parliamentary elections and develop recommendations as to how to improve the system so that the needs of the Ukrainian electorate are best met. As the Verkhovna Rada is currently considering changing the mixed electoral system, the topic was particularly timely.



*Participants in Ukraine consider a new election law at an IFES/NDI/ALI roundtable.*

## **YUGOSLAVIA (KOSOVO)**

### *Municipal Election Commission Survey*

During the first part of November, IFES activities shifted away from election activities towards capacity building. IFES Domestic Capacity Builder Paul Manfuso and his staff began working with local election observers to draft a lessons learned report that will form the basis of future observation programs in Kosovo. Manfuso has also been in contact with members of the Municipal Election Commissions (MECs) to prepare for the next phase in their development. The first step in this process has been coordination between Manfuso and IFES Survey Coordinator Hermann Thiel on the development of the USAID funded IFES Electoral Administration Performance Survey. The OSCE Capacity Building staff and the CEC Secretariat assisted IFES with the first drafts of the questionnaire as well as determining a strategy for the distribution and retrieval of the questionnaires.

The survey will consist of two complementary questionnaires, each aimed at different groups. Members of the MECs will complete the first questionnaire while representatives of political parties, coalitions, citizens' initiatives and independent candidates (in short "Political Entities"), and representatives of NGOs will complete the second questionnaire. The two questionnaires will be largely identical to enable comparison between the views of the members of the MECs and the views of Political Entities and NGOs. In the second questionnaire, all questions that pertain to the internal operation of the MEC will be excluded. In consultation with OSCE Election Officers and Capacity Building Staff, it was decided to have different strategies for the distribution and collection of the two questionnaires.

The completion of the first questionnaire by members of the MECs will take place at a series of regional workshops. All MEC members and Election Officers of the particular region will attend these workshops. The second questionnaire, to be completed by representatives of political entities and NGOs, will be distributed in a decentralized manner by OSCE Election Officers, assisted by OSCE Democratisation Officers, in the different municipalities. This approach is being taken to counter the possibility that participants will view the survey as presenting a centralized "party-line" on many issues.

The status and future function of the MECs in Kosovo are currently unclear. Initial discussions indicate that a certain level of frustration is developing among MEC members. Though this issue requires more thorough research, it seems that the frustration results from a perceived lack of direction for the MECs as well as a lack of institutional and logistical support for their work. Both these issues are perceived to indicate that MECs are not taken seriously. Some MEC members have already indicated that they would reconsider their participation if these issues do not receive urgent attention. Although the purpose of the survey is to determine in greater detail exactly what the concerns are and to develop a strategy that can address these concerns, it is of great importance that some action is taken to indicate to MEC members that their concerns are receiving serious attention.

#### *First Survey Results*

The first of the series of regional workshops took place in Mitrovicë/Mitrovica on Thursday, 30 November. In the first week of December, the survey was administered in the remaining four regions—Peja, Gnjlan, Prizren, and Prishtina. The MECs had an opportunity to voice their concerns and give their opinions about their work and how their role in future elections should develop. There were several recurring themes in these discussions. Members expressed their frustration with their level of responsibilities, inadequate training, the difficulty in identifying people on the Voters' List which resulted in delays at the polling centres, confusion regarding absentee voting, and the lack of Identity Cards and Travel Documents. Election Officers have been asked to have all surveys returned by Friday, 15 December.

#### *Roundtable in Kosovo*

On 22 November, a roundtable event took place where representatives of the OSCE, Political Parties, the NGOs, and the Media assessed the past electoral process and discussed suggestions for improvement of the electoral process. Many of the issues discussed at the post-election roundtable touched on issues covered in the survey. The general consensus was that more dialogue, discussion, and debate on election administration are necessary while all participants agreed that the role, mandate, and selection process of the Central and Municipal Elections Commissions were not clear to all concerned. Rectifying this situation would require making more information on the activities of these entities available. Clari-

fying the roles and functions of the MECs is necessary. Some other conclusions that were reached include:

- Political parties and NGOs need more detailed information on election administration;
- Election Observers were not exactly clear on their mandate, specifically their ability to report irregularities to supervisors. It was stressed that observers need to have regular contact with the MECs;
- Voter education needs more attention;
- Political parties needed to better address local issues and conduct voter information;
- The media should be more cooperative with assisting in voter information efforts;
- MEC participation in the decisions on Polling Centre Location is really necessary;
- There should be tighter control at the counting center;
- The number of polling stations needs to be increased;
- ID documents for all Kosovars, including the diaspora, are necessary;
- Polling station staff should have better, earlier, and more intense training; and
- There should be separate voting stations for minorities.

In general, there was a welcoming spirit of cooperation at the roundtable event, and the level of criticism of election administrators was good-natured. The representatives reached some noteworthy conclusions, and it would be worthwhile comparing these with results from the survey.

