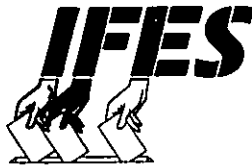


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International Foundation for Electoral Systems

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**US/USSR Exchange of Election Officials
Final Report**

**Charles Stewart Mott Foundation
Grant Number 90-065**

May 1, 1992

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IFES RESOURCE CENTER!***

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NARRATIVE REPORT

Grantee International Foundation for Electoral Systems

Program US/USSR Exchange of Election Officials Project

Mott Foundation

Grant #90-065 Reporting Period 9/31/91 to 5/1/92
(starting date) (ending date)

SECTION I

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The US/USSR Election Officials Exchange Program began in March 1989. In March of 1990, the International Foundation for Electoral System received a grant for the amount of \$141,670 from the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation (#90-065) to continue support for this program.

In 1991 the accelerating pace of reform in the Soviet Union, the August coup and the eventual demise of the Union, resulted in IFES requesting an extension of the grant from September 1991 to March 1992. This extension allowed IFES to assess the new situation in the former Soviet republics and to amend its program in order to establish a program with election officials in the individual republics.

In March 1992 IFES sent a three person team of election experts to Belarus and Russia to meet with election officials in these two key republics. The team has submitted a comprehensive report on the electoral process in Belarus and details of the meeting held with Russian Central Electoral Commission Chairman, Vasily Kazakov to discuss new priorities for technical election assistance.

This last phase in the US/USSR Election Officials Exchange has set the scene for the future work of IFES in the individual republics of the former Soviet Union where election officials, finding themselves abruptly deprived of centralized direction from Moscow, are beginning to review their existing election systems. Although each republic will take its own, individual course and choose its own system, IFES is in an excellent position to build on this experience in planning follow up work both in Russia and Belarus and to begin work in other former Soviet republics.

The International Foundation for Electoral Systems wishes to express its gratitude to the Charles Stewart Foundation for its invaluable support for the US/USSR Election Officials Exchange over the past three years.

PROGRAM OBJECTIVES

1. List the reporting objectives referred to in the grant commitment letter and concisely indicate progress achieved toward each objective.

Part A. Pre-election assessment in Belarus, March 1992

Following the approval in November 1991 of the extension of grant #90-065 until the end March 1992, IFES initiated steps to send Dr. Richard Smolka to the Ukraine in December 1991. Unfortunately due to visa problems he was unable to be present to assess the conduct of the Ukrainian presidential election on December 1, 1991.

Therefore in view of the fact that no further elections were scheduled in the Ukraine, IFES accepted an invitation to visit the Republic of Belarus in March 1992. The visit took place on the invitation of the Chairman of Legislative Committee of the Supreme Soviet of Belarus who requested assistance in the drafting of electoral and constitutional legislation prior to forthcoming parliamentary elections.

IFES sent a three person team to Belarus consisting of Mr. William Kimberling, Deputy Director, National Clearing House, Federal Election Commission; Dr. Richard Smolka, Professor of Public Affairs, American University; and Mr. Hoyt Clifton, Director, Bureau of Elections of New Mexico and newly-elected President of the National Association of State Directors of Elections.

The team examined the following elements of the Belarus election process :

- A. Political environment
- B. Constitutional system
- C. Election system
- D. Legislating the election system
- E. Administering the election system
- F. Drawing of electoral boundaries
- G. Providing ballot access

- H. Registering voters
- I. Campaign financing and voter education
- J. Balloting
- K. Contesting elections and recounts

Please refer to the comprehensive trip report enclosed.

Part B. On-site assistance team to Russia

In September 1991 IFES held productive discussions with Vasiliy Kazakov concerning the provision of technical assistance to the Russian republic. (Please find trip report, dated October 16, 1991 in Appendix B.

As a follow-up to these discussions the three person team visited Moscow on its return from Minsk, to meet with Chairman Kazakov. Discussions took place regarding the political situation in Russia where the Supreme Soviet is currently working on a new draft constitution and issues of economic reform. It appears to be the judgement of the Supreme Soviet, however, that elections should not take place until 1993 by which time it is hoped that economic reform will have taken root, leading to increased political stability.

IFES therefore plans to seek funds for technical election internships for Russian election officials in the US and Western Europe prior to the next elections. IFES considers that offering technical election internships for election officials lasting from one and three months to election officials is the most cost-effective technical assistance that can be made at this stage. (Please find trip report in Appendix C).

2. What favorable or unfavorable variance(s) from stated goals, objectives and projected expenditures occurred during the period? Indicate if the variance will hinder or prevent accomplishment of objectives.

