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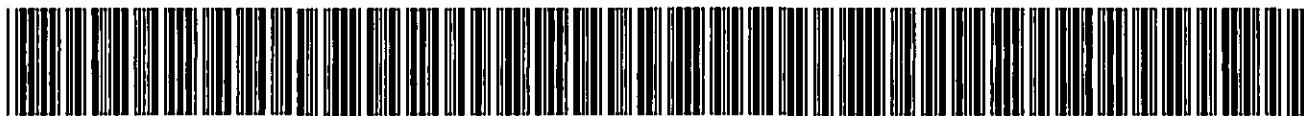
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ELECTIONS • RULE OF LAW • GOVERNANCE • CIVIL SOCIETY



MAKING DEMOCRACY WORK



IFES MISSION STATEMENT

The purpose of IFES is to provide technical assistance in the promotion of democracy worldwide and to serve as a clearinghouse for information about democratic development and elections. IFES is dedicated to the success of democracy throughout the world, believing that it is the preferred form of government. At the same time, IFES firmly believes that each nation requesting assistance must take into consideration its unique social, cultural, and environmental influences. The Foundation recognizes that democracy is a dynamic process with no single blueprint. IFES is nonpartisan, multinational, and interdisciplinary in its approach.



MAKING DEMOCRACY WORK

FINAL REPORT

April 15, 1998-June 30, 2001

USAID COOPERATIVE AGREEMENT
No. 118-A-00-98-00077-00

Submitted to the

UNITED STATES AGENCY FOR
INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

by the

INTERNATIONAL FOUNDATION
FOR ELECTION SYSTEMS

Russia

Co-op

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I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Building upon five years of work in Russia, the International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES) entered into a Cooperative Agreement with USAID/Russia in May of 1998. The aim of the project was three fold: (1) To create a sustainable successor domestic organization, (2) to deliver technical assistance to the Central Election Commission (CEC) and the State Duma, and, from July 1999 onwards, (3) to train journalists and media executives in the area of electoral journalism. On all accounts, the programs were implemented in full and, according to independent organizations such as the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, the Central Election Commission, and numerous media organizations and journalists, were tremendously successful.

This Final Project Report details the activities carried out under the three primary components of the program, the impacts they had, as well as the "lessons learned" over the course of the project, highlighted in gray side-boxes. Each component can be summarized as follows:

1. Institute For Election Systems Development (IESD)

Early in the program, IFES set out to transform its field office into a self-sustaining Russian organization, able to deliver programs on electoral reform and democracy in general, as well as manage substantial amounts of funding. IFES' initial step was to identify an able English-speaking Executive Director who had ideas, experience, and knew the electoral field. Alexander Yurin was selected to serve as IFES/Russia Deputy Director in the autumn of 1998. Mr. Yurin, with IFES support, developed IESD from the beginning – recruiting Board members, staff, and identifying funding. IFES, in its part, presented IESD as an equal partner, supported its institutional development, financial, and managerial training, and committed successively larger sub-grants to the organization. In time for the State Duma elections in 1999, IESD was able to carry out independent programs and sustain audits. By 2000, IESD entered in a Cooperative Agreement with USAID and started to work fully independent of its parent. IFES continued to provide institutional development support and grants until the end of the project. By 2001, IESD has inherited IFES' reputation and "marketplace" within Russia and already expanded its activity base to include civic advocacy and first-time voter initiatives.

2. Elections Technical Assistance

Throughout the project, the CEC and the State Duma Committee on Constitutional and Legal Affairs welcomed IFES' commentaries on election laws and processes. The CEC itself contributed to expenses and labor to carry out programs. During the period of April 1998 through June 1999, the emphasis of the program was on the development of the legal framework for federal elections in the Russian Federation. IFES delivered targeted analyses of the Law on Basic Guarantees, which governs all Russian elections, the State Duma Election Law, and the Presidential Election law. There were three primary objectives:

- increase the transparency of the system,
- improve the campaign finance system, and
- revamp the rules governing the media.

IFES' commentaries were reflected, for example, in over a third of the legislative amendments introduced in the Law on Basic Guarantees of March 1999. To ensure consistent support for the State Duma and presidential elections, IFES maintained an on-site technical advisor who worked directly with the CEC on various issues. A comprehensive technical assessment was delivered to the CEC and regional Subject

Election Commissions (SECs) in July 2000. Under this component, IFES also hosted the CEC Chairman, who witnessed the 2000 U.S. Presidential elections.

3. Media and Elections

Early on in the program, significant weaknesses were identified in relation to the media's coverage of elections. The media's own understanding of its electoral role and responsibilities, media ethics, and the legal framework governing media activity in the period of elections were all found wanting. In response to this, IFES developed an exceptional regional media program, which it partnered with IESD and the National Press Institute (NPI). The program, headed by Dr. Daphne Skillen, linked election commissioners and print/electronic journalists in fifteen 2-day seminars with 500+ participants. Participants came from over 45 subjects during the State Duma and presidential election period. All seminars were held in partnership with the CEC or the SECs and a media handbook was produced for each election. The CEC and the media found great value in having a chance to exchange views and learn in a non-confrontational atmosphere; 85% of the participants expressed very positive views on the seminars, and more wanted additional documents or similar events in the future.

In response to this demand, IFES produced an "investigative journalism" training video accompanied by a guide in July of 2000. The 50-minute video details the stages of the electoral process, identifies where fraud is likely to occur, and describes the role of a journalist in the electoral process. It has been already re-released three times by IESD to honor the 1,200 plus requests that came from various media groups and journalists.

On the whole, the project has exceeded the expectations laid out in the Cooperative Agreement. Successful activities that were not detailed in the original agreement include: the expansion of the Moscow Resource Center to more than 4,000 items, the provision of training for international observers, and the spin-off of another organization (the New Perspectives Foundation), among others.

IFES encourages the donor community to continue its support for IESD, especially in the areas of institutional and Board development. IESD is currently positioned to expand its electoral programs into a select group of regions, as well as to broaden its media program. IFES wishes to acknowledge that the success of the Cooperative Agreement was made possible by the financial *and* significant programmatic contributions of USAID.

II. INTRODUCTION

In May of 1998, USAID awarded IFES a \$2,000,000 Cooperative Agreement to conduct a "Sustainable Electoral Assistance Program" addressing election-related issues in the Russian Federation while developing domestic capacity for its activities through a successor NGO. The agreement has been amended and transformed over time. Following is a cursory overview of these modifications:

- Modification 2: On 10 June 1999, IFES was awarded an additional \$500,000 to support local media during the elections period.
- Modification 3: On 1 November 1999, an additional \$75,000 was obligated to reflect an increase in the level of activity, especially with regards to preparing the Central Election Commission (CEC) for anticipated Y2K problems.
- Modification 4: A unilateral modification was made by USAID on 15 December 1999, increasing the amount obligated under the Cooperative Agreement by \$350,000.
- Modification 5: On 24 February 2000, USAID increased the amount obligated under the Cooperative Agreement by \$419,067.
- Modification 6: On 15 June 2000, IFES was awarded an increase to the Cooperative Agreement of \$350,000. This modification was made to allow for the development of a training video on investigative journalism, the proper closure of IFES/Russia, and the holding of additional seminars on elections administration.
- Modification 7: The termination date of the Cooperative Agreement was extended to 14 December 2000 in order to allow for the completion of all agreed upon activities.
- Modification 8: Effective 15 December 2000, the Cooperative Agreement was extended to 30 April 2001.
- Modification 9: On 1 May 2001, the termination date of the Agreement was extended to 30 June 2001.

The sum total of the Cooperative Agreement with modifications came to \$2,944,067.

Over the course of the Agreement, IFES effectively carried out implementation of the following key tasks:

- Mentoring and providing support to the Institute for Election Systems Development (IESD), IFES' official successor and an autonomous Russian NGO;
- Providing continued elections-related technical assistance to long-standing partners such as the Central and Subject Election Commissions, other government agencies, and NGOs; and
- Supporting Russian mass media organs covering election-related issues through the hosting of seminars and production of training materials.

Overall, IFES activities have helped raise the level of informed decision-making by political actors, government officials, and the media, and increased transparency in the political sphere. The establishment

of a capable domestic successor in IESD will further result in the long-term sustainability of USAID's election-related assistance in Russia. At the end of the Cooperative Agreement between USAID and IFES, IESD has proven itself an organization capable of carrying out programs and administering significant grants from international donors.

Throughout the text, boxes highlighting lessons learned have been inserted. These comments are presented as points of reference for future programs, especially those that seek to replicate the experience of transforming a field office into a domestic successor.

III. PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

A. NGO Support and Development

1. The New Perspectives Foundation

Under previous Agreements with USAID, IFES provided direct support to an ambitious project now known as the New Perspectives Foundation (NPF), a Russian NGO focused on increasing the participation of youth and women in the democratic process. With its extensive network of affiliated clubs, NPF is the only NGO of its kind, implementing non-partisan civic and voter education programs in over 50 regions across the Russian Federation. Under this Cooperative Agreement, IFES continued to provide assistance to NPF in the form of programmatic and organizational advice, as well as in-kind support. Due to financial limitations, however, IFES gradually phased out its direct aid to NPF during the first year. To help compensate for this gradual reduction in funding, IFES worked with NPF to identify alternative grant sources and maximize training opportunities.

As part of the program to develop NPF's institutional capacity, Charles Manatt, then Chairman of the IFES Board of Directors, met with NPF in Moscow in July of 1998. Participating in the consultations were Viacheslav Laschevsky, Chairman of the NPF Board of Directors; Vladimir Petrovsky, Member of the Board; and Nadia Seryakova, President. During these meetings, Mr. Manatt discussed the role of governing boards and creative ways of developing financial stability. The aim of these consultations was to encourage the NPF Board to identify ways in which its members could effectively support the organization's work.

The New Perspectives Foundation, which was founded by a former IFES employee in 1995, had received continuous financial and material support since its inception. IFES' efforts to establish NPF as a truly independent organization yielded mixed results. In 1998, IFES determined that a gradual reduction in financial support to NPF would motivate NPF to expand its funding base. A transparent decrease in financial support, coupled with ongoing consultations and assistance in identifying other potential donors, enabled NPF to become fully independent and move to its own offices by the beginning of 1999.

In early 1999, NPF demonstrated its independence when it moved to a new office space. While IFES had offered to continue to provide facilities, NPF felt that the move would assist it in establishing itself as a truly independent organization. In hindsight, the move did indeed help to decrease NPF's reliance on IFES and asserted NPF as an equal partner with IFES in advance of the 1999 and 2000 election cycles.

2. The Institute for Election Systems Development

Confident in the success of its approach to NGO development with NPF, IFES determined that the establishment of a domestic successor was key to the long-term success of its programmatic goals in Russia. The Institute for Election Systems Development (IESD) thus became IFES' primary focus as it phased out programmatic activity under this last USAID Cooperative Agreement. Representing the culmination of IFES' Russian experience, IESD

was created to ensure Russian ownership and commitment to advancing the democratic process.

a) Transition Team and Startup

To assist in the development of this new entity, IFES created a Transition Team, which consisted of IFES staff and outside Russian volunteer advisors. The composition of the Team was as follows:

- Christian Nadeau, IFES/Russia On-Site Project Director;
- Alex Yurin, IFES/Russia Deputy Director;
- Natasha Borzova, IFES/Russia Program Officer;
- Tatiana Kurbatova, IFES/Russia Accountant;
- Dr. Alexei Avtonomov, Director of the Legal Department of the Fund for Parliamentarism;
- Nikolai Petrov, Researcher for the Carnegie Endowment (Russia); and
- Nadia Seryakova, President of the New Perspectives Foundation.

To ensure that members of the Transition Team were equipped with the requisite skills, IFES contracted domestic Russian trainers to hold a total of four training sessions of one to three days each. The sessions focused on issues such as the transition from an American-based to a Russian NGO, strategic planning, and financial and organizational management. This training helped the Team to identify the strategic direction of the new NGO, potential clients, and the types of services and products it could provide.

During the start-up phase, IFES found one of its greatest challenges to be defining the scope, function, and purpose of the domestic NGO and, in turn, finding a suitable person to carry this mission forward. This initial phase requires a significant amount of time, but generates few concrete results until much later in the process. The most difficult and frustrating element of this was identifying a committed and qualified individual to serve as the seed or anchor. Taking these points into consideration, it is important for the NGO development process to be initiated sooner rather than later, and the donor should also allow sufficient time for selection of an anchor.

In the fall of 1998, IFES and the Transition Team selected Alex Yurin, then Deputy Director of IFES/Russia, to assist in the development of IESD and eventually assume the position of Executive Director. Mr. Yurin's legal education, experience with elections and program management, which includes seven years of experience implementing programs in Russia, as well as his contacts within Russia, made him the most qualified candidate. He is well known and respected by representatives of the State Duma, the Central Election Commission, and various Subject Election Commissions. Mr. Yurin is also able to communicate effectively in both Russian

and English, a skill that will prove critical as IESD seeks to sustain itself over the long term. IFES ensured that the Russian staff and advisors for the new NGO played an active role in shaping the Institute and selecting the Executive Director.

In the beginning of 1999, IESD took initial steps toward establishing itself by completing its temporary registration, opening a bank account, and developing core administrative procedures.

b) IESD Institutional Development

While IESD got off on a good footing, and was guaranteed at least a marginal level of success due to its association with an American organization, IFES recognized that this would eventually prove more of a curse than a blessing. Young NGOs in post-communist societies typically face a host of institutional problems that money and good contacts can't solve. A carefully planned institutional development strategy was thus implemented.

Under this plan, the following developmental targets were set:

- Improved management knowledge and skills;
- Experience in developing and implementing a strategic plan;
- Experience in developing operational policies and procedures;
- Improved marketing and outreach skills; and
- Improved financial management knowledge and skills.

Along with institutional development targets, external obstacles to IESD's survival were also identified. These included:

- Donors and clients' lack of familiarity with the organization and its capacity; and
- Dependence on one donor for a majority of the organization's funding.

IESD's institutional development program was divided into roughly five components: staff training; the establishment of governing and advisory boards; development of financial and administrative policies; evaluation and monitoring procedures; and outreach and visibility.

(1) Staff Training

In order to prepare IESD for the challenges of implementing democracy programs on its own, IFES offered staff numerous training opportunities. Training ranged from structured sessions conducted by well-established local firms to consultations with other Russian NGOs who have undergone similar transitions.

Initially, IFES contracted the Center for NGO Support (CNGOS) to administer the training sessions. The staff was dissatisfied with this organization, which was in part due to their lack of involvement in the selection process. IFES addressed this apprehension by including staff in future discussions with potential trainers. IFES/Russia, including local staff, interviewed several other organizations and individuals, including: Alexei Kuzmin, the Marshak Foundation, the Partya Foundation, Golupka and Charities Aid Foundation. In the end, the staff selected Charities Aid Foundation, as

Empowering Staff for the Future—Now!

One of the first priorities of IFES/Russia was to empower the local field staff by increasing their levels of responsibility. For example, a decentralized structure was instituted (see organizational chart at attachment XX), supervisory and evaluation responsibilities were delegated, and staff was given primary responsibility for small projects. These actions, while not always welcomed in the local culture, helped to overcome the barriers between the expatriate and local staff. Moreover, it prepared the field staff to take responsibility for their own actions as part of the new organization.

it offered a wide-range of services, including legal consultations and specialized monthly financial sessions specifically for Russian non-profit organizations.

Charities Aid Foundation also agreed to coordinate with Golupka on the strategic planning component. Training provided by Charities Aid and Golupka addressed the following topics:

- **Financial Sustainability**
IESD staff members received basic instruction in drafting proposals as well as how to avoid common mistakes during the application process. As part of the training, two of IESD's proposals to IFES were evaluated and recommendations as to how to improve them were provided. Both Alex Firsov and Liza Bacheyeva took part in a three-day seminar on fundraising. As part of this component, IESD was also advised on the development of promotional materials.
- **Strategic Planning and Organizational Structure**
Following the completion of a SWOT (Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, and Threats) analysis and training in strategic planning, the IESD staff was called upon to develop one and three year strategic plans. The primary responsibility for defining and articulating the organization's mission lies with the Board; however, active involvement on the part of the staff proved valuable in building its commitment to the mission.
- **Role and Operational Functions of the Collective Bodies of IESD**
During these sessions, IESD gained a better understanding of the formation, role, and function of the Board of Directors and Board of Trustees.

