



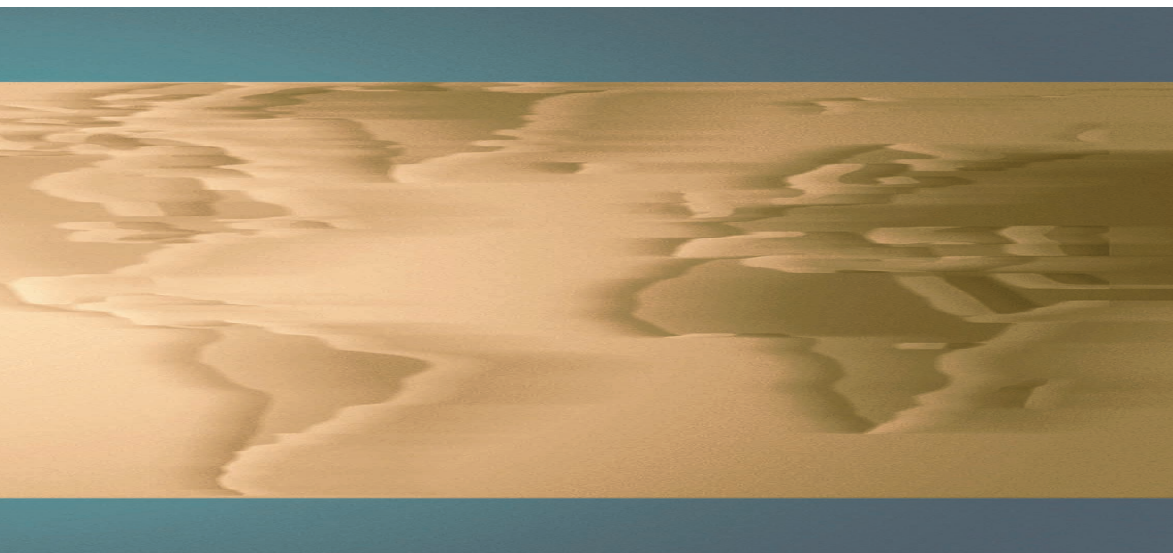
INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE

CELEBRATING 20 YEARS
ADVANCING DEMOCRACY WORLDWIDE

2003 ANNUAL REPORT



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Celebrating 20 Years

Advancing Democracy Worldwide

More than 20 years ago President Ronald Reagan called on Americans to take an active role in helping to build lasting democracy in countries around the world. President Reagan's vision became a reality when the International Republican Institute (IRI) opened its doors in 1984 as a nonpartisan, nonprofit organization dedicated to advancing democracy worldwide.

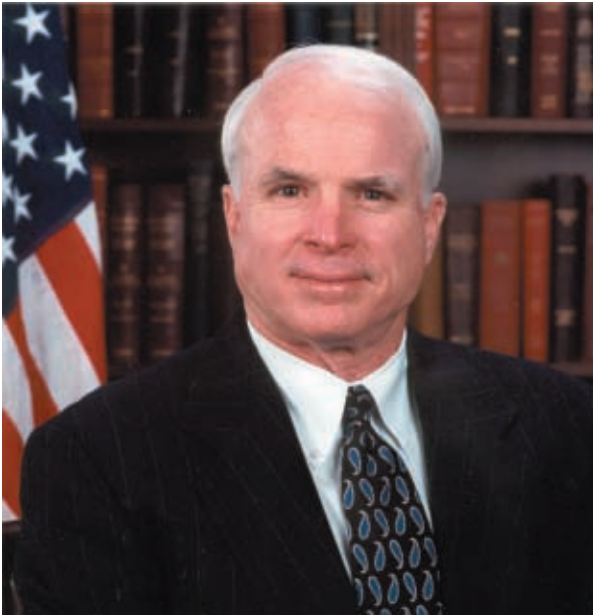
IRI believes that freedom is a universal aspiration that can be realized through the development of democratic political parties, good governance, strong civic institutions and transparent election procedures. The Institute is guided by the fundamental American principles of individual liberty, the rule of law and an entrepreneurial spirit.

From its headquarters in Washington, D.C. and more than 35 overseas offices, IRI sends expert volunteer trainers, elected officials and skilled staff members to more than 55 countries around the world to help others build lasting democracies.