As stated above, IFES decided to send a team to Belarus instead of the Ukraine, given the relative proximity of elections in Belarus. Whereas the Ukraine has received considerable attention in the West since the demise of the Soviet Union, Belarus is the 'forgotten' republic. The IFES team was able to gain unique first-hand knowledge of the current political issues in Belarus and to establish contacts with election and legislative officials in the republic. IFES will continue to assist the election officials

in Belarus by means of technical election internships and on-site pre-election assistance once the elections are called.

The unique nature of the trip was underlined by the considerable interest attracted by the team's briefing after its return. This briefing was organized in coordination with the CSCE (see invitation in Appendix A) and was attended by a wide variety of representatives from institutions in Washington, D.C. as well as Congress committee staff members. The Voice of America recorded the entire briefing and sent out excerpts on the VOA Russian Language Service.

The team's visit to Russia was another important stage in the consolidation of the relationship that IFES has established since the outset of the US/USSR Election Officials Exchange Program in 1989. This visit marked the beginning of a new phase in the relationship with the emphasis moving from election officials exchanges to the offering of technical assistance and the prospect of technical election internships for Russian election administrators.

3. Do you currently expect that the planned results will be produced by the completion of this grant period? If not, explain.

The objectives of this program were achieved on schedule.

4. Do you currently expect to continue this program after the end of this grant? If so, does your organization have in place a commitment for appropriate resources?

IFES hopes to build on the contacts and expertise gained through the program of US/USSR Election Officials Exchange Program in order to diversify its work in the former Soviet Union.

IFES is therefore seeking funds from a variety of sources to implement technical election assessment missions in republics where there are scheduled elections, for example, Georgia and Estonia; carry out civic education analyses building on the existing IFES program in Romania; organize training seminars for republic election officials by using the expertise of officials in the Association of Election Officials from East and Central Europe; and offer technical election internships in the United States and Western Europe.

IFES looks forward to building on the work instituted during the time period of this grant. The contacts and expertise gained during the US/USSR Election Officials Exchange Program are unique. IFES greatly appreciates the confidence that the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation displayed in the awarding of this grant to our Foundation and for the great understanding displayed concerning the

extensions and amendments necessitated by the extraordinary pace of events in the former Soviet Union leading to the dissolution of the Union itself.

IFES is now in an excellent position to diversify its work into the former Soviet republics and to assist election officials there who are faced with the prospect of a series of far-reaching changes in election systems and laws over the coming months and years.

INTERNATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR ELECTORAL SYSTEMS
 Grant No. 90-065 With the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation
 US/USSR Exchange of Election Officials Project
 Financial Report

For the Period of: January 1, 1992 To April 30, 1992
 Prepared as of: April 30, 1992
 IFES Senior Program Officer: Susan B. Atwood
 IFES Finance Director: Paige Carlson-Heim

Budget Description	Revised Budget 12/31/91	Line Item Transfers 04/30/92	Revised Budget 04/30/92	Expenses Prior Period	Expenses This period	Accumulat. Expenses 04/30/92	Balance Budget 04/30/92
U.S. OBSERVERS TO U.S.S.R.							
Communications	\$613		\$613	\$613		\$613	\$0
International transportation	13,378		13,378	13,378		13,378	0
Domestic transportation	2,148		2,148	2,148		2,148	0
Language services	0		0	0		0	0
Representational costs	2,176		2,176	2,176		2,176	0
Visa & departure tax	42		42	42		42	0
Ground transportation	549		549	549		549	0
Food & Lodging	616		616	616		616	0
Program coordinator	8,685		8,685	8,685		8,685	0
Supplies	825		825	825		825	0
	-----		-----	-----		-----	-----
Subtotal	29,032		29,032	29,032		29,032	0
SQVIET OBSERVERS TO U.S.							
Communications	768		768	768		768	0
Food & Lodging	35,223		35,223	36,723		36,723	(1,500)
Language services	0		0	0		0	0
Domestic airfares	7,969		7,969	7,969		7,969	0
Local transportation	7,365		7,365	7,365		7,365	0
Special events	3,446		3,446	3,155		3,155	291
Cultural events	(1,702)		(1,702)	(1,702)		(1,702)	0
Program coordinator	5,385		5,385	5,385		5,385	0
Representational costs	900		900	900		900	0
	-----		-----	-----		-----	-----
Subtotal	59,354		59,354	60,564		60,564	(1,210)
	-----		-----	-----		-----	-----
Total Element One	88,386		88,386	89,596		89,596	(1,210)
	-----		-----	-----		-----	-----
Element Two: Specialist Exchanges							
U.S. ELECTION SPECIALISTS TO U.S.S.R.							
Communications (telephone, cables, fax)	500		500	552		552	(52)
International roundtrip transportation	7,200		7,200	6,196		6,196	1,004
Living stipend	8,000		8,000	5,551		5,551	2,449
Visa and departure tax	200		200	202		202	(2)
Program Coordinator	5,000		5,000	8,431		8,431	(3,431)
Supplies	0		0	169		169	(169)
	-----		-----	-----		-----	-----
	20,900		20,900	21,101		21,101	(201)

INTERNATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR ELECTORAL SYSTEMS
 Grant No. 90-065 With the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation
 US/USSR Exchange of Election Officials Project
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Budget Description	Revised Budget 12/31/91	Line Item Transfers 04/30/92	Revised Budget 04/30/92	Expenses Prior Period	Expenses This period	Accumulat. Expenses 04/30/92	Balance Budget 04/30/92
U.S.S.R. ELECTION SPECIALISTS TO U.S.A.							
Communications	500		500	0		0	500
Food, lodging - Soviet specialists	6,000	(3,100)	2,900	0		0	2,900
Living stipend	164		164	0		0	164
Domestic airfare	3,000	(915)	2,085	1,243		1,243	842
Local transportation	400		400	0		0	400
Cultural events	670		670	0		0	670
Program Coordinator	5,000	(2,000)	3,000	0		0	3,000
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
	15,734	(6,015)	9,719	1,243		1,243	8,476
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
TOTAL ELEMENT TWO:	36,634	(6,015)	30,619	22,344		22,344	8,275
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
NEW ELEMENT TWO:							
PRE-ELECTION ASSESSMENT TO BYELARUS							
Communications/Postage	300	250	550	0	115	115	435
Program Coordinator/Consulting	1,800	3,525	5,325	0	6,445	6,445	(1,120)
International Airfare	7,500	5,100	12,600	0	9,719	9,719	2,881
Visa and departure tax	300	300	600	0	121	121	479
Local transportation	300	300	600	0	261	261	339
Food & Lodging	5,750	(2,810)	2,940	0	3,240	3,240	(300)
Supplies	500	(450)	50	233	215	447	(397)
Representational Costs	200	(200)		0		0	0
Bank Charges					55	55	(55)
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
TOTAL NEW ELEMENT TWO:	16,650	6,015	22,665	233	20,171	20,404	2,261
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
GRAND TOTAL	\$141,670	\$0	\$141,670	\$112,173	\$20,171	\$132,344	\$9,326
	=====	=====	=====	=====	=====	=====	=====

Note. The Grant expired on March 31, 1992. However, because of some delays in receiving visas the team to Byelarus did not travel until late March. As a result some expenses related to this trip were incurred during April.

Appendix A



ВЯРХОЎНЫ САВЕТ РЭСПУБЛІКІ БЕЛАРУСЬ

КАМІСІЯ ПА ЗАКАНАДАЎСТВУ

220010 Мінск, тэл. 20-18-84

Глубокоуважаемый господин Кимберлинг!

В Республике Беларусь знают Вас как одного из крупнейших специалистов США в области избирательного права и регулирования регистрации партий.

В настоящее время в республике назрела необходимость в подготовке нового законодательства о выборах.

Настоящим имею честь направить Вам официальное приглашение посетить Республику Беларусь в удобное для Вас время.

Выражаю искреннюю уверенность в том, что Ваш визит послужит делу построения в Республике Беларусь профессионального парламента правового государства.

С глубоким уважением,

Д. Булахов,
член Президиума Верховного
Совета Республики Беларусь,
председатель Комиссии по
законодательству

SUPREME COUNCIL OF THE REPUBLIC OF BELARUS

Committee on Legislation
220010 Minsk, tel. 20-18-64

Dear Mr. Kimberling,

You are well-known in the Republic of Belarus as one of the outstanding american experts on suffrage and regulation of the registration of parties.

At present the necessity is ripe in the Republic to draft a new legislation on election.

I have the honour to invite you to visit the Republic of Belarus at the time convenient for you.

It is my strong conviction that your visit will serve the cause of setting up in the Republic of Belarus a professional parliament and lawfully constituted State.