To complement the training, IFES and IESD met with other Russian NGOs that were receiving funding from USAID or other donors independent of Western-based technical assistance providers. These meetings helped both IFES and IESD to better understand the difficulties of establishing an organization, developing clients, and generating resources in Russia's challenging environment.

Training - Emphasizing Practice Over Theory

Probably due to historical experimentation with theories, Russians have grown skeptical of the value of a theoretical approach to professional development. IFES found in discussions a limited interest in theoretical issues outside of policy debates. This became especially acute when the best practices for running a successful NGO were examined. The sessions on strategic planning and others were more theoretical than practical, which resulted in the staff doubting the utility of such training.

Although the training addressed the key issues of concern to IESD, its implementation was disappointing. IFES had been particularly impressed with Ivan Timofeev as a trainer, but he was unavailable for a majority of the sessions. Instead, the Executive Director of Golupka, Alexei Bogdunov, delivered most of the training. Mr. Bogdunov poorly understood IESD's unique needs and the training was limited in its effectiveness.

IFES addressed Golupka's inadequacies by contracting Christian Nadeau, former IFES/Russia Project Director, and Augustine

Wilhelmy to provide training in the areas of financial management, impact-oriented reporting, proposal and work plan writing, board development, and fundraising. Mr. Nadeau traveled to Moscow on three separate occasions to work with IESD on drafting work plans

and meeting the reporting requirements of USAID and IFES. He also worked closely with the Executive Director and Financial Manager on financial planning and monitoring. Mr. Wilhelmy traveled to Moscow to follow-up on an earlier training visit, which was sponsored by USAID directly. His recommendations are discussed in greater detail below. These consultants were better able to meet the needs of IESD and to adapt training to the immediate and long-term needs of the Institute.

(2) Founding of Governing and Advisory Boards

The IESD Board of Directors was founded in the spring of 1999 in accordance with the Institute's charter. According to the Charter, the Board of Directors is responsible for determining Institute policies, setting priorities for the short and long term, and developing a strategic plan in consultation with Institute staff. Additionally, Board members are responsible for the recruitment of new members and oversight of IESD staff.

Although the Charter provides for a maximum of nine members, IESD currently has five board members in addition to Alex Yurin. The Board of Directors consists of the following individuals:

- Alexander Yurin, IESD Executive Director;
- Richard W. Soudriette, IFES President;
- Dr. Alexei Avtonomov, Foundation for Parliamentarism in Russia;
- Viktor Sheinis, State Duma Deputy, representative of Yabloko on the Committee for Legislative and Judicial Reform;
- Valentin Mikhailov, International Human Rights Assembly, Kazan; and
- Sergey Grigoriants, Chairman of the Glasnost Defense Fund.

The Charter requires biannual meetings of the Board, and IESD relies on more frequent informal meetings between Board members and the Executive Director to keep the Board apprised of recent developments.

Since the founding of the Board of Directors, IESD staff and the Board members themselves have developed a deeper understanding of the role that the Board plays in developing the policies of the Institute. This increased understanding is in part due to a variety of training efforts initiated by IFES and USAID to assist IESD in establishing itself as a legal, viable, Russian NGO.

Establishing a Board of Directors in the Absence of a Corporate Culture

One of the shortcomings of the IESD institutional development process has been the establishment of the Board of Directors. A combination of cultural factors and the absence of contacts beyond the elections arena led to the development of a Board comprised mostly of peers; people involved in democracy assistance, some of whom are affiliated with other organizations. While the Board does function, the degree of supervision over programmatic and financial management is insufficient. Furthermore, some Board members are competing for funds from potential donors for their own organizations. Additional training for Board members regarding expectations, commitments, and the nature of their work, would have been highly beneficial. The Board would also have benefited from more detailed monthly updates from the Executive Director and more interaction with senior IESD staff.

As described above, in late February 2000, IFES retained the services of Golupka to provide training aimed at strengthening IESD's institutional capacity. Golupka consultants encouraged IESD to pay more careful attention to the formation of the Board of Directors and to establish an environment of increased interaction between the Board and the Institute. While Golupka's efforts were appreciated, IFES decided that further encouragement was necessary if IESD was to genuinely integrate Board governance into its long-term planning.

In the spring of 2001, IFES contracted Augustine Wilhelmy to work with IESD and its Board. Mr. Wilhelmy offered years of experience in the non-profit sector in the United States, in addition to an in-depth understanding of the third sector in Russia. During his brief visit to Moscow, Mr. Wilhelmy conducted a survey of all staff and board members to ascertain their expectations and understanding of their roles in the organization. This survey, in addition to individual consultations, provided insight into the immediate and long-term needs of the organization and its governing body.

The survey administered by Mr. Wilhelmy revealed the following institutional strengths of IESD:

- Frequent contact between Board members and the Executive Director through a series of informal meetings;
- Willingness on the part of Board members to volunteer their services to add visibility and quality to IESD programs; and
- Willingness on the part of Board members to play a more active role in setting priorities for the Institute.

It also highlighted the following weaknesses:

- A decision-making process that emphasizes informal meetings at the expense of semi-annual Board meetings;
- Conflicts between elements of the charter and current activities and practices;
- A limited understanding of IESD's annual budget on the part of Board members;
- Passivity of Board members and the Executive Director toward recruiting additional members;
- Lack of defined job descriptions for Board members;
- Lack of a clearly-defined role for the Advisory Board;
- Non-Russian Advisory Board members who cannot function and advise as needed; and
- Minimal Board involvement in diversifying the Institute's funding base.

In response to the aforementioned strengths and weaknesses, IFES recommends the following next steps for IESD. Mr. Wilhelmy has shared these comments with IESD.

1. IESD should recruit two additional Board members by the next Board meeting in September.
2. The role of the Advisory Board should be re-defined according to the expectations of the Board.
3. IESD should provide monthly program updates to Board members through an electronic newsletter.
4. Staff members should research and target potential donors.
5. The Executive Director should consult with USAID regarding the feasibility of using project funds to assist in the creation and development of an International Committee of Friends for IESD.

On the whole, the consultants recommended that the management and staff of IESD concentrate on adopting a more comprehensive approach to the planning of activities and to the development of IESD (by shifting the emphasis from implementation of separate projects in the sphere of the organization's activity to consistent implementation of the strategic plan). Part of this broadening of its vision should include seeking sources of financing other than USAID, introducing a professional development program for IESD personnel, and placing greater emphasis on the role and importance of the Board.

(3) Development of Financial and Administrative Policies

In preparing for its independent status, IESD developed financial manuals, financial procedures, and an operational blueprint. IESD Deputy Director Alex Firsov and Financial Director Elena Agapova reviewed USAID policies and procedures, which were distributed during USAID training seminars in 1998. These policies were accompanied by a self-audit checklist, which assisted IESD in evaluating its documents and transactions. After IESD had reviewed and revised its policy and procedural manuals, IFES retained the services of Nina Ossina, Financial Director of Internews/Russia, to conduct another audit.

While the findings of Ms. Ossina's audit were encouraging, several elements were identified as requiring improvement at the time. Ms. Ossina's recommendations centered around the establishment of clear lines of authority. She suggested that IESD refine staff members' scopes of work and reporting authority, and that it devise an organizational chart. Responsibility and authority were assigned according to functional areas (i.e. election administration, finance, etc.).

Administrative Procedures-Development and Testing

The development of sound administrative practices in the areas of finance, personnel, procurement, and travel is essential for an organization to receive substantial funding from international donors. IFES found that the most effective way of encouraging the development of sound policies within the new organization was through the award of incremental sub-grants, the institution of strict reporting requirements, and the conduct of internal audits. These methods, coupled with relevant training, contributed significantly to IESD's successful pre-award audit by the OFM. Additionally, IFES hired highly qualified professional accountants for its own field office to ease the transition period.

Based on Ms. Ossina's recommendations, IESD altered its organizational structure to reflect a more vertical hierarchy. While IFES and IESD recognized that the staff of IESD was small and needed to be flexible, it was necessary to establish clear lines of authority to prepare IESD for future implementation of larger-scale projects.

As part of its application for funding from USAID, IESD also underwent a pre-award audit performed by the Office of Financial Management at USAID/Russia (OFM). The OFM noted in its memo dated April 27, "*IESD's management capabilities, accounting system, internal controls, procurement system, and budget estimates were in general compliance with the evaluation criteria used.*" (Emphasis added) The OFM recommended two main areas of improvement: cost allocation methods (overhead) and time reporting/compensation practices of employees. In response, IESD instituted policies and procedures that are unparalleled in their level of transparency in comparison with other Russian organizations. This successful audit qualified IESD to submit an unsolicited proposal to USAID.

(4) Evaluation and Monitoring Procedures

IESD has established a very good system of evaluation and monitoring. In every activity, publication, or seminar, a feedback form is provided. The reader of a publication is encouraged to provide commentary on the publication as well as to suggest subjects for future publications – thus allowing IESD to assess potential demand for prospective projects. Feedback from seminars and trainings has proved equally useful and IESD has come to know its market well. More importantly, they have embraced the value of market testing and the current system of evaluation was generated and implemented by IESD of its own accord.

In their own words – An excerpt from an IESD report to IFES...

IESD values any feedback received about anything we do or produce. We insist on including questionnaires in any publication where there may be room for it. We have been collecting feedback from all of our books, from participants in the seminars and users of our other products.

According to the processed feedback, no governmental or non-governmental agency is doing any kind of voter education or explains the rights to the citizens. This type of information is very much appreciated by all who cared to send their feedback. However, only the most advanced citizens write back... We are waling in the dark most of the time...

While IESD has proven itself in its ability to collect information, it still has difficulty presenting the impact of its programs in a format consistent with what USAID demands. While stating the number of items published, the level of participation in a seminar or the level of satisfaction of the users of IESD materials is useful, it does not in itself constitute a monitoring of the targets that USAID is seeking to promote. For example, IESD cannot state if the level of youth participation in Republic X is higher than elsewhere, and if it was, what portion of that is attributable to their own program. To achieve such a level of impact analysis would require potentially as much if not more funds than the activity itself.

In order to remedy this situation, IESD is developing a survey of the electorate to determine the exact “baseline level” of people’s awareness of rights, expectations towards elections, and other such issues. This will give IESD and USAID both a useful tool and a benchmark to monitor the general impact of programs in the future.

(5) Outreach and Visibility

As a young NGO, IESD strived to increase its visibility among Russian and international organizations and institutions. In addition to implementing successful voter education, media, and election administration programs, IESD has also used its publications and the Internet to establish itself as the premier democracy organization in Russia. IESD provides information concerning its mission and projects on its web site: www.democracy.ru. The high number of hits attests to the site’s popularity; it received over 2,900 hits on election night alone and now ranks 7th among the top 80 Russian web sites dedicated to elections. In addition to providing information on the Institute, the web site also posts information on elections, draft laws, and commentaries, as well as all of IESD’s publications.

IESD also issues a monthly newsletter *Golos* (Voice or Ballot in Russian), which was initiated in September 2000.

(6) Sustainability

IESD's ability to secure funding is crucial to its sustainability and financial stability. In October 2000, IESD received a grant for \$1.35 million from USAID to continue work on elections until 2004. The event marks the successful conclusion of IFES' work in Russia, leaving behind a locally managed organization to carry on the mission of fostering an efficient, transparent and democratic system of elections in Russia.

IESD has also taken efforts to diversify its funding base beyond USAID. To that end, IESD has held meetings with representatives of the Finnish, German, New Zealand, and Canadian embassies.

In November 1999, IESD developed a separate program for voter education in temporary detention centers and submitted it to the Canada Election Fund. The program was approved and financed by the Canadian Embassy. It consisted of the preparation and distribution of a series of brochures for the Duma elections in Moscow and the Moscow region SIZO detention centers. The materials were formatted for the Internet and placed there as an example of IESD's voter education program. The entire program, including the production and distribution of voter education materials, amounted to \$5,990.

(7) US Visit and Training

Alexander Yurin participated in the US Elections Study Tour. The Study Tour, developed at the request of the CEC leadership, was aimed at providing CEC officials, as well as IESD, an opportunity to see the US elections unfold and witness how issues were addressed on-site. The program was from November 4 to November 10, 2000, and was held in Chicago and Washington, DC.

This was a unique occasion for IESD, allowing them the opportunity to exchange opinions and ideas with the CEC leadership in an open and informal manner – a rare occurrence in Russia. This experience allowed IESD to develop additional links with the CEC. It also enabled Mr. Yurin to meet jointly with IESD Board Member Richard Soudriette, who also serves as President of IFES, and Chairman Veshnyakov.

After the US Elections study tour program ended, Mr. Yurin spent an additional four days in Washington, DC to meet with other Foundations, advocacy groups, and IFES specialists in regards to NGO development and fundraising strategies. Mr. Yurin also worked extensively on the finalization of sub-grant financial reporting during his stay. A full agenda is attached as Attachment 72.

3. IESD Programming

During the period of performance, IESD completed activities under four subgrants from IFES.

a) Promoting Transparency of Elections Through Better Information

On July 1, 1999, IESD received its first subgrant from IFES in the amount of \$77,963. The grant supported a program entitled "Promoting Transparency of Elections through Better Information." Under this grant, IESD developed a *Legal Guide for Election Campaigns*,

which was written by two consultants who had cooperated with IFES in the past, Dr. Vasiliev and Dr. Postnikov. The original print run of 3,000 copies was completed in September, and copies were distributed to election commissioners, candidates, political parties/blocs, scholars, media representatives and other participants in the electoral process.

Transferring Credibility by Working in Parallel

Early in the transition process, IFES determined that it would be beneficial to work in parallel with the new organization. This was prompted by a fear that IFES, with its international presence and larger-scale programs, would overshadow IESD. First, IFES invited IESD to be a partner in all of its programs in order to stem reluctance on the part of IFES' institutional partners. Second, IESD opted to specialize in program areas distinct from IFES' main areas of assistance. For example, IESD developed a manual for candidates during the State Duma elections. The manual was an instant "best seller" throughout Russia and generated much interest in IESD programming.

The Guide became a highly demanded resource, and IESD received numerous requests from candidates in single-mandate districts and parties. Within a month of publication, IESD had exhausted its supply. After consultations with IFES, IESD decided to redistribute savings in the personnel area to cover an additional print run of 4,000 copies. IESD had standing orders from various parties for the Guide and all of the copies were rapidly distributed. It is important to note that all political parties received a copy of the Guide and were invited to write or call if they desired additional copies.

The feedback that IESD received through its questionnaire, which was distributed with the Guide, was overwhelmingly positive. Respondents agreed that voter education is probably the most important issue facing the electoral process and offered suggestions for improving future IESD publications of this type. The feedback suggested the following:

- Respondents found the Guide to be very helpful;
- Users were familiar with the Duma Election Law, but had difficulty understanding it;
- Most respondents found the Guide helpful in developing a better understanding of the law;
- There is a demand for similar materials during the presidential campaign; and
- The most useful chapters were those relating to Registration of Candidates/Parties, Election Campaigning (media), Campaign Finance, and Determination of Results.

IESD's first publication not only increased parties' and candidates' understanding of pertinent election laws, but also introduced IESD to the main players in the electoral process.

Originally planned to end in January 2000, the Transparency program was extended through May 2000 due to a change in the elections calendar following the sudden resignation of President Boris Yeltsin. IESD's continued activity included participation in a seminar in Kaliningrad, which was organized by a local NGO devoted to domestic observation of the presidential elections. On that occasion, IESD activities and plans for the upcoming presidential elections were discussed.

During the presidential election cycle, IESD cooperated with IFES and participated in election observation trips to Rostov-na-Donu, Moscow Oblast, and Moscow itself. IESD also hosted its own international observer, Catherine Barnes. Ms. Barnes, a US national and IFES/Russia Project Director during the 1996 presidential election cycle, volunteered her time and funded her own participation. The recognition of IESD as an international

organization by the CEC and its ability to invite international observers signified the CEC's acknowledgment of IESD as a player in the electoral process.

b) Media and Elections

On July 9, 1999, IFES awarded a small subgrant to IESD as part of the IFES Media and Elections Program. The grant, in the amount of \$7,500, enabled IESD to implement a program entitled "Delivering Information to Mass Media," in coordination with IFES and the National Press Institute (NPI). IESD made meaningful contributions toward realizing several objectives of IFES' media program. These are further outlined below:

Media and Elections Newsletter

IESD's main contribution in the media program was the publication of a follow-up newsletter for participants in the media seminars. *Golos* (Voice/Ballot) is a monthly newsletter on electoral and media developments in Russia. It serves as a simple and effective forum for the distribution of information regarding the latest court and CEC decisions, as well as commentaries and analysis provided by the staff of IESD.