In its two decades, IRI has been active in nearly 100 countries training citizens in political party building, monitoring elections, teaching communications practices, organizing civil society and grassroots efforts, working with women and youth to increase their political participation and conducting legislative and electoral reform work.

IRI is chaired by Sen. John McCain, (R-Ariz.), and its board of directors includes Lawrence S. Eagleburger, former Secretary of State, Dr. Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, former United States Ambassador to the United Nations, Brent Scowcroft, former National Security Advisor, as well as current and former members of the U.S. House and Senate, and individuals from the private and nonprofit sectors.

A Message from the Chairman



This year, the International Republican Institute marked two decades of hard work, perseverance and courage to advance the cause of democracy around the world.

On IRI's 20th anniversary, it is worth recalling why and when the Institute was founded. In June 1982, President Ronald Reagan gave an historic and visionary speech in Westminster, Great Britain. President Reagan famously said then that "freedom is not the sole prerogative of a lucky few, but the inalienable and universal right of all human beings."

With the Cold War still raging, President Reagan's call for an aggressive campaign to promote democracy around the world seemed at the time to be "one of the more esoteric goals of American foreign policy," according to one publication.

But the U.S. Congress agreed that it was in America's interest to help create independent political parties, free labor unions, and free-market economies across the developing world. Legislation authorizing funding for the creation of the International Republican Institute and the National Endowment for Democracy followed in 1983.

IRI launched its first mission the following year in Grenada. But it wasn't until the Berlin Wall fell that the Institute reached its full potential. In the wake of the Cold War, IRI launched programs and monitored elections in a range of new democracies, from South Africa and Poland to Nicaragua and Serbia.

After September 11, 2001, it became clear that we have a great deal more work to do. Decades of autocracy and dictatorship in much of the Muslim world created a breeding ground for terrorism and fanaticism that remains an existential threat to the security of the United States.

In this, IRI's 20th year, another American president – George W. Bush – has now boldly called for a "forward strategy of freedom in the Middle East." This mission is as visionary, dangerous, difficult and – some might say – unrealistic as the one launched by President Reagan 20 years ago.

Toward this end, IRI has launched programs to support the democratic transformation of Iraq, Afghanistan and other Middle Eastern countries. In coming years, the perseverance, skill and courage of IRI's global network of staff and volunteers will be tested. I am confident that they are equal to the task.

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "John McCain".

U.S. Senator John McCain
Chairman

A Message from the President



IRI's 20th year saw a mix of progress and setbacks for the cause of democracy around the world. IRI built on last year's progress in Afghanistan with an effort to help Afghans prepare for the country's first free elections in 2004. With the liberation of Iraq came IRI programs to monitor Iraqi public opinion and to strengthen Iraq's emerging political parties and civil society. IRI's general counsel, Olin Wethington, left the Institute to assist the Coalition Provisional Authority in Iraq with financial and economic policy during this complex transition. Wethington joins several current and past IRI staffers and volunteers who are working hard to provide the people of Iraq with a peaceful and democratic future.

Several nations with IRI programs saw their prospects for freedom dim in 2003. Burma's military junta once again arrested Aung San Suu Kyi while attacking a peaceful pro-democracy rally in April. In March, Fidel Castro's security forces launched a brutal crackdown on Cuba's civic resistance movement, arresting and imprisoning many dissidents and activists. Robert Mugabe jailed more political opponents in a year of increasing his grip on power in Zimbabwe.

The Institute was an active monitor of landmark elections in countries that have struggled for several years to achieve a true transition to democracy. In April, IRI sent two observation delegations to Nigeria for its second round of major elections since the death of a military dictator five years ago. The Institute documented that the elections, marred by fraud and mismanagement, showed that Nigeria has a long way to go to strengthen its democratic institutions.

Much of the same held true in Cambodia, where an IRI delegation led by former New Jersey Gov. Christine Todd Whitman, witnessed that country's third parliamentary election since being freed from Vietnamese occupation. Gov. Whitman's monitors observed that while the Cambodian election in July represented an improvement over past polls, it still fell short of recognized international standards.

November elections in the Republic of Georgia, where IRI has worked since 1998, showed that while that country's election administration was sorely lacking, the democratic spirit of its people was not. The seriously flawed polls led to mass protest and, subsequently, a peaceful transition of power.