Sincerely,

D. Bulakhov
Member of the Presidium of the
Supreme Council of the
Republic of Belarus,
Chairman of the Committee
on Legislation



ВЯРХОЎНЫ САВЕТ РЭСПУБЛІКІ БЕЛАРУСЬ
КАМІСІЯ ПА ЗАКАНАДАЎСТВУ

220010 Мінск, тэл. 20-18-84

11 March 1992

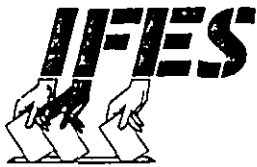
Dear Mr. Kimberling,

In addition to my previous letter to you I would like to confirm by the present letter my verbal invitation for Professor Richard Smolka and Mr. Hoyt Clifton, Director of Elections for the State of New Mexico, to visit the Republic of Belarus together with you (20-27 March, 1992).

I hope to welcome you soon in Minsk.

Sincerely,

D. Bulakhov
Member of the Presidium
of the Supreme Council of the Republic
of Belarus, Chairman of the Committee
on Legislation



Emerging Democracy in Belarus

at

**LONGWORTH HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
Room 1324
(Independence Avenue and South Capitol Street)**

Tuesday, April 21, 1992

10.00AM - 11.30AM

The International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) invites all interested individuals to a briefing on the results of a pre-election assessment in Belarus by

**Dr. Richard Smolka
Professor of Public Affairs, American University
Editor, *Election Administration Reports***

**Mr. William Kimberling
Deputy Director, Clearinghouse on Election Administration
Federal Election Commission
International Election Expert**

**Dr. Paul A. Goble
Senior Fellow, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
Former Special Assistant for Soviet nationalities in the
State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research**

Under a grant from the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, IFES sent a technical election assessment team consisting of Dr. Smolka, Mr. Kimberling and Mr. Hoyt Clifton, Director of Elections for the State of New Mexico, to Minsk to meet with the Central Election Commission, the Legislative Commission, the Committee on State and Local Affairs and the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet. Dr. Paul A. Goble, who briefed the IFES team prior to their departure, will outline the historical, political and cultural context for the team's findings.

RSVP (acceptances only) to (202) 828-8507

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JANE S. FISHER, DEPUTY STAFF DIRECTOR

April 15, 1992

Dear Colleague:

The Helsinki Commission and the International Foundation for Electoral Systems will hold a briefing for Members of Congress, staff, press and the public on Belarus, with a focus on efforts by Belarusian reformers to hold new elections to the Supreme Soviet.

The briefing will take place on April 21, 1992 in the Longworth House Office Building, Room 1324 (Interior Committee hearing room), at 10:00 a.m. to 11:30 a.m.

Invitees will be addressed by:

Dr. Paul Goble
Senior Fellow, Carnegie Endowment for Peace

Dr. Richard Smolka
Professor of Government, American University

Mr. William Kimberling
Deputy Director, Federal Elections Commission

Minsk, the capital of Belarus, is the headquarters of the Commonwealth of Independent States. Minsk has also been selected as the venue for the upcoming meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe on attempting to resolve the Nagorno-Karabakh crisis.

Under a grant from the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, IFES sent a technical election assessment team to Minsk to meet with the Central Election Commission, the Legislative Commission, the Committee on State and Local Affairs, and the Chairman of the Belarus Supreme Soviet.

We hope you will be able to attend this briefing on a nation that will play an increasing role in the integration of former Soviet republics into the European process. Please RSVP (acceptances only) to either Brenda Collier or John Finerty at 5-1901.


DENNIS DeCONCINI
Co-Chairman


STENY H. HOYER
Chairman

Appendix B

**Moscow Trip Report to
the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation**

October 16, 1991

Moscow Trip Report to the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation

By
Christopher Siddall, Program Officer

After several months of political uncertainty during the first half of the year which stalled IFES program efforts in the Soviet Union, the worst appeared to happen as the conservatives on Gorbachev's cabinet and leaders of the military-industrial complex attempted to seize power in an unconstitutional coup. After widespread demonstrations in support of President Yeltsin's democratically elected government and the unravelling of the coup, fragile democracy is taking root in Russia.

A three-member IFES team traveled to Moscow in the aftermath of the August coup attempt to discuss with Soviet and Russian Republic election officials practical steps for assistance to the Soviet Union in the field of democratic election reform. The team consisted of U.S. Federal Election Commissioner Danny L. McDonald; Ralph Munro, Secretary of the State of Washington and immediate past President of the National Association of Secretaries of State; and IFES Program Officer for Soviet and Central European Affairs, Christopher Siddall.