Legal Framework

IESD distributed its materials, including the *Legal Guide for Election Campaigns*, at all events conducted by IFES and NPI. In addition to the 500 copies of the Guide distributed at joint events, the publication was distributed through the NPI Press Conference Center and the Glasnost Defense Foundation.

Media Education through the Web

In addition to providing its own materials at IFES media events, IESD also posted the IFES/NPI media materials on its web site. The IESD web-based media center contains numerous materials, including the IFES/NPI Mass Media Handbook. . During this period, approximately half of the visitors to IESD's web site were representatives of local media organizations.

Seminars

IESD Executive Director Alex Yurin served as moderator at the Media and Elections Seminar conducted by IFES and the CEC. This was the first time in over two years that the CEC accepted IESD as a speaker "on par" with a CEC Commissioner and marked a significant achievement on the part of IESD in establishing itself as a credible and serious organization.

IESD had also planned to convene a seminar dedicated to televised debates. The seminar, scheduled to take place in Moscow in late November, was postponed after their TV sponsors expressed concern regarding possible legal problems. IESD had noticed a lack of public attention to the debates in general, as well as a lack of interest on the part of candidates and parties.

c) Empowering Civil Society through Transparent Elections

In May 2000, after a thorough review of their proposal and much discussion over the program itself, IFES awarded IESD a grant amounting to \$162,000 for a program entitled "Empowering Civil Society Through Transparent Elections." The program was aimed at strengthening voter education programs in targeted sectors, as well as developing training manuals and other publications for election officials.

The civil society program experienced a late start, and a significant amount of time passed between the final acceptance of the proposal and the disbursement of funds. This delay was due in part to IFES' thorough review process and the availability of obligated funds. IFES preferred to wait until Modification 6 of the Cooperative Agreement was finalized before disbursing significant funds. Additional contributors to the delay also included different administrative errors and miscommunications. As a result, IESD's civil society activities were not implemented until the end of June, which had a negative impact on the organization and its perceived ability to deliver programs. The Executive Director was also required to lay off staff for a short time due to the funding situation.

The first project that IESD implemented was a program for women voters, which was developed jointly with the League of Women Voters from Kaliningrad Oblast. IESD's Election Law Program Officer, Liza Bacheyeva, wrote and disseminated 3,000 brochures that explained women's electoral rights and the basic principles of self-government. This was done in time for the July 2 local elections. Most notably, IESD's collaboration was welcomed by the local SEC. IESD continued to work in Kaliningrad throughout the reporting period, with Ms. Bacheyeva returning for the November 5 local elections.

In July 2000, IESD's Deputy Director, Mr. Alexander Firsov, participated in the IFES/CEC Regional Siberia and Far East seminar on election administration in Irkutsk. Mr. Firsov made an important presentation about voter participation, as well as the future role of IESD in Russia.

IESD also participated in the preparation of a training video on mass media and elections. To develop experience for future procurements, Alex Yurin joined the committee charged with evaluating contractor bids as a full member and contributed an individual score for each bid with his evaluation. The actual work on the video program was completed by early August 2000, and IESD continues to receive demands and distribute the video to interested parties.

With regards to the program on investigative journalism and elections, IESD used the training video on journalistic investigation to complement it with a manual. The 200+ page manual is a collection of articles and references from experts in the field. 2,000 copies of the Manual were printed and started being distributed to a wide network of our contacts in the regions.

In March 2001, two seminars took place in Moscow – one for trainers, the other one – for journalists, both of them two-day events. The events allowed us to get a better feel of what regional people want from the trainers, to adjust to their need in the future. IESD was distributing IFES Training Video and the newly published book on investigative journalism.

Among speakers at the events were INDEM expert Vladimir Rimsky; legal expert Igor Ivanov; CSDI Director Joseph Dzialoshinski; Evgenia Borisova (*Moscow Times*); Ekaterina

Egorova (*Nikkolo M*); Anton Nosik (*NTV-Portal*), Larissa Kislinskaya (*Top Secret*) and Konstantinov and Gorshkov from St. Petersburg *Agency for Investigative Journalism*.

Total number of participants in both March events was about 95, of them 59 – at the second event. The feedback received allows us to adjust the format of the seminars to face the needs of the regional media when they work in elections.

In April, the Institute continued its series of seminars for local media reduced to one day and had one seminar in Sochi on April 14 and in Nizhny Novgorod on April 20, 2001. More details on these seminars can be found on the IESD website at www.democracy.ru.

The focus group study was originally designed to involve a substantial research using the opportunity provided by the current sub-agreement. However, the plan was modified to allow for the major components to be completed within a shorter time frame. The Institute decided to use services offered by the biggest and oldest polling firm in Russia – VCIOM. IESD staff did a substantial work with VCIOM to prepare for the focus groups. The work started in early April, and was finished by April 18, 2001. Only Moscow was covered in six focus groups. The topics for discussion included basic democracy issues, governance, elections and the role of the individual in the society. A total of six focus groups were conducted with eight people in each ranging from 18 to 50 years.

- Group 1 - Undecided citizens, ages 18-29
- Group 2 - Undecided citizens, ages 30-50
- Group 3 – Not voting in elections, aged 18-50
- Group 4 – Young people never voted before
- Group 5 – Voting for communists
- Group 6 – voting for conservatives

The outcome of the analysis shows little trust in any power regardless of the group, with more hope in the family and friends, less hope in public institutions and very little hope in the government. Citizens can see no way of influencing the course of events and are very disillusioned and frustrated. The red tape and corruption undermine public trust in government in general and in elections. Those who never vote are confident there is no way of changing the situation and they also don't want to play by the rule that are imposed by someone. Those who vote do so more because of the ritual and they also trust more party candidates rather than those who don't identify themselves.

When asked to explain what kind of authorities they prefer – elected or appointed by somebody opinions split. On the one hand, elected officers can show initiative but on the other hand they are responsible before those who financed their elections. There is no feedback with voters. Participants also thought appointed officials are more professional.

Participants showed a good understanding of what the Duma is doing, although they don't value its work very highly. Duma is considered more democratic than any other public office. At the same time people do not expect too much from it relying on local legislative assemblies more.

The right to choose and the right to information are the most important. Information is in short supply or it is very twisted. People vote for a symbol or a name. Concerning elections in

Russia participants are sure elections are fixed, the results are falsified, primarily in local elections.

What is interesting in the findings of this limited study is the recommendation to dedicate more attention to explaining to voters the mechanics of working with elected officials and feedback. Participants have less trust in the media now after several problematic elections. They want to know more about how to defend their rights through court or by recalling a deputy. A sign of decentralization within IESD, the focus group study was coordinated by Alex Firsov.

Additional activities undertaken under this grant include the development of voter education materials for the blind, the development of the ACE project, as well as other smaller initiatives described below. These additional activities were the results of savings in other program areas under this grant. For example, the voter-education program for the blind, developed by IFES in the fall of 2000 was extremely well received. The audio tape with elections guide continues to be of high demand in the specialized libraries. To build up on this and based on feed-back and specific requests from the users of the first tape, IESD proposed to develop another audio tape to address the role of individuals in the democratic society.

d) Other

Elections Glossary

In collaboration with IFES and the Central Election Commission, IESD developed and printed 1,000 copies of a Glossary of Election Terms to assist the CEC's International Department. The Glossary was based on the prior ACEEEEO multi-language glossary, and received input from IFES and Ministry of Foreign Affairs translators. A shorter glossary, based only on Russian terminology, was produced at the request of the CEC. Both versions were distributed to international observers, election commissioners, the NGO community and the diplomatic community. The longer version of the Glossary was placed on the IESD web site. Feedback received by several international observers was positive, indicating that many appreciated the utility and precision of the guide. This publication was useful and further established IESD as a provider of elections information and assistance in Russia.

Glasnost Foundation Observer Training Program

In November and December of 1999, IESD took part in the Glasnost Foundation Observer Training Program in Krasnodar and Daghestan. IESD prepared a manual for domestic observers and supplied various materials for participants of the seminar. Handout materials included the Duma law, the Glossary, Observer Manual, IESD newsletter, the IESD Guide for Election Campaign and the IFES Media Manual. IESD also provided a consultant, Igor Borisov, from the Russian Public Institute of Election Law. The Glasnost program was financed from the Canada Election Fund. Difficulties with regards to proper compensation for services rendered to Glasnost served as a lesson to IESD with regards to the importance of formalizing agreements prior to entering into a joint venture.

SIZO Program¹

In November 1999, IESD developed a separate program for voter education in temporary detention centers and submitted it to the Canada Election Fund. The program was approved and financed by the Canadian Embassy. It consisted of the preparation and distribution of a series of brochures for the Duma elections in Moscow and the Moscow region SIZO detention centers. The materials were formatted for the Internet and placed there as an example of an IESD voter education program. The entire program, including production and distribution of the voter education materials, amounted to \$5,990.

B. On-Site Advising and Consultation

IFES' close relationship with its domestic partners and its status as an independent, non-partisan organization have proven instrumental to achieving its programmatic goals. On-site consultations with officials, lawmakers, and election experts were repeatedly held in an effort to integrate them into the process of program design and development. Throughout the period of this Agreement, IFES cooperated and assisted the following entities:

- The Central Election Commission of the Russian Federation (CEC);
- Subject Election Commissions (SECs);
- The State Duma Committee on Law, Courts, and Legal Reform;
- Members of political parties;
- Domestic media outlets;
- Civil society organizations;
- International observers; and
- The diplomatic community (especially the U.S. Department of State).

1. Seminars, Roundtables, and Other Program Activities

Throughout the period of performance, IFES conducted a series of events and activities aimed at increasing the transparency of the electoral process, in addition to participating in roundtables and seminars sponsored by other non-governmental and governmental institutions. Some of these key events are highlighted below.

In the fall of 1998, IFES hosted an *Electoral Process Strengthening Roundtable Series* in Washington, DC. The first roundtable coincided with the visiting Russian delegation, which included representatives from the CEC, various SECs, and domestic NGOs, such as the New Perspectives Foundation. The roundtable addressed the development and enforcement of effective campaign finance regulations. Speakers included Dr. Frederick Herrmann, Director of the New Jersey State Election Law Enforcement Commission; Matt Keller, a lobbyist and political analyst with Common Cause; and Trevor Potter, a former FEC Commissioner. Participants asked targeted and sometimes difficult questions regarding political advertising and campaign expenditures.

¹ While this program was not funded by the USAID Cooperative Agreement, it is put there as an example of IESD's recent activities and successes during the reporting period.

Institutional Partnerships

The receptiveness of the electoral authorities to IFES' assistance was possible only through the development of a strong sense of partnership. IFES cultivated this relationship by:

- Respecting the rules and procedures of the organizations it partnered with;
- Including partners in discussions on annual program goals;
- Requesting partner institution support, such as sharing expenses for events;
- Operating in a transparent manner; and
- Identifying strengths within the partner institution and sharing positive feedback.

The second roundtable in the series was held in Moscow and focused on mass media and elections. Addressing the role of the media in the elections process was critical to ensuring transparent, fair, and credible elections in 1999 and 2000. On the one hand, media outlets in Russia have traditionally faced difficulties obtaining important election-related information in a timely manner. On the other hand, election officials and campaign managers have lodged complaints of improper or irresponsible use of information by representatives of the media. The roundtable focused

its energies on these issues, in addition to concerns regarding the control and use of public media outlets by incumbents.

Co-chaired by CEC Commissioner Raif Biktaguirov and IFES/Russia Project Director Christian Nadeau, the roundtable provided a rare opportunity for direct interaction between domestic and international media, election officials, and political parties. IFES expert on media and elections Dr. Michael Pinto-Duschinsky and NBC Moscow Bureau Chief Magda Walters shared information about the role of the media in other countries. The mix of practitioners and policy-makers made for a vigorous discussion. The following were among the many issues raised: defining and regulating political campaigns; the advantages of incumbency; covering events that involve an incumbent prior to an election year; and the difference between public and private media (in Russia almost 90% of the media receive at least partial support from federal, subject, or local public funds, which makes them "public" in terms of the Voting Rights Act). There was also a great deal of concern expressed among participants on how to ensure balanced coverage of elections by journalists and to appropriately regulate negative advertising, debates, and news coverage by the CEC or other government agencies.

Finally, During the presidential election cycle, IFES and the Center for Strategic and International Studies re-instituted their roundtable series entitled the *Elections Study Group*. The monthly sessions gave Washington policy makers and those with a vested interest in the democratic development of Russia the opportunity to meet and discuss the issues that voters, political parties, and election officials were facing in Russia.

Working Side-by-Side...A Blessing and A Curse

The vast majority of IFES' seminars in Russia were conducted in cooperation with the CEC. At times, IFES found working with the CEC on basic issues such as the agenda, speakers, and invitees to be challenging. These difficulties were overcome by focusing on the end result and allowing ample preparation time prior to an event. Often a seminar took six weeks of work from the initial preparations to the post-seminar evaluation.

2. 1999 Parliamentary Elections

IFES implemented a comprehensive technical assistance program leading up to the 1999 Duma elections. From the Pre-Election Technical Assessment, to the training manual series, to the post-election assessment, IFES' program in Russia was tailored to recognize and take advantage of the sophistication and professional maturity of the CEC. To assist the Project Director in making preparations, IFES maintained a full-time expatriate election advisor on staff from September through December of 1999. George Russell, a retired Kentucky Election Commission Chairman, covered the position at the outset and was succeeded in November by Germaine Wong, a retired election official from San Francisco. Throughout the period, Paul DeGregorio, Senior IFES Election Administration Consultant, provided assistance both on and off-site. Finally, Robert Dahl, US Campaign Finance Attorney, joined the IFES team to evaluate campaign finance practices in Russia.

a) Electoral Legislation

Voting Rights Act

The Amendments to the Voting Rights Act were signed into law on 30 March 1999. The amendments to this law were a necessary precursor to the adoption of new parliamentary and presidential election laws. IFES/Russia reviewed the 48 amended articles and came to a conclusion that IFES' recommendations were used in at least a third of them. For example, The Voting Rights Act was amended to provide for ballot access for candidates and electoral associations either by an electoral deposit or by a minimum number of signatures. The Law was also amended to allow election commissions to achieve signature verification through statistical sampling, rather than requiring each signature to be verified (art.32(4)). Central Election Commission Chairman Alexander Veshnyakov hailed these changes as "great advances."

Additional changes to the law included improvements or procedural refinements in the following areas: a more explicit election administration calendar; a stronger ballot access regime; and a more hierarchical Central Election Commission. In addition, the law provides more clearly defined rules regulating the media in the electoral process, the granting of free airtime to election commissions, and asset disclosure by candidates. In an attempt to limit corruption, the law now requires the criminal background of candidates to appear on the ballot itself and prohibits candidates and electoral associations from organizing transportation of voters on election day.

A potentially problematic addition to the law was a limit on the right of incumbents to be elected in the case of runoff elections. Moreover, the regulation of campaign financing was left to individual jurisdictions, and the obligation to report financial activities is still imposed on banks rather than candidates. Contrary to IFES' recommendations, the minimum threshold of voter participation was left at 50% for referenda. And more troubling, the law ambiguously allows election commissions to declare invalid elections where "irregularities ... make it impossible to reliably establish the result of the expression of the will of voters..."

State Duma Election Law

IFES' Russian Legal Expert, Dr. Alexander Postnikov, conducted an extensive analysis of the State Duma Law, which was enacted in June of 1999, and concluded that it was in compliance with the Voting Rights Act of 1995 and the Amendments made in March of 1999. According to Dr. Postnikov, the new law extensively addressed electoral procedures, but he also expressed his concern that the law allowed little flexibility in its administration and that some of the more complex provisions were contained in the form of administrative instructions. The overall assessment, however, indicated that the State Duma Law provided a strong legal basis for free and fair elections.

b) Pre-Election Technical Assessment

In September 1999, IFES conducted a thorough Pre-Election Technical Assessment (PETA) (see Attachment 21). The aim of the PETA was to identify key areas in the electoral process requiring improvement and to help IFES focus its assistance efforts. The PETA was developed by an international delegation of four technical experts with considerable experience in the field of election administration, election law, and the Russian political process. The team included:

- Christian Nadeau, IFES/Russia Project Director and Canadian attorney with extensive elections experience;
- Paul DeGregorio, Senior IFES Election Administration Consultant;
- George Russel, Technical Specialist and recent Chair of the U.S. National Association of State Election Directors; and
- Alex Yurin, Executive Director of IESD.

