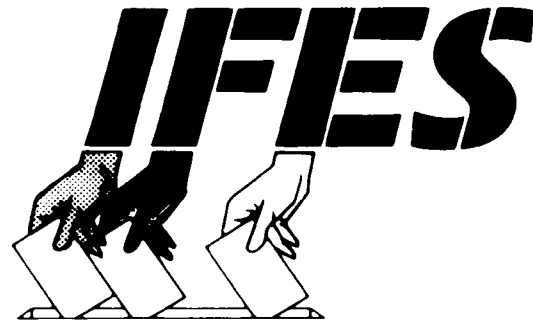


Europe and Asia Report



January 1999

IFES Conducts Joint Conference on the Future of NGOs in Uzbekistan

IFES/Tashkent and the Public Education Center conducted a three-day seminar under the topic "Present Status and Future Development of NGOs in the Republic of Uzbekistan" for approximately 30 representatives of nationwide NGOs in Tashkent on 28-30 January. The main issues of the seminar were: NGO involvement in the political process, focusing on the range of voter and civic education initiatives, and planning for such events in the regions outside the capital.



Judith Davis presents at IFES sponsored civic education conference in Tashkent, Uzbekistan, January 1999.

IFES Voter Education Consultant Judith Davis, Tom Leckinger, Natalia Chumakova of the *Center for Support of Democracy* in Almaty, and Dr. Alla Kuvatova, of the NGO *Traditions* in Dushanbe, conducted a range of NGO capacity-building training activities and how to collaborate effectively with NGOs in other Central Asian Republics. Each participating NGO received the recently-

Also in this edition:

Europe

Albania	p. 2
Bosnia and Herzegovina.	p. 2
Moldova	p. 4
Russian Federation	p. 6
Slovakia	p. 7
Ukraine	p. 8
Federal Republic of Yugoslavia - Montenegro	p. 9

Caucasus/Central Asia

Armenia	p. 10
Azerbaijan	p. 11
Georgia	p. 12
Kazakhstan.	p. 12
Kyrgyzstan	p. 13
Tajikistan	p. 14

Asia

Association of Asian Election Authorities	p. 15
Indonesia	p. 15
Papua New Guinea	p. 16
Philippines	p. 16

completed Administration and Cost of Elections (ACE) Voter Education Guide, translated into Russian. The event brought together NGO leaders of Uzbek NGOs and allowed them to meet leading counterparts from neighboring countries. Greater integration in the work of NGOs in Uzbekistan and across borders is important to enhance the overall effectiveness of their work in the civil section. It is hoped that the ACE information will help stimulate thinking in the sector of civic education in Uzbekistan and contribute to the development of civil society by encouraging citizens to become more active members of public advocacy organizations and promote positive social change.

New Project Coordinator for Uzbekistan

Lola Maksudova has been hired as the new IFES/Tashkent Project Coordinator, replacing Elena Wolf, who transferred to

(Continued on page 15)

EUROPE

ALBANIA

Nano Resigns as Head of Socialist Party; Steps Taken Toward Reconciliation Between Socialists and Democrats

Positive steps have been taken toward alleviating tensions between the Socialist Party and the Democratic Party during the month of January. Throughout the month, Albanian Democrats issued frequent calls for negotiations with the Socialist Party regarding their return to Parliament. On 20 January, former Premier Fatos Nano resigned as head of the Socialist Party, promising to establish a movement conceived in a non-partisan belief of “no communism, no anti-communism.” (RFE/RL Newline, “Nano Resigns as Leader of Albanian Socialists,” 1/22/99) A week later, former President and Democratic Party leader Sali Berisha proposed a political pact consisting of ten directives to establish law and order in Albania, and indicated his willingness to work with the Government towards achieving this goal. Furthermore, some Democratic Party members spoke in favor of ending the party boycott of Parliament.

Parliament Ratifies Law on the People’s Advocate

Based on OSCE proposals and Scandinavian constitutional models, Parliament approved the Law on the People’s Advocate. This law, which allows for the creation of an ombudsman provides a direct communication link between the state and the individual. The Office of the Ombudsman will be charged with the investigation of complaints by the public against Albanian officials, in hopes of increasing protection of citizens’ rights.

Efforts Made to Conform Albanian Judiciary to European Standards

As a result of the approval of the Memorandum for Reforms in the System of Justice and Laws, all Albanian judges will be subject to a compulsory exam. This Memorandum, signed in mid-January by Minister of Justice Thimio Kondi, is one step in the process of adapting the Albanian judiciary to European standards. As Minister Kondi noted at the signing ceremony, “This process will be assisted by the CoE and the OSCE to guarantee full transparency.” (RFE/RL Newline, 1/13/99)

Creation of an IFES Resource Center Underway

Initial steps towards the creation of a resource center at the IFES office in Tirana commenced in January. The translation of several documents related to the November Constitutional referendum was completed. In addition, numerous files, documents, and laws were collected and organized as the first phase of establishing the Resource Center. In coming months, efforts will be made to add materials from the F. Clifton White Resource Center in Washington, D.C. as well as other sources.

Civil/Voter Registry Project

Penny Martin, IFES Voter Registration Specialist, continued technical assistance to the ODIHR Civil/Voter Registry Project.

The regional pilot projects were initiated in October 1997 in a joint effort between OSCE/ODIHR and the Albanian government where six locations were selected to test the computerization of a national civil registry. The six pilot projects were established in Gjergjan, Koder-Thumane, Lurë, Kavajë, Dhiver and Vlorë. The initial data collection phase of the project resulted in 150,000 direct interviews of Albanian citizens and their dependents. Following a data-matching process designed to ensure accuracy, the voter registry database was completed in January. Furthermore, demonstrations of the project software were given to Ministry of Local Government officials throughout the month. The selection of civil registrars to undergo the training course followed, with the assistance of the Ministry. Field office staff has been working on the translation of training materials, and preparing for an 8-12 February training session. The pilot projects are scheduled to be completed by the end of March 1999, resulting in a final report for distribution to the Albanian government and project donors.

After the Referendum: Implementation of the New Constitution

With the passage of the new Constitution, IFES intends to provide technical assistance to the Albanian government in the development of new election legislation and a single permanent Central Election Commission. At the suggestion of IFES, a provision was included in the Constitution calling for the creation of such a Commission. IFES is currently discussing the coordination of efforts with the Albanian government toward this end.

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

Republika Srpska Assembly Rejects Second Nominee for Prime Minister

On 25 January the Republika Srpska Assembly rejected President Nikola Poplasen’s second nominee for prime minister, Brano Miljus. Miljus was supported by the Serb Radical Party and the Serb Democratic Party. The Sloga coalition as well as Moslem and Croat deputies elected by displaced persons have voiced support for the current prime minister, Milorad Dodik. Although the international community has said it will accept any candidate backed by the assembly it has made it clear that Dodik is its preferred choice. High Representative Carlos Westendorp has urged Poplasen to put forth a new candidate as soon as possible. While there is no constitutional limit for how many times the president can put forth a candidate, Office of the High Representative (OHR) spokesperson, Alexandra Stiglmayer, indicated that Mr. Westendorp may in the end take action to help resolve the situation. (*Rueters*, 1/27/99)

Preparations for Professional Development Activities

Throughout January the Professional Development Branch of the Elections Department, under the direction of IFES Election Administration Specialist Linda Edgeworth serving as Deputy Head of Mission, made preparations for several professional development activities. The first, scheduled for 3-5 February, is a cross-cultural management training seminar for all national and international election officers. The purpose of this seminar is to

address the issue of cultural differences in the field offices and the effects on the operation of the elections team. Other topics for discussion include: development of elections officers' confidence, variations in prior work experience of team members, and gender-related issues.

The second activity is the meeting of the Task Force on the Formation of the Association of Election Officials in Bosnia-Herzegovina (BiH). This task force was appointed at the December Local Election Officials Congress. The task force has been drafting a charter and investigating the association registration process. On 13-15 February the group will meet with IFES Association Development Specialist Keith Hathaway to review the draft charter, develop the membership structure, formulate a preliminary business plan and discuss future activities of the association.

Approximately 20 national election officers will attend a week long course on elections and electoral systems at the University of Essex in the United Kingdom. This will be the first of a two part activity. Instructors from the University of Essex will travel to Bosnia-Herzegovina in March to carry out part two of the course.

Out of Country Voting Registration to be Administered from Sarajevo

This year, eligible voters in both the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Croatia will be asked to provide mailing addresses in order to incorporate them into the by-mail voting program. The Out of Country Program (OCV) has initiated work on review of the Rules and Regulations of the Provisional Election Commission (PEC) with regard to the out of country voting process this year, updating registration and confirmation forms, information leaflets, etc for the by-mail program. In addition, the Director of OCV and Linda Edgeworth met with Ambassador Klingler of Germany to discuss securing the support his government for establishing an OCV By-mail office in Munich.