The IFES team met with several past participants in the U.S./U.S.S.R. Election Official Exchange to discuss future directions and ways in which the exchange program could contribute to further democratic reform in the Soviet Union. In order to examine the changing political structure in the Soviet Union, the team met with both Russian Republic and Soviet Union officials. In-depth meetings were held with Vladimir Orlov, Chairman of the Central Electoral Commission for the Election of People's Deputies of the Soviet Union and with Vladimir Manin, Secretary of the Soviet Central Electoral Commission. Both Chairman Orlov and Secretary Manin have been involved with exchange activities from their inception. Chairman Orlov indicated that the Soviet Central Electoral Commission (CEC) was to change from being a union-wide oversight organization and become more of an advisory body to the republics. Chairman Orlov highly recommended that IFES provide technical assistance directly to the republics which are planning for new elections.

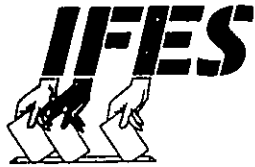
As a result of Chairman Orlov's advice and connections formed between the Chairman of the Russian Republic Central Electoral Commission Vasiliiy Kazakov, also an exchange participant, fruitful meetings were held on the subject of technical assistance to the Russian Republic before the December 8 elections of Russian mayors and regional administrators. Chairman Kazakov stressed the importance of immediate technical assistance to Russia in the field of election reform and proposed that two teams of two specialists from each side visit the other country with the host to pay the other's in-country expenses. IFES is currently working with Chairman Kazakov to clarify exchange arrangements.

Many other high level Russian Republic officials expressed great interest in election assistance, among them, Sergey Filatov, Secretary of the Presidium of the Russian Republic Supreme Soviet. Positive meetings were also conducted with one of Boris Yeltsin's top advisors, Serguei Stankevich, State Counselor of Russia on Public Policy Affairs and with Valery Borshev and Galina Bodrenkova of the Moscow City Council.

The team held its final meeting at the U.S. Embassy with Wayne Merry, the new First Secretary of the Political Section. Mr. Merry, who has recently begun his second tour in the Soviet Union, expressed enthusiasm upon hearing of the request for assistance from the Chairman of the Russian CEC and other high level officials. Merry pledged his personal assistance on the project and stated, "This project comes at a time when you are going to see an explosion of democratic reform on the republic and regional level." He also indicated which Embassy personnel could be of additional help to IFES during the life of the project.

The productive discussions held in Moscow in September represent a breakthrough for this exchange project. The openness of the Russian Republic to accept technical assistance from IFES is partially a result of the dramatic change in the post-coup Soviet Union. However, it is our belief that this request would not have been possible were it not for the steady process of establishing bonds between Soviet and American exchange participants. IFES is grateful to the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation for its faithful support of this project and looks forward to continuing exchange efforts at this decisive point in history.

Appendix C



International Foundation for Electoral Systems

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**Report of the IFES Delegation Studying
the Evolution of the Electoral
Process in the Russian Federation**

March 25-26, 1992

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FOREWORD

This document is a report by the IFES delegation studying the evolution of the electoral process in the Russian Federation. The period of our visit was 25-26 March 1992, and the members of the delegation included: Mr. Hoyt Clifton, Director Bureau of Elections New Mexico; Mr. William C. Kimberling Deputy Director Office of Election Administration, U.S. Federal Election Commission; Dr. Richard Smolka Professor of Political Science American University Washington, D.C. and Editor of Election Administration Reports. As members of the delegation, we would like to express our deep gratitude to the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation and to the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) for their funding of this mission. We are also grateful to Vadim Razumovsky and other staff of the Russian Embassy in Washington for facilitating our visit. But most especially, we are grateful to Mr. Vasily Kazakov, Chairman of the Central Election Commission of the Russian Federation, for his invitation, for making our lodging and transportation arrangements, for the two and one half hours of his valuable time that he set aside for our interview, for his hospitality, and for providing us an interpreter and host.

It is Chairman Kazakov who made our visit particularly valuable. And it is with best wishes for the Russian Central Election Commission and for the people of the Russian Federation that we submit this report.

Washington, D.C. April 1992

REPORT OF THE IFES DELEGATION STUDYING THE
EVOLUTION OF THE ELECTORAL PROCESS IN THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION
March 25-26, 1992

Much has changed since the last IFES delegation visited the former Soviet Union in September of 1991. The Union of the fifteen Soviet Republics has been completely dissolved and a tenuous commonwealth formed. The Communist Party has been routed from its positions of power and privilege. And steps are underway in each of the republics to fashion a new economic order, a new constitutional structure, and new election laws. The largest of these republics, the Russian Federation, is no exception.

