

The Europe and Eurasia Report



MAKING DEMOCRACY WORK

October 2000

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS IN KOSOVO

Election Success

On 28 October, Kosovo successfully held free, fair, and peaceful municipal elections. In the months leading up to the elections, IFES provided technical assistance in the areas of civil and voter registration, the development of the Voters' List and ballots, training of election officials, the organization of observers, Out-of-Kosovo Operations, Logistics and Operations, Political Party Services, Public Information, Ballot Tabulation, and much more. The combined effort of the OSCE and IFES led to a smooth electoral process.

Ambassador Daan Everts, Head of the OSCE Mission in Kosovo, proclaimed that the 28 October 2000 elections in Kosovo "will probably go into history as the best ever post-conflict first elections." The success of these elections is evident from the 79% voter participation in the province and the fact that Election Day was one of the calmest days in Kosovo since the end of the conflict. This high turnout was evident early in the voting day; the Central Election Commission expressed its concerns that voters would not be able to finish casting their ballots before 19:00 hours because lines were so long in some polling stations. Some people suggested extending the voting but the electoral rules clearly stated "Any registered voter in who is in the queue for voting at the closing hour on the voting day [19:00] will be permitted to vote." This message was broadcast widely so that voters would queue before this time.

Voting at polling stations on Election Day was not the only voting that proved successful. 5,987 individuals took part in the Special Needs Voting program which included homebound voters, residents at the Shtime/Stimlje Mental Institution, residents of the Pristina Home for the Elderly, members of the Kosovo Police Service (KPS), Polling Station Staff not assigned to their own Polling Center on election day, prisoners incarcerated in Kosovo, prisoners released from Serbia, hospital patients, and hospital staff working on election day to vote. Out of Kosovo voting also produced many ballots; 21,756 certified votes were received by mail while 145 ballots were cast in Albania; 325 ballots were cast in Macedonia; and 216 ballots were cast in Montenegro. IFES Ballot Tabulation Specialist Liam Byrne and consultant Peter Erben organized the counting procedures and ballot tabulation. The certification of results did not occur until all votes were accounted for.

Of the 30 municipalities in Kosovo, election results from 27 municipalities were certified by Special Representative to the Secre-

tary General (SRS) Bernard Kouchner on 7 November after the ballot tabulation had been completed for all types of ballots. The results were accepted by all participants in these municipalities.

Results

Moderate Ibrahim Rugova's party, the Democratic League of Kosovo (LDK), won 21 of the 27 certified municipalities, taking 504 seats (58% total). The Democratic Party of Kosovo (PDK) of Hashim Thaci, the former political leader of the KLA, won a plurality of 267 seats (27.3%). The coalition Alliance for the Future of Kosovo (AAK), led by former rebel leader Ramush Haradinaj garnered 7.7% of the vote (71 seats). Representatives of PLK, PSHDK, SDA, GIG, IC, PQLK, PRK, PDASHK, PNDSh, BSDAK, and DRSM were also elected to municipal councils. Just over 8% of those elected to municipal councils were women. All three major parties agreed that independence for Kosovo was of primary importance; the victory of Rugova's moderates is seen as a positive sign for peace in the area.

The OSCE reported only a few limited cases of attempted fraud and asserted that the election was well managed and fair. The observers and international supervisors of the elections ensured that any occurrences of such fraud would have been reported. The OSCE and IFES cooperatively oversaw the domestic observation program that included approximately 4,500 political party, coalition, and independent candidate observers as well as over 1,000 NGO observers. IFES and the OSCE are now working on a lessons learned report that will form the basis of future observation programs in Kosovo.

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The OSCE stamp is placed on the ballot to ensure its validity.

Elections

Governance

Civil Society

Rule of Law

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EUROPE

ACEEEO

Secretariat Development

As the activities of the Association for Central and Eastern European Election Officials (ACEEEO) continue to expand, its Secretariat has, under the tutelage of IFES, increased its capacity. As a part of this capacity and funding support-building effort, the ACEEEO received funding from the C.S. Mott Foundation to hire a full time staff member. Since its inception, part-time individuals working on a pro bono basis staffed the ACEEEO Secretariat in Budapest, Hungary. Mr. Mate Radics brings with him an extensive background in economics and has focused his efforts on developing new internal response and logistics capacities to the Association. Mr. Radics spent three weeks at IFES in Washington, DC, taking part in an exhaustive training regime that included meetings with foundations, government specialists, IFES-organized budget and management sessions, and project management briefings. While at IFES he also worked closely with our staff and attended courses outside of IFES to develop his fundraising and project management skills.

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 provides 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 will come to IFES during a separately funded visit to meet with the IFES Executive staff, the Federal Election Commission (FEC), and members of the DC Board of Elections among others. Participants of this delegation are Urban György, Head of the Central Office of Ministry of Interior; Katona László, Head of the ACEEEO Secretariat; and Hungarian Notarys Oleárné Dr. Kádas Mariann, Dr. Bíró László, Belinszky Béla Sándor, Dr. Bálint József, Dr. Mészáros Miklós, Dr. Aracsi József, Dr. Csizsár Miklós, Dr. Heiszman Géza, and Dr. Forgács Ferenc.

The delegation will meet with IFES staff to evaluate over 10 years of cooperation, look into new ways of expanding this cooperation, discussing cooperation on the 2001 ACEEEO

Zagreb conference, and learn more about the structure and focus of IFES. Meetings with the FEC and DC Board of Elections may focus on the ongoing experience of the Presidential Election and the role of the Internet in elections today.

ALBANIA

Local Government Elections Held

Local government elections were held in Albania on 1 October with run-off elections held on 15 October. Voting took place in all but three of the 386 municipalities/communes. The election in one commune was postponed due the death of a candidate and in two other communes voting did not take place because of problems within the local election commission. While there were complaints about delays in opening voting centers and other difficulties during the day, voting took place in a quiet atmosphere for the first time since 1990. These elections were the first elections in Albania that were judged by the international community to be free and fair.

On 15 October, the 2nd round elections for the position of mayor were held in 156 municipalities/communes. With the exception of the community of Himara, the second round elections were conducted without major incident. There were, however, a number of issues and difficulties that have to be addressed by the new Central Election Commission (CEC) in preparation for the national elections scheduled for mid 2001. These issues are highlighted below:

Voter Registry and Mapping

Updating the voter registry, completion of the issuance of voter identification cards, and production of polling unit maps are the major priorities for the next election. Deficiencies in all these areas were a cause of major administrative problems during the election.

Communication with Local Election Commissions

The CEC did not have the capability of communicating with local commissions rapidly or effectively. Consequently, the CEC was not able to monitor progress on Election Day or react to issues as they came forward.

Issuing Clear and Timely Instructions

This was a continuous problem. Not only were instructions of the CEC often issued too late, they were often incomplete (or at least open to interpretation). Given the lack of a good communication infrastructure with LGECs, local officials did not always receive a copy of the CEC instructions. Therefore, the CEC often relied on television news coverage to get information and instructions to LGECs.

Receiving Results

The CEC lacked the ability to receive unofficial results, and there were considerable delays in obtaining the results from local commissions.

Announcing Results

Not only did the CEC not receive results as quickly as they should, the CEC did not issue a complete statement of results in a timely manner.

Court Action and Decisions

For the first time, courts were given the legal responsibilities of the recounting of ballots and hearing election complaints from parties and/or individuals. The courts require further training on their new roles, and the CEC requires further training on its role as a quasi-judicial body.

Training Officials

There was no training of local election officials in preparation for the October elections. Many of the local officials preparing for the national elections will be the same individuals and their experience from this fall will be useful. However, it is evident that a comprehensive training program for officials is necessary as is a more comprehensive civic education program so that voters continue to become more familiar with the processes and procedures contained in the electoral code.

Educating Parties

The political parties were not familiar with the electoral code and were not actively interested in learning how the new provisions work or how these provisions could be used to their own benefit. The new provisions include the use of party representatives at the polls, lodging complaints, use of the courts, the role of party nominees on the local government election commissions, and most importantly, meeting legal deadlines.

Post Election Activity

Following the election, IFES began planning a seminar for the CEC members to review what has occurred over the past five months (the Commission was formalized in June 2000) and to begin to develop a strategic plan in preparation for the national parliamentary elections in 2001. This seminar is scheduled for late November.

In cooperation with the OSCE, IFES is preparing a joint proposal for a project with the CEC to finalize the voter registry, to update voter identification cards and complete their distribution, and to prepare polling unit maps. It is anticipated that this project would begin by Christmas 2000.

Under the new electoral code, the zone boundaries of the 115 existing electoral zones must be redrawn and reduced to 100 total zones. An independent zone boundary commission has just begun this work. IFES will be providing some advice to that body as it undertakes this task.

Impact Summary

Both international organizations and the CEC have provided positive remarks on IFES activities in preparation for the Albanian local elections. While this is appreciated, a review of

the issues listed above indicates that there is still a great deal left to do to establish a strong, stable, and effective election process in Albania. Over the next year, through the planning for and administration of the parliamentary elections in 2001, IFES will continue to develop its close relationship with the CEC and co-operation with other international organizations in Albania.

BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA (BiH)

Bosnia CA Activities

Pre-Election Activities

IFES/Sarajevo is currently assisting the Association of Election Officials in Bosnia and Herzegovina (AEOBiH) with planning and implementing a wide range of elections-related activities that will be carried out over the coming months. These activities are being designed to improve the election process in BiH as well as to impart new skills and build capacity among the AEOBiH members. The majority of AEOBiH members are Municipal Election Commission (MEC) officials, who are responsible for the conduct of elections in their municipality. Membership currently stands at over 550 members including OSCE election officers, a handful of international election professionals, and a member of the Provisional Election Commission.

The AEOBiH is fully engaged in several projects related to the preparation and administration of General Elections, which will take place on 11 November. Thirty-two of the seventy-three trainers currently training Polling Station Committees (PSCs) in cooperation with the OSCE Elections Training Branch are AEOBiH members. In most municipalities, 50-70% of PSC members recruited for the General Elections already have experience serving in the previous election.

IFES is providing resources to MECs so that they can conduct voter information and education activities at the local level. These activities will include presentations on the features of the election system in local communities. Special attention will be given to specific target groups on a municipality-by-municipality basis, including education of the elderly, disabled, and displaced persons. In addition, notices listing the locations of polling stations will be printed and distributed. Roundtable discussions will be conducted with political parties, NGOs, and citizens. Many MEC members will be making radio and television appearances to inform, educate, and motivate voters who live in their area of responsibility. Finally, the AEOBiH is strongly encouraging all MECs to set up telephone hotlines where voters may call to find out their polling station assignment, hours of polling, and other specific election-day information during the week leading up to and including election day.

Sixteen members of the AEOBiH came together at a meeting held in Sarajevo on 16 October to discuss the findings and

conclusions of consultations they carried out with members of MECs across the country to identify, analyze, and resolve potential difficulties that the MECs may experience prior to the General Elections. Eight teams visited 96 MEC members in all regions of BiH during September and October. A recommendation was then issued to all MECs regarding voters who do not find their names on the final voter's list at the polling station on Election Day. A form has been designed for their addresses and telephone contact information so that MECs are better able to follow-up and re-register these voters at the proper location after the elections. The goal of this activity is to improve the overall quality of voter registries for future elections in BiH.

Preparations Underway for Annual AEOBiH Conference

The AEOBiH will be holding their Second Annual Conference and Assembly Meeting 7-10 December in Teslic, where the implementation of the General Elections will be further analysed. Election officials from countries in Southeast Europe, as well as those from countries that hosted AEOBiH delegations to observe their elections this past year, will be invited as guests.

Update on the Draft Election Law

The Parliamentary Working Group continues to hold sessions to revise the draft election law. Thus far, they have not discussed the inclusion of the BiH Constitutional Court Decision on the status of all three constituent peoples in BiH (Bosniaks, Bosnian Serbs, and Bosnian Croats) into the draft. It is unlikely that the international community would accept a BiH election law that does not take this court decision into account. The international community is pinning its hopes for progress with passage of an election law in 2001; this would require less obstructionist parliamentarians being voted into office in the General Elections on 11 November.

AEOBiH Website Launched

Please visit the new official website of the Association of Election Officials in Bosnia and Herzegovina at www.aeobih.com.ba where you will find more information regarding the above-mentioned projects as well as background material on the development of this unique organization.

Civic Education Activities

Five of the six civic education offices began voter education activities on 2 October. The staff in the new office at Visegrad began two days later after training and orientation. The trainers found widespread apathy during the first week of October; however, the GOGs began focusing voters on the upcoming elections. Generally, IFES' renewed presence is well received everywhere by both the voters and the local officials. A combination of OSCE and IFES materials are being used in the GOGs. The most interesting piece of information to attendees of the GOGS has been the handout with the names of the actual candidates in each constituency. OSCE ballot posters have also been put up at each GOG loca-

tion as well as other locations. In addition to these sessions, IFES trainers are reaching the public via radio GOGs where practical; Bihac, Doboj, and Livno have already aired several and Zenica has plans to begin. A third element of voter outreach is candidate fora. It should also be noted that a new milestone was reached on 18 October with the signing of a sub-agreement between IFES and the BiH NGO CCI.

GOGs

IFES trainers have been circulating throughout the 75 municipalities in which they work. They have held 2,167 GOGs with 30,549 attendees since initiating these pre-election sessions on 2 October. In the beginning, Peter Noppenau reported that in some areas, especially in Kupres, people were reluctant to participate because they were busy reconstructing their houses with materials delivered recently by SFOR and UMCOR, but the IFES trainers are still getting people's attention. Peter's teams in Livno began GOGs in the high schools with plans to visit every class that has potential voters. They have discovered that 50% of these young potential voters are not registered and suggest that the MECs might devote the first two days of each school year to registering these students. On 17 October, our team of Ivana and Ivica met with the Western Herzegovina cantonal Minister of Education and secured approval for holding GOGs in the schools.

Ed Morgan accompanied Tanya and Branko to the local high school in Doboj where they conducted a GOG with 34 students of an accounting course. They will meet three other similar classes in this school before the 11 November election. Typical questions from this GOGs held by the Doboj teams included: When would we have our own election law?; Why would invisible ink not be applied on voters' fingers for this election?; Why do we have elections so often?; What percent is needed to get a mandate in the RS Assembly?; What are multimember constituencies and their purpose?; What are compensatory mandates?; How many parties nominated candidates for RS President and Vice President?; and Is out-of-country voting allowed for this election?

Panto and Zoran reported a successful start on GOGs in Croat villages in the Brcko District. They met with and gave copies of our Brcko District election brochure to the CCI trainer assigned to Brcko, which he intends to use in his sessions as well. In the Bosniak villages, there appears to be a lower level of interest where SDP and SDA have already campaigned.

Candidate Fora

On 28 October, the Zenica staff had its first candidate forum. Ten parties indicated that they would attend, but only four candidates appeared and the one from NHI, when seeing that SDA and HDZ were not coming, left so that only SBiH, HSS, and the Pensioners Party candidates participated. While this forum was not as heavily attended (29 voters) as the one prior to the April election, the questions were sharper such as,

“What are the parties planning to do about corruption and the black market?”, “How do you plan to stop youth emigration?”, and “Do you plan to attend the sessions of the parliament and take your salary and leave, as those representatives do now?” The forum was a lively exchange of views. Other candidate fora are being arranged in Vitez, Derventa, Vukosavlje, and Kupres. Fora have been scheduled for the first week of November in Bosansko Grahovo, Petrovo, Poculica-Travnik, Posusje, Pelagicevo, Podovi-Drvar, and Teslic.

Panels at Bihac University

Foster Tucker's teams have been working with students at the Bihac University. The first forum IFES was involved with was in cooperation with OSCE and the Democracy Center at the University of Bihac on 19 October. Two-dozen students heard six parties speak to the question “Why Should I Vote?” Three GOGs, with a total attendance of nearly 200 students, have since been held. The students are grateful for the information and report that no candidates or party officials have yet visited them.

The University of Bihac Student Union, began the installation of the “Why Should I Vote” panels during the last week of October. The panels are seen by the students as an innovative and concrete attempt to sample their views. Once a panel is filled, it is forwarded to us and replaced with a blank panel. Comments range from flippant (...to legalize drugs...) to thoughtful (...to put honest people in office...) and are generating many conversations among the readers about this election and the impact students can have in the outcome. Phase Two of this effort, an electronic version of the panels, featuring a chat room and on-line polling capabilities, has been launched. A press conference was held, including OSCE, the University, the Students' Union, the Democracy Center, and IFES. USK-TV provided coverage of this landmark event. The address is www.dial.to/e2k. After the election, we hope to maintain this web-based presence to gather citizen comments about the election results, the implementation process, and the efficacy of the cantonal government.

Bosnian-Croat Politics

An example of bizarre politics in BiH also comes from Herzegovina. The Croat member of the BiH Presidency, Ante Jelevic, called for a referendum by the Croats exclusively to be held before the 11 November Election. The purpose was to allow Croatian citizens of BiH to determine whether or not they wished to continue to be a part of BiH, or become a part of Croatia; and, if the latter, then they would not participate in the 11 November Election. From Livno, it appears that the Croatian Referendum, now referred to by OSCE as an opinion survey, is only stirring interest in Canton 8, Western Herzegovina, and may benefit its sponsors, HDZ. Elsewhere, except possibly in Una-Sana, its impact is minimal in such places as Zepce and the Posavina Canton.

Peter reported that the main topic at our GOGs in Herzego-

vina, especially in Canton 8, has been the frustration of the Bosnian Croats about the decision made by the PEC that other than Bosnian Croats can vote for the Bosnian Croatian members of the House of the People. The government in Croatia is also of the opinion that the Bosnian Croats have a case and has issued a *non-paper*. On 28 October a meeting is scheduled in Travnik about this topic.