Development of Permanent Election Law Continues

The Election Law Working Group (ELWG) met from 26-27 January with the International Advisor Group, which includes IFES Legal Specialist Dr. Jorgen Elklit. The international advisors, OHR, and the OSCE are actively assisting the working group in improving its draft election law. At the January meeting the groups focused primarily on the Permanent Election Commission and subordinate bodies necessary for the administration of the elections, normative provisions and administrative procedures, the voter registry, registration of candidates and parties, voting procedures, and the protection of voter rights. At this point in the process, three different options of electoral systems are being considered and evaluated in terms of appropriateness for multi-ethnic societies.

Dr. Elklit, and his colleagues of the International Advisory Group will be providing guidance, per the request of the national members of the ELWG, on the following issues: 1) What is covered in the law should involve both normative and

administrative issues; 2) What the jurisdiction and the role of the permanent election commission should be and its relation to its subordinate administrative bodies; and 3) How the law should regulate the implementation of the election results, particularly at the municipal level. The advisors' recommendations will be discussed at the next meeting on 5 March.

It is anticipated that a final draft of the permanent election law will be ready for submission to Parliament by early summer. The ELWG and international advisors agreed it would be essential to conduct public debate and an information campaign about the law. As the draft law progresses over the coming months, such a campaign will be overseen by the OHR and led by IFES Public Information Specialist Elise Shoux.

Database Development Branch Creates Settlement Allocation Software

IFES Information Technician Fitzgerald Jean is close to completing his work creating an application program which allows for easy entry and correction of voters' settlement information. After test-runs were made by election officers from a selected group of local elections commissions, the following capabilities were incorporated into the software: the modification of voters' basic information (ie. name, national ID number, etc.); the transfer of one or more voters from one settlement to another; the sub-division of an existing settlement as necessary; search and identification of voters in a given municipality; and the printing of relevant portions of the database. The software also has a feature which will allow the user to view either the settlements within a municipality or the polling stations within that municipality.

Mr. Jean has fully secured the program by requiring a login name and password from the user; the amount of access a given user has is dependent on the Voter Registration department's authorization. The Voter Registration department has allowed some users access to the edit mode of the software, others have "read-only" access, while still others have access to only certain information within the "read-only" mode. Jean has also written an illustrative user's guide which clearly explains the features and how to operate the program.

Civic Activist Groups

Since October 1998, 162 projects have been undertaken by local community and village citizens' groups (GAINs), under the guidance of IFES civic education training teams, to improve their localities in cooperation with their respective municipal governments. The goal of this civil society building endeavor, led by IFES Project Director Ed Morgan, is to help the people understand how a democratic society operates and enable them to function comfortably and confidently in this concept newly-transplanted to Bosnia-Herzegovina. The IFES trainers show people how best to document the communities' needs, address these concerns to the appropriate municipal officials, and exercise due diligence and persistence in obtaining the desired result. Tutelage on effective lobbying introduces citizens to the technique of holding their elected officials accountable.

In virtually all of the cases of these GAINs, the people would not have been inclined to actively pursue requests for action addressed to the local authorities. This project is changing that attitude. Assertiveness by the people toward their government officials, in a lawful, peaceful manner, enables the people to break the hold the nationalistic political parties have had on the local government institutions in the regions where these parties have been dominant.

The interactive process inspired by this activity is the most effective means to have the local government respond to the people. Furthermore, it emphasizes that there is not one particular party that is more effective than another in providing municipal services; picking up the trash is not done more efficiently by the SDA than HDZ for example. Local services are performed best by the individual officials who care most about their municipalities and no single party has a monopoly on such dedicated, caring individuals.

GAINs are more readily achievable in areas which have the sub-municipal structure called "mjesnih zajednica," meaning "local community." This local community structure existed throughout BiH before the war. However, since the war it is usually only found in the Bosniak municipalities, and then not in all of these communities within the Federation. These are clusters of neighboring villages that elect five to twenty-one member community assemblies that in turn select a president. Slowly they are being re-established and within the next 18 to 24 months they will most likely be found throughout the Federation, including the Croat dominated municipalities. In the Republika Srpska, however, their future re-establishment is less certain.

In the past these local assemblies served as discussion fora but not as assertive bodies to press the municipal governments for remedies on issues of local concern. Under the IFES civic education project, these groups are learning to seize the initiative on behalf of their various interests, thereby practicing grassroots democracy from the bottom up. This initiative process is proving to the people how government works under a democratic system and illustrates how to hold their elected officials accountable. Furthermore, Project Director Ed Morgan and Project Managers Velko Miloev and Igor Beros regularly meet with municipal mayors to explain this process so that this activity is clearly understood and not perceived as a means of undercutting local authority.

Impact Summary

IFES technical advisors continue to assist the OSCE and OHR in their efforts to develop a Bosnian electoral system. Progress had been made on the development of a permanent election law by which will be the foundation of such a Bosnian-led system. Through the design and delivery of various professional development activities, national election officers are improving their capacity to administer elections. An association of Bosnian election officials will be instrumental in assuring that such professional development be replicated for election officials throughout the country. The association will also be an important

mechanism for election officials to communicate their ideas and opinions in one voice to the appropriate governmental bodies once established.

IFES civic education trainers making significant strides as they continue to guide citizens in towns and villages in their attempts to work with their local governments to solve problems within their communities. These citizens are learning how to hold their elected officials accountable in a constructive manner, thus becoming a powerful example of the significance of casting a ballot on election day.

MOLDOVA

IFES and the CEC Prepare for Elections

In January, IFES/Moldova continued its close cooperation with the Central Electoral Commission (CEC). IFES/Moldova held a series of meetings with Dumitru Nidelcu, Chairman of the CEC, and Anatol Puica, Secretary of the CEC to discuss the *Poll Worker Guide*. The guide will be distributed to pollworkers throughout the region in time for the upcoming local elections. In addition to practical rules and regulations on the staffing of polling stations, the CEC added educational and supplemental material such as relevant laws, the Constitution, and theoretical articles to the guidebook. IFES/Moldova and the CEC set a deadline of late January for the publication of the guidebook. Another issue considered during the meetings was the possibility of including in the Guide samples of ballots that have been invalidated because they have been incorrectly marked by the voter. Incorrectly marked ballots caused approximately 12% of ballots cast in the 1995 local elections to be invalidated. A peculiarity of the 1995 local elections in Moldova was that voters often professed a personal acquaintance with candidates which they felt warranted comments in the margins of the ballot. Thus, it is extremely important to establish clear cut criteria for invalid ballots, and based on the experience of 1995 local elections, to develop sample ballots with appropriate explanations.

IFES Assists Parliament in Proposing Amendments to the Law on Public Administration

This month attention has turned toward the much debated Law on Public Administration, which was passed last year by the Parliament, but has not been signed by President Lucinschi. As a follow-up on the proposals to amend this law, IFES/Moldova together with the Juridic Direction of the Parliament hosted a series of roundtables. President Lucinschi has insisted that the office of prefect should have a four-year mandate, which would coincide with the mandate of local office holders. The idea of linking the length of prefects' terms to that of the local politicians has been criticized as having politicized the prefect position. The office of Prefect is intended to serve as a link between local and national governments. Each Prefect is to be appointed by the president. Some have expressed concern that the office will give the presidency undue influence in local elections. Experts of the Working Group expressed the opinion that the proposals of the

President are reasonable and should be supported. There are still several issues, however, regarding judiciary reform which need to be clarified. For example, the question of whether primary city courts would be subordinated to county tribunals, and if so, which court would be entitled to validate local councilors' and mayors' mandates. It is likely that the law will once again be considered by Parliament during the Winter-Spring session, which is due to commence in February.

Another central issue this month has been the amendment of the Election Code. IFES/Moldova and the Juridic Direction of Parliament hosted two roundtables to consider amendments to the Election Code, namely provisions on establishing the date of local elections. It was proposed at the roundtables that the Parliament would convene for an extraordinary session on January 15 in view of establishing the date of local elections for sometime in April. Because of the amendments to the Law on Political Parties, which stipulate that political parties must re-register within three months, the date for local elections has been pushed back. If local elections were to be conducted in April, political parties which failed to re-register by February would not be entitled to run in elections. It is likely that local elections will now be held in May, 1999.

Another issue considered during the roundtables was the proposal to change the much debated 4% threshold of representation (stipulated in the Election Code both for parties and independent candidates) to 5% for parties, and 2% for independent candidates. Participants in the roundtables also discussed the validation of local bodies mandates.

These issues were also considered during a meeting with Alexandru Cobazaru, expert of the Legal Commission of the Parliament of Moldova. Mr. Cobazaru informed IFES that a report on the amendment of the Election Code is ready to be submitted to the deputies. Several amendments suggested earlier have been excluded. Thus, the Legal Commission disagreed with the proposal to change the 4% threshold of representation to 5% for parties and 2% for independent candidates. It is troubling that several restrictions will be imposed on candidates who do not speak the state language. In compliance with the said law, these restrictions could be imposed only on public officers. Imposing these restrictions on members of the local council is likely to be considered a violation of the constitutional principles stipulating that the right to be elected is granted to all citizens without any discrimination as to race, nationality, ethnic origin, language, religion, sex, political choice, personal property or social origin (Constitution of the Republic of Moldova, Art 16, Sec 2).