These conclusions will also be helpful in preparing for the IFES elections administration roundtable in January. IFES Project Coordinator Denise Wales has already begun preparations from this event. Wales recently attended the IFES Macedonia seminar "Looking Forward: The Future of Elections in Macedonia." There was a high level participation from the government and political parties and overall productive discussion. As a result of her presence at this seminar, Wales has identified the areas that will require special attention at the Kosovo roundtable in January, such as the types of presentations, the use of working groups, and materials development.

#### *Lessons Learned Workshop*

From 27 November through 7 December, a group of IFES staff and consultants as well as OSCE members met in the IFES/Washington office to review the election administration of 2000 and discuss the prospects for activities in Kosovo in 2001. The workshop group first identified three modules within the Kosovo Election 2001 Project: 1) to identify those regulatory and procedural steps that can be improved and to implement these improvements in writing on the relevant documents involved; 2) to identify and recommend direction on key issues and timelines associated with Kosovo-wide and

Serb municipality elections for 2001; and 3) to formulate a draft budget to conduct the elections. They then proceeded with preparations for elections in 2001 by making plans for potential elections in the northern municipalities; producing new guidelines for a Confirmations, Additions, and Challenges period for Assembly elections; outlining necessary regulations and procedures for the certification of entities and parties; and assembling a concept paper on the polling process for potential province-wide elections.

#### *Impact Summary*

The evaluation of the elections in 2000 is continuing through the IFES Electoral Administration Performance Survey. This survey will provide insight into the strengths and weaknesses of the past election as well as provide ideas for improvement in the administration of the next elections. The drafting of ideas for improvement have already begun in the Lessons Learned Workshop; these will develop further in the coming months into a plan for future elections.

## **YUGOSLAVIA (SERBIA)**

### *DOS Wins Commanding Victory in Serbian Parliamentary Elections*

Elections for the Serbian National Assembly were held on 23 December as the result of an agreement reached in October between the Democratic Opposition of Serbia (DOS), the Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS), and the Serbian Renewal Movement (SPO). According to the Republican Election Commission, voting took place at 8,711 polling places. Voter turnout was relatively low at 57.72% with 3,748,623 out of 6,493,672 eligible voters participating. Voting was annulled in 19 polling stations due to irregularities but the voting will not be re-

peated as the Republican Election Commission (REC) determined that the results would not affect the overall election results. Final results were announced on 27 December by the REC.

### *IFES Supports Efforts of Republican Election Commission to Provide Instructions on Polling Practices*

In December, IFES received an invitation from the President of the REC, Andrija Simic, to provide technical assistance toward the development of instructions on new polling place procedures. As a result of the new law passed in October by the Serbian parliament, several new procedures were introduced into the polling place. Those which affected voters and pollworkers most directly included the introduction of "invisible" ink to help prevent multiple voting and the signing of the voter register by voters next to their names.

In order to inform both pollworkers and voters on these new practices, IFES and the REC produced posters and pamphlets outlining "Steps in the Voting Process" according to the new law. Both materials highlighted eight basic steps in the voting process in the order they were to be completed with illustrations that demonstrated, among other things, how the ink was to be applied once a voter received a ballot. Posters aimed at voters were printed in Serbian and Hungarian and distributed by the REC to polling stations with other election supplies. According to observer reports, posters were placed in prominent locations in almost all polling stations where voters could consult them. This was often next to the list of candidates. Likewise, several leaflets for each polling station were also distributed by the REC and were used by pollworkers on election day according to observer reports. Leaflets were also produced in Serbian and Hungarian.

### **SERBIA PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS\***

<b>Political Party List</b>	<b>Number of Votes Received</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Number of Mandates</b>
Democratic Opposition of Serbia (DOS)	2,402,387	64.08	176
Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS)	515,845	13.76	37
Serbian Radical Party (SRS)	322,333	8.59	23
Party of Serbian Unity (SSJ)	199,847	5.33	14
Serbian Renewal Movement (SPO)	--	3.76	0
Democratic Socialist Party (DSP)	--	0.85	0
Serbian Social Democratic Party (SSDP)	--	0.78	0
Yugoslav Left (JUL)	--	0.38	0

\* - Provided by the Republican Election Commission (REC)

In order to reach a wide audience under severe time constraints, IFES also developed an advertisement which was placed in most major newspapers and weekly magazines in the days before the election. The ad was essentially an abridged version of the leaflets, highlighting only the new procedures.

#### *Overview of Election Day*

According to the OSCE's preliminary statement on its observation of the election, the conduct of the poll was generally conducted well and in accordance with the law. It stated:

In a significant improvement over past elections, polling was conducted in a generally calm atmosphere and remarkably in accordance with the law and regulations. In particular, provisions to prevent fraud were observed rigorously, and voters were able to express their will freely. In another departure from past practices, the vote count was also conducted accurately.