The Russian Federation extends from the Baltic Sea in the west to the Pacific Ocean in the east and from the Arctic Ocean in the north to the Black Sea, the Caucasus, the Altai and Sayan mountains, and the Amur and Ussuri rivers in the south. It is bounded by Norway and Finland to the northwest; by Estonia, Latvia, Belarus, and Ukraine to the west; by Georgia and Azerbaijan to the southwest; and by Kazakhstan, Mongolia, and China along the southern land border.

Currently, the Russian Federation comprises about 150,000,000 diverse people and is divided into 20 republics (up from the former 16 republics by the recent inclusion of four previously autonomous regions), one autonomous region, 55 districts, 10 autonomous districts, and two major cities (St. Petersburg and the capital of Moscow).

One need hardly retell the astonishing developments over the past year -- the attempted coup of August 1991, the rise of Boris Yeltsin as President of the Russian Federation, the dissolution of the Soviet Union -- that have led to the current state of affairs in Russia. Suffice it to say that the Russian Federation is now debating a new constitution and has begun drafting a new election law. And in the interim, they have made some changes to the former election law that are likely to be retained in the new one.

Our report on these developments must, however, be viewed as snapshot which is somewhat blurred by the many things that are still in motion. This report should therefore be considered an interim update to the Report of the IFES Delegation Studying the Evolution of the Electoral Process in the Soviet Union in Appendix (b).

THE CONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION

The legislative function of the Russian Federation is currently vested in both a Congress of People's Deputies and in a Supreme Soviet. The Congress of People's Deputies is a chamber of 1,068 members elected for a five-year term. Of the total number of seats, 900 represent single member geographic districts while 168 represent the republics, the nationalities, and the autonomous regions and districts. The 1990 report indicated that the Russian Federation had altered this arrangement by making all 1,068 seats single-member-district seats. However, such a change was at that

time in the proposal stage and has not subsequently been adopted.

The role of the Congress of People's Deputies has no equivalent in the United States. It meets only periodically and serves as a kind of national town meeting or convention -- selecting members of the Supreme Soviet, confirming major policy decisions, and, importantly, approving or disapproving any proposed constitutional changes.

The Supreme Soviet is a two-chambered body with 126 members in each chamber chosen for five year terms by and from the Congress of People's Deputies. One chamber represents the geographical district (or "territorial") seats while the second co-equal chamber represents the republics and nationalities.

The executive function of the Russian Federation is carried out by an executive president popularly elected for a term of five years as well as by an appointed prime minister and cabinet of ministers. [President Yeltsin, in a somewhat controversial move, has until this time of writing assumed the powers of the prime minister along with the powers he holds as President. Such an arrangement drew unfavorable comment from some we spoke to during our March visit.]

Regional and local levels of the Russian Federation continue to be governed by elected councils which vary in size and which

elect a chairman as the executive.

The proposed new constitution for the Russian Federation, currently being debated by the Supreme Soviet prior to its submission to the Congress of People's Deputies, would eliminate the Congress of People's Deputies altogether in favor of a two-chambered parliament popularly elected for four years. One chamber would contain 300 seats each representing a geographic or "territorial" district. The second chamber would contain 244 seats representing the various nationalities.

The executive function under the proposed new constitution would continue to be vested in an executive president popularly elected for a term of five years (with a two-term limitation) as well as in a "Head of Government" (our hosts made a point of discouraging the expression "Prime Minister") and a cabinet.

As a final note on the proposed new constitution, it should be said that most of the debate and attention was focused on the proposed political, property, and human rights of the citizens. Indeed, our delegation was privileged to witness some of the debate and voting in the Supreme Soviet on these very issues. Future delegations may want to record what set of rights was finally agreed upon. For the new constitution is expected to be in place by the end of 1992 with a new election law to be adopted subsequently. It is not clear, however, whether the adoption of

a new constitution will necessitate new elections before the expiration of current terms of office in 1995.

THE POLITICAL PARTY SYSTEM OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION

As in the 1990 visit, our delegation did not have the opportunity to meet with opposition political party leaders. It was apparent in our meetings with Soviet and Russian officials that the concept of formation of competitive political parties is not fully accepted or understood.

One gathers the impression that the Russians intend to fashion a new political model specific to Russia and adapted to their own unique culture and history, rather than adopting a western political model. In this respect, as well as in several others, they resemble the early American Republic -- eschewing political parties, attempting to harness executive power, and determined to secure certain important rights for their citizens.

In any event, future delegations should explore the issue of political party development and the role that political parties are expected to play in the future governance.