International Organizations Discuss the Law on Foundations
IFES/Moldova participated in a roundtable hosted by the SOROS Foundation to consider the Law on Foundations. The law was jointly drafted by IFES/Moldova and SOROS and was passed the first reading in 1997. IFES has suggested several amendments to the draft law, to address issues which surfaced after the adoption of the Civil Code. According to the draft law, the foundations are not

regarded as public associations and are therefore not eligible for the same rights and privileges as public associations. IFES has proposed that when passing the law on foundations it would be advisable to amend the law on sponsorship and philanthropy, as well as the law on public associations, thus enabling the NGO Public Service Certification Commission to award certification to foundations as well as NGOs. It would also be necessary to standardize the definitions provided in the laws.

IFES Looks at Impact of Administrative-Territorial Reform on Mass Media

On 11 January, IFES/Moldova staff met with Alexandru Cantir of the Committee for the Freedom of the Press (CLP) to discuss the socio-political situation in the country on the eve of local elections. At issue was the impact of administrative-territorial restructuring on the national and local press. It is hoped that the administrative-territorial restructuring of Moldova will help citizens have greater access to information by creating local governments more responsive to their constituencies. Mr. Cantir informed IFES that a representative of the French Committee for the Freedom of Press is due to visit Moldova. IFES/Moldova was invited to send a representative to a meeting between CLP and the Committee.

Radio Program Celebrates Second Month of Activity

This month, IFES/Moldova, together with LADOM continued to produce Civic Voice - Public Officer Radio Guide. January's broadcasts were dedicated to the responsibilities of civil servants during elections and the international legislation and administrative norms that regulate this conduct. The first program of the month stressed that incumbent public officials cannot use the resources of their offices in order to organize and develop their election campaigns.

The second broadcast focused on the administrative-territorial restructuring of the country. The Law on Administrative-Territorial Reform was recently promulgated by President Lucinschi. The advantages and benefits of implementing the law were discussed during the program

The third program in January dealt with cooperation between the press and public servants. Guests on the show argued that it is in the best interest of local and national governments to work with the press to keep the citizenry well informed. The fourth and final broadcast in January addressed what measures had been undertaken to implement administrative-territorial restructuring.

Upcoming Issue of Civic Voice

IFES/Moldova is working on No. 22 of *Civic Voice*. The issue is dedicated to public administration. The publication will also include an interview with Senator Jim Talent and Alexandru Cantir, Chairman, Committee for the Freedom of Press. The publication continues to be distributed in Moldovan and Russian.

RUSSIAN FEDERATION

Struggle for Control of Central Election Commission

The appointment process for the 15-member CEC became more politicized throughout January. In March, the terms of every member of the current Central Election Commission will expire. Nominations from the State Duma, the Federation Council, and the President - each of which appoints five members to a five year term - are expected in the near future. Deal-making continued in the State Duma as an agreement to share the five CEC appointments among the four largest parties and a group of smaller factions seemed to break down as the Communists declared their intention to claim three CEC seats for themselves.

Once the members are appointed they will choose the Chairman. The current Chairman, Alexander Ivanchenko, has become increasingly visible in the media, being seen by some as supporting the views of the Presidential Administration on certain controversial election-related issues. At the same time, Moscow Mayor Yuri Luzhkov has sided with the Communist Party in backing Gennady Ponomarev, Moscow's former city prosecutor, to replace Ivanchenko. Although a number of other candidates for this post have been discussed, none is likely to receive serious consideration since they would clearly lack the eight votes needed to get elected.

Election Law Reform Remains Stalled; Yeltsin Ponders Decree

The deadlock between the State Duma, the Federation Council and the President over election law reform continued throughout January. With the Duma elections, scheduled for 19 December, just over 300 days away, political parties and the CEC have expressed growing concern over the lack of a coherent legal framework for elections. Although presidential vetoes are at least partially responsible for the deadlock, the Head of the Presidential Administration, Nikolai Bordyuzha, recently declared that President Yeltsin was considering issuing a decree in order to break the impasse and, in particular, to enact provisions limiting access to the electoral process by criminals. Prime Minister Primakov echoed his support for such a decree, publicly declaring his concerns over the influence of criminals in the election process.

Russian lawmakers, however, remain unsure of whether it is even constitutional to limit access to the ballot for someone who has committed a crime. IFES has responded to this and other issues pertaining to corruption in the political process by preparing three separate papers on organized crime in the political process, ballot access, and campaign finance. These papers are designed to build on what IFES has already done and encourage better-informed decisions by members of the CEC and Russia's lawmakers by providing them with comparative world-wide experience in these issues.

Regional Election Controversy Continues in Vladivostok

Since last Spring, the results of mayoral elections in the city of Vladivostok have been mired by problems and canceled several times. This controversial climate continued with the latest city

council elections which were held on 17 January 1999 and observed by the Central Election Commission of the Russian Federation (CEC RF). Enough voters participated to pass the 25% threshold required to validate the elections, and the results in 16 out of 22 districts were initially declared valid, allowing the city council to begin work (15 active members are required for quorum).

After immediately adopting a new city charter which declared that the mayor would no longer be popularly elected, the city council appointed Victor Cherepkov, a political adversary of the pro-Yeltsin Governor of Primorsky Krai, Yevgeniy Nazdratenko. Cherepkov was also the leading candidate who was struck from the ballot hours before the September 1998 mayoral elections for controversial violations of the law (see September 1998 *Europe & Asia Report*).

Nine days later, citing complaints by candidates and voters, however, the Vladivostok election commission announced the results of "additional checks" which left elections in four more districts invalidated, thereby reducing the number of elected council members to 12. All previous actions of the council, including the appointment of Cherepkov, were subsequently annulled by the district court. Yuri Kopylov, appointed by Governor Nazdratenko, continues to reign as acting mayor in Vladivostok.

Although elections in Vladivostok and other places such as Nizhny Novgorod, St. Petersburg, and Baskortostan have been extremely problematic, this is not the norm. These cases do however highlight some of the critical issues facing elections in Russia. Recognizing these problems, IFES will continue to work with Russia's regions through consultations and by sending out periodic mailings of targeted materials to each of Russia's 89 Subject Election Commissions. IFES will also continue to track the results of regional and local elections to identify trends in the electoral process that may elucidate themselves during the upcoming federal election cycle.

IFES Continues to Address Media and Elections

As a result of the joint IFES/CEC Roundtable: *Mass Media and Elections* which was held last December, IFES is preparing an analytical paper to address the issues raised at the event from an international perspective. The paper examines the role of government controls over the media, negative campaigning by candidates, the penalties for violating mass media regulations, and contains specific legislative recommendations.

Institute For Election Systems Development Takes Shape

In January, the future Director of the Institute for Election Systems Development (IESD), Alex Yurin, was active preparing the Charter for the new NGO, meeting with potential Board Members, and developing an action plan for this important election year. Two Board Members accepted the invitation to join the IESD. The first, Richard W. Soudriette, IFES President, will add an important level of international stature and continuity to the Institute, and the

other, Dr. Alexei Avtonomov of the Foundation for Parliamentarism in Russia, has been active in the development of IESD since last year. In addition, IFES and IESD staff have participated in training on fundraising in Russia presented by Charities Aid Foundation Director Olga Alexeeva, which will be followed by individual consultations throughout the year.

New Perspectives Foundation Looks Forward

The New Perspectives Foundation, a Russian-based NGO with a regional network of 50 affiliates, promotes the rights and participation of young voters in the democratic process. Since the inception of New Perspectives in 1995, IFES had provided in-kind, financial, and advisory support to help the organization grow and achieve sustainability. Bolstered by a successful fundraising campaign in 1998, and institutional support from the Mott Foundation, New Perspectives moved to a new location. This increased independence will allow New Perspectives to build on its past successes and effectively deploy its regional branches to encourage the development of an active and well-informed electorate as federal elections approach. IFES is proud of New Perspectives and is excited to work with them in 1999 and beyond to support democracy development initiatives across Russia.

IFES Addresses Russian Democracy at the Council on Foreign Relations

IFES Director of Programs for Europe and Asia Dr. Juliana Pilon spoke on a panel about the current and future prospects for democracy in Russia at the Council on Foreign Relations on 22 January. Fellow panelists included Nadia Diuk, Senior Program Officer at the National Endowment for Democracy, and Susan Eisenhower, Chairwoman of the Center for Political and Strategic Studies. Representatives from the U.S. Department of State, the U.S. Senate, and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, among others, participated in the discussion.