The statement, however, went further and highlighted some of the structural weaknesses of the Serbian electoral system that will need to be addressed in the future. In particular, the OSCE noted:

However, improvements are still required, in particular with regard to the allocation and political party control of elected representatives' mandates. The absence of an intermediate election administration level between the Republic Election Commission (REC) and Polling Station Boards seriously complicated the work of the REC and delayed the announcement of preliminary results. Further, the law should be amended to ensure that those who were unable to vote on 23 December can exercise their right in the future, in particular citizens of Serbia temporarily living outside the republic, disabled people, and soldiers. Moreover, there is a general need to update and correct the voter registers.

#### *Impact Summary*

Through the direct assistance of IFES, the REC was able and willing for the first time to take a proactive role in informing pollworkers and voters on the voting process. In its cooperation with the REC, commissioners generally proved to be very supportive of the idea of voter outreach and approved materials produced by IFES in consultation with commissioners. While previous commissions had been reluctant to provide any information or training, the REC that administered these elections exhibited a clearly different attitude.

## CAUCASUS/CENTRAL ASIA

### **ARMENIA**

#### *IFES Begins Implementation of Civic Education Project*

The month of November saw the IFES Citizen's Awareness and Participation in Armenia project begin to take shape. The first year of the new 4-year project will focus on the publication and distribution of information materials aimed at increasing the knowledge of the average Armenian citizen about his or her own governmental system. The project has three components, civic publications, a partnership with an indigenous women's non-government organization, and a project of direct citizen outreach.

In November, Silva Kharchafdjian commenced work as the IFES/Armenia Information and Public Outreach Specialist. Kharchafdjian comes to IFES with over 15 years of experience in public policy and development including 6 years of work with UNDP in Armenia. Her work with UNDP included activities related to voter education, electoral administration, and public relations. As Information and Public Outreach Specialist, Kharchafdjian will be responsible for the development and implementation of the Direct Citizen's Awareness and Participation activity.

#### *Civic Publications*

On 23 November IFES/Armenia met with NA Speaker Armen Khachatrian to brief him and his staff on the new IFES project. Khachatrian was enthusiastic about the IFES project and requested that the guidebook be produced as soon as possible. Discussion between Speaker Khachatrian and Mr. Swedberg included civil society and the electoral system in Armenia. Speaker Khachatrian remarked on the importance of civil society participation by every Armenian citizen. Discussion also brushed upon the further cooperation between IFES and the Parliament. The meeting was the lead story in the November 24 issue of the parliamentary-sponsored newspaper, Hayastani Hanrapatyun, one of the two highest circulation papers in Armenia:

#### *IFES and World Learning Undertake Assessment of IFES's New Civic Partner*

The second part of the IFES Citizen's Participation Project is a partnership with an established local non-governmental organization (NGO) – the Women's Republican Council (WRC). The partnership will soon be formalized in a sub grant contract. WRC has chapters of varying size and effectiveness throughout Armenia and has been engaged in civic, gender, and election related activities for over a decade. Concurrent with the sub grant negotiations, IFES is cooperating with World Learning, the organization chosen by USAID to administer a new NGO strengthening program, in the conduct of an assessment of the Women's Republican Council. Though this two-week analysis of WRC's organization,

based on interviews with the leadership, board and staff, IFES will be able to better assess the competency of the NGO in the area of human resources; financial resources; service delivery; external relations and advocacy; operations and management systems; and governance. Over the course of the 4-year project, IFES hopes to significantly boost WRC's capacity in all of these areas.

#### *IFES Begins Recruitment of Trainers for Direct Citizen Engagement Activities*

Over 200 resumes have been submitted in response to an advertisement for IFES civic trainers. IFES plans to hire 16 local trainers to travel into the regions and neighborhoods of Armenia. Modeled on a similar project IFES has implemented in Bosnia, the trainers will initially distribute informational materials (Guide to Government etc.) to groups of citizens, most likely centered on small NGOs, condominium associations and village leaders. Panel interviews will begin in December. A large number of the trainers may be members of the Women's Republican Council.

#### *Impact Summary*

IFES has begun the process of communicating its project to the national government leadership. So far, the level of enthusiasm and cooperation has been encouraging. The groundwork is being laid for IFES to help build the long-term capacity of an important local NGO, which in turn should help IFES carry out its civil society project in an appropriate Armenian context.

## **AZERBAIJAN**

#### *Parliamentary Elections Held 5 November*

On 5 November, elections to the Milli Majlis of the Republic of Azerbaijan were held. The elections were conducted under a new election law signed into law by President Heidar Aliiev on 5 July. Under the Law, parliamentary representatives were chosen on a proportional, as well as a majoritarian basis. Candidates vied for 100 single mandate constituencies, with another 25 mandates distributed on a proportional basis.

Preliminary election returns released by the CEC in the days following the elections indicated that only four political parties will be represented in the 125-seat legislative body. On the proportional ballot, parties achieving the six percent threshold required to gain seats included the New Azerbaijan Party (62.46%), the Popular Front Party (10.83%), the Azerbaijan Communist Party (6.24%) and the Civic Party (6.27%). Under the majoritarian system, candidates representing the ruling New Azerbaijan Party also achieved the greatest number of mandates.