IRI will stay the course in these and 50 other countries around the world where the Institute is working to cultivate and grow democratic institutions and attitudes.

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "George A. Folsom". The signature is stylized with a large, flowing "G" and "F".

George A. Folsom, Ph.D.
President and Chief Executive Officer

2003 Program Summaries



Africa



Regional Summary

IRI's Africa division grew in 2003 as the need for democratic development increased. President Bush's July visit to Africa highlighted the continent's importance to the U.S. and the Bush Administration's commitment to helping Africa's political and economic development. In April, IRI played a significant role in Nigeria's elections by providing training for political parties and a team of election observers. Former Liberian President Charles Taylor's departure in August added momentum to the drive for democracy throughout Africa. In 2003, IRI opened new offices in Angola and Malawi and continued existing programs in Côte d'Ivoire, Kenya, Liberia, Nigeria, Somaliland, South Africa, Sudan and Zimbabwe. IRI's success in Africa will likely lead to even greater opportunities in the upcoming years.

Angola

IRI's Angola program experienced rapid growth with the launch of a new resource center and a series of training sessions with political parties to help them become effective democratic parties and prepare for national elections. In July, IRI presented the preliminary results of a national poll at its first major political party conference. To conduct the survey, IRI's local partner organization trained 120 volunteers to complete over 4,000 questionnaires in eight provinces and in four languages. The media coverage of the conference included a two-hour radio debate between Onofre dos Santos, the Angolan director of elections, and the presidents of several political parties. In October, IRI conducted its first analysis and strategic development workshop with Angola's political parties. The process took the party leadership through the steps of identifying core values, vision and mission statements and objectives to best prepare the leadership to run successful, issue-oriented campaigns for future elections. This training continues with a new resource center that will host a campaign school for Angolan political parties in the spring of 2004.



Côte d'Ivoire

For years, Côte d'Ivoire was considered one of the most stable and modern states in West Africa. However, political upheaval and the subsequent outbreak of civil war in September 2002 put the IRI program on hold. With the ceasefire and peace agreement reached in the spring of 2003, IRI was able to restart its programs.

IRI partnered with Civil Society Collective for Returning Peace to Côte d'Ivoire (CSCR), a local nongovernmental organization that is a consortium of five civil society groups representing democracy advocates and human rights organizations. CSCR organized conflict mitigation meetings throughout the country among local government and security officials, political party activists, religious leaders and other groups representative of each region's local population. The meetings were designed to help local leaders communicate effectively with one another to reduce violence.

Kenya

In one of the most credible elections in African history, Kenyans elected Mwai Kibaki to the presidency. For that landmark election, IRI fielded a small election observation mission and sponsored Kenya's first-ever exit opinion poll that accurately predicted Kibaki's surprise victory. The Institute continued to help Kenyans build on those gains in its 2003 program.



IRI organized several workshops on advocacy for representatives from a variety of Kenyan nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). The sessions addressed principles of research and policy analysis, message development, coalition building, utilization of the media and building relationships with political leaders and government officials. Speakers from Kenya's more established NGOs addressed about 25 relatively new civil society organizations.

IRI also worked with youth organizations to mobilize young Kenyans to become more involved in civic and political campaigns. Through various trainings, young leaders are becoming more proactive in exchanging information, building working relationships and creating comprehensive programs to address problems in their communities. In particular, one of IRI's partners in Kenya – Citizens Against Violence (CAVi) – addressed the problem of young people committing acts of political violence. To discourage violence as a method of reaching political objectives, the NGO organized outreach workshops and dialogue sessions for youth from informal settlements and local universities. As a result of the workshops and dialogue sessions, youth leaders developed concrete plans to improve their situations. IRI also sponsored a conference in Naivasha that trained young people from Kenya, Somalia, Sudan and Uganda to increase regional networking and communication, share similar experiences and develop youth leadership skills.

Liberia

The escalation of civil war suspended IRI's Liberia program for much of 2003. At the Institute's Washington headquarters, IRI's Africa Division launched the Liberian Leadership Series, a series of discussions in which Liberian political figures shared their views on the country's history and upcoming reconstruction. Speakers included Liberian human rights activists and opposition leaders.