IFES Moscow Resource Center Update

The Resource Center now boasts a collection of over 2,500 materials. There have been frequent visitors and requests from the State Duma, the SECs, and regional authorities. January also saw the addition of over 60 items from Canada.

SLOVAKIA

NATO and EU Accession is the Slovak Government's Top Priority

Foreign Minister Eduard Kukan said on 9 January that Slovakia's foreign policy goals are to improve relations with its neighbors and to join the EU and NATO as soon as possible. Another important new element in Slovak foreign policy is the country's participation in the Visegrad group. He also announced that Slovakia will pursue participation in the Visegrad group emphasizing that such participation with those soon-to-be NATO members will help Slovakia's efforts to join the organization. U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright said after meeting with Kukan in Washington, D.C. on 22 January that Slovakia is on the right track but must "stay on target" with its reform program and continue to improve

relations with its neighbors if it wants to join NATO and the EU. Albright said that though a good candidate for NATO membership, Slovakia should "not expect an invitation anytime soon." (*RFE/RL 1/25/99*) Deputy defense ministers from the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland, pledged in a meeting earlier this month to help Slovakia join the alliance.

Prime Minister Mikulas Dzurinda, in an address to the joint Slovak-EU Parliamentary Committee in Bratislava on 21 January, said his country "will do everything" in its power to be admitted to accession talks with the EU at the December 1999 Helsinki EU summit, Czech Press Service and AP reported. He said his government has prepared a 90-point "action plan" aimed at achieving EU integration. Dzurinda also expressed confidence that implementation of the plan will help boost his country's chances for integration into the EU. Representatives of the European parliaments, after a meeting with members of the Slovak parliament, called on EU leaders to quickly reevaluate Slovakia's bid to join the union. It was suggested by delegates to this meeting that a decision on whether to give Slovakia "fast track" status be made by December.

Constitution Amended to Allow for Direct Presidential Elections

On 14 January the parliament amended the constitution to provide for the election of the country's president by direct popular vote. The bill was supported by 93 out of the 108 deputies present, exceeding the necessary two-thirds majority in the 150-seat legislature by three votes. The bill stipulates that if no presidential candidate is backed by a majority of voters in the first round, a runoff between the two best-placed candidates is to be held two weeks later. On 27 January the Slovak government approved a draft bill that regulates the procedures of these elections. The legislation, which also must be passed by the parliament, sets limits on the length of election campaigns and regulates candidates' air time on television.

Former President Michal Kovac, Kosice Mayor Rudolf Schuster, and Slovak Democratic Coalition deputy Juraj Svec are the confirmed candidates to date. Mr. Schuster is the ruling coalition's candidate. Under the coalition agreement, Schuster's party, the *Party of Civic Understanding (SOP)* gave up a ministerial post with the agreement that the coalition will support Schuster's candidacy. Earlier in the month, the deal was criticized by the *Christian Democrats (KDH)* and the *Democratic Union (DU)*. KDH Chairman and Minister of Justice Jan Carnogursky announced on 6 January that while he did not consider Schuster to be the ideal candidate, KDH would honor the coalition agreement. The presidential elections have not yet been set but Czech Press Service reports that they could take place in late April.

IFES Completes Phase One of its Activities

The conclusion of the December municipal elections marks the end of the first phase of IFES activity in Slovakia. This project began with the arrival of Election Administration Specialist John Landry on 13 May 1998. Mr. Landry's main duty was to act as advisor to the Ministry of Interior's Elections Department and the Central

Election Commission once it formed. Mr. Landry contributed input into the Ministry's elections calendar, poll worker training manual, and international observers' handbook. Mr. Landry also advised the Association of Towns and Communities of Slovakia on voter registration issues, since the municipalities are responsible for the voter registers.

IFES provided assistance with the municipal elections beginning in June with an analysis of the amendments to the municipal election law by IFES Legal Specialist Robert Dahl. Dahl's main conclusion was that the allocation of seats based on ethnicity "would defeat not only the value of fair representation of all viable political interests (usually associated with proportional voting in multi-mandate electoral districts), but would also defeat the value of political accountability." This analysis was considered to be instrumental in the opposition's decision to ask the Constitutional Court to review the constitutionality of these amendments. In October the Constitutional Court ruled that these amendments were in fact unconstitutional.

IFES also worked with local NGOs on voter education activities surrounding the municipal elections. In cooperation with the Anton Tunega Foundation, IFES produced 24,000 copies of a poll worker training manual. This manual was distributed by the Tunega Foundation and political parties. IFES worked with Slovak Radio International and Hlava 98 on the production of 20 different public service announcements in the Slovak and Hungarian languages. IFES assisted the Katedra Foundation with the production of a magazine supplement for Katedra's monthly magazine and an election guide. These materials were distributed at 9 different public information seminars about the municipal elections; over 2400 citizens participated in these seminars. IFES cooperated with the Forum Institute to hold 58 candidate fora in different communities throughout southern and eastern Slovakia before the 18,19 December elections. Over 4500 citizens attended to listen to 54 percent of the candidates running for local offices.

Phase two activities are intended to focus on long-term sustainable development. At the request of USAID/ Bratislava, IFES will send Legal Specialist Carol Conragan to Bratislava in February to assess the need for election law reform and determine the best means for facilitating such reform. Ms. Conragan will meet with members of parliament, officials from the Ministry of Interior and representatives from various local NGOs interested in election law reform.

UKRAINE

Presidential Election Law Passes Second Reading

On 5 January, Parliament passed the Law on Presidential Elections. The law was then sent to the Committee on State Building and Local Radas to be formatted for signature by the Chairman of the Verkhovna Rada, it will then be sent to President Kuchma for his signature or veto. The Central Election Commission (CEC) has estimated that if a presidential election law is promulgated by the end of February or the beginning of March 1999, the CEC will

have adequate time to train personnel and prepare for the October elections. If, however, the passage of a new law is delayed much beyond that time frame, the CEC could be hard pressed to sufficiently ready its staff for the elections.

The Law on Presidential Elections passed by Parliament is based on a draft submitted by Deputy Oleksandr V. Lavrynovych, Deputy Chairman of the Committee of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine on Legal Reform (Rukh Party, Constituency 121). There has been much speculation in the press that President Kuchma might return the law to Parliament for amendment. Reportedly, President Kuchma objects to the provisions of the law dealing with the time period allowed for campaigning. The law stipulates that campaigning may begin 180 days before the election. An aide to President Kuchma indicated that the President feels this is too short a period of time to mount a campaign. According to the Constitution of Ukraine, if the President returns a law, Parliament may either amend the law by majority vote, or override the President's objections with a two-thirds vote, in which case the law is promulgated.

Adjudication Conference Set to Probe Dispute Resolution

Preparations are underway for a conference on the adjudication of election disputes set for March 17-19. The conference will include members of Parliament, the Supreme Court, and experts from the the Rule of Law Consortium and IFES. Topics of discussion include: legal considerations by courts of general jurisdiction in resolving election disputes; the role of the CEC in resolving election disputes; problems encountered in reforming election legislation; election disputes from the perspective of the plaintiff; and reforming Ukraine's legal structure.

The conference will provide a unique opportunity for actors in the adjudication process to discuss lessons learned from Ukraine's experience during the parliamentary elections and apply them to the coming presidential elections. Suits challenging the results of the 1998 elections to Parliament delayed the seating of several deputies. The lack of clearly defined areas of responsibility among the various courts and agencies created jurisdictional conflict that added to the confusion. By bringing together legislators and judges, the coming conference will allow those who will write election legislation to interact with the judges who will interpret the law.

Still No People's Deputy for Constituency 221

At the 27 January meeting of the Central Election Commission (CEC) of Ukraine, the Commission declared that Andry A. Alyoshin of the Green Party will not be allowed to take a seat as People's Deputy for Constituency 221, Kyiv City. The Commission has ruled that the repeat election, the third election for the constituency seat, was marred by widespread voter fraud and gross irregularities. The allegations of fraud include ballots cast in the name of deceased voters and other ballot falsifications. According to a 22 December article in the *Kyiv Post* several pensioners asked poll workers for the money (Hr 20) they had been promised for voting for Alyoshin.

It has been 10 months since the original parliamentary elections, but the citizens of Constituency 221 still do not have representation in Parliament. The CEC found that the original March election results were tainted by irregularities and ordered that a repeat election be held in August. In that election Yuriy Orobets was initially declared the winner, but a CEC investigation again revealed evidence of fraud, including the discovery of 1,000 unused ballots in a Kyiv city dump. As a result, a third election was ordered for December.

The CEC has forwarded the evidence it has uncovered during its investigations to the Prosecutor's Office, but because Ukraine lacks strong laws punishing election fraud, it is unclear what steps the government can take to prosecute those implicated in the scandals. The CEC has estimated that the elections and subsequent investigations in Constituency 221 have cost the state 763,000 Hryvnas. While the CEC has determined that a fourth election is necessary in Constituency 221, currently, there are no funds allocated in the state budget for such an election.