Final election results were adopted by the CEC on 13 November. Single mandate results were sent to the Constitutional Court under Article 75 of the Law on Elections to the

Milli Majlis for checking and approval. On 22 November the Constitutional Court verified the results of the parliamentary elections and called for repeat elections in 11 constituencies based on election irregularities. The tentative date for the repeat elections is Sunday, 7 January 2001.

#### *IFES Technical Assistance for 2000 Parliamentary Elections*

During November, IFES continued its ongoing technical assistance to the CEC on implementation of the newly adopted Law on the Elections to the Milli Majlis. The onsite IFES Elections Administrator provided the CEC with daily guidance on internal procedures, development of forms, and suggestions on how to develop the elections adjudication system. The IFES Project Manager spoke with the Chairman of the CEC on a regular basis to expedite the approval of all voter education print and TV materials and production and distribution of the Election Day Guide.

On Election Day, IFES fielded four technical observation teams covering fourteen constituencies comprising the greater Baku area, the major outlying region of Sumgayit, and the Oguz region in the interior of the country. IFES teams also focused on monitoring special polling stations frequented by military personnel and IDPs and polling stations setup in hospitals and jails to assess the efficacy of those procedures. Through cooperation with the CEC, IFES was granted special access to the state automated systems control center on election night.

Following the elections, IFES held private meetings with the CEC to discuss the results from the single mandate constituencies and to relay concerns about a reasonable distribution of party seats on the nationwide proportional constituency. While some progress was made through the inclusion of opposition parties, in some regards the Parliamentary elections fell short of generally accepted international standards for democratic elections. Following the re-vote in 11 constituencies in early January, IFES will provide the CEC with a confidential technical assessment of the Milli Majlis elections.

#### *Voter Education Campaign*

In support of the 2000 Parliamentary elections, IFES collaborated with the CEC and Internews/Azerbaijan to increase public awareness of election rights and election procedures. The bulk of this joint voter education campaign consisted of six public service announcements which were aired on major television stations covering 95% of the country. The topics of these 30 second announcements included, "Checking the Voters List"; "The Function of the Milli Majlis"; "How to Use the Mobile Ballot Box"; "Steps in the Voting Process"; "You Will Receive Two Types of Ballots"; and "Go Out to Vote."

To supplement the concentrated messages contained in the 30 second announcements, IFES and Internews also produced two mini-documentaries gauging public sentiment in the ur-

ban area of Sumgayit and rural area of Gobustan. An impromptu format was used to interview citizens in their communities to ascertain voter perceptions and thoughts about the role of the Milli Majlis. The mini-documentaries served as voter education pieces by incorporating technical information about the polling process and facts about the function of Parliament. Both films aired on major television stations along with the IFES public service announcements.

In addition to the televised voter education pieces, IFES produced print materials. Funding from the British Embassy in Baku augmented USAID funding to support IFES' voter education pamphlet and brochure to educate the public on parliamentary functions and voting procedures. These materials were distributed through the CEC distribution center and present in polling stations on election day throughout the country.

#### *IFES Prepares for Project Activities in 2001*

In addition to maintaining an ongoing relationship with the CEC on electoral capacity building, IFES began preparations to create an IFES/Azerbaijan website and continued its work with municipalities and civic participation. Plans are also underway to move the IFES office to premises in the city center with more accessible space to accommodate an expanded Elections Resource Center.

#### *Impact Summary*

IFES continues its commitment to work with the CEC and relevant government departments to develop the long-term institutional capacity within the country and to improve democratic standards and election transparency. Through cooperative efforts between IFES and the CEC on a national voter information campaign utilizing print and TV materials, the electorate of Azerbaijan received objective information designed to promote election transparency and the voters' understanding of the electoral procedures during the 5 November elections to the Milli Majlis. Local television stations participated in increasing election transparency by airing the public information campaign spots.

Training materials designed by IFES and approved by the CEC were disseminated to precinct election commission members to provide them with step-by-step instructions on professionally conducting all procedures in the polling station on Election Day. IFES also continued its mission to provide objective electoral information to other institutions and organizations. The Election Day Guides were provided to OSCE/ODIHR international observers, political parties and local NGOs monitoring the elections. On the eve of its ascension to the Council of Europe early in 2001, Azerbaijan has another opportunity to demonstrate its progress in election administration of the forthcoming repeat elections to be held on 7 January.

## GEORGIA

#### *Civic Education Program*

During November and December, the "Be an Active Citizen" civic education program continued into its next phase. The project coordinator and project manager visited all regional centers where the networks are operating to continue discussion on concepts of civil society building and to begin discussions on possible projects that the group can undertake. Although there were a range of ideas discussed, virtually all groups stressed that the major need was to make information available and more accessible to people in the regions. This emphasis on information access and dissemination resulted in ideas that revolved around establishing community networks to ensure the information provided was disseminated as widely as possible and the use of mass media for discussion forums and information provision. The community networks were seen as a valuable tool for improving communication between Sakrebulo, NGOs and citizens, for increasing people's participation in civil society especially in elections. The other major target area identified was the provision of information to children through development of appropriate materials and curriculum focused on teaching concepts of democratic civil society. At least two groups believed that higher school children should be part of the groups developing the materials.