With the August departure and exile of Liberian President Charles Taylor, a peace agreement and a new transition government made it possible for IRI to renew its efforts in the country. A transition government came to power in October 2003 with a mandate to conduct national elections in 2005, and IRI sent a team to Liberia in December to resume its program of working with the political parties. This work will be more critical than ever as the country has its first true chance to create a legitimate multi-party democracy.

Malawi

IRI launched a new program in Malawi in October 2003. The primary aim of IRI's Malawi program is to strengthen the capacity and efficacy of this relatively new multi-party democracy in the months before and after elections scheduled for May 2004. The upcoming elections hold great significance for Malawi as the current two-term president is constitutionally barred from running and new leaders will be elected. IRI program activities will seek to improve political discourse – both inter-party and intra-party – and encourage greater participation by community-based organizations in the political process and highlight the need to include women and youth in the political process.

IRI also aims to prepare Malawi's political parties for the presidential election by helping them strengthen their internal structures, develop issue-based campaign platforms and encourage greater citizen participation in the election process.

Nigeria

In April 2003, Nigeria held landmark legislative, presidential and gubernatorial elections that were observed and evaluated by IRI. These were Nigeria's second national elections since transitioning from military rule in 1999.

IRI distributed 1.6 million poll-watcher manuals as part of a comprehensive training program for political parties throughout the country. IRI also sponsored a 55-member delegation of monitors to observe Nigeria's elections. Seven teams of observers, led by Ambassador Kenneth L. Brown, monitored legislative elections, and 13 teams of observers, led by Ambassador Robert C. Perry, oversaw the presidential polls. IRI's delegation included citizens of the United States, Kenya, Ghana and South Africa.

IRI issued later reports on both elections that addressed the widely varying voting conditions in different parts of Nigeria. In some states, voting procedures were credible while in others, they were either significantly flawed or seriously fraudulent.

IRI's Nigeria program has trained grassroots leaders, youth and other reformers working to develop the country's fledgling democracy. In September, IRI sponsored a forum that brought together national- and state-level political party and civil society leaders. From this forum and other consultations, IRI developed a program that will strengthen state parties and foster issue-based partnerships between political parties and civil society organizations. IRI is organizing several training initiatives and forums that seek to encourage a higher level of women and youth participation in the Nigerian political process.



Somaliland

Somaliland is not recognized internationally as a sovereign state. A former Italian colony, it spent much of the 1990s fighting a bloody war to achieve separation and autonomy from Somalia. Two years after voting overwhelmingly for independence, Somaliland held largely credible presidential elections in April 2003.

Following this election IRI continued to support Somaliland's democratization process through programs designed to strengthen political parties, such as coalition building, development of a "loyal opposition" and grassroots mobilization. The Institute hosted a roundtable on Somaliland in June 2003 at IRI's Washington office to discuss ongoing post-election issues such as legal appeals of voting results and power-sharing in the new government. IRI hosted numerous senior Somaliland officials, including Minister of Foreign Affairs Edna Adan Ismail, Minister of Commerce and Industry Mohamed Hashi Elmi and National Election Commissioner Shukri Ismail, at the Institute's Washington headquarters. With parliamentary elections slated for an unspecified future date, IRI will stay engaged with a civic education program on the duties of local government and citizen interaction with local authorities.

South Africa

IRI wound down its South Africa program this year after nearly ten years of work with political parties, local government and nongovernmental organizations. As part of a program to improve local governance, IRI conducted a series of workshops with municipal officials. The impact of AIDS has been a particular concern in recent years. High urban death rates have had a catastrophic effect on civic life. Funerals, for example, have become the most common community event in many townships. IRI worked with local leaders to find ways to maintain a civic life and deliver needed services in such a challenging environment.

In 2003, the Institute continued to work closely with its partner, the South Africa Institute for Race Relations (SAIRR). The organization serves as a "watchdog" for potential violations of human rights by the government. SAIRR publishes a yearly statistical report, *The South Africa Survey*, and a monthly publication, *Fast Facts*, which highlight timely issues and regularly present survey results and social and economic indicators.

Sudan

Sudan moved closer to ending a brutal civil war that has killed close to two million people and deepened the divisions between the Muslim north and Christian south. In 2003, IRI worked in the southern part of the country to increase the participation of Sudanese women in civic life. After a 2002 assessment, IRI began working with a Sudanese nongovernmental organization — the Institute for the Promotion of Civil Society — to develop training programs that encourage women to participate and take leadership positions in local government and other community-based organizations. This training curriculum is now being used throughout areas of the country controlled by the southern opposition.