Mock Elections

IFES/Ukraine Program Manager David Earl continues to prepare for mock elections to be held in selected schools in Ukraine. The project is intended to make use of the interest and press generated during the soon-to-be-official presidential election campaign. The mock elections will target high school students and is to serve as an introduction to the political and electoral process.

The program is being launched in cooperation with the Ministry of Education and the CEC. Mr. Earl discussed the program with Yevhen Marchuk, Chairman of Parliament on Special Issues, during a 5 January meeting. During the meeting, Mr. Marchuk also requested information from IFES on how to improve the security of Ukrainian ballots and informed Mr. Earl about plans for local NGOs and political parties to form an organization dedicated to ensuring free and fair elections in Ukraine.

Mr. Earl also met with Professor Sergei Riabov of Kyiv Mohyla Academy. Professor Riabov teaches political science and civic education at the academy and serves as head of the Department of Political Culture at the Administration of the President of Ukraine. At the meeting, Professor Riabov voiced his support for developing a mock election program in Ukraine and suggested the Mohyla Academy would be open to participating in the project. Professor Riabov is also chairman of Education for Democracy a non-governmental organization (NGO). Education for Democracy publishes *Osvita*, a supplement included in many pedagogical newspapers. In addition to working closely with the CEC and the Ministry of Education, IFES hopes to incorporate other local and international NGOs into the program, which could become a regular part of Ukraine's secondary school curriculum.

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA -MONTENEGRO

Calls for Early Elections

In early January, the governing coalition in Montenegro, consisting of the Democratic Party of Socialists (DPS), the People's Party, and the Social Democratic Party (SDP), joined by opposition parties in Serbia agreed that federal Yugoslav elections should be held as soon as possible. Federal elections for the Chamber of Citizens were last held in November 1996 while elections for the Chamber of Republics were held in December 1996. In Summer 1998, a new Montenegrin delegation was elected to the Chamber of Republics, the upper house of the Federal Assembly, by the newly-elected Montenegrin Republican Assembly. The federal government, led by President Slobodan Milosevic and Prime Minister Momir Bulatovic have not recognized the new delegation, and they have yet to be seated. Likewise, the Montenegrin government still does not recognize the appointment of Momir Bulatovic to the federal premiership last Spring.

Meanwhile, Federal Prime Minister and leader of the Socialist People's Party (SNP) Momir Bulatovic, speaking for the opposition Liberal Alliance and the SNP, called for new republican elections to be held in Montenegro, stating that there have never been free and fair elections in Montenegrin history.

The Law on Election of Councillors and Representatives Completed

IFES Chief of Party Tom Parkins met with Panel Chairman Veselin Pavicevic repeatedly to discuss changes to the model Law on Election of Councillors and Representatives proposed by IFES Legal Specialist Dan Blessington, including a general provision of regulatory authority to complement the specific provision which already existed. The law was then re-drafted and finalized, incorporating suggested changes. Included in the finalized model law was a change that clarified the authority of the Republican Election Commission (REC) to adopt regulations with respect to each of the model laws.

Model Law on Financing of Political Organizations Completed

Members of the Advisory Panel on Election Law Reform and IFES continued redrafting the model law on financing political organizations. During January, two drafts of the model law were completed, one by Mr. Blessington, and the second by the panel. As a result of numerous meetings between Mr. Parkins and Mr. Pavicevic, several of Mr. Blessington's recommendations were included in the model law. The final product contains requirements of party financial statement submission, including the reporting of contributions in excess of certain amounts, expenditures, prohibitions, and provides for regulation and enforcement by the REC.

Broad Support Indicated for Model Laws

A series of meetings in late January have indicated that support for the model laws appears to be widespread. Tom Parkins, Panel Chairman Veselin Pavicevic and Program Assistant Ana Drakic held a series of meetings with the REC and political parties in order to outline the principal goals of the laws and receive feedback. Meetings were held with: Sahman Rasim, the President

of the Democratic Action Party of Montenegro (the primary Muslim party in Montenegro), and Veskovici Rifat, Federal Member of Parliament and Party Vice-President; Predrag Popovic, Vice President of the People's Party and Member of Parliament; Ranko Krivokapic, Member of Parliament and Vice President of the Social Democratic Party; and Stefan Damjanovic, Chairman of the REC. Following an overview of IFES programming activities in Montenegro and a summary of the model laws, all spoke in favor of the laws as described, and indicated that they intend to attend the formal presentation of the model law package.

Presentation of Model Law Package

By the end of January, preparations for the formal presentation of the model law package were well underway. The panel presentation is scheduled for 8 February at the Hotel Crna Gora in Podgorica. Arrangements for the printing of the model laws, after their translation into both Montenegrin and Albanian, are complete.

Impact

The completion of all the model laws by the Advisory Panel on Election Law Reform and their presentation to the Montenegrin government, political parties, NGOs and the media early next month is an important step in the commitment to the continuation of democratic reforms in Montenegro. While the panel was resistant to include certain reforms recommended by IFES into the model laws, especially initially, they have to come to realize their necessity. REC Chairman Stefan Damjanovic indicated that he fully supported the efforts of the panel and the goals of the model laws. In prior meetings with IFES, Chairman Damjanovic was hesitant to endorse a permanent election commission, complete with a staff and expanded regulatory authority, as provided for in the model laws. However, the Chairman stated that his own recollection of 18-hour working days, sleepless nights during the campaign, and recognition of the effect a professional staff could have on overall preparation seemed to induce a change in his position.

CAUCASUS/CENTRAL ASIA

ARMENIA

IFES/Armenia Contributes to UEC Yerkrpah Draft

In the weeks before the second reading of the Universal Electoral Code in the National Assembly on January 25, IFES/Armenia Project Manager Andre Bouchard met with Victor Dallakian, co-author of the Universal Electoral Code Yerkrpah draft, to make recommendations on the draft. On January 21 IFES/Armenia met with UNDP, experts from the Constitutional Court and the National Assembly, and the Chair and Vice Chair of the National Assembly, to participate in the final discussion of the draft and to submit several final recommendations.

The draft prepared for the second reading has undergone substantial positive changes since the draft that was passed in the

first reading. IFES's recommendations for changes to the first draft were fully accepted. Below are listed the IFES recommendations for changes to the Yerkrpah draft and which of these recommendations were adopted by the Yerkrpah Drafters:

Composition of CEC and RECs 1st Draft: The CEC and RECs are composed of 15 members, 5 of them appointed by the Government. The first 10 that submit the signatures of 35,000 citizens appoint the remaining 10. ***IFES Recommendation:*** The purpose of 35,000 signatures is not clear. Experience in transitional democracies shows that electoral commissions on which a broad spectrum of the electorate are represented tend to produce elections that are perceived as more transparent and credible. ***Outcome:*** Partially accepted, also due to pressures from opposition parties. 35,000 signatures came down to 30,000 (this is more the result of a compromise with the opposition). The 5+10 formula for formation of electoral commissions has also been changed as follows:

- 3 Government appointees;
 - 1 member from each of the parties of NA factions, which have filed for running in the NA proportional elections;
 - 1 member of those 5 parties which do not have factions in the NA but have filed for running in the NA proportional elections.
- For both the second and third cases the 30,000 signatures are needed.

Observation of the electoral process 1st Draft: Applications for accreditation with the CEC shall be submitted at least 10 days prior to elections, and the CEC issues credentials to observers at least 5 days prior to elections. ***IFES Recommendation:*** The draft should specify the timing for applications and credentials, given that the provision of the old draft does not give opportunities for observing the whole electoral process. There should be no distinction between categories of observers.

Outcome: Accepted. The new draft reads: Applications for accreditation with the CEC shall be submitted after the day of elections is assigned, but not later than 10 days prior to elections, and then, after receiving the application, issues credentials.

Tear-off coupon system 1st Draft: Tear-off coupons were applied as an additional means for the security of ballots both in the draft passed in the first reading (to be counted by RECs) and in the one adopted in the second reading (to be counted by PECs). This was how the drafters were justifying the use of coupons. ***IFES Recommendation:*** IFES recommended to either remove the coupon system or instead have booklets of detachable ballots, as the experience demonstrated that coupons do not add to security measures, on the contrary – they are only creating problems. ***Outcome:*** Accepted. In the draft submitted for the third reading, coupons are removed.

Removing commission members by parties or the Government having appointed them 1st Draft: In accordance with a provision of the draft, parties or the Government that appointed a member of the CEC or RECs may remove that member at will. The

provision will deprive members of electoral commissions of freedom of actions. They have to act rather as electoral officials than party members. **IFES Recommendation:** This provision should be removed to give electoral officials a chance to act freely, irrespective of their parties' instructions. **Outcome:** Not accepted. The drafters kept stating that the removal of this provision will add to their problems with the opposition. Political parties wanted to keep this provision.