Work is now progressing on strengthening the network and researching the availability of alternate project partners where IFES cannot provide appropriate resources or support to an identified project. We will continue to support development of project proposals and refining identified goals and outcomes even where other partners may be required to fund the project or it may be considered more appropriate for the project to be funded by another partner. Part of the network building and strengthening is to ensure members of the network have access to the full range of aid organizations working in Georgia.

The first Civic Education Network newsletter has been produced and disseminated across the network.

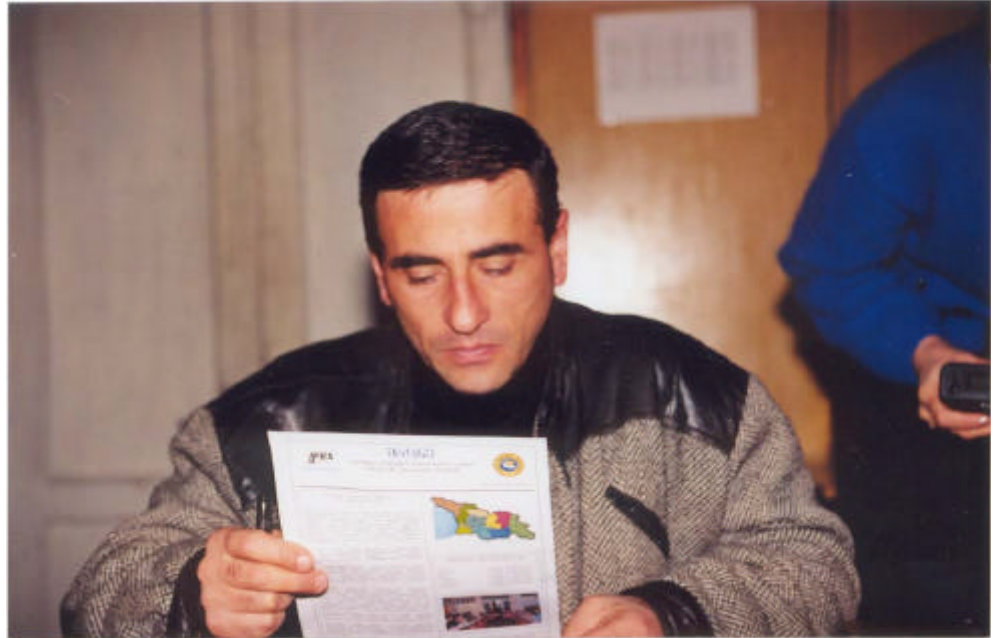
#### *Universal Code of Elections*

During November and December work continued in providing assistance to the Parliamentary Working Group (PWG) which has been charged with reviewing the existing election codes and, if assessed as necessary, the development of a universal election code for Georgia. Assistance and support is also being provided to a group of domestic NGOs preparing a concept paper, which outlines the areas of the election code, which require amendment from the perspective of these NGO groups.

A meeting was held with Gigi Tsereteli, the Chairman of the PWG to attempt to establish the work plan and direction of the PWG. Neither of these have been established as the PWG



has not met as a whole group as yet. Mr Tsereteli supported the concept of holding a 2-day workshop/retreat for the PWG and other interested parties such as the CEC, and some domestic and international NGOs and organizations. The concept of the conference is seen as a useful discussion forum for canvassing different views on the process of developing the unified election code. This includes identifying the areas of the existing code that work well and those that don't work so well, timeframe for project completion including implementation, the process for obtaining public comment and input both before and after the draft code is completed. The dates set for the conference are 9-11 February 2001.



*A Khashuri participant in IFES' "Be an Active Citizen" program refers to the program's newsletter.*

The group of domestic NGOs have agreed that they will participate in the conference and that they will provide their concept paper as a discussion paper for the conference. Both IFES and USAID see it is crucial to the effective and timely completion of the project that the NGO group consult and work closely with the PWG if it is at all possible.

#### *CEC Web Site*

Discussions have been ongoing with the CEC for implementation of the next phase of the development of the CEC's web presence. Currently their site is primarily focused on information pertinent to the Presidential elections held in April 2000. Virtually no updates have been undertaken since then.

The CEC has agreed that work will begin during December on updating the content of the site and to change the focus of the site into a Georgian general election site. They will also be adding an area, which provides a list of all public correspondence with the CEC. This will show who the correspondence is with and a short description of the subject of the correspondence.

A small working group has been formed which includes technical and content people from the CEC and IFES on an 'as needed' basis.