THE ELECTION SYSTEM IN THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION

As noted previously, the Russian Federation has just begun the process of drafting a new election law in accordance with the proposed new constitution. But at the same time, they are making

changes to the current election law (changes that will also, presumably, be reflected in the new one). The changes we record here are presented in accordance with the model originally used in the 1990 report. Unless otherwise noted, all other procedures outlined in the 1990 report remain the same.

LEGISLATING THE ELECTION SYSTEM

Although it is certain that the Russian legislature will enact a new election law after adopting a new constitution, the sequence of events is not at all clear. On the one hand, it could be that the passage of a new constitution would necessitate new elections in 1993 conducted under the old election law as amended. On the other hand, it could be that the sitting legislative bodies will adopt a new constitution and a new election law with new elections to follow either immediately thereafter or else in 1995 as scheduled under the old constitution.

Whichever the case, it is the Central Election Commission and the current Legislative Committee of the Supreme Soviet that are now beginning to draft the new election law.

ADMINISTERING THE ELECTION SYSTEM

The administration of the Russian election system is tiered such that there are election commissions at each level of government (appointed by the legislative bodies thereof) who administer the elections at their respective levels. Virtually all

of these commissions are part-time bodies with few, if any, permanent staff.

The Central Election Commission is composed of 29 members appointed by the Supreme Soviet for a term of five years. Appointees are selected so as to reflect a diversity of nationalities and professions rather than political party affiliations (see remarks under the Political Party System above). Only the chairman and a six-member staff are full-time and paid. The powers of the Central Election Commission are limited to elections for national offices and include:

- o drawing the district lines for the "territorial" seats in the Congress of People's Deputies (a function that will, presumably, carry over to the new parliamentary body);
- o approving the forms used in the election process;
- o financing the campaigns
- o registering the candidates;
- o declaring the results of the elections; and
- o resolving complaints that arise in the campaign or election process.

DRAWING BOUNDARIES

There appear to be no legal guidelines for the drawing of district lines (population size, compactness, contiguity, etc.) nor

are any currently being contemplated. According to Vasiliy Kazakov, Chairman of the Russian Central Electoral Commission, parliamentary districts are designed primarily on the basis of administrative districts and precincts which are, in turn, designed by local authorities. Chairman Kazakov felt that the prospects for gerrymandering were negligible (although Chairman Mitzukov of the Legislative Committee of the Supreme Soviet took the opposite view). This is an issue that we suspect will arise again, especially after there is enough electoral experience to suggest the political predispositions of different districts and neighborhoods. Still, it does not yet appear to be a matter of major concern.

PROVIDING BALLOT ACCESS

There have been three important developments in the area of ballot access since 1990. And, as in the 1990 report, it is useful to distinguish between the nominating process and the election process.

With regard to the nominating process, there has been one significant change.

Prior to 1990, nominations were possible from any one of three sources: any group of 300 or so residents of the district, any group of 300 or so members of a worker cooperative, or any group of 300 or so members of a recognized interest group (women,

academics, scientists, etc.).

In 1990, the nominating rights of the worker cooperatives and recognized interest groups were eliminated and nomination by petition (at least for the presidency) was introduced -- presumably as a means of accommodating a multi-party system. This, according to Chairman Kazakov, did not sit well with the worker cooperatives who complained that it resulted in a legislative body containing very few workers. As a consequence, nomination by worker cooperatives has been reintroduced.

Although this may at first seem like a subtle change, it has a direct bearing on the notion of party nominations as known and practiced in the West. For the ability of non-party groups to nominate candidates makes it probable that more than one member of a single political party will be nominated for the same office -- a prospect that seems peculiar to Western eyes. Still, this sort of nominating procedure is consistent with our previous speculation about the perceived role of political parties in the future governance of Russia (see the Political Party System above).

A second development in the area of ballot access is that the Central Election Commission is considering the possibility of acquiring, under the new election law, some role in ensuring the qualifications of candidates -- including some indication of their financial status (akin to our financial disclosure requirements).

Finally, the Central Election Commission is considering an important change with regard to the election process. As described in detail in the 1990 report, Russian elections have traditionally entailed a forced majority. That is to say, in order to be elected, a candidate needed not only 50% plus one of the votes cast, but also a 50%-plus-one turnout of eligible voters in the district. Failure to meet either one of these conditions, meant that new elections had to be held -- usually a month or so later.

It is obvious that, as noted in the 1990 report, such a procedure could lead to an endless series of elections in at least some districts. And Russian experience seems to have confirmed this possibility inasmuch as they report a steadily declining turnout in all elections subsequent to the first round so that it is increasingly difficult to meet the 50%-plus-one turnout condition.