Electoral funds for National Assembly elections 1st Draft: A candidate or a party can establish an electoral fund in the name of his/her authorized representative for pre-election campaigning. A candidate shall have the right to pay a fee to his/her electoral fund in the amount 5,000 times the minimum salary, and the party – in the amount 20,000 times the minimum salary. A candidate shall have the right to spend an amount not exceeding 10,000 times the minimum salary, and a party – an amount not exceeding 500,000 times the minimum salary. **IFES Recommendation:** IFES recommended reducing the amount of electoral funds. **Outcome:** Accepted. The amounts of money went down to respectively 1,000, 2,000, 5,000, 60,000. The same recommendation was moved forward also by many major political parties.

Penalties against publication of public poll results 1st Draft: According to the provision in the draft sanctions are anticipated against those who will make public the results of public polls on ratings of candidates 10 days prior to the day of voting. **IFES Recommendation:** IFES recommended replacing 10 days with 7. **Outcome:** Accepted

IFES Asked to Take Charge in Electoral Official Training and Voter Education

At the UNDP Project Appraisal Committee Meeting on January 29, IFES and UNDP defined their fields of responsibility. It was agreed that IFES should have the lead and the responsibility in the fields of electoral official training and voter education and information, with UNDP free to work in coordination with IFES. It was also decided that IFES would be the contact organization for the CEC in these fields. The committee made the decision after considering IFES's work in Armenia with the CEC since 1996, as well as the fact that IFES has already put human and financial resources into organizing a survey on election officials in preparation for training them.

AZERBAIJAN

IFES/Azerbaijan Team Completes Office Setup After Departure of Project Manager

Sr. Project Assistant Michael Svetlik temporarily assumed project responsibilities on January 8 following the resignation of Project Manager Bill Damour. For the previous five months, Svetlik has been based in Tbilisi, assisting in the day-to-day operation of the IFES/Georgia project. Following Svetlik's arrival, the IFES/Azerbaijan staff completed the organization and setup of the new project office, including the establishment of a Resource

Center, housed in the project office.

Election Complaint Adjudication and Resolution

IFES/Azerbaijan continues to request that the CEC provide information concerning the election violations complaints filed by candidates and others following the October 1998 Presidential Election. Despite this sustained monitoring effort, by the end of January, the CEC had provided no information concerning the resolution of complaints. IFES/Azerbaijan has pledged to continue this monitoring effort in order to bolster the transparency and accountability of the electoral system in Azerbaijan as the country looks toward municipal elections later in 1999.

IFES/Azerbaijan Meets with NDI to Discuss Upcoming Municipal Elections

Michael Svetlik met with Thomas Barry, Office Director of the National Democratic Institute's (NDI) Baku office to discuss the current status of municipal governance and municipal election legislation in Azerbaijan. Svetlik and Barry discussed the timeframe for legislative action on laws that would establish municipal governments in Azerbaijan and govern the elections of free-elected local government officials. The government of Azerbaijan has previously indicated that Municipal Elections are to be held in the fall of 1999.

Security and Safety Upgrade Implemented in IFES/Azerbaijan Project Office

Logistics Coordinator Eldar Babayev completed a security and safety upgrade of the IFES/Azerbaijan office following a security review of the project office by the US Embassy's Regional Security Officer. Improvements include the installation of a wall safe, smoke alarms, emergency lighting, outdoor lighting, and a fire extinguisher.

GEORGIA

IFES/Georgia has been busy preparing for the upcoming debate in the Georgian Parliament on amendments to the election law which will govern the administration of the parliamentary elections next October. Georgian political officials hope to avoid last minute changes which hampered the elections for local councils last November.

IFES/Georgia Assists CEC in Establishing Election Law Priorities

At the request of CEC Chairman Jumber Lominadze, IFES helped the CEC draft a set of election law priorities for changes in the election law. Draft priorities have already been developed by the CEC from a national administrative perspective and include two categories: 1) changes which would apply to the law regardless of which election is involved, and 2) wording which is election-specific (i.e. – presidential, parliamentary, local representative



Officials from the Republican National Party of Kazakhstan discuss the recent Kazakh elections with IFES staff.

bodies). The non-election-specific priorities include voter registration, political party registration, financing of elections, control and monitoring of elections, revision of the legal and administrative legislation concerning elections, and codifying the process and criteria for the selection and creation of the central and local election administrative bodies and assignment of their specific functions.

IFES Election Conference Set for March

IFES/Georgia will conduct a post-election conference to address problems raised during the recent local elections. The forum will bring together diverse groups to define the assistance needed in preparation for the Georgian parliamentary elections in 1999. Participants will include representatives of the Central Election Commission, District Election Commissions, Precinct Election Commissions, Parliament, Political Parties, Non-Governmental Organizations, media and international organizations working with the elections.

Arrival of New IFES/Georgia Advisor

On January 30, IFES/Georgia welcomed Technical Election Advisor Hugh Stohler to the Tbilisi office. Mr. Stohler has experience in election administration and has served in advisory capacities for several international organizations in the democracy and governance sphere. Most recently, Mr. Stohler served in Bosnia and Herzegovina, working for the Organization for Cooperation and Security in Europe (OSCE) as Chief Compliance Officer.

KAZAKHSTAN

IFES Voter Education Project

Voter Education Consultant Judith Davis worked with IFES staff in Almaty and Astana in producing a series of television and radio Public Service Announcements (PSAs) focusing on the importance of the one-person vote principle and practicing voting via secret ballot. The PSAs were designed to be used in future elections in Kazakhstan and emphasize the importance of making one's own

decision when choosing leaders and the direction taken by the country. IFES contracted with the Ecological Project Group to complete the televised portion of the PSAs, while radio teams in Almaty and Astana helped in scripting and production of the radio announcements. The televised spots were digitally engineered in a way to make them adaptable to other countries in Central Asia, and would facilitate dubbing into local languages in support of elections scheduled to take place over the next two years.

Davis and IFES/Astana Project Coordinator Marat Begaliev worked collaboratively on a second phase of Davis' voter education project: the translation into Russian of the voter education section of the Administration and Cost of Elections (ACE) project, produced jointly by IFES, the United Nations, and International IDEA.

In culmination of the voter education project, a seminar was conducted on January 23, in which the newly published voter education guide and the ACE Project CD ROM were introduced to representatives of 12 Almaty-based civic education NGOs. This 489-page publication contains a wealth of information on all aspects and approaches to voter education, using many examples of international practice and experience. Participants at the seminar were impressed with both the materials and format of the event, where each of them had the opportunity to access ACE information using the CD-ROM while working from the Russian translation.. Many of the organizations in attendance asked whether IFES would conduct similar presentations in other regions.

National Republican Party of Kazakhstan Visits Washington

A group of officials from the Republican National Party of Kazakhstan (RNP), sponsored by the Kazakhstan 21st Century Foundation, visited IFES/Washington. Led by professional journalists Sergei Duvanov and Rouslana Taakina, the group met with IFES/Washington President Richard Soudriette and other staff on 29 January to discuss the recently-completed presidential election and learn about IFES programmatic plans in 1999, with the goal of possibly addressing areas of common interest.

The RNP trip to Washington is designed to raise the awareness of the challenges of political party development in Kazakhstan. Party founder Akezhan Kazhegeldin met previously with IFES President Richard Soudriette on 28 October, 1998, to discuss openly the issues in candidate registration for the presidential election.

Presidential Election Results

The election for President of Kazakhstan took place on Sunday January 10, 1999. Official results had the incumbent, President Nursultan Nazarbayev, winning with 81.71% of the votes, with Serikbol Abdildin receiving 12.08%; Gani Kazymov 4.72%; and Engels Gabbasov gaining 0.78%. Voter turnout was reported at 86%.

Impact Summary

IFES Voter Education project broke new ground by making available, for the first time, Russian language material from the

ACE project, which was used in an inaugural training event for representatives of local non-governmental organizations. Reviews of the event by its participants were overwhelmingly positive, providing additional impetus for translation of other ACE sections, and an expansion of the civic education training seminar concept to other regions of Kazakhstan. The Russian-language translation of the voter education section from ACE can be found in the IFES/Almaty and Washington Resource Centers.

The PSAs produced in conjunction with Ms. Davis' on-site consultancy are flexible enough to be used in any future election voter outreach campaigns. While not designed to be specifically motivational, the PSAs emphasize the value of voting in general as a means of expressing political preference. The spots address long-accepted practices of family voting or voting under the influence of another's will, and seek to reinforce the notion of individual expression.