#### *Impact Summary*

Through its civic education program 'Be an Active Citizen' IFES is endeavoring to promote knowledge about democracy and active participation to citizens in Georgia. Through the program we hope to provide citizens with the necessary skills to attempt to effect change within their own communi-

ties within a democratic framework. The current phase of the project has identified projects the groups wish to implement within their region. The major need identified is the need for access to and effective dissemination of information about civil society. With the formation of the Parliamentary Working Party for reviewing Georgia's election laws and an agreement of a coordinated effort in this direction from local and international NGOs, it is hoped that this project will now begin to progress. The conference being arranged for February 2001 will provide a good focus point for the work on the election code and provide some impetus for work to actually commence which has not been the case to date.

## **KAZAKHSTAN**

### *Progress continues on Civic Education Textbook/Course Project*

The development of the IFES civic education project gained continued as IFES expanded its civic education course to the two new regions – Atyrau and Pavlodar. At the end of November, IFES representatives traveled to these regions to present the IFES civic education projects to the local Department of Education. IFES staff members met with Sofia Alibayeva, the head of the City Department of Education, and Kelamgali Kainenov, the Deputy Chief of the Oblast Department of Education. Both showed support for IFES programming by providing IFES with the list of schools, arranging meetings with more than 30 directors and 37 teachers, and identifying locations for training. As a result, approximately 35 schools in Pavlodar and Atyrau regions will introduce the course in January 2001, in addition to the 4 schools in these regions whose curricula already include the IFES course.

Strong support for the IFES project was indicated by students, teachers and administrators. Eleventh grade students of the Pavlodar's school # 42 expressed interest in designing a mock election campaign for the school's presidency and also requested contacts in Western schools with similar student councils. Furthermore, the Director and teachers of school #42 sought CE textbooks for 7<sup>th</sup> -9<sup>th</sup> grades. The Principal of Atyrau's school # 17, Victor Rassukhin, helped a great deal on arranging meetings with teachers, principals, chiefs of local departments of education, and representatives of USAID regional initiatives, including ISAR, and is currently assisting with the summer camp in Atyrau. IFES/Kazakhstan continues to identify schools that will introduce the CE course in January 2001. IFES staff contacted 9 remaining schools in Semipalatinsk that underwent training in August, but did not receive IFES textbooks in September due to the lack of funds and curriculum's hours allocated to civics. However, four schools agreed to launch the course in January 2001 and three – next school year.

In addition to working in the regions, IFES representatives continue to work with pilot schools in Almaty. In gymnasium # 46, they met with 100 students that study economics and elections from IFES textbooks. Furthermore, utilizing the civic education experience gained from IFES materials, the gymnasium also already held school mock presidential elections and elected a new Student Action Committee. Similar mock elections also took place in school #136, where on November 22, every 5<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> grade student, teacher, and parent chose a president from two candidates. IFES observers noted that this kind of mock elections is popular in many schools and remains a positive example of democratic reforms in a small school community.

#### *Student Action Committee Project*

Due to the success of the Student Action Committees (SACs) among students and their contribution to democratization and civic education, IFES began to coordinate a new series of SAC and SLGD projects. More schools in Aktobe oblast expressed interest in using IFES materials starting January 2001, and Nursuly Kibataeva, the Senior Official from the DOE, agreed to provide additional IFES training for the new CE teachers. Also, IFES staff had an opportunity to learn more about SAC's initiatives in various schools. Teacher Elena Boznak acquainted Marat Bigaliev, IFES Program Coordinator, with the structure of the SAC in her school.

In addition to developing new SAC agenda and contacting schools, IFES is in the process of identifying future local partners among CE NGOs to implement SAC, SLGD and Summer camps. The Association of Young Leaders (AYL) is one of the partners. AYL has been working in Kazakhstan since 1995 and has a good capacity of the human and other resources. IFES/Kazakhstan efforts are now directed toward securing a large support base of such sustainable and reliable organizations for future civic education initiatives.

#### *Impact Summary*

IFES staff in Kazakhstan focused on expanding IFES activities even further. As a result, through meetings with students, teachers, school officials, and representatives of various NGOs, IFES was not only able to identify Kazakhstan's needs in the area of civic education that IFES can address, but also gained broader support for its initiatives. Due to the prominent role that IFES plays in Kazakhstani civic education, the Conflict Center included IFES into the CE Working Group that will be developing a new state civic education concept for Kazakh textbooks. Furthermore, the representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Astana, Mr. Adil Musabaev, contacted IFES office. As Mr. Musabaev indicated, the Kazakhstani Government would like to address the IFES civic education project during the upcoming 7<sup>th</sup> US-Kazakhstan Joint Commission Meeting that will be held on December 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> in Astana. Such level of interest, along with the enthusiasm of IFES partners, gives IFES hope that although democratic state-building is still problematic in Kazakhstan, positive changes can be achieved.