Through an extensive series of meetings with Russian election officials, political party representatives and NGO leaders, the IFES team gained valuable insight into their needs and concerns in regards to the upcoming elections. The team also observed the conduct of gubernatorial elections in Leningradsky Oblast on September 19, which allowed them to observe the application of election laws and procedures.

Many of those interviewed by the IFES Assessment team noted that in terms of election administration, elections in Russia were conducted relatively free of widespread fraud and many spoke positively about the work of the CEC. There were, however, some significant concerns which we've noted below:

- Lack of equal access to media by all parties and candidates;
- Lack of consistent training of lower-level election commissions;
- Poorly trained NGO and political party election monitors;
- Lack of transparency in the area of campaign funds received and spent by candidates;
- Lack of voter education programs to encourage participation, particularly among the youth;
- CEC procedural weaknesses in regards to ballot security, the use of absentee certificates, and overseas voting; and
- Lack of familiarity on the part of international observers with Russian election laws and procedures.

Based on its discussions and observations, IFES developed a series of recommendations to assist the CEC in preparing for the upcoming elections. Examples of IFES' recommendations are below.

- **Media:** The CEC should develop Public Service Announcements (PSAs) to mobilize and educate potential voters.
- **Election Administration:** The CEC should develop an illustrated poll worker training manual and Territorial Election Commission manual.
- **Campaign Finance:** The CEC should financial reports more accessible to the public and develop an instruction manual on how to complete the 22 campaign finance forms and reports.

The findings and recommendations generated by the IFES assessment served as the blueprint for IFES' On-Site Technical Assistance (OSTA) to the CEC, as detailed below. IFES cooperated with the CEC and domestic civic organizations to address all areas highlighted by the pre-election assessment.

c) IFES On-Site Technical Assistance

Throughout the electoral cycle, IFES regularly advised the CEC regarding the implementation of Russia's election legislation and internationally accepted practices. Initially, these consultations focused on how to improve ballot security, refine training for election officials, and inform the electorate. As mentioned above, IFES had recommended the creation of PSAs to encourage and inform voter participation. While the CEC initially welcomed IFES' support in this area, they rejected such assistance upon further consultation with their legal department due to concerns regarding receipt of direct foreign support during this sensitive period. Additionally, the CEC refused IFES' proposed assistance regarding increasing the general public's accessibility to candidate financial reports on the grounds that this was "scholarly material" and not relevant to a larger audience.

IFES did respond to the CEC's interest in improving ballot security by developing standards, such as microprinting, which the CEC implemented. IFES also edited a paper by Carol Stacey on ballot security for Subject Election Commissions, which was used by the CEC in their preparations.

In regards to poll worker training, IFES provided the CEC with sample training videos developed for use in other countries, and offered to assist in developing similar materials (such as poll worker manuals) suitable to the Russian context. The CEC expressed great interest, but limited time prohibited them from developing a video in advance of the State Duma elections. (The CEC did follow-up on this idea during the 2000 presidential elections, which are discussed below.)

Chairman Veshnyakov requested IFES' recommendations as to how the CEC could establish better procedures and regulations regarding media activity during election campaigns. IFES' Media Program Manager Daphne Skillen prepared a thorough analysis of problematic issues in the Russian electoral legislation governing media practices. This private opinion, which is included in Attachment 23, was presented directly to Chairman Veshnyakov in November of

1999. To date, none of the recommendations have been adopted, but evidence of their consideration can be seen in several draft laws before the Duma.

IFES played a limited role in preparing the SECs for their duties on election day, primarily monitoring the workings of the regional commissions through on-site visits and analysis of press reports and court decisions. Efforts were focused outside of the capital for the media training seminars in order to ensure effective utilization of limited resources.

d) Election Day Activities and Assessment

The IFES team, consisting of Robert Dahl, Lewis Madanick, Germaine Wong, Christian Nadeau, Paul DeGregorio, Daphne Skillen, and a delegation from Tajikistan, traveled to the following sites two to three days prior to Election Day:

Robert Dahl	Sverdlosk
Lewis Madanick	Kaliningrad
Germaine Wong	Tatarstan
Christian Nadeau	Moscow
Paul DeGregorio	Omsk
Daphne Skillen	Volgograd
Tajiks 1 ²	Tver
Tajiks 2	Vladimir

During their deployment, each team met with local media, candidates for the single-mandate districts, as well as local branches of some of the major political parties, such as Unity, the Communist Party, and Yabloko. Team members also met with Precinct Election Commissions (PECs), Territorial Election Commissions (TECs), District Election Commissions (DECs), and Subject Election Commissions (SECs). IFES teams made every effort to coordinate with other international observer teams so as not to overburden local election officials during their busiest times. All aspects of the process, from the opening of the polling stations to the delivery of PEC protocols to the appropriate TECs, were monitored.

In addition to the Russia-based observer teams, IFES assembled monitoring groups outside of the country. This mobilization was prompted by a direct request from the CEC, noting that nearly 1% of the electorate votes abroad. Volunteer observers were sent to polling stations in the following countries: Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Romania, Tajikistan, Ukraine, the United States (San Francisco, Cleveland, Chicago, Houston, New York, and Washington, DC), Uzbekistan, and Yemen.

After Election Day, the Russia-based observers met for a debriefing and summarization of the findings. Then, on 21 December, the IFES Team met with the CEC Chairman to discuss their findings and congratulate him on a process that was generally viewed as free and fair, with some notable exceptions in the areas of the independence of lower-level commissions, the media, and campaign finance. The complete findings of the Russia-based observer missions are included in Attachment 58. Key elements of these findings are listed below.

² A delegation of 10 Tajik leaders and election officials joined the IFES/Russia observation team. They came to Russia through another program and with the support of IFES/Tajikistan. IFES/Russia did not incur costs for this delegation.

1. The mechanism of decision-making on spoiled ballots requires additional consideration.
2. The procedure of vote counting should be further elaborated, especially the order in which ballot boxes are opened and ballots counted.
3. Additional clarifications should be made with respect to the validity of ballots (e.g., whether a ballot on which all boxes are marked but one can be considered valid – negative voting).
4. The role of observers should be further clarified with respect to determining the validity of ballots (e.g., whether or not observers have to be consulted when PEC members are doubtful if a ballot is valid or invalid).
5. A more specific mechanism should be developed with respect to vote re-count.
6. Introduction of the institute of “ballot counters” should be considered (e.g., if an autonomous group of people can be invited to manually re-count the ballots on the day following the elections).
7. A procedure of consistent training for PEC members should be developed.
8. The creation of a training department within the CEC would help to ensure consistent training of lower level election commissions and could monitor the results of the training.
9. A series of video training materials should be developed to enhance the consistency of training.
10. Translation of CEC procedural resolutions, training materials, and instructions into the languages of ethnic minorities should be given special consideration.
11. An effective mechanism of training observers should be developed.
12. It is recommended that the CEC work closely with NGOs involved in human rights protection and election systems development.
13. Deadlines for removal (withdrawal) of candidates from the ballots should be established. Ballots should be printed only after this deadline.
14. Voters should be forbidden from taking their ballots out of the premises of polling stations.
15. Ballot security should be given additional attention.
16. Batching and numbering ballots can contribute to better ballot security and more accurate voting results.
17. Distribution of ballots among the voters should be improved to enhance the equity of the voting process.
18. A federal voter registry should be developed.
19. Election procedures should be modified to provide more flexibility and rights to mobile citizens.
20. Stacking ballots in tens or scores when counting them would make them easier to count and re-count.
21. Instructions should be developed to explain how to proceed regarding discrepancies between federal and local laws.
22. Additional training should be provided to lower level election commissions on how to use the GAS “Vybory.”
23. Voting booths should be redesigned, and a uniform standard should be developed to allow for spacious, convenient, well lit, and private booths.
24. To enhance the effectiveness of voting and fairness of voting results one of the following should be done: a) limit the number of ballots per election; or b) reduce the number of voters per precinct.

25. Checklists for PECs should be developed to facilitate the election process for commissioners.

In January 2000, IFES issued a report on the State Duma elections (see Attachment 49), with particular emphasis on the role of state structures in the electoral process. The report, entitled *State Duma Elections 1999 – Findings and Recommendations*, was compiled by a team of experts lead by Lewis Madanick, IFES Program Officer (Russia). The report was distributed to the CEC, SECs, as well as to the new heads of committees in the State Duma. The report was well received, but stirred some debate given that the 2000 presidential election cycle was already underway. The CEC implemented some of IFES' recommendations during the presidential election cycle, such as the development of a standard training manual for poll workers. Additionally, IFES/Russia Project Director Christian Nadeau noted on several occasions during CEC internal training sessions that comments made by IFES' observers were relayed by the CEC Chairman as examples of "best" and "worst" practices.

IFES also participated in the post-election conference conducted by the CEC in January 2000. The two-day conference assembled several ministry officials who collaborated with the CEC during the Duma election cycle and all SEC heads. Mr. Voloshin, Head of the Presidential Administration, delivered a presentation at the event. IFES was the only foreign organization invited to attend this high-level meeting.

IFES concluded its technical assistance for the State Duma elections with the observation of repeat elections held in District #115. The election was called due to the death of newly-elected State Duma Deputy Luzin. The CEC Commissioner responsible for voter registration extended a formal invitation to IFES to observe the elections in June of 2000. In the end, the election was declared invalid, with only 23.87% of the electorate participating, just shy of the 25% turnout threshold.

3. 2000 Presidential Elections

With the closure of the office looming, IFES provided limited on-site technical assistance to the CEC in advance of the 2000 presidential elections (see Attachment 77). Efforts were focused on assessing the overall process in preparation for a comprehensive report on both the State Duma and presidential elections. The compressed time frame restricted the CEC's ability to participate in joint seminars on election administration, as they were busy implementing a new election law. IFES consultations, therefore, were usually conducted through small group and one-on-one meetings.

The CEC's acceptance of IFES' expertise and respect for its work was evident throughout the process. Chairman Veshnyakov issued a letter in support of IFES' work and expressed concern over IFES' impending closure in the midst of the process. His participation in a private dinner with the IFES delegation on the eve of the elections, as well as the several laudatory comments made by CEC members, demonstrated the CEC's appreciation for IFES' technical assistance and advice.

a) Presidential Election Law Assessment and Seminar

In November 1999, striving to increase transparency and accountability in the electoral process, IFES published a review of the Presidential Election Law. Based on international experience and the unique features of Russia's electoral framework, IFES highlighted three

key areas of the draft law that could benefit from further review: election administration, mass media, and campaign finance.

1. Election Administration - First, IFES noted that the establishment of a 50% participation threshold would result in serious political consequences if the threshold were not met. IFES drew upon its experience in Ukraine, citing the problems caused by a high participation threshold during the 1994 parliamentary election cycle. Second, the scope of normative regulation of election procedures was identified as much broader than those in the existing Federal Law On Election of President of the Russian Federation. Third, IFES made recommendations on administrative issues such as uniformity of language, establishment of predictable time limits, improvement of security, and cooperation between the CEC and international partners throughout the elections process. Finally, a recommendation was made for the inclusion of a *force majeure* clause.
2. Mass Media - IFES' recommendations concerning media activity focused on two areas: pre-election campaigning and neutrality in news broadcasts.
3. Campaign Finance - IFES noted that the unrealistically low level of the funding ceilings encouraged violations and complications for candidates. IFES emphasized the importance of including and enforcing adequate penalties.

These recommendations were presented in an open forum held in November 1999 in conjunction with the Moscow Carnegie Center. State Duma deputies, Federation Council staff members, and representatives from the Presidential Administration participated in the event, which was, to our knowledge, the only public discussion outside the State Duma on the draft law. The complete set of recommendations are available at Attachment 22.

b) CEC Election Administration Seminars

The compressed election calendar left the CEC little time to participate in training seminars with IFES, but they did conduct a seminar on elections, media, and ethics in February of 2000. Over 80 participants, including representatives from mass media outlets, the CEC, civic associations, and the State Duma participated in constructive debate on the interpretation of election and media legislation, as well as ethical considerations. The Deputy Minister for the Press delivered a remarkable opening speech in which he clarified the role of the Ministry in the electoral process and the overall event received considerable press coverage in Moscow.

c) Election Day Activities and Comprehensive Assessment

From March 3, 2000-March 29, 2000, Paul DeGregorio, Senior IFES Election Administration Consultant, was present in Russia to gather information and analyze the final steps of the election campaign. IFES/Russia also welcomed IFES Board members Patricia Hutar and Peter Kelly, along with Program Officer Lewis Madanick and Vice-President for Programs Juliana Pilon, as IFES observers. Finally, Jorge Tirado, IFES Information Technologies Consultant, joined the Russia-based observers to assess the registration and results transmission systems in two of the regions. Mr. Tirado's assessment of the systems in Moscow Oblast and Rostov-na-Danu are included in the comprehensive assessment report described in greater detail below.

IFES' election day observation teams travelled to the following regions two to three days prior to the elections:

Paul DeGregorio	Kaluzhskaya Oblast
Patricia Hutar & Lewis Madanick	Leningradsky Oblast
Daphne Skillen & Alex Yurin	Moscow
Jorge Tirado	Rostov-na-Donu
Catherine Barnes (IESD Team)	Moscow
Christian Nadeau & Juliana Pilon	Moscow (SIZO, emphasis on the CEC)
Peter Kelly	Tver

As during the Duma elections in December of 1999, the observation teams met with local party members, candidates, and representatives of PECs, TECs, DEC's, and SECs in their respective regions. IFES again attempted to coordinate its efforts with other international observation teams to avoid duplication and maximize the limited time available with local election officials.

The Russia-based observers held a series of meetings following the election to summarize their findings and to prepare a presentation to the Chairman of the CEC. The presentation was delivered on 28 March and the recommendations delivered included the following:

1. Further work on increasing voter awareness is required to minimize family and group voting.
2. Loose handling of ballots should be avoided.
3. Representation of observers from domestic public organizations and NGOs should be increased.
4. Mechanisms should be developed to make the presence of security guards at polling stations less conspicuous.
5. The counting of ballots still takes too much time. Procedures should be developed to further improve the counting process and make it more efficient.
6. It is desired that voters who vote at polling stations with ballot scanning equipment be reminded to fill out ballots in firmer hand to ensure the 100% correct reading of ballots by the machines.
7. To enhance the privacy of voting, it is recommended that voters be reminded to fold their ballots several times at those polling stations where no scanning equipment is used. Thin ballot paper positioned against the light allows one to see the marked candidate.
8. Registration of voters requires a different approach and further attention to improve the quality of the voting process, speed up the counting of ballots, and eliminate duplicates.
9. To avoid chaos and confusion among voters and PEC members, no more than one polling station should be allowed on a given premises.
10. Privacy booths should be designed and set up in such a way as to allow not more than one voter inside at a given time.
11. It should be mandated that all polling stations have conspicuous signs to alert voters.
12. Passports and military identification cards should be considered the only valid documents for voting. Travel passports, pension cards, etc. should not be accepted to issue ballots.
13. Ballots from mobile boxes should not be mixed with ballots from stationary boxes for counting purposes. They should be counted separately.

14. It is recommended that voting facilities be large enough to accommodate the voters ascribed to a particular precinct to avoid crowding and queuing.
15. Additional attention should be granted to the ballot security issue. It is recommended that ballots be numbered and have detachable coupons.
16. Training programs for election officials should be further improved, and mechanisms should be developed to allow the uniform application of training programs all the way down to the level of PECs throughout the country.

d) Post Election Activity

After the elections, a general fatigue within the elections apparatus left little choice for IFES with regards to the organization of post-election seminars. Originally, IFES planned to conduct three seminars in May and June, but decided that one seminar was sufficient given this (understandable) lack of enthusiasm.

Pursuant to the assessments of the State Duma and presidential elections, IFES held a two-day seminar on election administration. The seminar, entitled "Evaluation of the Federal Electoral Cycle – Sharing Experiences and Practices," was a resounding success as reflected in the comments and evaluations of the participants. There were a total of 84 participants, including nearly 30 SEC commissioners, or a third of the electoral "top brass" of the Russian Federation. Chairman Veshnyakov attended and gave a very strong presentation on the future of electoral reform, inviting participants to think and discuss openly. Dr. Veshnyakov also lauded IFES for its work in Russia through the years.