KYRGYZSTAN

Fifth Draft of Election Code Still in the Works

A recently-completed fifth draft of the proposed codified election law was presented to the Central Election Commission for consideration in the Jogorku Kenesh parliament. IFES/Bishkek Project Coordinator Galina Sergunina provided a translation of the draft to IFES/Washington. In cooperation with representatives of NDI/Bishkek, Sergunina obtained alternative drafts of the law presented by individual parliamentary deputies. As discussion among members of the legislative subcommission in the Jogorku Kenesh continues in earnest, it is anticipated that recommendations from both deputies and outside experts will be considered on an article-by-article basis. IFES Election Law Consultant John Christman, who worked with the Election Law Working Group in analysing the first four drafts of the election code, will continue his work in support of the State Program and electoral law reform by preparing an analysis of the latest drafts and sharing his ideas with the legislative subcommission next month. Christman will be traveling to Bishkek in mid-February to work with the subcommission, parliamentary deputies and the CEC in support of the project. Adoption of the new electoral code is expected to take place by early March.

IFES Aids Local NGO in Formulating Election Code Recommendations

At the request of Tolekan Ismailova, head of the Bishkek-based NGO *Forum*, IFES contributed in the drafting of an independent document suggesting changes to the Election Code which would make the CEC a more neutral independent body, strengthen the status of NGOs as independent electoral observers, and provide more strict language to help eliminate family voting. The document was offered to several deputies in the Jogorku Kenesh to assist in the process of legislative discussion and formation.

IFES Working with Womens NGO

IFES/Bishkek is working with the locally based NGO *Development of Human Space* to organize a workshop on enabling

women's participation in the political process. The focus is on overcoming difficulties and traditional stereotypes to promote the advancement of women in politics. Discussions at the event will explore the obstacles to women's participation in the representative governmental bodies of Kyrgyzstan and present strategies on how to overcome these obstacles by examining: the role of state bodies and political leadership, the position of women's NGOs, the function of political parties, and the involvement of the media. The workshop is tentatively scheduled to be held in late February in Bishkek.

Impact Summary

IFES support for election law reform in Kyrgyzstan enters a new phase with an analysis of alternative fifth drafts put forth by the CEC and deputies from the Jogorku Kenesh. The on-site presence of Legal Consultant John Christman to provide guidance during the delicate parliamentary discussions, including written analysis, will provide further stimulus towards constructive dialogue and resolution of outstanding technical details in the law.

IFES has helped focus more attention on the role of NGOs in the election law revision process by submitting recommendations of several NGO legal experts to the CEC for consideration. It is critical to include the opinions of independent experts, in addition to international legal consultants and representatives of governmental legislative committees, so as to eventually assure broader support and understanding of the changes to the election code. It furthermore provides a meaningful contribution by the non-governmental community to the process of legislative reform. IFES will continue to encourage the CEC and parliamentary legislative committees to consider independent contributions to the election law reform process.

TAJIKISTAN

Voter Registration Project Enters a New Phase

IFES Central Asia Project Manager Tom Leckinger traveled to Dushanbe to promote IFES' Voter Registration Project and discuss the possibility of conducting an Election Law Conference together with the OSCE and United Nations. Leckinger, Voter Registration Consultant Enrique Saltos, and IFES/Dushanbe Project Coordinator Behzod Mingboev, met with a number of Government of Tajikistan (GOT) and United Tajik Opposition (UTO) officials, including members of the Commission on National Reconciliation (CNR). The project idea has enjoyed broad-based support from both sides, and the Prime Minister of Tajikistan was particularly valuable in assisting Saltos in evaluating existing voter registration documentation prior to determining which kind of system, whether electronic, paper, or mixed, would be most suitable for voter registration, given the unique circumstances in Tajikistan. Saltos developed a schematic for a server and a network of computers linked to the central unit in Dushanbe, and at present has enlisted the assistance of the Central Election Commission in locating a suitable building for the central server. Price options for the system as well as a favorable computer center location continue to be sought.

Chairman of the CNR and Islamic Resistance Party Leader, Said Abdullo Nuri, expressed keen interest in the IFES projects during a meeting with Leckinger, Saltos and Mingboev. He believes that if properly administered, the voter registration system can have a great benefit for the people of Tajikistan by instilling confidence in the election system. Chairman Nuri stressed that ballots should be printed on special paper outside of Tajikistan and that international organizations could help ensure that no extra ballots would be printed. He was supportive of the suggestion made by IFES to address domestic observation issues.

Leckinger, Mingboev, and Saltos met with Lebedev Stanislav, Department Head of the Presidential Apparatus, and Timur Hasanov, Head of the Computers Department. They were briefed about the electronic Voter Registration Project and its advantages. Lebedev discussed the computer information system being developed by the GOT and suggested combining the two systems for quicker and more precise dissemination of information. Saltos supported the suggestion, provided the systems were compatible.

Leckinger and Saltos met with John McClellan, Regional Director, and Anika Linden, Legal Advisor, of UNHCR, to discuss international assistance in the registration project, with particular emphasis on the issue of registration of expatriate Tajiks, including refugees. The presence of internally displaced refugees, as well as large numbers of Tajik citizens living outside the borders of Tajikistan, creates an enormous challenge when developing a voter registration system that meets minimum specifications. Mr. McClellan pledged the assistance of the UNHCR offices throughout Central Asia for the effort.

IFES co-sponsored a seminar conducted by the Dushanbe-based NGO *Sharq* on election legislative revision in Tajikistan. IFES/Dushanbe Project Coordinator Behzod Mingboev gave a presentation about IFES programs and plans in Tajikistan during an orientation session with the media. The *Sharq* events have sought to generate interest and discussion of the election issues in the regions of Tajikistan. Knowledge of the election system and the rights of voters, observers, and political party members will be vital in assuring that the forthcoming elections have widespread support and legitimacy in the country.

While in Dushanbe, Leckinger met with representatives of *Sharq*, *The Research Center, Traditions* (an NGO focusing on women's issues), and *CAMT*, an NGO working with the youth of Tajikistan, to plan a series of voter and civic education events which will take place in cooperation with IFES over the next several months. John Barbee, Country Director of Counterpart Consortium, was also consulted concerning these plans, and will be cooperating in their implementation. Initial planning calls for candidate debate training, projects designed to increase participation in the political process by women and young people, and domestic observer training.

Plans Continue for a Regional Seminar on Grievance Adjudication

IFES is engaged in discussions with implementing partners to conduct a regional seminar on grievance adjudication for members of regional election commissions and judicial organs, planned tentatively for Spring 1999 in cooperation with the United Nations, OSCE/ODIHR, and ABA/CEELI. The primary goal of the conference would be to increase the level of sophistication at the Oblast and lower levels in the area of grievance adjudication, which was one of the particularly successful session topics during the Regional Conference for Central Asia Oblast Election Administrators held in November in Almaty.

Discussions were held with representative of OSCE, the CEC, as well as the Supreme Court of Tajikistan concerning the prospect of holding such a seminar. All were favorably disposed to the organization of an event of this magnitude citing the pressing need in Tajikistan and region-wide to improve the system of addressing complaints and reported violations in the election process.

Impact Summary The establishment of an effective, mutually-supported voter registration system, critical to the successful development of democratic initiatives in Tajikistan, received a boost by a show of bi-partisan support in the CNR. Once the on-site analysis is complete, Enrique Saltos will prepare recommendations for consideration by the CNR, USAID, and the international community for realization of phase II of the project, involving acquisition and installation of hardware along with training of computer system operators.

UZBEKISTAN *(Continued from page 1)*

IFES/Washington to take a position as Project Assistant for Central Asia. Maksudova has extensive experience in election observation and has served as a trainer for international election observation missions.

IFES Engages in Discussions with Public Education Center

Tom Leckinger, Elena Wolf, and incoming Uzbekistan Project Coordinator Lola Maksudova met with representatives of the Public Education Center (PEC), a Tashkent-based NGO which has been active in the civic education sector, and has completed projects in the elections field (including a summer camp for older teenagers which conducts mock campaigns and elections). The group has a number of affiliates throughout Uzbekistan, making it an ideal prospect for IFES cooperative programming.

Public Opinion Research Center seeks collaboration with IFES

Elena Wolf and Lola Maksudova were invited to the Public Opinion Research Center "Izhtimoiy Fikr" to discuss possible joint projects with IFES. The Center has a status of a Non-Government Public Organization founded in 1997 by the presidential decree. The Center recently completed a public opinion survey of the electorate, which covered a number of different areas including the population's level of interest in politics, the threat to Uzbekistan's security and its possible sources, including: elections, political parties, women's issues, the economy and culture. One of the joint activities proposed by the Deputy Director of the Center, Marat

Khadjimukhamedov, was the seminar on education and studying the electoral behavior of people before the upcoming elections in December 1999. Khadjimukhamedov spoke highly of the Public Opinion Survey conducted by IFES in 1996 and inquired about the possibility of IFES implementing another survey together with Public Opinion Research Center. The Deputy stressed that there is a dearth of qualified sociologists in Uzbekistan, and a training seminar for sociologists would be a particularly useful exercise.