Impact Summary

Both IFES/AEOBiH and the Civic Education teams have been diligently preparing for the 11 November General Elections. IFES/AEOBiH activities have had the goal of improving the execution of this and future elections. They have been helping the AEOBiH members gain new skills and capacities; part of this effort has focused on ensuring that the AEOBiH members keep the electorate informed on election-day information. They have also spent time identifying, analyzing, and resolving potential difficulties that the MECs may experience prior to the General Elections. The Civic Education teams have been implementing as many GOGs as possible to get out the vote. They have succeeded in educating over 30,000 voters at over 2,000 GOGs. One way their efforts have expanded is through radio GOGs. Activities at Bihac University have also raised awareness among young voters. The efforts by these two IFES groups have contributed greatly to the endeavor of creating an informed electorate and a smooth electoral process.

MACEDONIA

Overview of Ongoing Local Elections

Re-runs of elections in a number of municipalities were held on 8 and 22 October amid confusion and continuing criticism of the State Electoral Commission (SEC) an addition to a lengthy and acrimonious consideration of the elections in Parliament. On 8 October, there was an incident near the polling station in Ohrid in which one young man was shot in the head.

By month's end, there was still no comprehensive compilation of the results of the voting. Run-offs and re-voting in various municipalities are expected to continue through November.

Post-Election Seminar Planning

During October, IFES continued its plans to sponsor a seminar on the future of elections in Macedonia. At month's end, IFES was finalizing panels and contacting prospective participants from the NGO and academic communities, Parliament, electoral commissions and boards, other state bodies involved in elections, political parties, and the media. Support for the seminar is enthusiastic, and broad participation is anticipated. Panels were being formed for the following areas:

- Overview of the Local Elections 2000;
- Election Administration (SEC, MEC, Electoral Board, Assisting Bodies);
- Voter Registration and the Voters' List;
- Media Issues; and
- Recommendations for Electoral Reform.

The seminar will be held at the Holiday Inn in Skopje on 17-18 November.

MOLDOVA

IFES, Ministry of Justice Consider Draft Legislation

On 20 October, IFES, in conjunction with the Ministry of Justice and CONTACT Center, conducted a seminar focused on the draft law on non-commercial organizations. Minister of Justice Valeria Sterbet opened the seminar by underscoring the importance of this legislation and the development of clear criteria for public benefit organizations. The event afforded participants, which included representatives of the Ministry of Education, Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Health, Parliament, and domestic NGOs, the opportunity to review the draft legislation and provide feedback regarding its potential utility.

At the seminar, the IFES/Public Service Certification Commission Working Group released the study entitled "Public Benefit Status of Non-Commercial Organization in Moldova." The study is a culmination of the efforts of the working group that was created this summer to define criteria for certification of public associations and refine oversight procedures.

The working group plans to reconvene in the near future to consider how to incorporate the recommendations of participants before presenting the final version of the draft law.

IFES, Juridic Direction Review Amendments to Electoral Code

In late October, IFES and the Juridic Direction of Parliament hosted a roundtable to consider the draft law on amending the Electoral Code. This draft, which was submitted by Independent Deputy Ion Morei, is based on a majoritarian system rather than the current proportional system. Participants expressed concern over the lack of clearly defined procedures to address the following issues:

- Formation of single-mandate districts;
- A second round of elections should no candidate receive a majority of the votes;
- Registration of candidates;
- Protection of the rights of citizens of Transnistria; and
- Distribution of mandates reserved for Transnistria should authorities prohibit elections in the region.

Judicial Roundtable Conducted

This month, IFES and the Juridic Direction sponsored a roundtable to review the newly established procedures for resolving election disputes. Supreme Court Judge Anastasia Pascari participated in the event. Participants also considered procedures for recalling mayors. Since the local elections in May 1999, citizens have frequently utilized local referenda to recall elected local public officials whom the electorate has determined have failed to fulfill their campaign promises and responsibilities. Participants of the roundtable agreed that the Electoral Code should be amended to require confirmation of a court to revoke a mayor's mandate.

IFES, Stars of Europe Host Electoral School

IFES continued to participate in Electoral School throughout the month of October. The weekly informational sessions were started in the fall of 1999 to familiarize young members of political parties with the electoral process and recent developments in Moldova. IFES and the Moldovan NGO Stars of Europe determined that given the various levels of knowledge among participants, two weekly sessions should be held—one for member and a separate one for leaders of the youth branches of political parties.

In October, the weekly series primarily focused on the impact of the recent decision of Parliament to transform Moldova into a parliamentary republic. Participants also considered the role of the political elite.

Assessment of CEC Automated Vote Tabulation Proposal

IFES Information Management Systems Expert Mike Yard visited Moldova this month. The purpose of Mr. Yard's visit was to assess the viability of a proposed automated vote tabulation pilot. The proposed system, which is a joint initiative of the CEC and the Republican Information Center, seeks to streamline vote-tallying procedures through the installation of automated ballot boxes and the introduction of scannable ballots in select regions. Through meetings with the Republican Information Center and the CEC, Mr. Yard gained a sense for the technical and policy parameters of the project and submitted recommendations as to its short and long-term viability.

Civic Voice Radio Hour

In October, IFES/Moldova and LADOM produced eight Civic Voice radio hour broadcasts on the Chisinau Municipality Radio Station, ANTENNA C. At issue were mass media during electoral campaigns; the Copenhagen Declaration on free and fair elections; the role of NGOs in promoting citizens' civil and political rights; and referenda for the recalling of mayors (featuring Mr. Dumitru Nidelcu, Chairman of the CEC). On 19 October, Charles Lasham, Nathan Van Dusen, and Mike Yard were guests of the show. The participants discussed IFES projects in Moldova and around the world. Other broadcasts this month featured Angela Agachi Co-chairman of the Students Organizations Federation of Moldova and Ghenadie Dumanschi, Director of the Youth



Students of the Electoral School discuss the topic of Moldova's political elite.

and Sport Department of the Ministry of Education. Ms. Agachi and Mr. Dumanschi both discussed social issues facing Moldovan youth.

Impact Summary

IFES' work with the Ministry of Justice and CONTACT Center on the draft law on non-commercial organizations neared completion this month. The draft law establishes a more detailed framework for the regulation of the non-profit community and allows for limited public financing of public benefit organizations. If enacted, the law will enhance the legitimacy of Moldovan non-profits and ensure that they are overseen by uniform regulatory structures.

IFES continued to work with the Juridic Direction of Parliament on a number of issues this month. As Parliament considers revising the Electoral Code and moving away from the full proportional system of representation, IFES provides assistance in revising alternative drafts and provides background information on alternative systems. Additional support was provided in reviewing newly established procedures for the adjudication of election disputes. IFES assistance in this area seeks to promote a more representative and transparent electoral system.

In response to a joint proposal by the CEC and the Republican Information Center (RIC), IFES fielded an expert to review their newly developed automated vote tabulation system. The assessment of their proposed system provides key insight into the comparative advantages/disadvantages of the CEC's approach. The expert report will afford the CEC the information necessary to measure the short and long-term viability and effectiveness of the system.

Finally, the Civic Voice radio hour and the Electoral School

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IFES Director of Elections Jeff Fischer attends a youth event to promote awareness and participation.

“Kosovo Elections” from page 1

One week prior to the elections, 1,300 international supervisors assembled in Ohrid, Macedonia, for training that was coordinated by IFES Training Advisor Pauline Dion. The international supervisors were divided into two large groups for training on polling and counting procedures. During this training, the trainers worked to integrate the updates and revised the voting scenarios to reflect those changes.

In the weeks leading up to the elections, IFES Media Advisor Charlotte Souibes oversaw the newly created OSCE Media Center. The Media Center provided access to an array of computer, video, and television resources as well as print media. The press resource center also offered sixteen computer terminals for journalists, a television with 24-hour news access, maps, and OMIK press releases. In addition to being a member of the helpdesk Press and Information team in the Media Center, Souibes also assisted with the frequent press briefings that took place there. These briefings continually updated the media and the international community on the status of the elections in Kosovo. Following the elections, Souibes headed a campaign promoting respect for the outcome of the elections.

All political parties who participated in the municipal elections have accepted the fairness of the electoral process as well as the outcome of the polls. Political parties who did not participate in the elections have contacted Political Party Services to find out the procedures minority parties could follow to have members appointed by the SRSB to the assemblies in the three municipalities in which results were not certified.

The three municipalities whose results were not certified are the Serb-dominated municipalities of Zvecan, Zubin Potok, and Le-

posavic/Leposaviq; votes there were not certified because of the low turnout. Serbs in Kosovo have expressed the desire to participate in the future registration process ultimately resulting in bi-elections in these three municipalities. Until this time, UNMIK appointed officials are to represent these municipalities on their councils.