Everyone was rather open during the seminar discussions, as the participants knew that IFES was on the way out and wanted to take full advantage of this opportunity for extra input and guidance. The presidential and State Duma elections report, presented in draft form to the participants, was well received. IFES hit upon three main themes for the purposes of this seminar:

- The media and the control of the media in times of elections;
- The advantages of incumbency; and
- The tracking of campaign finance expenditures with respect to both format and policy.

Despite these criticisms, IFES noted a general sense that the elections had made substantive progress during the past 7 years – a record time, especially in comparison with reforms in other areas – and that there was no need to make significant changes to the law itself.

The participants also interjected a number of ideas for improvement, including one that would have instituted a system of tallying at the TEC level and another that would have instituted a vote by proxy system in lieu of mobile ballot boxes and early voting mechanisms. Both of these proposals were viewed by IFES as potentially detrimental to the progress that had been made in recent years, but the exercise in and of itself was important as discussion and debate of such issues in Russia (especially those inclusive of low-level stakeholders) is limited.

The SEC of Irkutsk had made a real effort to ensure that everyone was well received and that everything was organized. It is important to note, as an illustration of the level of partnership that IFES has established with Russian authorities, that the expenses for the participants at the seminar were shared with each entity. The Irkutsk SEC paid for local transportation and the cultural program, the CEC paid for the regional transportation costs of participants, and IFES

(in collaboration with IESD) paid for the rest. IFES viewed this cost-sharing as important to establishing a sense of ownership on the part of its Russian partners. Also, it demonstrated the ability of the partners themselves to sponsor such events in the future.

4. Presidential and State Duma Elections – A Technical Assessment

IFES felt that it was important both to summarize the experiences accumulated over the past decade in Russia and to leave a comprehensive analysis that the CEC, the State Duma, and IESD could use as a basis for discussions of future assistance. The report is designed for Russian election administrators, lawmakers, and others as they evaluate these historic elections and pursue legal and procedural reforms. It includes a series of recommendations and suggestions that are designed to promote the continued success of the electoral process in the Russian Federation. Indeed, the technical nature of the recommendations reflect the desire of IFES to provide a series of feasible and reasonable changes that, if implemented, will continue to enhance the credibility and transparency of the Russian electoral process as a whole.

The assessment builds on the collective experience and analysis of 23 assessors and analysts who worked in Russia after the 1996 Presidential elections in various capacities. Significant contributions came from the observers who came in support of the State Duma and presidential elections, including Paul DeGregorio, Daphne Skillen, Jorge Tirado and Lewis Madanick. The draft report was then reviewed and commented upon by Ms. Linda Edgeworth, Executive Director of the OSCE/Russia election observation mission for both federal electoral cycles. Ms. Edgeworth, who previously served as an elections expert in Russia with IFES during the 1996 elections, and wrote a similar analysis then, came with a wealth of experience and expertise. For legal accuracy, Victor Ragozin, a State Duma Staffer, attorney, and specialist in parliamentary and electoral law, reviewed the report. Additional input came from SEC and CEC members who saw the draft version of the report at the conference, as well as USAID and IESD staff members.

The findings described in the Executive Summary are reprinted here, beginning on the next page:

"...The assessment team found considerable praise for the improvements made in the administration of the elections of the Russian Federation since the establishment of a permanent Central Election Commission in 1993. Many of those interviewed indicated that procedurally, elections were conducted relatively free of widespread fraud and commented positively on the role of the CEC...

The legal basis for the elections is described in detail in the first and second chapters of the report. Chapter 1 provides the fundamental structure in the Constitutional Basis for the Election System. In this chapter, the role of elections and the basic rights of Russian citizens to elect public officials are addressed. In addition, it details how the Constitution of the Russian Federation establishes the entire system of legislative acts regulating Federal elections.

Chapter 2 is devoted to the Federal Laws Governing Elections. It describes how the law "On Basic Guarantees of Electoral Rights and the Right of Citizens of the Russian Federation to Participate in a Referendum" goes further than the Constitution to regulate all stages and aspects of the electoral process. The "Federal Law on the Election of the President of the Russian Federation" as well as the law "On the Federal Law on the Election of Deputies of the State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation" are examined to provide information and analysis of the legal foundation for Duma and Presidential elections. In addition, other Federal laws and Decrees and Directives of the President of the Russian Federation, which affect the election process, are reviewed. This Chapter makes a series of recommendations which include the need for an all-encompassing electoral code to reduce the confusion and problems caused by conflicting provisions in the Federal laws governing elections.

In Chapter 3, an extensive look at the Administration and Policy Making procedures used in the process of conducting Duma and Presidential elections are examined. Starting with the top policy-making and administrative body, the Central Election Commission (CEC), and ending with the body which serves the voters directly, the Precinct Election Commission (PEC), the report provides information regarding the duties, responsibilities and limitations of each of the administrative structures involved in conducting elections in the Russian Federation. While the report notes the significant improvements made in conducting elections, it also provides recommendations for improving training procedures.

Election Monitoring and Transparency Issues are analyzed in Chapter 4. The legal basis for the fundamental mechanisms involved in providing checks and balances to the election process is described. Political parties, non-governmental organizations, and international monitors now have basic rights to observe and monitor elections in the Russian Federation. Conflicts between Federal and local laws that were problematic in the monitoring process are reviewed. While it is without question that significant improvements have been made in this area since 1993, the chapter does provide several recommendations to increase transparency and provided more quality observation.

The complicated Presidential and Duma nomination process is described in Chapter 5, Nomination and Registration of Candidates. The rights and responsibilities of Political Associations and Blocs, candidates, and others are detailed in the report. In addition, problems found in the Duma and Presidential elections are mentioned in this chapter. Some of those difficulties included the arbitrary decisions made by election commissions; inconsistency in the disclosure requirements filed by the candidates; and lack of specificity in the rules and

procedures regarding the eligibility for registration of candidates. Recommendations in this chapter suggest a review of procedures and propose various methods to improve the nomination process.

Chapter 6 examines the important issue of the Mass Media and Pre-electoral Campaigning. Perhaps one of the most problematic areas found in the recent Duma and Presidential elections, the role of the Media in the election process is vital to any democracy and certainly important in an assessment process. It is a venue that has been highlighted for continuing scrutiny by domestic and international observers of the Russian election process. This report notes that since 1996, the increasing concentration of the media in the hands of state and corporate interests has led to greater manipulation during the recent elections. Specific issues such as coverage by the media, government pressure, the legal environment, sanctions, penalties, and adjudication of grievances are all highlighted in separate sections within this chapter. Specific recommendations are included to urge those involved in the democratic process to learn from the negative aspects of what happened during the recent elections and take steps to improve the process so that in future elections the media would play an unbiased and ethical role in providing voters with quality information about the election.

With the many changes that have taken place since the 1995 and 1996 elections, the important role that Campaign Finance played in the 1999 and 2000 elections are highlighted in Chapter 7. New legislation has significantly tightened the regulation of campaign financing and campaign expenditures while also increasing transparency mechanisms. New personal, contributor and expenditure disclosure requirements have helped to give voters more information regarding the candidates and the campaign. However, as with any new procedural change and requirements, enforcement issues become more important. This chapter examines the legal framework governing campaign finance, reviews the practice in past elections, and finally suggests several recommendations for improvements in this important area. These suggestions include the need to increase ceilings of campaigns; make public disclosure more effective; and provide more detail in the law so that variation in interpretation can be kept to a minimum or eliminated.

Chapter 8 is an in-depth Technical Assessment of the Automated Elections System focusing on the methods of Voter Registration in the Russian Federation. Our thorough analysis includes a review of the ability of the CEC Automated Election System to accurately identify register voters in a particular precinct, and to capture and transmit results with the necessary safeguards and characteristics that would be expected of such a system. Noting that the Central Election Commission has a strong interest in improving the voter registration process and constructing a permanent National Register of Electors in the Russian Federation, this report provides great detail regarding the current system and the feasibility of evolving towards a National Register. The need and advantages of such a system are addressed and well as concrete suggestions for implementation. The implication of legal, transparency, and cost issues are also examined with recommendations.

General Issues of the Campaigns are addressed in Chapter 9. The Undue Influence of State Bodies on the Campaign is discussed in detail. This problem, which manifested itself in the both the Duma and Presidential campaigns, is one that has cast a dark cloud over democratic process in the Russian Federation. Undue influence by federal, regional, and local authorities - and by other institutions, such as state ministries, powerful enterprises and military leaders - was a pervasive

problem. Influence on the campaign process most often included pressure on local and regional election commissions, courts, political party structures, and mass media with the aim of restricting the effectiveness of political opponents or influencing public opinion (examples of these efforts are covered in Chapter 6). Recommendations for improvement include providing sufficient oversight, improving the independence of the Media, and promoting non-profit watchdog organizations.

A review and analysis of the Voting Process can be found in Chapter 10. Issues such as ballot security, mobile ballot boxes, polling station size, vote count and tabulation of results, and early voting are examined. Numerous recommendations are made to improve the process including improving security measures regarding the distribution of ballots, including special packaging, increasing the number of polling booths, and improving training directives, among other suggestions.

Chapter 11 is a very thorough examination of the procedures used in the Reporting of Voting Results. The results transmission process is carefully reviewed with along with the specific issues of hardware, software, SAS "Vrbory", security, ease of operation, accuracy and reliability, transparency, and limitations of the system. In general, it was found that the basic system used to transmit results is acceptable. While a simple process, it was found to be effective in controlling the protocol receiving and verification process. One significant shortcoming was that the process was not sufficiently transparent at some levels. In addition, it was noted that no detailed storage of individual protocol images is provided. Consequently, a recount of all protocols is not possible, a feature which is not desirable in the event of a complete electronic failure or contested election.

Voting Beyond the Borders of the Russian Federation is a subject that is highlighted in Chapter 12. The law allows Russian citizens who are otherwise eligible to vote but who are out of the country on official or private business, or as a tourist, the opportunity to participate in the election by voting at a designated location in the country where they are at the time of the election. Of course, not every country had a designated polling station for Russian citizens. With the increasing mobility of Russian citizens for economic and other reasons, voting abroad continues to show growth. IFES secured 10-12 accredited representatives in various countries during the Duma and Presidential elections. While voting was generally orderly, there were minor problems noted, including the need for increased awareness of the availability of such voting to Russian citizens living abroad.

Chapter 13 details the process of the Adjudication of Grievance during the federal election cycle and builds on the analysis to make recommendations for consideration by legislators and election administrators. Adjudication of Grievances form an integral part of the electoral process. The legal framework describes the important role of the courts in bring resolution to challenges. The process of adjudication of election grievances in Russia is flexible and leaves the complainant a number of options at every step. The division of adjudication authority between the courts and election commission is outlined in this chapter. Several specific examples and cases are cited in this chapter along with a review of court practices in 1999-2000. In its recommendation section, this Chapter provides solid suggestions to streamline the adjudication process by following a hierarchical structure rather than circumventing election commissions with direct appeals to the CEC..."

As IFES was phasing out of Russia, over 1,000 copies of the report were sent to IFES partners, inviting them to contact IESD with any questions or follow up. The report also included leaflets outlining IESD's activities and how to contact them. Feedback on the report from Russian electoral authorities was extremely positive. For example, during Chairman Veshnyakov's visit to the United States, he commented on how the IFES recommendations had been analyzed and integrated into parliamentary discussions on future amendments to the electoral laws. The *Financial Times* also quoted the report and its findings under its "Elections Watch" column.

5. Y2K Assessment

In 1999, IFES and the CEC Federal Center for Information Technology entered into discussions regarding a Y2K assessment of the CEC's 9,500 computer GAZ-Vybori system (for information on the Federal Center, see www.fci.ru). The Gaz-Vybori system serves as the backbone of the electoral process in Russia and has nine main functions, ranging from campaign finance expenditures to districting and results reporting on election night. With the final election results due by law on January 2, 2000, and presidential elections approaching, there were concerns – later proved unfounded – that the computer system would suffer damage in the year 2000.

In response to the concerns in this area expressed by the CEC and shared by USAID, IFES proceeded in August with hiring a specialized technical assessment firm, Terralink. Terralink had previously done work with the CEC and were chosen for their existing knowledge of the CEC's systems. With USAID's approval, IFES awarded an exclusive contract to Terralink to assess the compliance of the CEC's computer system with Y2k requirements and costs for remedial actions, if any.

In September 1999, after a five-week investigation of the Gaz-Vybori computer systems, Terralink delivered their report entitled "Audit of Year 2000 Problem for Central Election Committee of the Russian Federation." IFES made it very clear, with USAID's support, that this report was the only work which would be funded by IFES or the U.S. Government, as the aim of the analysis was to enable the CEC to go to the international community, if needed, for further assistance and cooperation to give credibility to their own findings.

In their report (see Attachment 93), Terralink found that "the CEC had not yet performed risk analysis (due date is November 1999). Our evaluation of major risks, based on our knowledge about such systems, is presented in a list below (in descending order of importance). The potential risk associated with these systems should increase in cases where information is incomplete or missing. (...) Solutions for addressing Y2K software and hardware problems have been decided upon by CEC. *Systems, which have limited Y2K compliance according to PD2000-1, NTSL, etc., are being remedied and will be compliant with acceptable deviations.* We think that the quality of the solutions is mainly due to budgetary constraints." (Emphasis added by IFES.)

Given the limited time frame, the potential negative consequences of modifying any election-related software in the midst of an election process, as well as the overall positive findings of Terralink, there was no follow-up to the report by the CEC to the international community. It is also important to note that the CEC did not experience any major Y2K-related disruptions in their system.

6. CEC Study Tour

At its own request, IFES invited the CEC to send up to four representatives to observe the 2000 United States presidential elections. The CEC leadership decided to send Chairman Veshnyakov; Mr. Andre Davidov, Head of the International Department; and Mr. Alexei Makarov, Special Assistant to Dr. Veshnyakov. The aim of the study tour was to afford the CEC the opportunity to see the United States electoral process "in concreto" and exchange ideas with US officials, as well as to further the IESD-CEC relationship. In particular, the emphasis was on corruption in politics, campaign finance, and the role of the mass media in the electoral process. Alexander Yurin, IESD Executive Director, joined the delegation as well. As another example of the strong IFES/CEC partnership, the CEC shared the expenses of the visit by paying for their transatlantic flights. Finally, it is important to note that a full-time, professional translator was hired for the duration of the stay of the CEC delegation. This allowed Mr. Yurin, who previously often doubled as an interpreter, to focus on the issues being discussed.

The delegation was in the United States from 4 to 10 November, 2000. The program started in Chicago, where the Russian delegation was

warmly hosted by the Chicago Elections Board and the Vice Chair of IFES' Board of Directors, Ms. Patricia Hutar. Ms. Hutar, ex-co-Chair of the Republican National Committee, had been to Russia on several occasions previously with IFES and was able to assemble an exceptional program for the delegation. IFES is also grateful to the Board and, in particular, to Ms. Connie Kaplan, Director of Training Services, for her time and commitment to this program. Jeffrey Carlson, former Program Officer for Russia, also joined the delegation in Chicago to assist with various aspects of the program.

The city of Chicago was chosen as a starting point due to its history of voting irregularities and the recent changes to the city's electoral procedures. These changes, in the words of the Executive Director of the Elections Board, Lance Gough, "cleaned up" the administration of elections in the city. The CEC was well briefed on these issues and U.S. electoral issues in general by IESD prior to their arrival.

IFES President Richard Soudriette made a special day trip to Chicago to meet with the delegation on Sunday, 5 November. Mr. Soudriette hosted the Russian delegation, as well as Hungarian members of the Association of Central and Eastern European Election Officials

A Picture Is Worth 1,000 Words

Providing IFES institutional partners with the opportunity to observe elections in the United States and other countries was very important to the development of solid relationships and facilitated IFES' provision of technical assistance. The visits enable partners to see first-hand how various electoral issues are resolved elsewhere and to take these concepts back with them. For example, following the visit to the U.S. by a small delegation of State Duma deputies, significant changes in the electoral law regarding candidate registration were adopted. Beforehand the issue had been thoroughly debated, but no changes were adopted.

IFES, with the support of USAID, made significant efforts to have representatives of its in-country partners included on various study tours. Over the life of the project, over 45 people were sent abroad with IFES' support; less than five were paid for out of project funds.

(ACEEEO) who had come for the day from St-Louis, Missouri, where they observed elections with Paul DeGregorio. Mr. DeGregorio, as mentioned earlier, was an important consultant for the Russia program on election administration. This was a great opportunity for an informal exchange among regional colleagues on methods for improving the elections process.