The Central Election Commission is therefore considering a new rule that would require either over half the votes with over half the eligible voters voting or else a number of votes exceeding 25% of the total number of eligible voters in the district. Such a change would diminish, though not totally eliminate, the prospect of an endless series of elections in some districts. Further refinements on this philosophical attachment to forced majorities seem likely and warrant the attention of future delegations.

REGISTERING VOTERS

There have been no changes in voter registration procedures since 1990. But with the advent of privately owned housing and freedom of movement for the population, housing records (the traditional basis for drawing up voter lists) will prove less and less timely and accurate. It may therefore become necessary for the Russian Federation to rethink the manner in which they draw up their voter lists. This problem will almost certainly emerge over the next decade or so -- though not in the immediate future.

CAMPAIGN FINANCING

Although in 1990 contributions were permitted to candidates seeking Union offices (i.e. for seats in the Supreme Soviet of the USSR), no such contributions were permitted in the Russian Republic's elections. Nor are contributions permitted in the Russian Federation today. Campaigns are all publicly financed.

The only development in this area is the possibility advanced by the Central Election Commission of "decentralizing" the financial burden of campaign financing to lower levels of government.

PROVIDING VOTER INFORMATION

There were no reported changes from the procedures described in the 1990 report for providing voter information regarding the

election and the candidates.

BALLOTING

There are three noteworthy developments in the area of balloting. The first is a change in balloting procedures at the polls (credited by Chairman Kazakov to a suggestion from Commissioner Danny McDonald of the U.S. Federal Election Commission). Previously, persons offering to vote were required only to show their national identity card before receiving their ballot. They are now required to sign a document acknowledging their receipt of the ballot. The reason for this change was simply to prevent fraud either by voters appearing more than once or by election officials casting ballots in the name of voters who never appeared at the polls. There were reportedly three of the latter instances in the 1990 elections.

The second development in balloting is a possible change in the method whereby voters indicate the candidate of their choice on the ballot. Traditionally, Russian voters have indicated their choice by marking out all other names listed on the ballot (a procedure convenient to single-party, non-competitive elections requiring a forced majority). Apart from its slightly negative undertone, such a procedure is burdensome on voters who face a choice of, say, ten or more candidates. Moreover, there is some evidence that it leads to an abnormal number of spoiled ballots. For these reasons, the Central Election Commission is considering

a change that would have voters indicate a single positive choice -- a procedure that is virtually universal outside the former soviet bloc.

The third development in balloting is a growing concern about the illegal printing of ballots (which reportedly occurred in some places in 1990). Although we did not have the opportunity to discuss this matter in any detail, future delegations may want to carry with them examples of ballot control and audit procedures found effective in the United States and elsewhere -- numbered ballot stub systems, the Voting Authority Card, etc.

TABULATING THE VOTES

There have been no changes in these procedures since 1990.

CERTIFYING THE ELECTION RESULTS

As previously noted, the Central Election Commission is responsible for declaring the results of the elections. And up until 1990 there had never been a reported case of the results of an election being subsequently questioned. The 1990 report predicted, however, that such a case would inevitably arise and that it would be necessary for Russia to develop procedures for resolving such cases -- most likely through the courts. As it happened, three district elections in 1990 were clouded by allegations and evidence of fraud. Accordingly, the Central Election Commission is investigating these elections to determine

whether crimes were committed. If so, the matters may well go to trial. Given this unhappy experience, it now seems probable that the new election law will, for the first time, specify the procedures to be followed in resolving challenges to election results. Future delegations may therefore want to share with our Russian colleagues our extensive experience in such matters.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

This is a very dynamic and critical period in Russian history. The decisions they make in the coming months regarding their constitutional structure, their election law, and the guaranteed rights of their citizens will have to serve them through the foreseeable future. And while it is clear that they do not intend to model themselves solely along Western lines, they nevertheless acknowledge and value our experience in legal and electoral technicalities. It is therefore incumbent upon us to continue an exchange of information, for instance, by means of election internships, to include:

- o on the Russian side, members and staff of the Legislative Committee of the Supreme Soviet (who must vet all election legislation), members and staff of the major metropolitan election commissions, members and staff of the election commissions in the 20 Russian Federation republics, as well as the members and staff of the Central

Election Commission.

- o on the American side, local as well as State and federal election officials, election lawyers or legal experts, and Congressional staff involved in election matters.

Finally, it should be said that this ongoing exchange is as valuable to the American side as to the Russian side. For in our experience, all democratic election systems encounter common problems. And it is both professionally and intellectually beneficial to exchange views, ideas, and alternative solutions.