The turnout at all polling stations with Kosovo Turkish, Gorani, and Roma electorates was high. On a visit to Prizren and Dragas with the SRSB, the HoM commended these communities on their turnout and the celebratory manner in which they were voting. In the sensitive minority area of the Bosniac Mahala in North Mitrovica, voting occurred largely without incidents. These reports are promising for future relations with minorities in Kosovo.

MEC Installation

IFES Database Specialist Fitzgerald Jean oversaw and worked on the development of the results software and the seat allocation software while IFES Senior Registration Advisor Christian Christensen ran a manual check on the seat allocation program. The next step in the democratization process in Kosovo is the installation of the elected municipal council members. The UN will be responsible for training these officials in transparent and effective leadership.

While the municipal councils will initially contain appointed members for the three provinces whose results were not certified, registration will continue in this region and elections are expected early next year. Ambassador Daan Everts has stated that parliamentary elections for Kosovo could also take place in the first half of 2001. He asserted that Albanian leaders in the province now feel that they have proven to be “democrats on the local level, and now insist to have elections on the central level as well.” It is anticipated that such elections would provide Kosovars with greater self-governance and autonomy.

Impact Summary

IFES technical assistance in Kosovo began with the planning of the civil registration and continued with preparations through election day. IFES and the OSCE cooperated in the design of the registration process to ensure that all eligible voters were able to register. From this registry, the voters’ list was developed; steps were then taken to provide for a smooth election process including the development of the ballot, the organization of Out-of-Kosovo and special needs votes, the training of supervisors and observers, and the public information campaign. IFES also oversaw the count and tabulation of ballots as well as seat allocation so that the confidence of political parties and the public in this process was preserved. Now IFES is in the planning stages for continued support in Kosovo through capacity building activities such as Municipal Election Commission training and professional development.

"Moldova" from page 7

remained on track this month. The Civic Voice radio hour provides non-partisan information regarding the electoral process and civic initiatives throughout the country. The Electoral School serves to strengthen the knowledge base within the youth wings of Moldova's political parties. Both programs seek to establish a more active, informed, and participatory citizenry.

ROMANIA

Electoral Assistance

IFES/Romania activities in October focused on identifying and addressing areas for improvement in the current electoral system established for the Parliamentary and Presidential elections on 26 November. The Voters List has been a topic of concern to many, as the last Voters List produced by the Central Election Bureau (BEC) allegedly included 17 million eligible voters. Therefore, on 12 October, IFES consultant Daniel Finn and local elections expert Lucia Negoita met with Brigadier General Nicola Tibaca, Advisor to Minister Ltc. Petu Paraschiv, at the Internal Affairs Ministry to obtain more information on the registration of citizens and voters as well as the distribution of voter cards. The Ministry of Internal Affairs is compiling a database of information on citizens; at the same time, it is systematizing records for issuance of the new-style national ID cards. The Ministry generates the Voters List(s) from this register. There is no law authorizing and controlling the collection and processing of personal information, but its use for the VL is authorized under the election laws (Nos. 68 & 69 of 1992). A law controlling the compilation of citizens' personal data should be enacted once the registry is completed. The concept of a Civil Registry or something similar might also be included in the legislation.

General Tabacu believes centralization and coordination of the records has advantages for both the government and citizens. With a national registry, citizens would not be required to visit several government offices to make changes in personal information. The public is still resistant to the idea of such a registry as there is a suspicion of a national database and doubts about the involvement of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The Ministry has started a public relations campaign and has consulted with NGO's, including leading human rights organizations, political parties and Parliament, regarding the civil registry.

Another difficulty being faced at this point in the election process is the distribution of Voter Cards prior to the elections. Normally, citizens would come to the Ministry of Internal Affairs and collect their cards. In this situation, however, the Ministry also took up the job of distributing the cards to their recipients. Due to the scope of their manpower, the police have taken over this responsibility under a protocol with the Ministry.

On 18 October, Micescu and Finn met with the President of the Romanian Supreme Court of Justice, the Honorable Paul Florea. Judge Florea agreed that it is very difficult for judges to make an instant transition to election administration. In this new environment, it is hard for them to draw the line—as they would do while serving on the bench—as to what sort of support and influence to accept. Defects of the existing election laws also mean that the members of the BEC are required to make as well as apply the law. Drafting Supreme Court judges onto the BEC also impedes the business of the Court. Florea noted that nearly all other formerly socialist countries have by this time created a permanent election commission. Judge Florea strongly supports the idea, as he was a member of a team that drafted a proposal for the government in 1993-94.

At the invitation of the Central Election Bureau (BEC) Secretary Mihai Vasile, Micescu and Finn met with Judge Leonida Pastor, Chairman of the new BEC. Pastor expressed his personal support for the formation of a permanent BEC; he says that he and others who have been involved in election administration have been calling for such a body since 1992. At the conclusion of the current elections process, the BEC will write a report and make recommendations.

The accreditation of domestic observers has been challenging the BEC, which has drafted a new way to accredit observers. It is a simple allocation and reallocation system that is based on a pre-established priority list of the organizations sponsoring the proposed observers. This is essentially unfair to the organizations that have a greater number of observer candidates, in that other organizations with a smaller list could receive priority for their nominees. The proposed system first establishes an order among the organization by either lottery or the time of submission of observer lists. The seats would be then filled based on each organization's ranking in this priority list. In the second round of accreditation, observers who had not been assigned would be reassigned to the unfilled polling station in the *judet* with the lowest ordinal number remaining. At the end of round two a list of unaccredited observers would be provided to each sponsoring organization; the organization could then propose to accredit these persons to other polling stations, either in the same *judet* or nationwide. If the priority order were established on the basis of the time of submission of the observer lists, the leading observation organization Pro-Democracy Association (APD) would be the eighth out of ten organizations. All sponsoring organizations were required to submit their observer lists on 16 November.

Technical Assistance for Election Officials

The local IFES consultants helped launch the project in September with a study of current legislation on elections, as the two basic laws 68 and 69/1992 were modified by Government Ordinances and Decisions. They also gathered informa-

tion about problems encountered during 1992 and 1996 electoral processes and attempted to convince the Government to promote the draft bill on a permanent elections board.

After this preliminary work, the IFES local elections experts, together with CENTRAS Executive Director Viorel Micescu, have divided into three teams. On 16 October, they visited the three regions that have been selected for the training and assistance pilot projects: Bacau (Moldavia), Bihor (Transylvania), and Vâlcea (Muntenia). There they met with local officials in charge of election administration (Prefects and Directors in Prefects' Offices) as well as with BEJ (county election bureau) judges. The consultants helped clarify technical details and better coordinate the institutions involved. The officials generally expressed confidence that the process will be appropriately conducted, and did not signal particular problems regarding logistics or legislative aspects.

From their study of legislation and meetings with election administration officials, the IFES local experts have produced a brochure entitled *Elections Step by Step (Alegeri pas cu pas)*. It will serve as a guide in the management of elections and in the resolution of disputes arising from interpretations of the law. It focuses on good management practices for elections and will provide examples and solutions for solving cases where the election law is unclear. It also includes an update of the legislative framework regulating the electoral process in Romania. The brochure was finished in October. Fifteen hundred copies of the manual will be distributed to local election officials and the BEC in early November.

NGO Coalition

IFES and CENTRAS have also been working with APD on long-range plans for an NGO coalition to reform the observer accreditation process, promote electoral reform, and encourage the development of a permanent BEC. They worry about the independence of the judicial members, and even their neutrality. IFES, CENTRAS, and APD have also been meeting to discuss political finance reform.

Impact Summary

The identification of challenges has been conducted by meeting with officials. They have also offered suggestions for the solution of many problems in the electoral system. IFES Consultant Daniel Finn continued to meet with election officials as well as with the Pro Democracy Association trying to create a coalition of NGOs to develop solutions to many of the challenges faced in the current election system. Finn drafted an issue paper that will serve as a model for recommendations for electoral reform both during and after this election period. This election cycle, election officials will be more prepared and educated on the electoral laws as a result of the manual put together by IFES and CENTRAS. This manual will be delivered to polling stations where IFES local experts will train these officials on laws and procedures in advance of the elections.

UKRAINE

IFES, IREX, CEC to Conduct Mass Media Conference

IFES/Ukraine, with the help of IREX Pro-Media, provided technical and financial support for the CEC's conference on the Role and Place of Mass Media In Election Campaigns on 27 October. A total of 22 presentations were made reflecting the views of various domestic and foreign organizations including representatives of the Lithuanian and Hungarian CEC's, members of the Verkhovna Rada, representatives of the Presidential Administration, the State Committee on Informational Policy, and journalists from Kyiv and the regions. Among the topics discussed at the conference were legal structures regulating media activity, the responsibility of the media in providing equal access to candidates and citizens, electronic media, and the role of the media in foreign states. Sylvia Babus of USAID as well as representatives of both NDI and IRI were present at the conference. The presentations were well received and the occasion was generally viewed as a success. Full reports on the conference will be made available by IFES/Ukraine.