While in Chicago, the focus was on media and electoral reform. In particular, the delegation met with the City and the State Board of Elections, the State Attorney General, the Chicago Tribune editorial board, former Governor Jim Thompson, and a variety of media outlets. On Election Day, the delegation went to observe various polling sites across the city. The delegation was divided into three groups and covered nearly 30 precincts. They were most impressed with the number of choices presented to the voter, the technical equipment used in the counting process, and the openness of the electoral commission. Indeed, they saw how the media was present in the commission's office and asking probing questions. People interviewed by the delegation emphasized how total, constant, and consistent transparency was the best way to root out political corruption within the electoral process.

After the closing of the polls, the delegation went to observe the celebrations held by both the Democratic Party and the Republican Party in major hotels in downtown Chicago. Mr. Veshnyakov drew the attention of the press, as did Mr. Yurin.

The day after the election, the delegation headed for two days of discussions in Washington. While in Washington, the delegation met with IFES representatives, and exchanged opinions about campaign finance with the Federal Election Commission and corruption in politics with the Department of Justice. There, the delegation met with Mr. Craig Donsanto, Director of the Elections Crime Division, a meeting which they described as one of the highlights of their visit. IFES hosted the delegation the evening prior to their departure, along with USAID, U.S. Government, and other officials and dignitaries.

C. Media and Elections Program

In 1999, IFES initiated a Media and Elections Program under the Cooperative Agreement to inform regional journalists on election-related matters and promote transparency in the coverage of elections. Although the program was initially focused on the 1999 Duma elections, IFES expanded its program to prepare journalists for the unanticipated 2000 presidential elections. The project was implemented in conjunction with the National Press Institute (NPI) and the CEC of the Russian Federation. The objectives were as follows:

- To facilitate the flow of information between Russian election officials, mass media outlets, and voters; and
- To equip local NGOs with election-related media training tools.

IFES hired Dr. Daphne Skillen, a Russia-based journalist who received an award for documentary television from the British Academy of Film and Television, to serve as the on-site Media Program Manager.

1. Seminars

a) 1999 Parliamentary Elections

IFES, in conjunction with NPI, conducted a total of 12 regional seminars in advance of the 1999 Duma elections. Although IFES had originally planned to host only 10 seminars, USAID provided additional funding which allowed IFES to expand its program. In the end, seminars were conducted in St. Petersburg, Petrozavodsk, Tver, Samara, Voronezh, Vladimir, Kazan, Rostov-na-Donu, Ekaterinburg, Novosibirsk, Krasnoyarsk, and Vladivostok.

IFES determined that the preferred seminar sites were located outside of the major cities. Each seminar included journalists from the host city, as well as from at least five or six neighboring regions, so that approximately 70 regions were represented. Most of the participants were journalists, but the seminars in which the CEC participated were also attended by commissioners from 56 neighboring regions. In total, close to 450 people participated in the media seminars.

Five of the 12 seminars were held in conjunction with the CEC. CEC Chairman Aleksandr Veshnyakov presented in St. Petersburg, CEC Media Liaison Sergei Bolshakov participated in Tver, and CEC officials spoke at three other seminars. These seminars were particularly well attended by the regional commissioners, with 15 attending in St. Petersburg and 7 in Tver.

All participants received the Media Handbook and Training Package. The Training Package included articles and newspaper clips, samples of ethically contentious reports, and court decisions. Additionally, IFES provided participants with translations of chapters from the BBC Producer Guidelines on Impartiality and Accuracy and an article by Dr. Michael Pinto-Duschinsky on the media and Elections. IFES and NPI also distributed information regarding the CEC and SECs.

Methodology of Seminars

The agenda and curriculum were designed to ensure that the seminars would increase regional journalists' understanding of election-related issues. Each seminar was held over a two-day period, during which NPI Coordinator Vladimir Avdeev served as moderator. During the first day, IFES presented information on pertinent election legislation and facilitated discussions on journalistic ethics and international practices. The second day engaged participants in more interactive training, including role-playing exercises. The agenda provided ample time for question and answer sessions on both days. This was particularly important given the complex nature of the Law on the Election of Deputies. The participation of well-versed media lawyers greatly assisted in responding to the needs of regional journalists as expressed during these open sessions.

The second day of the media seminars opened with the reading of two mock campaign speeches. These speeches were carefully constructed to include violations of the law and exploitation of loopholes. The seminar participants were required to recall the information they had acquired and apply it in this exercise. Journalists were split into small groups of five to seven members each and asked to prepare articles and television/radio reports on the campaign speeches. These products were then evaluated to ensure that the journalists observed the law and ethical standards.

IFES adopted a flexible approach to the design and implementation of the series of seminars to allow it to develop areas that proved successful. Originally, IFES intended to have actors read the campaign speeches, but this added too much theater to the training. In the end, IFES decided to have a journalist or the moderator deliver the speeches. Additionally, a simulated press conference was also removed from the agenda, as it required too much time and yielded very little impact. On the other hand, IFES increased the amount of time devoted to journalistic ethics, which became an integral part of the agenda. During these sessions, participants viewed video clips of recently aired TV reports or evaluated newspaper articles. Journalists responded very positively to the training, which often provoked heated debates over journalist rights and responsibilities.

Although IFES had originally intended to invite an overseas guest to share his/her international experience, IFES determined the cost was prohibitive. Instead, Daphne Skillen, IFES Media Program Manager, delivered a short presentation in Russian on media regulation of election coverage in the UK, during which she provided some comparative examples. Participants were particularly interested in the voluntary observance of taste and decency on the part of British journalists. In addition to Dr. Skillen, other Moscow-based expatriates, such as Christian Nadeau (IFES/Russia) and Mark Koenig (USAID), provided examples of international experience.

Post-Seminar Evaluations

IFES distributed evaluation forms to seminar participants in order to assess the impact of the training and to assist IFES in refining the structure and content. 205 participants from 11 seminars completed the form. A total of 99.7% replied that the seminar they attended was useful. For seminars conducted with the CEC, 100% of respondents viewed the seminar as helpful.

In general, participants seemed to consider the discussion regarding legal issues as most useful, with 34.3% identifying this component of training as the most helpful. Participants also responded favorably to the interactive training methodology employed (29.1%) and the discussions on journalistic ethics (9.9%).

There was not a significant difference between the responses of participants who attended seminars held with the CEC and those who attended seminars without CEC involvement. In cities where well-known CEC and SEC commissioners attended (St. Petersburg, Tver) or SEC commissioners appeared without CEC members in attendance (Ekaterinburg), a high number of participants evaluated commissioners' presentations as the "most useful" part of the seminar (30%, 32%, 21%, respectively), although in two out of the three cases the rating was not higher than the response regarding legal issues. In some cities, commissioners were seen as not responsive (their presentations were evaluated as the least useful part of the seminar by 38% of participants in Krasnoyarsk and by 28% of participants in Vladivostok).

b) 2000 Presidential Elections

As a result of the success of the Media and Elections program implemented prior to the 1999 Duma elections, USAID provided additional funding for IFES to replicate the program in advance of the 2000 presidential elections. Due to the compressed election period, only four seminars were conducted. The seminars covered at least 12 regions through the two-day

events held in Irkutsk, Sochi, and Bryansk. Additionally, a one-day seminar featuring speakers from the CEC and Duma was conducted in Moscow for over 80 participants.

Participants received a media handbook produced specifically for the presidential elections, which contained pertinent articles, legislation, and codes of conduct. The handbook also included a sample contract between a candidate and television station. One thousand copies of the Russian language handbook were distributed, with an additional number of English copies provided to international observers.

Following the March elections, IFES' sub-grantee, NPI, organized a large-scale conference on media and elections. This conference, which was co-sponsored by the European Council, featured CEC Commissioner Bolshakov. Approximately 70 journalists from over 20 regions attended the event.

2. Media Elections Handbook

As part of its Media and Elections Program, IFES produced a handbook entitled *The Media and Parliamentary Elections 1999 in Russia*. The handbook was published to provide journalists with information on election laws governing media activity, journalistic ethics, and transparency. The book included excerpts from the Law on the Election of Deputies of the State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation as well as the Law on Basic Guarantees of Electoral Rights and the Right of Citizens of the Russian Federation to Participate in a Referendum. Designed to be user-friendly and informative, the book features articles from well-known experts in media law and journalism. In addition to the 1,500 copies distributed at various seminars, IFES maximized distribution by encouraging IESD to post the book on its web site (www.democracy.ru) and NPI to include a link to the publication on its web site. Rob Coalson of NPI also circulated an electronic version of the publication among the 300 newspapers on NPI's database. A limited number of English language handbooks were produced for international observers.

As mentioned above, a similar handbook specific to the 2000 presidential elections was also published. 1,500 copies of this handbook were distributed.

3. Elections and Investigative Journalism Training Video

Pursuant to Modification No. 6 of the Cooperative Agreement, IFES/Russia initiated a program on corruption in the electoral process through the development of a training video on investigative journalism. The video, which runs 52 minutes long and is accompanied by a brief informational brochure, is designed to support indigenous democracy NGOs in their efforts to bring transparency and ethics to the public arena. In May 2000, IFES Media Program Manager, Dr. Daphne Skillen, attended a World Bank Conference on Investigative Journalism in Istanbul, Turkey. The conference provided her with a deeper understanding of investigative reporting methods and a background for the IFES video project.

Following extensive research and the development of an appropriate training methodology, IFES solicited bids from various production companies and determined that Internews offered the best experience and value.

The Internews production team, led by Alexander Hanyutin, in addition to IFES Media Consultant Mariela Lopez (Costa Rica), filmed the segments in Samara in June 2000.

Samara offered many opportunities, as gubernatorial elections were being held and the film crew had increased opportunities to film aspects of the electoral process and interview public relations companies, campaign teams, and voters. Ms. Lopez provided support throughout the project, defining criteria, developing training methods, identifying which steps in the process should be addressed, and determining how to approach more sensitive topics.

The IFES/Russia media team accompanied the Internews team throughout filming. IFES encountered some difficulties in establishing a proper working relationship with the production crew, as Mr. Hanyutin resisted the idea of the video as a training film. The IFES Media Program Manager, the IFES/Russia Project Director, and the Internew's General Manager intervened, and the difficulties were eventually overcome.

Initially, only 250 copies of the videocassette were produced, but Internews and IESD distributed additional copies to respond to an increase in demand. Under its subagreement with IFES, IESD followed-up on this video through additional media training seminars and the development of a complementary guidebook.

4. Spin-Off Activity

The success and popularity of the IFES media training seminars encouraged other NGOs to incorporate media and election-related issues into their regular programs. NPI organized two events in which IFES participated that were modeled after the regional seminars: an elections and media roundtable as part of the Press 2000 conference and a one-day seminar during NPI's 3-day annual conference. Additionally, at least three seminar participants—the directors of NPI's regional offices in Novosibirsk and Ekaterinburg, as well as Tatiana Pashinka, head of the Saratov Oblast Administration for the Press, TV/Radio Broadcasting, and Mass Information—organized seminars based on the IFES structure and training materials.

Experts who participated in the IFES media seminars were subsequently invited to participate in additional events based on their experience and success at the IFES-sponsored events. Surgut Inform TV invited Vladimir Avdeev, who served as the moderator, to lead a training program as part of a workshop they organized, and the media lawyer who presented at the IFES seminar in Krasnoyarsk was asked by one Krasnoyarsk television station to make a presentation.

D. Other Program Activities

1. Resource Center Development and Material Dissemination

Under this Cooperative Agreement, IFES continued to expand the IFES/Russia Election Resource Center and formally transferred all materials to IESD upon closeout. The Resource Center, the only one of its kind in Russia, provides easy access to information designed to support democracy development in Russia. The Center contains unique and valuable information on training, comparative systems, and other issues related to election law and administration, civic and voter education, and NGO development. These materials can all be located through an easily accessible database.

The Center's extensive holdings allowed IFES—and now IESD—to provide information quickly to partners and other interested parties. IFES found that comparative experience

from other countries around the world is particularly effective in identifying solutions to sometimes difficult issues. The Center received frequent requests and visits from the CEC, various Subject Election Commissions, the State Duma, NGOs, political organizers from various parties, and other election-related experts. In 1998 the Campaign Director for presidential hopeful and current Krasnoyarsk Governor, Alexander Lebed, showed great interest in IFES' publications and in particular found the *1996 Election of the President of the Russian Federation: A Technical Analysis with Recommendations for Legal and Procedural Reform* very useful and informative.

In addition to acting as a center for information, IFES and IESD extended the reach of the Center by disseminating its holding at various events and through periodic mailings to relevant officials and lawmakers. These mailings allowed materials to reach election officials, lawmakers, and others interested in the electoral process on both the federal and regional levels.

In cooperation with IFES/Washington, IFES' F. Clinton White Resource Center, and IFES' partners in Russia, the Center added close to 2,500 new items, so that now the collection consists of over 4,000 items. IFES was particularly honored when outgoing State Duma Deputy Victor Sheinis donated his personal files to the

Resource Center in early 2000. Deputy Sheinis was the chief author of most of the current Russian laws regulating elections, and his files included 74 boxes containing original primary source material on revisions to the Constitution and election legislation.

Marketing the Resource Center

The Resource Center, initiated under an earlier funding mechanism, enabled IFES to contribute significantly to the development of federal election legislation. When legislative amendments to electoral laws were considered, IFES received weekly visits from State Duma staff with research requests. Unfortunately, only a very narrow circle of Moscow-based electoral experts were aware of the existence of the Center. While these experts have helped to enrich the collection to over 4,000 volumes, the long-term survival of the Center is dependent on increased and broader usage. A significant domestic marketing effort targeted at political parties, court officials and judges, lobbyists and other participants in the electoral process will enable IESD to develop the client base of the Center.

Since IFES closed its office in August 2000, IESD overtook responsibility for the maintenance and continuation of the activities of the Center. Furthermore, the Election Resource Center, with other sources of funding, became part of an NIS-wide project designed to electronically link other electoral resource centers in the Caucasus, Central Asia, Ukraine, and Moldova. A former IFES employee, Ms. Elena Alekseenko, was hired as the coordinator for this important project. IFES has since created in an electronic environment –see www.psephima.org – the bibliography of the collection of the center will be made available on-line once the project is publicly launched later this year. Furthermore, users of the site will be invited to expand the collection and integrate their own resources and references. The goal is to continue expanding the holdings of the regional resource centers and to create a unified elections and political process database on the World Wide Web that is targeted to NIS citizens. The site will also offer numerous documents from each Resource Centers' holdings on-line.

Ms. Elena Alekseenko works daily from the offices of IESD on this project, in coordination with Nate Van Dusen, an IFES staff member based in Washington, DC. IESD gains from

this collaborative effort in reputation and through the enhancement of its collection of materials in Moscow.

2. Materials Development

During the three-year Cooperative Agreement, IFES remained committed to providing lawmakers, election officials, media outlets, and others involved in the electoral process with written materials designed to help them make better-informed decisions. These materials were also of great use to other USAID grantees and international organizations supporting democratic development in Russia. IFES developed various information packets and written materials, which are included as attachments. IFES also initiated a materials development project with the CEC. This initiative was aimed at increasing IFES' capacity to disseminate elections-related information throughout Russia and the NIS region.

Addressing Regional Needs

IFES assessed at the outset of the project that the greatest need for technical assistance lies at the regional level. Given financial constraints, initial efforts towards the regions were limited. IFES distributed materials and analyses to all regions on an average of four times per year. A majority of respondents to an IFES survey indicated that they found these materials at least useful. The impact, however, would have been more substantial had IFES followed-up with a select group of receptive SECs.

In 1999 IFES/Russia launched its redesigned web site (www.ifes.ru). Conceived as a portal for elections in Russia, the site contained numerous links to Russian and foreign sites about Russian elections. All of IFES' materials were also posted on the site so as to increase access. The site was taken "off-line" in August 2000 when IFES closed its on-site representative office. The materials were transferred to a CD ROM which was provided to USAID and IFES/Washington

for future reference. Many of these materials now reside on IESDs website, which can be found at www.democracy.ru.

IFES also supported IESD in its efforts to develop and distribute elections-related materials. IESD continued IFES' efforts to support the legal and administrative reform process through targeted issues-oriented materials, published mainly in electronic format on the IESD web-site. IESD staff generally authors these materials.