## **KYRGYZSTAN**

#### *Student Activities Continue*

In November, IFES continued work with one of student's most dynamic groups – IFESstudents, which was formed in the aftermath of the presidential elections. Three IFES student observers indicated to IFES that they would like to form a more permanent association of students that would work on student issues. Initially, they were charged with tasks of implementing the KSNU student elections project, establishing a student newspaper, and planning a winter student seminar/conference. However, as discussions with IFESstudents developed, the students also expressed desire to conduct a "democracy game" for both students and teachers and made a well-prepare, stimulating presentation on the Kyrgyz elections for 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> grade students of the School #13, whose candidacy is considered for IFES pilot project. During the course of one month, IFESstudents showed efficiency and initiative by arranging for the KSNU student elections project to be conducted jointly with KSNU professor Edyl Moldoev, planning a sports & democracy game, and developing a set of issues to be addressed during the winter student seminar/conference. IFES/Kyrgyzstan is gratified to see such level of enthusiasm and commitment on the part of students and plans to assist with more of IFESstudents' activities next year.

#### *Secondary and Tertiary Education Projects in Kyrgyzstan*

The first draft of the IFES democracy textbook has been submitted to the Director of the Institute of Education, Mr. Pototsky. The project for secondary schools in Kyrgyzstan is now being considered by the staff of the Institute for inclusion into the secondary curriculum. A teacher's manual will be developed and tested during the training of teachers selected for participation in the piloting of the textbook.

IFES representatives also met with representatives of several universities to assess the feasibility of a tertiary civic education program. The group discussed topics to be taught within the scope of the civic education course, when the course should be introduced and whether it should be compulsory. Participants also agreed to invite respected educators from various universities to get their input. As a result of this meeting, it was decided to form a committee to investigate the best means of supporting a tertiary civic education project. Currently, an advisory group is in the process of preparing a draft proposal for the implementation of the project.

#### *Presidential Elections*

In the aftermath of the presidential elections, IFES staff conducted a number of activities to settle any unresolved elections issues and to start a new cycle of efforts to democratize the Kyrgyzstani elections system. In addition to the conclusion of debriefings of IFES observation teams and the submission of the observation report to the Chairman of the CEC, IFES staff met with several Kyrgyzstani officials to discuss the conduct of the presidential elections. At the meeting with the Deputy of the Jogorku Kenesh, Mr. Adaham Madumarov, IFES representatives were able to raise issues related to election fraud and potential responses to it in the follow up to the presidential election. Mr. Madumarov was also asked to suggest projects that he would like to see IFES implement in order to develop democratic culture and election process in the Kyrgyz Republic. Mr. Madumarov stated that he was pleased to see IFES' positive approach to Kyrgyz reforms, since it is often difficult to implement reforms in Kyrgyzstan, where the president has a lot of power. Mr. Madumarov identified this as a major obstacle to reform.

A similar meeting was held with another Deputy of the Jogorku Kenesh, Mr. Kedyrbekov, who also was interested in working with IFES. As a result of these meetings, IFES/Kyrgyzstan was able to provide Kyrgyzstani officials with a feedback on the elections and to identify areas of improvement where IFES can play a role. IFES plans to maintain its observer role with the CEC.

#### *IFES Website*

To support IFES work in the region, IFES/Kyrgyzstan has commenced work on a combined IFES/Central Asia website. This website will contain homepages of the four IFES offices in Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan, and the information will be offered in English, Russian and native languages. There is already some interest in the website from Bishkek City Council representative, Mr. Kadyraliyev, and IFES/Kyrgyzstan hopes that the website will help to support IFES work in the areas of election reform, civic education projects and political party development.

#### *Impact Summary*

During the month of November, IFES/Kyrgyzstan put a great deal of effort into initiating a new cycle of efforts to democ-

ratize political culture and elections system in Kyrgyzstan. IFES continues to aim at increasing both the professionalism of the CEC administration and the transparency of the election process, and through the November meetings with various elections officials and deputies of the Jogorku Kenesh, IFES was already able to identify some of the ways these goals can be achieved. Furthermore, IFES also continues to promote progress of civic education in academic institutions of Kyrgyzstan. It has developed a civic education democracy textbook and submitted it to the Institute of Education for evaluation and introduction as a pilot project. Also, IFES has commenced work on a tertiary civic education project with the intention of introducing a more sophisticated and expanded version of civic education textbook to the university students. In addition, IFES staff is supporting the new student initiative, IFESStudents, which began its activities in November and already achieved a number of accomplishments.

In November, keeping in mind lessons learned from the October presidential elections, IFES began to explore ways of expanding its support for democracy and civic society in Kyrgyzstan through various activities and events, such as meetings with Andrei Boiko, who proposed a civic education program for Army conscripts, and the construction of the IFES/Central Asia website.