Technical Assessment of the CEC's Election Returns System

Information Management Systems Expert Mike Yard visited Kyiv in October to conduct an assessment of the CEC's information and results reporting system, the Unified Information and Analytical System (UIAS). The UIAS is a fully integrated system capable of providing database support to all areas of election administration from registration of political parties to the announcement of the final results. Mr. Yard's report will focus on both the performance of the system during the recent 1999 presidential election cycle and future considerations. His initial impressions of the CEC's capacity to deliver timely and reliable results were positive. A full report will be made available by IFES at a later date.

Civic Education

A brief guide to IFES civic education initiatives was completed this month. The guide is intended to assist international and domestic NGOs in the development of future programming of this sort. It is worth noting that some of the local schools that participated in the Democracy Summer Camp 2000 have incorporated follow-up activities into their fall curriculum.

Discussions with Agency for Legislative Initiatives Continued

Details for the upcoming parliamentary roundtable, sponsored by IFES and the Agency of Legislative Initiatives, were finalized. Participants will include numerous members of the Verkhovna Rada, several professional political analysts, a representative from the CEC, and representatives from international NGOs. Discussion topics will range from the legal and funding environment for political parties to alternative electoral systems. Project Manager Patrice Noe Johnson urged the organizers to focus equally on existing examples of

parliamentary systems and the proposals of participants. NDI worked closely with IFES on the international NGO presentation of current forms of East European governance.

Impact Summary

IFES' support for the CEC media conference was aimed at building partnerships and investigating the factors that contribute to effective coverage of electoral events in Ukraine. The final product of the event will come in the form of recommendations drafted by the CEC and forwarded to the Verkhovna Rada for consideration in the development of future electoral laws. The conference was deemed a success by participants. Additional assistance to the CEC came in the form of a technical assessment of their automated election returns system. Such an assessment will allow the CEC to evaluate future needs and identify areas in which additional funding might be sought.

IFES/Ukraine's civic education initiatives have always strived to enhance citizen participation and develop a well-designed civics curriculum. The guide to IFES' activities and accomplishments in this realm is intended to pass along lessons learned to international and/or domestic organizations that seek to implement similar initiatives in the future. Finally, IFES support for an Agency for Legislative Initiatives-sponsored roundtable is aimed at furthering the ongoing discussion of Ukraine's democratic structures.

YUGOSLAVIA (SERBIA)

Vojislav Kostunica Declared Winner of Presidential Contest

Following a massive public uprising on 5 October and the concession of Slobodan Milosevic, the Federal Election Commission declared Vojislav Kostunica the winner of the 24 September federal presidential elections, winning 50.24% of the vote. (Final results below)

Serbian Parliament Dissolved, Parliamentary Elections Called for December

On 25 October, Dragan Tomic, President of the Serbian parliament, announced that early elections would be held for the Serbian Assembly on 23 December 2000. Serbian President

Milan Milutinovic dissolved parliament on the same day.

A new Serbian parliamentary election law was passed on 10 October which will govern these elections. Some changes in the law includes:

- the composition of the Republican Election Commission to consist of a President and 16 members appointed by Parliament at the nomination of political parties
- the creation of one constituency for all of Serbia
- the requirement that voters sign the voter registry extract at the polling station to receive a ballot
- the use of ink to mark the finger of those who have voted

Federal, Serbian Transitional Governments Under Composition

President Kostunica and leaders of the Democratic Opposition of Serbia (DOS) met with representatives of the Socialist People's Party (SNP) of Montenegro to negotiate the formation of a new federal government. Zoran Zizic of the SNP was designated as the future Prime Minister and Goran Svilanovic of DOS was slated to become Yugoslav Foreign Minister.

On 24 October, a transitional Serbian government was elected by parliament to govern until December elections. Milomir Minic of the Socialist Party of Serbia was elected Prime. Nebojsa Covic of DOS and Spasoje Kronic of the Serbian Renewal Movement were named Deputy Prime Ministers.

CAUCASUS/CENTRAL ASIA

ARMENIA

IFES Implementation of Civic Education Grant

In October, IFES initiated its "Citizens' Awareness and Participation in Armenia" project, which will support major democracy and social reform through three components: Direct Citizen Engagement, where a core group of civic educators will create community-based citizen discussion groups and

2000 Presidential Elections: Serbia

Name of the candidate	Number of votes received	%
Miodrag Vidojkovic, Affirmative Party	45,946	0.93
Dr Vojislav Kostunica, Democratic Opposition of Serbia	2,470,304	50.24
Slobodan Milosevic, Socialist Party of Serbia, Yugoslav Left, Socialist People's Party of Montenegro	1,826,799	37.15
Vojislav Mihailovic, Serbian Renewal Movement	145,019	2.95
Tomislav Nikolic, Serbian Radical Party	289,013	5.88

Source: Federal Election Commission of Yugoslavia

later, initiative groups who will engage in public advocacy; second, oversight of government officials through an IFES led Education and Advocacy program performed in cooperation with an experienced Armenian civic organization—the Women's Republican Council; and lastly, an Information and Outreach campaign that will produce informational products (which include local and national government guides) and issue oriented fliers defined by IFES and local citizens to be distributed widely to the population.

From 10-15 October, Project Director Jeffrey Swedberg traveled to IFES headquarters in Washington, DC for a three-day programmatic orientation. This orientation allowed Swedberg to strategize with IFES/Washington staff on programmatic and logistical aspects of the new project. During the visit, Swedberg also joined Michael Svetlik, Program Officer/Caucasus, and Chad Vickery, Senior Program Assistant/Caucasus, in briefing meetings with officials from the State Department and USAID.

Subsequent to his Washington-based orientation, Swedberg visited Bosnia-Herzegovina from 24-28 October for briefings on the IFES civic education project in that country. Some aspects of the Armenia project have been modeled on the IFES experience in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in particular the formation of traveling training teams that will bring the civic education message to people wherever they congregate. As in the IFES Bosnia-Herzegovina project, IFES/Armenia will supply informational materials on civic issues to citizens who may not be able to access such information otherwise. Among other activities, IFES will compile and distribute reports on the conduct of community council meetings.

IFES/Armenia trainers will also encourage citizen involvement in their government by facilitating advocacy campaigns. While there are substantial differences between the two countries regarding administrative structures and the political and electoral environments, the four-year Bosnia-Herzegovina experience will provide important guidance to IFES as it implements the new Armenia project.

In order to take advantage of synergies in country, IFES has been meeting with representatives of other organizations, which will serve as potential partners in its civil society program. These organizations' activities include:

- Internews implements a program that trains broadcast journalists, provides equipment and production grants, and produces programs for independent broadcasters.
- World Learning recently received a grant from USAID to build the capacity of local non-governmental organizations in Armenia. Under this program, NGOs will have access to training, technical support, and a small grants program.
- The Urban Institute manages a USAID-funded local government program. It aims to promote efficiency in local management bodies and make them more responsive to citizens.
- The NDI currently operates a civic education program through its partnership with a local NGO, primarily in small villages.
- Junior Achievement will train civics teachers from every primary school in the country.
- The OSCE continues to work with the Armenian government in a wide range of societal reform projects.

Meetings will be held soon with other actors in the civil society sphere including the UNDP, Save the Children in order for IFES to fully utilize the civil society and governmental linkages already in place in Armenia.

Impact Summary

As plans are implemented for this multi-year project, IFES has started the process of creating an effective, advocacy-based civic education project that will increase the ability of the average Armenian to build a civil society. Visiting the IFES Bosnia-Herzegovina project provided insights on how to use the Bosnia and Herzegovina experience as an effective model from which to glean successes and design a thriving Armenia project. Lastly, by communicating widely with other international organizations doing work in civil society, IFES can ensure that its new program is coordinated and fits well within the larger development framework.

AZERBAIJAN

Technical Assistance for November Elections

During October, IFES technical assistance to the CEC continued with its focus on the implementation of the newly adopted Law on the Elections to the Milli Majlis. Recommendations were provided on key areas including the development of administrative procedures, adoption of regulations, establishment of a uniform vote counting and results calculation system, and ballot design.

With persistence from IFES, the CEC conceded to fully enforce the requirement stipulated in the new Milli Majlis Election Law for two separate ballot boxes – one for each of the two ballot types in all polling stations. IFES was also able to positively influence the design of the ballot papers for single mandate constituencies and the nationwide constituency when the CEC agreed to produce ballot papers differentiated by size and color of ink to help voters distinguish between the two ballot types. The CEC adopted the majority of IFES recommendations to clarify line items on the official Protocol forms for election results.

The CEC also approved and fully endorsed the IFES written and produced 28-page Election Day Guide. The Guide covered all aspects of polling station management for Election Day with information on the roles and responsibilities of election commission members; procedures for opening the polling station; voting hours activities; and a detailed vote counting and reporting chapter. The CEC-IFES Azeri Election Day Guide was disseminated along with ballot papers and official protocol forms through the official CEC distribution center to a majority of the 4863 polling stations in the Republic. IFES supplemented the CEC distribution activities by directly delivering Election Day Guides to constituencies where the CEC was unable to provide coverage.