3. IFES/Russia Internship Program

In July 1998, IFES/Russia initiated a non-paid internship program for select Russian students of law, politics, and international relations. The program, which has been continued by IESD, offered these students an opportunity to gain important skills and experience, while enhancing IFES' programming capacity. The interns provided support by tracking regional and federal level election-related developments, conducting target research projects, and assisting with the upkeep and development of the IFES/Russia Election Resource Center. In all, IFES hosted over fifteen interns, three of which came from abroad (Canada, U.S., and Australia). Two of these interns advanced within IFES and eventually kept working with IESD in other capacities.

Past interns all commented positively on the experience of working in a western-environment. They viewed the internship as a great asset for their CVs and as an opportunity to broaden their skills in various areas of project management and support.

IV. SIGNIFICANCE OF ACTIVITIES

IFES' activities during this reporting period were conducted to achieve the goals of USAID/Russia programs under S.O. 2.1, "Increased, better informed citizen participation in political and economic decision making," and S.O. 2.2, "Legal Systems that Better Support Democratic Processes and Market Reform," by working towards the achievement of the following Intermediate Results:

- I.R. 2.1.1.2 Free and Fair Elections Occur Nationally and Locally
- I.R. 2.2.1 Better Administration, Interpretation and Application of Law

A. NGO Development

IFES' project activities conducted during the period of performance supported the creation and training of a self-sustaining, fully-funded Russian NGO. IESD was established to provide information, guidance and oversight with regard to the administration of elections. IESD received a grant for \$1.35 million to continue work on elections until 2004, an event that marks the successful conclusion of IFES' work in Russia.

In addition to launching a domestic NGO capable of carrying on IFES' non-partisan mandate, IFES' assistance to the New Perspectives Foundation helped the organization achieve greater financial independence and institutional sustainability. NPF was founded in 1995 with the assistance of IFES and the CEC. In January 1999, NPF moved to its own offices and ceased requiring direct financial support from IFES. The increased independence encouraged NPF to build on its past successes and effectively deploy its regional branches. Once dependent on IFES for financial viability, NPF emerged as a truly independent organization that could work with IFES as an equal partner.

B. On-Site Advising and Consultations

IFES' technical assistance to the CEC helped to significantly improve the administration of elections in Russia. This assistance resulted in increased levels of information among election officials, political parties and candidates, domestic NGOs, and citizens, and helped ensure more informed participation in the political process. IFES support also encouraged the adoption of a stronger legal framework for elections. The best testament to IFES' work and impact in Russia can be found in the OSCE/ODIHR election reports. The report on the State Duma elections, which was published in February 2000³, states the following: (Emphasis added by IFES to highlight the areas in which IFES focused its assistance.)

"The 1999 elections of Deputies to the State Duma of the Russian Federation represented a benchmark in the Federation's advancement toward representative democracy. These elections, which were the third conducted since the end of single-party rule, marked the conclusion of a transitional period forged by President Yeltsin since 1991. (...) In general, and in spite of episodic challenges that could have undermined the general integrity of the

³ OSCE, Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights. "Russian Federation Elections to the State Duma - 19 December 1999 - Final Report" - Warsaw, February 13, 2000.

process as a whole, the State Duma elections marked significant progress in consolidating representative democracy in the Russian Federation. They reflected a political environment in which voters had a broad spectrum of political forces from which to choose. A solid turnout demonstrated a respectable level of public confidence in the process, and the final result showed a significant increase in the representative share of overall voter support actually included in the State Duma.

The electoral laws governing the process had improved significantly with each successive election and were found to be consistent with commonly recognized democratic principles, including those formulated in the OSCE Copenhagen Document of 1990. This legal framework provided a sound basis for the conduct of orderly, pluralistic and accountable elections. **The law provides the framework for parties and blocs to enter the political arena on an equal basis and provides a foundation for maintaining a level playing field for political participants. In particular, the law provided a basis for equal access to free media time for all participants, and instituted rigid parameters for enforcing accountability measures and controlling the use of campaign funds.** The political campaigns were competitive and pluralistic with 26 parties and blocs ultimately competing on the federal list and 3 to 24 candidates appearing on ballots for the single-mandate constituency races. A sophisticated election system was enhanced by a significant increase in the level of transparency afforded to political participants in all phases of the process. Political parties, blocs and independent candidates had generous access and opportunity to monitor the process through non-voting representatives on all election commissions and observers at all polling stations. In fact, at least some party, bloc and candidate observers were on hand at over 98% of the polling stations visited by international observers on election day.

The Central Election Commission performed effectively as an independent professional body that endeavored to fully implement the electoral legislation on an equal and unbiased basis. The competence and expertise of election administrators to carry out well-organized and accountable elections are firmly institutionalized.

Polling station commissions demonstrated a notable commitment to carrying out their duties in compliance with the law and procedural requirements. Almost universally, the reports of short-term observers across the country commended the work carried out by polling station commissions. Although complex and time-consuming, procedures instituted by the Central Election Commission for documenting, polling and counting activities provided a solid basis for transparency, accountability and accuracy that fully met accepted international standards.”

The areas highlighted in the OSCE’s findings are exactly the areas in which IFES has sought to affect change over the years in Russia – transparency of the CEC, institutionalization of the CEC, and improvement of the legal framework with regards to media and campaign finance.

Similarly, the OSCE/ODIHR applauded the improvements in election administration following the presidential elections. The report, which was published in May of 2000⁴, states the following:

⁴ OSCE, Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights. “Russian Federation Presidential Elections - March 26, 2000 – Final Report” – Warsaw, May 19, 2000.

“ The 2000 presidential election represented a benchmark in the ongoing evolution of the Russian Federation's emergence as a representative democracy. This election, the second for the President of the Russian Federation since the dissolution of the Soviet Union, was particularly significant in that it marked the conclusion of a transitional period forged by President Yeltsin since 1991.

The election was held approximately three months earlier than would normally have been expected due to President Yeltsin's premature resignation from office on 31 December 1999(...)

The significance of this election cannot be understated. (...) For these elections, more than 94,000 polling stations were established requiring the recruitment and training of over 1,000,000 election officials. Elections were conducted in all 89 of the Federation's Subjects, including in 12 of the 15 districts of the Chechen Republic, where polling was suspended for the Duma elections the previous December. Polling stations were also established in approximately 130 countries, providing citizens living abroad the opportunity to vote.

With the Duma elections only a few months earlier, the pre-election period for the presidential race was in some ways molded by the residual political influences and fall-out. **It also benefited from an administrative springboard already primed to ensure delivery of a smooth, well-organized and accountable election. (...)**

The Central Election Commission performed effectively as an independent and professional body that endeavored to fully implement the electoral legislation on an equal basis. The competence and expertise of election administrators to carry out well-organized and accountable elections is fully institutionalized.

The Law on the election of the President, which was signed into effect by President Yeltsin just prior to his resignation in December of 1999, incorporates improvements that have continued to evolve with each successive election. It provides the framework for candidates to enter the political arena on an equal basis and provides a foundation for maintaining a level playing field for political participants. Equal opportunities are afforded candidates nominated by political parties and blocs, and candidates nominated independently by citizens. Ultimately for these elections, 11 candidates competed for Russia's highest post.

Provisions establish a basis for equal access to free media time to all candidates, and institute rigid parameters for limiting campaign financing and enforcing accountability measures for documenting and controlling the use of funds. Key to controlling strict spending limits are requirements that all campaign funds be deposited and spent from a monitored "electoral fund" established by each candidate at an approved financial institution.

A sophisticated election system also upholds a high level of transparency for all political participants in all phases of the process. Through their rights to have non-voting representatives on all election commissions and observers at all polling stations, parties, blocs and independent candidates had generous access and opportunity to see to their interests throughout the process. In fact, at least some party, bloc and candidate

observers were on hand at over 94% of the polling stations visited by IEOM observers on election day. (...)

Although complex and time-consuming, procedures instituted by the Central Election Commission for conducting the count and reporting results provided a solid basis for transparency, accountability and accuracy that fully met accepted international standards. Where compliance with the complex and labor-intensive procedures defined for the counting process was less strictly adhered to, circumventions were generally perceived as attempts to speed up the process rather than to obstruct accurate counting of votes.

With less than a decade of democratic development, **Russia's achievements in the electoral area are notable.** (...)

In spite of a legal framework that provides liberal rules for the formation of political parties and blocs, a strong "party system" has yet to develop in the Russian Federation. With few exceptions, parties still tend to center on individual personalities rather than platforms and ideologies. Blocs form as strategic alliances to run in a specific election with little view to the longer term. Under these circumstances and as demonstrated in the aftermath of the 1999 Duma elections, parties and blocs are often unable to sustain themselves, and tend to fracture as members shift their allegiances after the election is over. These trends leave in question the level of credible political party pluralism that actually exists in the political life of the Russian Federation at this stage of its transition to a representative democracy.

The media in the Russian Federation strives to remain pluralistic and diverse. However, print and electronic media experienced renewed pressure from State and regional authorities. Much of the media is still subsidized and dependent on State and regional authorities for its fiscal and operational survival. In addition, evidence suggests that administrative pressures can be exerted to control independent or opposition media when it strays too far from the center's official line. Recent events and newly espoused policies could threaten the diversity of a free press struggling to institutionalize journalistic freedom.

The advantages of incumbency are universally recognized in virtually all electoral contexts. The laws of the Russian Federation incorporate well-intended provisions to limit abuses of office and resources of the State in the campaign environment. In general, efforts were made to confine campaign activities within the technical parameters of the law. While the letter of the law was adhered to, however, evidence suggests that the spirit of the law was circumvented in a number of instances, and that the advantages of incumbency were fully exploited.

These issues reflect the complexity of the election environment in the Russian Federation and are symptomatic of an established democracy incomplete in its transition. The evolution of the legal and technical attributes of a democratic election system that meets international standards has indeed progressed dramatically. However, where lingering weaknesses exist, they tend to reflect an environment in which the vestiges of Soviet style thinking remain, where the incumbent power structure continues to command and control the political environment, and where tolerance for legitimate opposition is still being tested.

Conclusions and recommendations: (...) Three main shortcomings in the election law: (1) insufficient clarity for the requirements of candidate registration and the risk of subjective interpretations; (2) insufficient safeguards for ballot papers printing, accounting and storing; and (3) complex requirements for the preparation of vote count protocols often inducing circumventions of the law” (emphasis added by IFES).

In addition to the impact noted above, IFES developed a solid professional relationship with the CEC of the Russian Federation. This high level of respect and trust was crucial to the successful implementation of the program and the achievement of IFES’ goals. Chairman Veshnyakov expressed his support and admiration for IFES’ programs in a letter to Carol Peasley, the Head of the USAID Mission in Moscow, which is included below.

Carol Peasley, Head of the USAID Mission in Moscow
USAID/Russia

Dear Madame:

The Central Election Commission of the Russian Federation acknowledges the contribution of the representative office of the International Foundation for Election Systems in Russia to the development of democratic election institutions and procedures.

Our mutually beneficial and friendly cooperation with IFES began in 1993. Over the past years IFES has established itself as a reliable professional partner of the Central Election Commission and election commissions of the subjects of the Russian Federation. It is worth mentioning that our cooperation with IFES has been fruitfully realized in several socio-political campaigns in Russia, starting with the 1993 referendum on the draft Constitution and election of members of the Federal Assembly of the first convocation, the 1995 election of deputies to the State Duma of the second convocation, the 1996 election of the President of the Russian federation, and quite recently – election of deputies of the State Duma of the third convocation.

Scientific and analytical works of IFES’ experts are characterized by profundity of understanding of Russian problems both on the federal and regional levels. They are utilized by the Central Election Commission in the process of reforming the election-related legislation on the basis of the most recent changes and achievements in the area of elections.

(...) As far as the CEC RF is concerned, we intend to seriously analyze the condition and perspectives of further improvement of both federal election-related legislation and that of the subjects of the Russian Federation. As usual, we count on IFES to compliment our future efforts.

Respectfully,
A. Veshnyakov
Chairman
Central Election Commission of the Russian Federation

C. Media and Elections Program

The overall impact of the media training seminars is more difficult to capture, as the behavior of the media during the Duma and presidential elections was far from ethical and violations of the law were frequent. Journalists who participated in the training seminars, however, expressed a high degree of satisfaction, particularly regarding the segment addressing legal issues. The seminars were better received than IFES had originally anticipated and met an obvious need in assisting journalists in untangling the regulatory framework that governs the media during election campaigns. It is important to note that 61.5% of participants responding to the question, "Which part [of the seminar] was least useful," by crossing out the question or stating "everything was useful."

The media training seminars, and subsequent video and handbook, were important first steps in strengthening the capacity of the indigenous media to fulfill its responsibility of providing balanced information to the citizens of the Russian Federation. In addition to the spin-off activity described above, IESD has integrated a media and election component into its activity, thereby ensuring that these issues receive regular attention. In an environment where the government is placing increased pressure on media outlets, it is imperative that journalists are armed with information concerning their legal rights and responsibilities. These seminars contributed to this effort, in addition to providing domestic democracy NGOs with the tools necessary to carry on such training.

V. COMMENTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

A. Project Implementation

1. IFES' Successor NGO

In 1998, when IFES increased its efforts to establish a domestic successor NGO, it had to face some of the initial misgivings and concerns of the IFES/Russia staff. The August 1998 financial crisis exacerbated concerns the staff held regarding sustainability. Even prior to the financial crisis, staff had witnessed the difficulties faced by other indigenous NGOs, including diversifying funds and maintaining the respect among government institutions.

IFES learned early on that it was important to involve the future staff of IESD in the decision-making process, so that concerns could be addressed while IFES was still overseeing programs. This allowed IFES to inform future IESD staffers of the opportunities available to them and to realistically discuss the challenges and risks. Training was also key to the successful founding of a domestic successor. IFES and future IESD staff members consulted with a variety of NGOs and received training from domestic and international experts on financial management, fundraising practices, strategic planning, board development, and reporting.

Although IFES began dispersing sub-grants to IESD while it still maintained an on-site presence, IESD became truly independent only after IFES closed its Moscow offices. At this time, IESD was responsible for implementing a large 40-month grant from USAID, as well as fulfilling its obligations to IFES under the various subagreements. Without the regular presence of an expatriate director, IESD had to assume greater responsibility in meeting deadlines, submitting work plans and proposals, and delivering impact-oriented programming.

With regards to implementation, IFES has had difficulties in meeting its funds disbursement schedule. These difficulties can be attributed to the workload of the organization at the end of the fiscal year as well as the absence of a field presence to provide follow-up. On the other hand, IESD has also experienced some challenges in presenting in a timely manner the financial and programmatic reports. Both of these issues had adverse, but not significant effects on the programs.

While it is understandable that IESD is experiencing some growing pains, all efforts should be made to help IESD understand and fulfill its responsibilities as a recipient of funding. We discuss below some of the additional areas in which continued growth and improvement are necessary.

- **IESD Staff Development**

Increasing the capacity of staff members to take on additional administrative and programmatic responsibilities will relieve the pressure on IESD management and increase staff commitment to the organization's mission.

- **IESD Board Development**

Devotion of financial and human resources to the development of an active, independent Board of Directors is critical. Governing bodies are a Western concept, and it is understandable that IESD is unfamiliar with expectations and responsibilities and that IESD may view the Board as a potential threat. IFES and USAID have contracted consultants to help IESD staff and Board members understand their roles in the organization's structure, but sustained attention is required at this point to ensure implementation of recommendations and improvements.

- **Improved Communication**

Efforts should be taken to ensure that IESD understands the value of open communication among staff members and with its donors. Inevitably, implementers are faced with circumstances that require modification to activity implementation and reporting schedules. It is crucial, however, for organizations to communicate unanticipated changes in their programs to their funders. IESD made significant improvements in this regard over the last six months of this agreement, but further mentoring is still encouraged.

- **IESD Reporting**

IESD spends considerable time and effort evaluating and monitoring its programs. Unfortunately, their reporting does not often reflect their findings. Impact-oriented reporting is a learned skill, and it is understandable that IESD is unfamiliar with expectations in this regard. IFES, through former Project Director Christian Nadeau, has worked with IESD on developing reports that meet donor standards, but continued guidance is needed.