Recent talks between the government of Sudan and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) — the main opposition group in the south — indicate that a peace agreement may be signed in early 2004. IRI is increasing its presence in the country with a training program to prepare the southern opposition for participation in a new government. One of IRI's goals in 2004 is to support the creation of a legislative resource center for southern representatives and their staffs.

Uganda

Political parties are still highly restricted in Uganda, as they have been for 17 years. In the past, many of the worst abusers of human rights have been affiliated with strong ethnic, political or religious groups. Ugandan law requires, for example, that all candidates and officials be members of the national "movement" of President Yoweri Museveni and run for office in this capacity as individuals.

In March 2003, IRI conducted an assessment mission to evaluate the political landscape and identify potential partners for anticipated program activities in the country. The Institute then launched a nationwide public opinion poll designed to explore Ugandan notions of democracy and governance-related issues. Gauging public opinion and releasing the findings has allowed citizens to better involve themselves in the decision-making process. IRI released the poll at a press conference in Kampala in June 2003 and received extensive media coverage, sparking a national dialogue on the poll's findings. Following the release of the poll, IRI hosted three town-hall meetings in Mbarara, Tororo and Kampala to further engage citizens in discussing practical approaches to advancing democracy in Uganda. IRI is currently planning a follow-up program that will cultivate leaders from political parties, pressure groups and civil society organizations.



Zimbabwe

Political life in Zimbabwe remains constricted under the regime of Robert Mugabe. Legislation enacted after the June 2000 parliamentary elections severely restricted the rights of Zimbabweans and created significant challenges for IRI programming. The Mugabe regime did not allow IRI to send a delegation to monitor Zimbabwe's presidential election in March 2002 — a vote that was largely considered illegitimate by the international community.

The opposition party, Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), is challenging the results of the 2002 election in the courts. The MDC has called for the creation of a transitional authority to govern the country until a new election, conducted under international supervision, can be held. Civic leaders continue to press for democracy and the rule of law. In addition to political and economic instability, Zimbabweans are now faced with serious food shortages and starvation in many areas. IRI remains committed to working with civil society in Zimbabwe to promote a peaceful and democratic environment in this troubled country. In its work, IRI will continue to support projects that promote multi-party democracy, and protect and strengthen political freedom and human rights.



Asia

Regional Summary

Democracy in much of Asia remains fettered by weak institutions, poor accountability and corruption. Several Asian countries are still ruled by authoritarian governments that allow significant abuses of basic human rights. In 2003, IRI addressed the challenges for democracy in Asia through a variety of cutting-edge programs in nine countries of the region. These programs promoted grassroots political reform in China, strengthened democratic institutions in East Timor, Indonesia and Mongolia and assisted democratic political parties and civil society organizations in Burma, Cambodia, and Malaysia. IRI also began programs in Bangladesh and Laos.



Bangladesh

This year, IRI established a new program in Bangladesh, one of the poorest and most densely populated countries in the world.

Bangladesh, which has held parliamentary elections since 1991, is currently beset by legislative gridlock and personal rivalries between the two major political parties. There is little internal democracy within these parties, which leads to a legislature and government often unresponsive to the needs of citizens.

In this environment, IRI's program will support the democratic development of political parties and assist in creating a more transparent and responsive government. IRI will publish a manual on organizing local political parties and will expand the participation, leadership and influence of women, youth and minorities within political organizations.

From its office in Dhaka, IRI will work mainly in the three southern administrative regions of Barisal, Chittagong, and Khulna, with satellite presences in each of these areas.

Burma

The success of Burma's pro-democracy movement prompted a brutal crackdown by the military junta that has ruled the country for over 40 years. The National League for Democracy (NLD) initially made great strides in the first half of 2003, reopening more than 100 party offices countrywide. Thousands of people gathered to hear NLD leader and Nobel Prize winner Daw Aung San Suu Kyi speak throughout Burma, disproving the junta's assertions that she had limited support from the Burmese people. Assistance provided by IRI's subgrantees played a vital role in helping the NLD's efforts to organize Daw Suu's travel and to reopen party offices in Burma.