All delegates of the OSCE/ODIHR Election Observation Mission and the NDI Election Observer Delegation received copies of the Election Day Guide in English and Azeri. Political parties and domestic election observation groups received the CEC-IFES publication as well. Overseas Azeri embassies received copies of the Guide through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to manage out-of-country voting.

OSCE/ODIHR Observation Mission and IFES Cooperation
During the preparations for the establishment of the OSCE/ODIHR Election Observation Mission in Azerbaijan, IFES gave briefings to the core OSCE/ODIHR staff to apprise them of CEC developments and to share IFES translations of the CEC official instructions and decisions. IFES was also invited to participate in both the official short-term observer briefing by OSCE/ODIHR and the separate briefing for OSCE Parliamentary delegates to speak on the topic of "Electoral Technical Assistance." An updated version of the IFES English translation of Chapter 10 on vote counting procedures of the Law on the Elections to the Milli Majlis was provided to OSCE/ODIHR delegates.

Although IFES cooperated closely with the OSCE/ODIHR throughout the election period, IFES requested separate accreditation from the CEC to independently monitor the election process.

IFES and the CEC Collaborate on Voter Education
Six PSAs were produced by IFES with support of the CEC to provide technical voter information to the public. Topics of the PSAs were "Checking the Voters List," "The Function of the Milli Majlis (Parliament)," "How to Use the Mobile Ballot Box," "Steps in the Voting Process," "You Will Receive Two Types of Ballots," and "Go Out to Vote." The PSAs aired on State TV and independent stations in the capital and in the regions. Internews supported IFES in this activity.

In addition to the television voter education campaign IFES designed print voter information materials with the CEC. A pamphlet on the Milli Majlis functions and responsibilities was created along with a poster on "Step by Step Voting Pro-

cedures" for use in the polling stations. The British Embassy in Baku financially supported the production of both print products. Distribution of the materials was organized through the official CEC distribution center.

Impact Summary

During the run-up period for the Parliamentary elections, Azerbaijan is presented with a challenge to demonstrate its stated commitment to democratic elections. Ongoing technical assistance in election administration urges the CEC to meet democratic standards and transparency and to improve its past performance in election administration. IFES continues to assist the CEC with a national program of voter information through television and print materials to provide more unbiased public information available to citizens to promote public confidence. Training information was designed by IFES for election commission members on the constituency and precinct level through the production of an Election Day Guide.

GEORGIA

"Be an Active Citizen" Aims to Empower Citizens

During October, IFES/Georgia began the implementation of a dynamic civic education activity entitled "Be an Active Citizen." From 16-28 October, two IFES training teams presented ten sessions (187 participants) in seven regional centers: Rustavi, Gori, Telavi, Kutaisi, Khashuri, Akhaltsikhe, and Borjomi.

"Be an Active Citizen" aims to encourage citizens to become informed about issues such as democracy, citizenship, the role of local self-governance bodies, and women's rights in order to take a more active role in democratic life within their local community.

The participants attended an initial training in small groups (no more than twenty participants) with an emphasis on discussion and interactive learning methods. A second session will be held in November to re-enforce the 'lessons learned' from the first session and from subsequent group activities (e.g., attending a local council 'Sakrebulo' meeting) and building on those experiences in an attempt to address a local problem.



Participants attending the training were drawn from various citizen groups including teachers, local representative body members, students, and NGO representatives. Mixing participants from these various groups engendered discussion and provided an opportunity for each person to learn more about the work and role of others in the group.

Initial observations from the IFES/Georgia team noted that there were significant differences in the levels of knowledge,



IFES Trainer conducts "Be An Active Citizen" workshop.

current citizen activities, and existing working relationships between the Sakrebulo and their citizens (including NGO groups operating in their area) in the different regions. It is clear that careful planning and preparation will have to be undertaken to allow for these differences when the follow-up visits are conducted in late November and early December.

Some preliminary observations and recommendations from trainers and participants were that:

- Participation in local governance on the parts of citizens is generally very low.
- The roles and responsibilities of Sakrebulo is not well understood by citizens or Sakrebulo members. Both groups of people asked for further information on this topic. It was also suggested that the legislation covering the role and responsibilities of the Sakrebulo needed to be clearer.
- The roles and responsibilities of NGO groups is not well understood by citizens, NGO members, or Sakrebulo members. Participants asked for further information on this topic.
- The working relationship between Sakrebulo and their citizens and NGO groups is generally not strong.

IFES hopes the citizen-to-citizen distribution of information will counteract the sense of powerlessness that has tainted many Georgians' view of democracy, elections, and democratic institutions.

Progress Continues on Universal Election Code

Following the official announcement of the membership of a Parliamentary election code working group on 21 October, IFES is assisting the working group to review Georgia's existing election laws. The eighteen-member working group

has been formed to undertake a review of the election laws and, if necessary, oversee the development of a Universal Election Code.

IFES is supporting this election law initiative through frequent contact with international and domestic nongovernmental organizations. IFES participated in a mini retreat for the Election Partners in the Democracy and Governance group of USAID; the objective of the retreat was to review past performance in election assistance and establish a cohesive plan for implementing 'lessons learned' as part of the preparation and planned assistance for the Sakrebulo elections scheduled to be held at the end of 2001.

IFES attended a workshop on 'Amending the Election Law' arranged by ICCC on 21 October. This meeting was the third in a series on the issue of amending the election law, which began on 16 September. The meeting was attended by representatives from ICCC, IRI, Mtskheta Consultative-Information Centre, Mtskheta Sakrebulo, Civic Education Centre of the National Library, Civic Education Centre of the Parliamentary Library, Georgian Young Lawyers Association, CEC, IFES, TV Station "Caucasus," and the following parties: Traditionalists, Faction 21st Century, Labor, and National Front of Georgia.

By-Elections Held in Martvili and Keda

An IFES team observed the Martvili and Keda by-elections held on 8 October. By-elections were required in Martvili and Keda due to violations that invalidated the result of the parliamentary election vote conducted in 1999. Mr Fridon Injia was the clear winner of the Martvili by-election, and Arsen Mgeladze was elected unopposed in Keda.

IFES staff attended the Martvili by-election as one of seven teams of international organizations certified to observe the elections. Overall, the observer teams noted that the administration and management of the election was very good. There was, of course, evidence of confusion in some precincts at opening time; but when these polling stations were revisited later, things appeared orderly and working well.

During the course of voting, the only issue that raised concerns was the apparent high number of requests for the mobile boxes. However, observers accompanied these boxes, and no evidence of attempts to stuff these boxes appeared. The use of envelopes to insert the ballot before placing them in the ballot boxes seems to be regarded as a success. However, this practice slowed the count considerably, and there is varying opinion regarding its value.

IFES Participates in UNHCR Conference

From 11-12 October, IFES/Georgia Legal Advisor George Baratashvili attended a two-day conference sponsored by UNHCR and the Council of Europe entitled "To Review Existing Citizenship Legislation of Georgia and to Consider

Proposals for Reform.” Mr. Baratashvili was invited to speak on the subject of “Elections and Citizenship Rights.” The workshop was part of the “Activities for the Development and Consolidation of Democratic Stability” program and was supported by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Justice in Georgia.

Mr. Baratashvili presented a paper on the subject of “Problems of Citizenship as Addressed in Georgian National Legislation—Elections and Citizenship Rights.” The emphasis of his presentation was issues related to citizenship and election rights, international standards on election rights, problems with voter registration as it currently exists, and the work IFES/Georgia is undertaking in relation to citizenship and participation.

The conference reviewed all aspects of establishing the degree to which Georgian Legislation conformed with international and regional standards. The major recommendation made by the conference was that Georgia ratify the Conventions on Nationality adopted by the UN and Council of Europe.

Impact Summary

Through its civic education activity “Be an Active Citizen,” IFES is endeavoring to promote knowledge about democracy and active participation to citizens in Georgia. The activity will provide citizens with the necessary skills to attempt to effect democratic change within their own communities.

With the formation of the Parliamentary working group 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 election law development will gain momentum in the coming months. The existence of the working group provides a focus for ensuring that although the work on the election code is extremely important to election administration in Georgia, that it is not used to observe delay the Sakrebulo elections scheduled for the end of 2001.

KAZAKHSTAN

Progress Continues on Civic Education Textbook/Course Project

IFES, the Ministry of Education, and IFES pilot schools across Kazakhstan cooperatively continued the implementation of civic education initiatives including civics course/textbook development with support from local and international NGOs.

The IFES civic education project gained in stature in October as more schools expressed their interest in participating during the second academic semester, which begins in January 2001. The Kostanai Oblast Department of Education submitted a list of 28 profile schools (of higher learning) that they have recommended for inclusion in the new semester. IFES/

Kazakhstan will consider adding these schools as well as schools from other regions when it begins a selection process for the winter 2001 semester. In October, numerous regional school directors and teachers called IFES with words of gratitude and appreciation for the textbooks and teachers’ manuals that they have been using since the opening of the new school year in September. The last of the 276 Kazakh and 690 Russian IFES textbooks were received from the printing house in October, and the remainder of the 82+ participating schools received all necessary materials.