2. Technical Assistance

IFES' technical assistance focused on the two federal election cycles in late 1999 and early 2000. The implementation of this component was dependent upon the timetable for the consideration and adoption of new and revised legislation. President Yeltsin's refusal to sign into law important amendments to the Voting Rights Act stalled the consideration and adoption of new parliamentary and presidential election laws, as the amendments were perceived as a necessary precursor. The amendments to the Voting Rights Act were not signed until March of 1999, and the new Duma election law was only passed in June of that year. These delays reduced the effectiveness of IFES assistance in advance of the State Duma elections. For example, the truncated campaign period prevented the CEC from implementing the suggested training curriculum and ballot design. Despite the delay, IFES' work still had a positive impact on the electoral process, as commented upon by members of the CEC and the international community. It is important to note that the CEC did implement IFES' proposed election training program during the presidential election cycle.

In regards to technical assistance, IFES suggests that a greater emphasis be placed on regional programming in a select few areas for the future efforts undertaken by USAID. Rather than working with all 89 regions, with limited resources, perhaps focusing on a number of regions where a coordinated effort can result in greater impact is a more realistic and effective

alternative. Materials can be targeted at the regions that are not currently able to receive direct assistance. A focus on working directly with a small number of SECs may produce better results and encourage cooperation with neighboring commissions.

3. Media and Elections Program

IFES was able to expand its media program beyond its original scope due to the increased support of USAID. The main objective of this initiative was to increase the quality of reporting on the electoral process. IFES was able to contract a Moscow-based expatriate, Dr. Daphne Skillen, to manage this component of IFES' program. The cost savings of identifying a locally based expatriate enabled IFES to also hire a Media Program Officer, Dr. Irina Rudakova.

As increased pressure is placed on media outlets in Russia, it is imperative that journalists are informed of their rights, responsibilities, and internationally accepted practices. With the 1999 and 2000 election campaigns revealing continued manipulation of the media and irresponsible practices, a sustained effort on the part of the international community is necessary to educate journalists and advocate freedom of the press. Otherwise, Russian citizens will continue to lack sufficient access to the unbiased information that is required to make informed political decisions.

B. Field Office and Program Administration

1. Registration

In May of 1998, IFES initiated the registration process. IFES completed its registration in 1999 in accordance with Russian law during this period and has prepared the necessary accounting and management structure required for compliance with Russian law. This process was very complex and costly. Legal fees, significant staff time, mail services, translation expenses, documentation certification, and other local expenses in both Washington and Moscow figured into the total cost of this process. In addition to incurring increased expenses after registration, IFES began paying payroll taxes for local-hire staff, which increased field staff labor expenses by approximately 80%.

Establishing a Representative Office--Real Impacts and Benefits

While IFES had been in Russia for some time, in 1998 IFES registered its field office as a formal Representative Office in the Russian Federation. The registration of the office carried with it a heavy administrative and financial burden. On average, for example, every single financial transaction required five pieces of paper. All transactions above 330 dollars had to be carried out through bank wire transfers. At times, the local laws conflict directly with USAID regulations, such as the reimbursement to employees of transportation expenses that are treated like income – unless public transportation was used.

On the other hand, proceeding with all these formalities also meant that (a) the Field Director understood the realities a Russian NGO would be facing, and (b) the staff gained an appreciation for what was ahead. In addition, IFES was also able to issue its own visa invitations.

2. Close Out

IFES' closeout of the office formally began immediately following the Presidential elections. Employees were notified of the termination of IFES' programs in April of 2000. From there on, a series of actions were taken to ensure the closeout of the program. For example, the inventory was rechecked in preparation for the eventual disposition of property and to prevent unexplained disappearances of equipment. A law firm, ALRUD, was hired to maintain IFES' official representative office status, and suppliers were notified in order to prevent the payment of any contractual penalties for failure of notification.

IFES' programs continued until early August with the finalization of the Presidential and State Duma Report and the production of a training video on investigative journalism. The office was closed two weeks thereafter. The IFES/Russia staff all received reference letters; 100% of the employees either found jobs or were offered positions with IESD upon the termination of their employment. The lights were turned off in the IFES/Russia office on 28 August 2000.

During August, a core "close-out team" of employees remained to dispose of all assets, finalize payments, and assist IESD in the transition to their new office. IESD inherited nearly 90% of the equipment and assets of IFES/Russia, with five other NGOs and USAID-grantees receiving the rest. A complete list of the disposition of assets can be found in Attachment 75.

C. Future Areas of Assistance

Future U.S. assistance to Russia in the area of elections and democracy is likely to be most successful if focused on institutions and organizations outside of Moscow. The one exception to this rule is continued engagement with the Central Election Commission. The CEC is arguably one of the few independent and successful organizations within the Russian Government.

Justification of continued assistance can be directly linked to the United States national interest. While diplomatic efforts are being made to maintain Russian - American relations, such as the latest meetings between Presidents Bush and Putin demonstrate, sustained efforts must be made to ensure that certain democratic institutions are strengthened in the wake of a general regression in the level of freedom in Russia. The simple fact that Duma elections were held is not significant in and of itself, as the elections were marred by wide scale and regional abuses of power; the attacks on the media are the most striking and open example of these abuses. The Presidential elections were, in substance, similar.

The Central Election Commission of the Russian Federation has been an independent force for six years (1993-1999) and will continue to be an independent force until at least 2003. The new Russian President cannot change the composition of the CEC during this time period, one of the factors that contributes to its independence and relative immunity from increasingly authoritarian tendencies in Russia. IESD has a unique partnership with the CEC that has been built on the relationship that IFES instilled over the past decade, one of trust and admiration. This relationship provides the U.S. diplomatic community with direct contact with a critical part of Russia's administrative apparatus, access that is increasingly harder to obtain.

A stated emphasis of U.S. policy toward Russia is to have a regional approach in an effort to promote democratization in Russia. In key areas, most notably Rostov, Irkutsk, Kaliningrad, and possibly cities within the Regional Investment Initiatives, the provision of technical assistance to

administrative infrastructures and the implementation of non-partisan civic education activities would be welcomed by Russian authorities.

It is premature to argue that elections are safe in Russia. A stable electoral system should be a vital part of US strategy. There is no guarantee that elections will be held in Russia, as it is not yet an institution enshrined in the culture. If a survey was held today, how many Russians would favor stability over elections? In 1996, there was a strong possibility that Presidential elections would not be held. Two camps (Alexander Korzhakov/Boris Berezovsky) argued against holding elections and only Anatoli Chubais' plan to push Yeltsin through with a massive electoral campaign saved the day. The December 1999 Duma election also may not have occurred; if the Kremlin's ferocious electoral activity and use of financial leverage to bring Unity to power was seen not to be working, it is not clear what would have transpired. Several scenarios were discussed – and put forward, for example by former CEC Chairman Ivanchenko – among Kremlin advisors whereby the elections could be cancelled or the results annulled if the desired results were not obtained.

Although the Duma election process was widely viewed, with some qualification, as free and fair from a procedural stand point, the pre-election campaign period was fraught with abuse and illustrated a need for major improvements in the conduct of elections throughout Russia. The most apparent improprieties were:

- Arbitrary application of election laws – especially concerning the registration/exclusion of candidates, and also when local and federal laws conflicted;
- Bias and manipulation within the mass media being used to influence the decisions made by voters;
- Confusion as to what campaigning activities were allowed or prohibited;
- Inappropriate economic and political pressure being used by forces within the state infrastructure (especially regional authorities) to attempt to produce desired voting results; and,
- Lack of clarity with regard to financial disclosure requirements and reporting, and the capricious use of sanctions for discrepancies in disclosure documentation.

There are more than 100 elections in Russia every year. Although all 89 Subjects have permanent election commissions, most lack the capacity to hold fully free and fair elections. Extensive changes have been made to electoral legislation, but the limited resources and capabilities of the Subject Election Commissions have hindered their ability to publish this material, train their personnel and obtain a clear understanding of federal norms. The result is a lack of standard procedures and conflicting practices in the administration of elections throughout the Russian Federation (numerous example of the lack of standardization throughout the electoral infrastructure are described in the IFES Report on the State Duma and Presidential Elections).

The concept of free and fair elections is not really understood in Russia. There is a critical need for an on-site presence that will constantly remind Russian authorities that their practices are being reviewed and, more importantly, the procedures and results are being scrutinized. Political parties, who normally conduct such monitoring of each other, are either non-existent, weak, or co-opted in Russia. While they are consolidating, especially in the past year, not one single party is strong enough to really engage the nation and act as a serious opposition or alternative to the traditional “instant party of power”. In light of these challenges, IFES recommends programs in the future which promote:

1. An increased awareness on the part of citizens about their electoral rights and obligations, and the general frameworks for democracy in Russia (this will assist in sustaining

- popular demand for democracy and transparency through improved understanding of the election process);
2. An emphasis on regional elections, including their administration, the laws, and their enforcement (on a very practical level);
 3. The continuation of media programs in the areas of investigative journalism, critical reporting, and the development of links between the media and electoral authorities;
 4. The development of domestic capacity for the promotion of rights and defense of democracy in general, such as IESD;
 5. The continuation of a dialogue with the officials at the central level, such as the Central Election Commission;
 6. The development of transparent mechanisms in the electoral arena, especially those aimed at increasing voter confidence in electoral results; and
 7. International linkages for election officials, with an emphasis of maintaining and increasing flows of information on best practices and techniques.

VI. ATTACHMENTS

1. Financial Report From Finance
2. Election Associations: An Alternative Means of Promoting the Development of Election Professionals by Christian Nadeau. Magazine "Russia's Choice," No.1, Rostov-on-Don, 1998
3. Comparative Overview of Financial Deposits Systems for Political Candidates, October 1998
4. Collection of Materials for U.S. Election Observers Group, 23 October – 8 November, 1998 – Part I
5. Collection of Materials for U.S. Election Observers Group, 23 October – 8 November, 1998 – Part II
6. Abstracts from Free and Fair Elections: International Law and Practice, Guy S. Goodwin-Gill, March 1996
7. High Court Considers Voter Initiatives by Joan Biskupic, Washington Post Staff Writer, 15 October, 1998
8. Review of the draft of the State Duma Law checking the Law's compliance with the Voting Rights Act of 1995 and the Amendments of 1999
9. Legal Offenses in the Sphere of Election Financing Abroad (A Comparative-Legal Survey), Alexander Postnikov
10. Limitations of Access to Elective Offices for Individuals Who Committed A Crime, Alexander Postnikov
11. Mass Media and Elections, Dr. Michael Pinto-Duschinsky
12. Organized Crime, Corruption and Political Financing: A Foreign Perspective, Dr. Michael Pinto-Duschinsky
13. Mass Media Responsibilities in Time of Elections, Alexander Postnikov
14. Translation of Federal Law "On Basic Guarantees of Electoral Rights and The Right of Citizens of the Russian Federation to Participate in A Referendum (As Amended 30 March, 1999)
15. Translation of the Federal Law "On Elections of Deputies to the State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation (As Adopted on 2 June, 1999)
16. Campaign Finance In Foreign Countries: Legal Regulations And Political Practices (A Comparative Legal Survey And Analysis), Dr. Michael Pinto-Duschinsky, Alexander Postnikov
17. Translation of the Federal Crime of Election Fraud, Craig C. Donsanto

18. Translation of Negotiated Dispositions of Feca-Based Crimes, Craig C. Donsanto
19. Translation Campaign Financing Laws In the United States, Craig C. Donsanto
20. Regulation of Political Funding Under Election Laws of the Russian Federation, Robert Dahl
21. Pre-Election Technical Assessment (PETA)
22. Presidential Election Law Analysis
23. Parliamentary Law Media Analysis
24. Guide to Campaigning
25. Media Training Guide
26. Observer Election Day Guide, Electoral Process Assessment Instructions, and Glossary of Election Terms
27. Review of Court Rulings on Campaign Funding (Alexander Postnikov)
28. CEC Appeal to Voters
29. CEC Clarification for Foreign Observers
30. CEC Clarification on Taking Advantage of Official Position in Campaigning
31. CEC Report at Meeting with Political Associations
32. CEC Clarification of Certain Campaign-Related Issues During Elections to the Duma
33. CEC Resolution on Ballot Protection, and Resolution on Ballot Production and Number
34. CEC Resolution on Campaigning
35. CEC Resolution on Electoral Deposits
36. CEC Resolution on Identity Cards
37. CEC Resolution on Documents Provided by Political Associations
38. CEC Resolution on Monitoring Compliance with Propaganda Rules
39. CEC Resolution on Compilation of Voter Lists
40. CEC Resolution on Military Voting

41. CEC Memo on Formation of Electoral Blocs
42. CEC Resolution on Forms of Protocols 1 & 2 of Precinct Commissions
43. Law on Administrative Liability for Violation of Election Laws
44. Election Schedule State Duma 19 December 1999
45. Draft Amendments to the Federal Law On Basic Guarantees of Electoral Rights and the Right of Citizens of the Russian Federation to Participate in a Referendum, adopted by the State Duma on 2 July, 1998
46. Brief Outline of the Preview of the Judicial Practice in the Consideration of Electoral Disputes by Courts in the Subjects of the Russian Federation in 1995-1997 by A. Postnikov, L. Okunkov, B. Krylov
47. Implications of Early Elections to the Presidency of the Russian Federation by IFES, December 1998
48. Report on USAID Audit of IESD
49. 1999 Duma Election Findings and Recommendations
50. Mass Media Handbook on Election of the President
51. Mass Media Sample Seminar Agenda
52. 21 Questions About Presidential Elections
53. Presidential Election Schedule
54. List of Laws and Normative Acts Regulating Early Elections
55. List of Supreme Court Cases
56. List of Resolutions Passed by the CEC
57. Election Day Guide
58. IFES Election Observation Results and Recommendations
59. NPI Mass Media and Elections Final Report
60. Golubka Report on IESD Training
61. Technical Assessment of the Russian Registration and Results Transmission System

62. Contract/Grant Closeout Plan
63. Law on Election of the President
64. CEC Resolutions on Presidential Elections
65. Transcript of CEC Video Training Film for PECs
66. IESD Publication List
67. IESD Brochure for Women Voters
68. IESD Guidebook for First-time Voters
69. IESD Certificate for First-time Voters
70. IESD CD Rom for the Blind – Elections-A Common Cause
71. Articles on IESD Program Officer Elizaveta Bachyeva’s Observation Mission to Kaliningrad
72. Agenda for IESD Executive Director Alex Yurin’s Training Program in the US
73. Agenda for CEC US Electoral Study Tour
74. Media Training Video – Elections and Investigative Journalism
75. Assets Disposition List
76. IESD Guidebook for Members of Election Commissions
77. IFES Parliamentary and Presidential Elections in Russia, 1999 - 2000: Technical Assessment
78. Briefing Materials for the CEC US Electoral Study Tour
79. Comparative Analysis of the “Federal Law on Elections of State Duma” and the “Federal Law on Basic Guarantees of Election Rights and Right to Participate in Referendum of Citizens of the Russian Federation”
80. IFES Survey of Members of the Election Commission of Russian Federation by Gary Ferguson
81. Instruction Preparations Procedure, Western Experiences by Linda Edgeworth and Lynn Macdonald
82. Report on Elections Observation Mission in Nizhny Novgorod September 26 - 27, 1998
83. Alternative Ballot Systems for the Elections of Deputies of the State Duma of the Russian Federation

84. Decision of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation on verifying the constitutionality of provision of the June 21 1995 law "on the Election of Deputies of the State Suma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation
85. Appeal to TV/Radio Broadcasters and Editorial Offices of Periodicals
86. Review of Court Rulings on Matters of Funding By Candidates, Electoral Associations and Electoral Blocs
87. Final Activity Report IESD March 2000 - March 2001
88. IESD Activity Report February 1 - March 31 2001
89. Set of Model Laws regarding a potential reform of the legislation of the Subject of the Russian Federation Part 1: Model Law on Elections of Deputies of the Legislative (Representative) Body of State Power Part:
90. Set of Model Laws Regarding a Potential Reform of the Legislation of the Subject of the Russian Federation, Part 2: Model Law on Elections of Deputies of the Legislative (Representative) Body of State Power : Mixed Majoritarian-Proportional Election System
91. Set of Model Laws regarding a potential reform of the legislation of the Subject of the Russian Federation, Part 3: Model Law on Elections of Deputies of the Legislative (Representative) Body of State Power:
92. Set of Model Laws regarding a potential reform of the legislation of the Subject of the Russian Federation, Part 4: Model Law on Elections of Deputies of the Legislative (Representative) Body of State Power
93. Terralink Report On CEC Y2K Readiness

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INTERNATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR ELECTION SYSTEMS
1101 15th Street, N.W. • Third Floor
Washington D.C. 20005
202 • 828 • 8507 FAX 202 • 452 • 0804
www.ifes.org