On May 30, however, a government-sponsored mob attacked Daw Suu and her entourage at Depayin village in northern Burma, killing nearly 70 people according to most news accounts. The junta took Daw Suu and six NLD leaders into "protective custody" and refused to reveal their whereabouts for several months. IRI's subgrantees responded to the attack by coordinating their efforts to help bring the victims to safety, to disseminate



information about the attack both inside Burma and internationally and to lobby for Daw Suu's release. She has remained under house arrest since October.

In response to calls by Daw Suu to strengthen party youth structures, IRI's partners trained political youth organizations in management, leadership and party building along the Thai and Indian borders. These groups included the youth branches of NLD (Liberated Areas), Democratic Party for a New Society and several ethnic parties.



Cambodia

In 2003, Cambodia held its third parliamentary election. In the months prior to the July 27 elections, political violence and widespread intimidation curtailed the ability of many Cambodian citizens to freely participate in the electoral process. The leading democratic opposition parties — the Sam Rainsy Party and Funcinpec — won 50 of the 123 National Assembly seats and almost half of the popular vote. In August, these parties formed the Alliance of Democrats to leverage their strong electoral showing in negotiations with the ruling Cambodian People's Party to create a new government.

IRI's 2003 programs included campaign training for candidates and political parties, assistance for a get-out-the-vote drive for first-time voters and support for radio programming and community meetings to promote open discussion of national issues and political rights. IRI also conducted a series of pre-election assessments, designed to strengthen the electoral process, and deployed a 60-member election observation mission led by Gov. Christine Todd Whitman, former administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency and governor of New Jersey. IRI's final report concluded that the parliamentary elections, despite some improvement from previous polls, fell short of recognized international standards.

China

In 2003, IRI continued to strengthen and expand its electoral and political reform programs in China, despite the challenges posed by the SARS crisis and the uncertainties surrounding China's recent leadership transition.

IRI observed its fourth consecutive round of village elections in Fujian Province. IRI subsequently issued a report that provided comprehensive assessment of the election process. In addition, IRI held a conference in Shanxi Province to train Chinese election monitors. IRI further expanded its electoral program this year through a networking conference for township election administrators from Sichuan and Hainan. Township elections represent a significant new field of electoral reform because elections previously have only been held at the village level.

Based on the belief that elections will be rendered meaningless if those elected are unable to govern effectively and democratically, IRI supported training events for newly elected leaders — particularly women — at the rural village and urban community levels.

In some areas of China, 80 percent of the men have left the rural areas to seek work in cities. The resulting leadership vacuum creates opportunities for women where such opportunities would otherwise not exist. A clear need remains for further training in good governance and effective leadership to assist these women in doing their jobs and in coping with the challenges they will inevitably face.

In September, IRI helped establish the "Grassroots Women Leaders Supporting Network" that will enable grassroots women leaders to share best practices, solve common problems and encourage others to become more involved in civic affairs. IRI also sponsored a conference with China's Central Party School on internal party democracy and the role of political parties in fostering grassroots political participation in Western countries.

East Timor

IRI's programs continue to strengthen the multi-party system and the representative government recently established in East Timor. In fact, IRI remains the only nongovernmental organization working with political parties in the country.

In 2003, IRI helped East Timor's minority political parties identify areas of common interest and develop an opposition coalition. IRI also initiated a monthly radio program entitled, "Dalan Ba Demokracia," providing a forum for parties and government to debate issues facing the country.

During the year, IRI trained the 13 district deputados — parliamentarians directly elected from the districts — to conduct constituent relations. After training the deputados on communication, media skills and organization, IRI assisted them in scheduling district visits and townhall meetings. More than half of the deputados returned to their districts for second and third trainings with IRI.

The Women's Caucus, a local partner of IRI, expanded its "Women in Parliament" luncheon series in 2003 to include community leaders and other influential women, further stimulating dialogue. The Women's Caucus issues a quarterly bulletin highlighting prominent Timorese women and the challenges they face.

In November, IRI released the results of the first-ever political poll in East Timor, which gauged the public's perception of government, political parties and democracy one year after independence. Among the most promising results, 84 percent of East Timorese believe democracy is the "best hope for the future."