## **TAJIKISTAN**

#### *Political Party Development*

An IFES-planned Political Party Tour to Munich proved to be the most significant event on the November agenda of IFES/Tajikistan. Philip Griffin, the IFES Political Party Development Specialist, coordinated the event with German, American, and Tajik officials, along with Dr. Roger Kangas of the Marshall Center and AED representatives. During the tour, which was scheduled from 14-21 November, ten political party representatives were trained how to use best management practices within their parties and develop cooperative strategies with their regional branches. The group also spent a day at the Bavarian Parliament, meeting with Peter Hufe, a deputy from the Social Democrat party (SPD), and Markus Sackmann, a Christian Social Union (CSU) party deputy, who discussed their activities as legislators and regional versus national priorities in terms of legislature and politics. Tajikistani participants also met with two representatives of the Free Democrat Party (FDP), Isa Berndt and Wolfram Rohde-Lidenaurr, who explained the role of the FDP in Bavarian politics. The FDP is represented in the National Parliament and the Munich City Council, does not have seats in the Bavarian Parliament. Furthermore, the group had an opportunity to discuss issues of environmentalism, political organizing as an outsider, and the transition of a movement/party into a parliamentary faction, with the deputies of the Green Party, Susanna Tausendfreund and Josef Duerr.

In the city of Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Tajik party representatives visited George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies, attending seminars and two presentations on political parties and the role/background of the Center and participating in the exercise on regional versus national issue prioritization. Tour participants also discussed the role of local issues in the political process, taxation, and local financing with the Mayor of Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Mr. Neidlinger.

Discussions and assessment sessions during the tour showed that Tajik tour participants were satisfied with a wide range of issues they learned about political party development and with the level of interaction with various political leaders. Upon the return to Dushanbe, Philip Griffin organized a Political Party Tour Press Conference, which was attended by the Indian and OSCE ambassadors, along with representatives of UNDP, UNTOP, and U.S., Turkish, German, and Turkish embassies. The results of the Political Party Tour seem to impress IFES' local and international partners. Marc Gilbert, OSCE Ambassador, and Bernie Ryan, Legislative Liaison at ABA/CEELI, wished to discuss continued cooperation with IFES.

#### *Curriculum Development*

IFES/Tajikistan started to work on Civic Education textbook adaptation based on the IFES textbook that was introduced last year in Kazakhstan. IFES is currently preparing a Memorandum of Understanding with the Ministry of Education to formally conclude a working arrangement to develop the textbook. Select local authors and contributors will be identified and an advisory group will be established to oversee the adaptation and implementation of the textbook project. IFES/Tajikistan already received a copy of the letter from the Scientific Research Institute of Pedagogy supporting curriculum development proposal. Gulchera Mirzoyeva, the Director of NGO Modar, was also willing to contribute to the adaptation of the textbook. She is interested in authoring a chapter on Human Rights and International Law, and has already assembled materials on this subject. In the end of November, IFES/Tajikistan received the revised and adapted course outlines from the Institute of Pedagogy and is continuing to work with the Institute on textbook adaptation.

#### *Impact Summary*

The political party tour proved to be a great opportunity for members of various Tajik parties to study multi-party politics abroad, to foster greater understanding with each other, and to establish greater mutual tolerance between parties. Tolerance and conflict resolution are also critical themes in the adaptation of the IFES civics and democracy textbook for secondary school students. IFES/Tajikistan hopes that through hands-on experience with student activities of the textbook, students will have a better opportunity to see democracy in action.

In addition to the political party tour and the development of the textbook project, IFES/Tajikistan continued to expand its scope of activities. In early November, IFES staff participated in the filming of the IFES-sponsored TV program, "Law, Society and Democracy". Furthermore, IFES discussed implementation of the IFES-approved project "Rights of Women IN Tajikistan" with the NGO Modar, participated in UNIFEM round table discussion on violence against women, and was invited by the representative of the Office for Human Rights and the Rule of Law, Mr. Mansurov, to attend the OSCE-sponsored Conference on Human Rights in order to help select the best student researches.

## UZBEKISTAN

#### *Civic Education Course*

In November, local staff representatives Julia Dashkevich and Dmitry Shevkun and Civic Education Specialist Jeffrey Carlson, continued to develop programming options for Uzbekistan. Along with the rigorous research about the state of civic education in the country and a possibility of different civic education projects based on specific regional needs, IFES/Uzbekistan focused on further developing contacts among various civic education organizations in Uzbekistan. Mr. Carlson had an opportunity to meet with Dildora Abedzhanova, CEP project coordinator, Iskandar Ismailov, Director of Programs of the Open Society Institute, Dilmurod Rasulev, Head of the International Department of the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, and other representatives of the civic education sector.

IFES identified several areas of future programming in Uzbekistan. At the secondary school level, IFES has outlined a potential contribution to civic education programs in the area of secondary specialized (lyceums and colleges) and higher (universities) education, and this initiative has been already supported by Dilmurod Rasulev, Head of the International Department of the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education. At the university level, Uzbekistan is working to improve the level of teaching and to strengthen civic education. IFES can play an influential role in this enormous and important task. The Ministry already indicated to IFES that it needs textbooks, curriculum development, and teacher training in the area of civic education.

#### *Impact Summary*

Uzbekistan devotes a great deal of resources to reforming its education system. By 2005, the country hopes to replace public secondary schools with a system of colleges and lyceums. Partnering with other organizations, IFES is prepared to meet these needs with a program that includes targeted civic education training, and material and curriculum development.



### MAKING DEMOCRACY WORK

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