IFES/Kazakhstan Project Coordinator Marat Bigaliev, together with USAID/CAR Director of Democracy Transition Katheryn Stratos, and USAID/CAR Program Assistant Igor Tupitsyn had an opportunity to observe a student group exercise at an IFES pilot school in Taldy-Kurgan. A student group in Taldy-Kurgan school #1 conducted a practical exercise from the IFES-produced civics and democracy textbook “Writing a Constitution For a Desert Island,” in which it created a governing document for a hypothetical country. Students were divided into groups, and made presentations in front of teachers and fellow classmates. Each group was able to gain critical feedback from teachers and classmates and derive a set of lessons learned from the exercise by comparing methodological approaches.

Teachers and students alike indicated that this constitution-writing and other textbook exercises have been useful, informative, and challenging to the student for the development of critical thinking skills. IFES has placed significant emphasis on the student group exercises as part of its civics and democracy course, as such practical, hands-on activities are viewed as the one of the optimal learning tools. Several teachers and school administrators expressed an interest in additional IFES programs planned under its current Cooperative Agreement, including Student Action Committees and Student Government Day, and made useful recommendations and proposals for the conducting of those projects.

IFES Civic Education Partners Weigh In

Shamen Akhimbekova, Director of School #1 in Taldy-Kurgan and the head of the Association of the Initiative Schools, requested that IFES provide her school with additional textbooks for her students including ninth graders. Ludmila Kholina, a civics teacher of School #11 in the village of Erkinio, expressed her interest in IFES working on textbooks for younger students, though at this time the IFES civics and democracy textbook remains focused on tenth and eleventh graders.

Along with monitoring pilot school activities in new school year, IFES staff in Kazakhstan have been entertaining ideas on how to expand the scope of the project. IFES/Kazakhstan Project Coordinator Marat Bigaliev met with Julia Savynikh, a civics teacher of School #134 in Almaty and a specialist in civic education since 1997. Ms. Savynikh is willing to work

with the Republican Institute for Teachers' Qualifications, the Skills Improvement Institute, and the Almaty Department of Education to introduce an experimental course using the IFES textbook in the ninth to eleventh grades as a sequential program.

Based on recent discussions and proclamations made by the Center for Conflict Resolution and the OSCE, it would appear that a movement is underway to create a national civics curriculum for fifth to eleventh graders, including a series of sequential textbooks. Though the Savynikh initiative would be conducted experimentally outside of this network, any results would be shared with IFES' other international and local partners. After completion of the hypothetical course, Savynikh has agreed to approach the Ministry of Education to address using the IFES course as a core course for future state textbooks.

IFES/Kazakhstan Staff Observe Kyrgyz Presidential Election
Project Coordinator Marat Bigaliev and Communications Coordinator Karlygash Balapanova traveled to Kyrgyzstan to observe the 29 October presidential election as part of an IFES regional observation mission. Bigaliev was sent to Jalal-Abad, where he observed the polling with USAID/Bishkek Democracy Officer Will Melara. Balapanova accompanied Consultant Lamar Cravens to polling stations in Chui Oblast near Bishkek city. All observations were discussed and delivered in written form to IFES/Kyrgyzstan for tabulation and inclusion in a final report.

Impact Summary

In October, the IFES civics and democracy textbook/course initiative continued to evolve as a viable and popular project. In addition to student and school support, the Ministry of Education has also shown an interest in augmenting the number of schools that would use IFES materials. Now that the school year is well underway, IFES/Kazakhstan has entered the monitoring stage of the civics course as it prepares to add additional schools in January and conduct student outreach activities in February.

Planning for the Student Action Committees and Student Government Day got underway in October when Pavlodar and Atyrau identified preliminarily as regions of focus for the upcoming extra-curricular student activities. A formal Memorandum of Understanding between IFES and the Ministry of Education of Kazakhstan is being pursued to back up the oral agreements and support for the project already expressed by the Kazakhstani side.

KYRGYSTAN

Akayev Wins New, Five-Year Term as President

Incumbent Kyrgyz President Askar Akayev was elected to a new, five-year term in an election held on 29 October 29.

With all precincts reporting, Akayev garnered 1,460, 201 votes, equaling 74.5% of all votes cast. Akayev's surmounting of the 50% support barrier meant that a second round of voting was not necessary. Official turnout was recorded at 72.3% nationwide, thus ensuring that the vote would be considered valid according to the election law. Results above are the official results released by the CEC.

IFES Renders Assistance for Presidential Election

Throughout the entire course of the eight-month presidential campaign, and based on lessons learned from previous local and parliamentary elections within the past twelve months, IFES initiated and conducted various programs that raised awareness about democratic norms of elections among the Kyrgyz electorate and election officials, stimulated greater civic participation, and provided a framework for the monitoring of the elections. Understanding the importance of political literacy in the process of voting, IFES developed several projects that aimed to inform Kyrgyzstani citizens about the voting process and the importance of one person, one vote. This was accomplished through the development of voter outreach posters and televised spots describing the importance of the presidential poll. Together with the Central Election Commission (CEC), IFES concluded a series of training events for members of Precinct Election Commission (PEC) chairmen and secretaries. Trainees were provided with IFES updated training manuals on election administration in Kyrgyz, Uzbek and Russian languages, which outlined new procedures for conducting polling in accordance with the law on elections and referenda. Training events took place nationwide, and involved IFES and CEC trainers providing hands-on technical training to PEC representatives that was then provided to all pollworkers through a "training of trainers" approach.

The pollworker training project originally began with the training of election administrators for the October 1999 local Kenesh elections, and was revised and repeated in advance of the February 2000 elections to the Jogorku Kenesh. In each instance, the pollworker manual was revised in accordance with improvements and clarifications to the law made by the CEC under IFES recommendation. In nearly all polling stations where IFES personnel observed during the three elections, the pollworker training manual was present and in plain view of voters and observers.

Individual pollworkers confirmed that they had attended training events, and appeared more knowledgeable about their responsibilities and the importance of non-partisanship. While problems undoubtedly occurred at many levels of election administration in Kyrgyzstan during the presidential election, IFES found that election administration had improved with every election since October 1999, and improved to a larger degree since the last presidential election in 1995.

Presidential Elections: Kyrgyzstan

Candidates	Votes Cast (%)
Askar Akayev (incumbent)	74.5
Omurbek Tekebaev (Ata Meken Party)	13.9
Almaz Atambaev (Social-Democratic Party)	6
Melis Eshimkanov (People's Party)	1.1
Tursunbai Bakir Uulu (Erk Party):	0.96
Tursunbek Akunov (Human Rights Activist)	0.44
Against all candidates	0.68

IFES Central Asia Staff Observe Presidential Election

On the day of election, IFES staff members from its other Central Asia offices formed an observer contingent, which was deployed by IFES/Kyrgyzstan to various regions of the country. IFES staff was present in all regions except for Naryn and Batken Oblasts. While IFES did not issue or release an official observation report, it did compile its findings into a briefing document that was later shared with USAID, the U.S. Embassy and the Central Election Commission, with whom it has worked for several years.

Observations of the IFES team resembled those of other delegations from the OSCE and NDI, with several violations noted in the handling of votes, access granted to observers, and in the official reporting of results. As a result, the elections showed that while Kyrgyzstan has achieved progress in various areas of democratic elections, such as greater transparency and political literacy, there still remain roadblocks on its path to democracy. IFES noted that the CEC made significant efforts at improving election procedures, but the conduct of the elections remained problematic, since the control of the PEC activities at polling stations was not in the hands of the CEC but the administration officials. Despite some setbacks that IFES observers encountered during the elections, the event proved to be a very useful experience as it provided insights about the improvements to which IFES already contributed and about the problems that still need to be addressed.



Kyrgyz voters search for their names on registration lists during October's Presidential election.

IFES Recruits Student Observers

IFES worked with Kyrgyz State National University to recruit and train a number of student volunteer observers, who received accreditation and observed the presidential election. As a result of its successful implementation of the Summer Democracy Camp, IFES was able to choose approximately 100 exceptional students for its student observer groups who monitoring polling across the country, including Bishkek, Osh, Jalal-Abad and Talas. All students were trained by IFES staff in election procedures and practice, election law, and observers' rights and responsibilities. The students' objective was to monitor the conduct of the elections, to register any irregularities and prepare a final report.

IFES was gratified to learn from other international observers that while many domestic observers remained passive, the majority of IFES student observers were well informed, trained, alert, and very active. Both students and IFES observers witnessed a number of irregularities in the conduct of voting. Among the most widely observed were organized vote solicitation, the presence of unauthorized persons in polling stations, proxy voting, protocol inaccuracies, obstruction of observers' access to the vote count, and interference of administration officials into the voting process. As part of its emphasis on involving young persons in these elections, IFES sponsored the printing and distribution of a manual for young person outlining their rights and responsibilities as young voters and citizens of the country. The manuals were distributed to universities and polling sites, and many were seen together with other public information posted at polling stations.