Impact Summary

IFES's joint seminar with Public Education Center (PEC) has given it an opportunity to establish links with various NGOs across Uzbekistan and discuss possible areas of cooperation in the field of civic education. As in Kazakhstan, participants attending the ACE training session will be contacted in the near future to follow up on their implementation efforts. It is hoped that the ability of NGOs across Uzbekistan to function on a higher level will be enhanced by greater access to information and the sharing of ideas with international organizations and local partners. IFES is working actively to cultivate relations among potential Uzbek electoral "watchdogs" as it has successfully done in Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Kazakhstan.

ASIA

Association of Asian Election Authorities (AAEA)

Interim Secretariat Activities

Serving as the interim secretariat for the Association of Asia Election Authorities (AAEA), IFES worked in collaboration with the AAEA Chairperson, Chief Election Commissioner Bishnu Pratap Shah of Nepal, to finalize preparations for the next executive board meeting of the association. This meeting, set in Kathmandu, Nepal, is scheduled for the first week of March and will contain the following issues and topics of discussion on the agenda:

- ▶Election official exchanges in member countries;
- ▶AAEA election observation mission in Indonesia;
- ▶Candidates for remaining open seat on board;
- ▶New member recruitment;
- ▶Resources exchange among Association members; and
- ▶Member dues collection.

The executive board meeting will be hosted by Chairman Shah. Board members Zagipa Balieva of Kazakhstan, Dayananda Dissananyake of Sri Lanka, and Chien Tai-Lang of Taiwan have all been invited to attend or send a representative in their place. As a representative of the interim secretariat, IFES Executive Vice President Jeff Fischer will also attend.

In separate matters, Dr. Rei Shiratori, President of the Institute for Political Studies in Japan, has informed IFES that pending passage of legislation by the Japanese Diet, funding will become available for Japan to join the AAEA as its thirteenth member.

INDONESIA

Impact Summary

IFES' field project activities progressed at a quicker pace as the national election laws were passed by Parliament on January 28th. These activities included: (1) continued support of the development of the election laws and regulations; (2) implementation of election administration technical support to the transitioning election authorities; (3) further progress on the field work for the national survey of the Indonesian electorate; (4) an initial assessment of and planning for IFES' voter education campaign; and (5) the initiation of coordinating efforts in regard to party agent (election monitor) training.

Election Laws and Regulations

The development of the election laws was closely monitored by IFES' election law specialist Bob Dahl throughout the month of January. Along with acting project manager Theo Noel, Mr. Dahl continued to support IFES' advisory activities to the Parliament, political parties, NGOs, and Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA) in the period leading up to and during the debates prior to the adoption of the new election laws. After the passage of the laws, Mr. Dahl began working with members of the government transition team and the legal community on issues pertaining to the process for adjudication of disputes.

Election Administration

IFES' election administration specialist and acting project manager Theo Noel worked on the following activities during the course of the month: a needs assessment for the elections for the government of Indonesia (GOI) and donor community; a draft elections calendar along with a reviewed cost estimate for the elections; and in concert with MHA officials, draft regulations on the registration of political parties and electors, as well as the accreditation of party agents and observers/monitors. After passage of the election laws, Mr. Noel worked with the GOI's reform team members and the nascent Independent Election Commission (KPU) on formulating a master plan for the conduct of the June 7 elections. He completed the elections calendar draft and continued to work on issues such as political party registration, voter registration, and other logistical matters.

National Voter Survey

IFES' local pollsters completed pre-testing of the survey. Field work commenced with the final, fine-tuned version of the questionnaire. The national voter survey field work started in Jakarta and its environs, while field work outside of Jakarta was temporarily on hold due to violent disturbances in the countryside. By mid-January, however, field work outside of Jakarta commenced. IFES expects the first raw data set from the completed surveys from Jakarta and Bogor by mid- February. With this schedule, the top-line data should be ready at the beginning of March. IFES' survey analyst Steve Wagner will have preliminary analysis of the first batch of data early next month.

Voter Education

IFES' voter education (VE) program was launched in mid-January when voter education specialist Hank Valentino departed for Jakarta for a four-and-a-half week mission to assess and develop the VE campaign. Mr. Valentino met with USAID, the Indonesian-American Chamber of Commerce, contractors, and donors to discuss the VE plan for Indonesia. He also worked on developing the concept for a media center for the nascent KPU while he formulated the VE program IFES plans to implement.

Party Agent (Election Monitor) Training

Party agent training specialists Paul DeGregorio and Kate Birsell were identified as the expert team to provide the Indonesian political parties with pollwatcher/monitor training. Mr. DeGregorio and Ms. Birsell will be departing for Indonesia in mid-February to establish the IFES party agent training program. The IFES party agent training program will be closely coordinated with other NGOs and USAID contractors involved in the process of preparing the electorate for observation and monitoring activities.

PAPUA NEW GUINEA

Preparation of the PETA Final Report

Follow-up communications with the EC and the US Embassy/Port Moresby are on-going as the political situation on Bougainville is changing daily. In mid-January, the elections for the Bougainville Reconciliation Government was expected sometime in the spring of 1999; to date, that estimate has been revised to sometime around June or July of 1999. Mr. Heilman gave an in-house briefing on his draft PETA report and submitted a final draft at the end of the January. The IFES Asia Program staff is now editing the assessment report which will be delivered to USAID, the US Embassy in Port Moresby, and other appropriate assistance providers involved in the upcoming Bougainville and PNG national elections. Appropriate staff at the State Department and USAID/Washington will be briefed on the findings upon completion of the report.

Impact Summary

IFES' election administration specialist Jim Heilman began a Pre-Election Technical Assessment (PETA) in Papua New Guinea (PNG) in mid-November of 1998 and concluded the mission by the end of December 1998. Working with PNG election authorities, Mr. Heilman prepared a comprehensive assessment of the critical elements of the PNG election process. During the visit, he conducted detailed interviews with individuals and groups associated with the upcoming elections in the Province of Bougainville, and reviewed the electoral environment to project election time lines based on various political scenarios. Moreover, Mr. Heilman was able to assess reform efforts and prepared tentative recommendations about how these goals can be achieved in order to accommodate open and transparent elections in 1999 and beyond in PNG.

With the political situation on the Province of Bougainville in a state of flux, the technical assessment mission was conducted at an

opportune time at the end of 1998. Mr. Heilman was able to accurately size up the electoral assistance needs of the PNG Electoral Commission (EC) and the specific, acute needs of the election system on Bougainville prior to the changes that have taken place since. IFES' time of arrival proved worthwhile as resources were maximized and opportunities seized for effective analyses.

PHILLIPPINES

Extension of Project

In January, IFES' Gwenn Hofmann returned to Manila to finalize projects related to the May 1998 election and to discuss preparations for the upcoming election in the Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao (ARMM). She met with representatives of the Philippines Commission on Elections (COMELEC) to discuss future programming in voter education for both the electorate and the Philippine Congress, as well as plans for the ARMM election. COMELEC requested that IFES continue its assistance in voter education and training for election day workers, particularly in regard to the ARMM elections later this year.

After extensive consultations with USAID's Office of Transition Initiatives (OTI) in both Washington and Manila, funding for the IFES voter education and pollworker training program in the ARMM was approved as an extension to the existing project. This voter education initiative will be carried through the ARMM election cycle, which is expected to take place in September 1999.

Focus Group Report Completed

The results of the six focus groups held in Cotabato and Zamboanga in November-December 1998 were combined into one report with recommendations and presented to COMELEC. The IFES focus group report was incorporated into COMELEC's report to the office of the President and to Congress, and will be used as part of the Congressional education initiative. The report supports COMELEC's stance that new legislation is needed to provide for re-registration of voters and an appropriate budget to fund non-transferable picture identification cards.

Voter Information Program

The radio and TV spots developed for the May 1998 election will be used for the ARMM election following some minor revisions. IFES Media Specialist Hank Valentino developed a broadcast schedule for COMELEC with recommendations as to which spots should be run prior to the election. In addition, Valentino revised some of the dialogue for the vote counting and voting procedure spots so that they can be used for future elections in the ARMM if the same equipment and procedures are used in the future. IFES Consultant Gwenn Hofmann presented the spots and the schedule to COMELEC on her return to Manila.

Combined Survey Report presented to COMELEC

IFES' final pre- and post-election combined survey report, with

data provided by the local NGO Social Weather Station (SWS), was given to COMELEC and the results discussed. The report stated that in December 1997, 49% of the voters said that they had enough information about the upcoming elections, while the post-election survey indicated that 77% of the electorate felt that they were well-informed about the electoral process. The perceived reliability of COMELEC information rose from 66% in the pre-election survey to 85% in the post-election survey, while COMELEC's credibility rating soared from a low of 17% before the election to 77% afterwards.

Impact Summary

IFES continued to assist the Philippine Commission on Elections to prepare for the upcoming round of elections in the ARMM. The focus group report will help support COMELEC's position that Congress must act quickly on the legislative initiatives that have been introduced to reform the electoral process in the ARMM. The results of the SWS combined survey report provided COMELEC with proof that its work to improve the electoral process has real impact on voters.