Civic Education Project

IFES Civic Education Specialist Eilis Ward arrived in Bishkek to work with the IFES Textbook Committee and render adaptations to the draft civics and democracy book and course for secondary school students. Dr. Ward, who edited and managed the introduction of the IFES-sponsored Kazakhstan democracy textbook and course, met with representatives of the Ministry of Education and related institutions to gain formal acceptance of the project, while at the same time developing an action plan for the book's revision with IFES Project Manager Ched Flego and local consultant Dr. Vladislav Pototskii of the Textbook Committee.

IFES/Kyrgyzstan received conditional approval from the Minister of Education and the Director of the Kyrgyz Institute of Education to proceed with the project, and outlined a timeline to present the draft book for considering of the Ministry as well as a course outline and teacher's manual. It is anticipated that a pilot semester can begin as early as January 2001, following acceptance of the revised textbook and translation into multiple languages.

There was a great deal of interest exhibited in the project on the part of local education officials, who cited the need for more contemporary materials addressing the subject of civics. IFES provided the officials with an overview of the results of the Focus Groups that it conducted with students and teachers in the Spring. It was agreed that important above all was to provide material that best suits the students' need to understand Kyrgyzstan's particular developmental history. Ward will also help design a timeline for the implementation of IFES' other school-based civic ed activities, including Student Action Committees, and assess the status of potential partnerships for tertiary civic education projects.

Impact Summary

During October, IFES/Kyrgyzstan primarily concentrated its efforts on the presidential elections. The main objective was to increase both the professionalism of the election administration, work to create a more informed electorate, and work to improve the transparency of the election process. As a result, IFES staff provided the CEC with election manuals, posters, advertisements, and cooperated with the Commission in the training of PEC members.

Significant improvements in the administration of the elections were noted, though some major problems and serious concerns remain. The civic education project continues to grow with the addition of Dr. Eilis Ward and the full-time operation of the IFES Textbook Committee. Prior work with student from Kyrgyz universities has created a base of support for civic education work at the tertiary level, and solidified relations with the Ministry of Education led to the establishment of a working partnership for the secondary school level activities.

TAJIKISTAN*Civic Education Update*

A series of meetings with representatives of local NGOs and government officials were held to gain additional support for the secondary school textbook and civics course initiative. IFES/Tajikistan met Mrs. Goulchera Nosirova, the head of the Tajikistan Center for Civic Education, who expressed interest in working with IFES. As one of the most active organizations in the country, the Center for Civic Education has already translated (into Tajik) and published numerous books about civic democracy and conflict resolution, and is involved in the reconstruction of village schools. Due to a broad and active profile of the Center for Civic Education, IFES is very interested in discussing a formal partnership with Mrs. Nosirova and continues to advance in its negotiations with Center.

In order to formulate a clear understanding of Tajikistan's needs in the sphere of civic education, IFES staff members attended sessions of the Educational Reform Conference, visited schools, and met with representatives from the World Bank, NGOs and various educational establishments. It is anticipated that IFES will soon name a committee of academics and scholars to oversee adaptations to the draft secondary school civics and democracy textbook. An organizing committee consisting of education experts will be created to guide the project through the approval process with the Ministry of Education, and monitor its eventual implementation. IFES continued to discuss the textbook and course methodology with the Academy of Science's pedagogical faculty, which has been involved in other civic education projects in the country.

Gender Equality Program

IFES concluded a partnership arrangement with the local NGO *Modar* to create a handbook of women's rights under constitutional law in Tajikistan. The handbook would include information on international agreements on women's equality and provide contact information for women to contact advocacy groups in Tajikistan. The material assembled will be used in training session for local women's rights advocates across the country, and will be featured as part of a proposed course on gender sensitivity and youth issues for students at Tajik universities beginning in 2001.

Political Party Development

In October, the main scope of activities in regard to the political party development project continued to be focused on preparations for the political party tour to Munich. During the tour, which has been scheduled for November 14-21, representatives of various Tajik parties will be trained how to use best management practices within their parties and develop cooperative strategies with their regional branches. The group will also spend a day at the Bavarian Parliament in

Munich and meet with representatives of the four major German political parties, the CSU, SPD, FDP, and the Greens. In preparation for the tour, IFES Political Party Development Consultant Philip Griffin compiled a list of participants, organized the agenda, and held numerous meetings with officials from the Marshall Center, German Embassy and the Tajik government in order to ensure expeditious processing of visas.

IFES/Tajikistan Contributes Observers to Kyrgyzstan Presidential Election

IFES/Tajikistan took part in the Kyrgyz Presidential Election by sending three observers to Bishkek to form part of a region-wide IFES observation delegation. Project Coordinator Moukim Mallaev and Project Assistant Ramsia Makhmadnazarova joined Political Party Consultant Philip Griffin on the mission. Griffin and Mallaev were sent to observe in Issyk-Kul Oblast, while Makhmadnazarova joined IFES colleagues observing in Bishkek city. The mission offered the local staff from Dushanbe experience in international observation, and allowed them to compare their experiences as observers in a neighboring republic with those from their mission as domestic observers at the February elections to the Tajik Majlisi Namoyandagon.

Impact Summary

IFES/Tajikistan advanced its efforts in the textbook development project, gender equality initiative, and preparations for the political party tour to Munich. IFES met with representatives of organizations such as Bureau for Human Rights and the Rule of Law, Center for Civic Education, NGO Modar, World Bank, and the Ministry of Education to increase awareness about IFES programs and objectives in the region and help to maintain a constructive and productive dialogue among local and international partners. The political party study tour will not only afford members of different parties the opportunity to study multi-party politics abroad, but will also foster greater understanding with each other and hopefully lead to greater working relationships at home and mutual tolerance. "Tolerance" has been a key word in conducting civic education projects in Tajikistan, as themes of conflict resolution and mediation will prove critical in the adaptation of the IFES civics and democracy textbook for secondary school students. As in the case of the political party tour participants, granting hands-on opportunities to see democracy in action, in this case through student activities as envisioned in the textbook, will provide a more lasting lesson.

UZBEKISTAN

Civic Education Course

IFES/Uzbekistan directed its efforts in October toward planning for civic education initiatives as approved in the new Cooperative Agreement. In October, the Republican Education Center (REC) reviewed the IFES proposal to create a

civics and democracy textbook roughly based on similar projects in other Central Asian countries. Originally IFES had planned to conduct a pilot course this fall in Karakalpakstan. Those plans were delayed when IFES was referred to the central Ministry of Education in Tashkent. A formal approval process is now required for any textbook to be introduced in any region of the country.

In order to make this project viable, competitive, and useful, IFES/Uzbekistan project coordinators Julia Dashkevich and Dmitry Shevkun conducted vigorous research about the state of civic education in the country and also held meetings with representatives of international and local education-oriented NGOs in addition to the Ministry of Education (MoE). Though it was learned that there exist other projects in this sphere, it was hoped that partnerships could be developed that allowed the IFES textbook and extracurricular, school-based student projects to go forward. Dmitry Shevkun scheduled another meeting with REC Director Gulandon Alimova in order to discuss the process required for the approval of the IFES textbook and Civics and Democracy course project.

The REC is under the Ministry of Education and its function is primarily textbook production. It also works on teacher methodology and organizes courses and seminars that emphasize teacher training. Although the formal approval process takes time, IFES has been encouraged by the optimism expressed by Ms. Alimova as to the merit of the project.

IFES/Uzbekistan Joins Colleagues in Kyrgyz Presidential Observation Mission

Project Coordinator Julia Dashkevich traveled to Osh to join the IFES observation delegation for the 29 October presidential election in Kyrgyzstan. Following election day observations, Dashkevich traveled to Bishkek to join IFES colleagues from Central Asia to discuss election day findings and compile a report to be shared by IFES/Kyrgyzstan Project Manager Ched Flego with USAID, the U.S. Embassy, and the CEC of the Kyrgyz Republic. Problems arose in Osh much the same as they did in other regions of Kyrgyzstan, with isolated incidents of intimidation and restrictions on domestic observers reported.

Impact Summary

As in other Central Asian Republics, civic education project in Uzbekistan is a priority for IFES, since it helps to increase understanding of and commitment to democracy among young citizens. For this reason, the pending process of approval from the Republican Education Center, and, ultimately, from the Ministry of Education did not discourage IFES in its efforts to introduce the textbook project. By the end of the month, however, much work remained to overcome the initial stages of project approval, and IFES informed USAID of the status of the program. Discussions on the direction of the project continue.



MAKING DEMOCRACY WORK

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IFES provides technical assistance in the promotion of democracy worldwide and serves as a clearinghouse for information about democratic development and elections. Since its inception in 1987, the Foundation has worked in more than 100 countries. IFES activities are made possible, in part, by the U.S. Agency for International Development.

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