Indonesia

This was a difficult year for Indonesia in the aftermath of terrorist attacks at a Bali nightclub and a hotel in Jakarta. Despite the threat of terrorism, Indonesia continued to develop democratic institutions through the process of decentralizing authority to provinces and districts. With a new law passed in August, Indonesia, currently led by Megawati Sokarnoputri, will elect a president directly for the first time in 2004.

IRI was quick to help Indonesia's local and national government respond to the terrorist attack in Bali. The Institute conducted the first public opinion poll in Bali after the bombing and worked closely with the provincial government to identify the primary concerns of citizens following the attack. IRI sponsored four other public opinion polls to assist political parties with the development of platforms and

campaign strategies in preparation for the 2004 parliamentary elections. The Institute trained candidates and activists on effective campaign techniques and organization. To increase the level of women's participation, IRI conducted training sessions specifically for women activists and in April held a national conference entitled, "Electing Women to Office in the 2004 Elections."

Laos

Laos is one of the world's few remaining communist countries. There are no local opposition political parties and no civil society groups involved in political reform in Laos. In recent years, however, the Lao government has formally articulated an interest in decentralization. This has created a small opening to promote institutional reform and to encourage public participation.

In March 2003, IRI conducted a conference entitled “Village Elections and Decentralization” with the Lao government’s Department of Public Administration and Civil Affairs (DPACS). The conference marked the first-ever IRI program activity in Laos. Two IRI trainers from China and the Philippines shared their countries’ experiences with village elections and decentralization.

Based on the groundbreaking success of this conference, DPACS expressed a strong interest in seeking further IRI technical assistance. IRI hopes to launch a program in 2004 that will serve to promote more transparent and democratic practices in Laos.

Malaysia

In 2003, Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad retired after ruling Malaysia with a strong hand for 22 years. Mahathir’s legacy was a stronger economy but also a repressive political system that concentrated power in the prime minister’s office. Malaysia’s constitution requires that the country hold parliamentary elections before the end of 2004. IRI has continued to conduct polls to improve understanding of and focus attention on voter concerns. Polls in 2003 indicate that voters care most about the economy, corruption, crime, social problems and education.

Following parliamentary elections in 2004, IRI will explore new opportunities for supporting local efforts to build a more democratic society in Malaysia.

Mongolia

Mongolia continued to make progress strengthening its democratic institutions this year. In anticipation of parliamentary elections in 2004, IRI conducted extensive training and consultations with political parties to strengthen organizational structures and encourage the formation of an opposition party coalition to give voters a clearer political choice. The Mongolian People’s Revolutionary Party currently holds all but four seats in the Parliament. Two national polls sponsored by IRI indicate that opposition parties must work together in order to present a viable alternative in the 2004 elections. IRI has also used the polls to focus the attention of political party leaders on the issues of greatest concern to voters.

The State Great Hural, the national parliament, has worked to complete significant institutional reforms before the end of the current parliamentary term. IRI completed a multi-year effort to develop new ethics legislation to raise standards of conduct by members of parliament and to strengthen the parliament’s Ethics Subcommittee. IRI also provided detailed advice on the parliamentary committee system. The advice was used by the State Great Hural to draft legislation that would strengthen procedures for holding public committee meetings and provide committees with sufficient staff and resources to influence the legislative process.



Eurasia

Regional Summary

IRI's Eurasia program addressed the many challenges and opportunities posed by several important elections in 2003 and in 2004. Georgia ushered in a new president. Parliamentary elections in Russia solidified the standing of presidential parties. Belarusians and Ukrainians began preparations for 2004 parliamentary and presidential elections, respectively. In Kazakhstan, IRI's new program offered much-needed campaign training. Uzbek political parties faced the obstacle of getting registration approval from the government in order to participate as full-fledged parties in upcoming elections. Finally, IRI opened an office in Moldova to assist pro-reform parties in the country as they struggle to ensure the existence of a broad multi-party system.

Azerbaijan

In 2003, Heidar Aliyev, Azerbaijan's most prominent leader since separating from the former Soviet Union, did not seek re-election in October and was succeeded by his son, Ilham Aliyev.

In preparation for presidential elections, IRI sponsored the first national independent public opinion survey ever conducted in Azerbaijan. Traditionally, most Azeri parties are driven by personalities, have little or no ideology and lack communication between regional and national political organizations. The Institute sponsored joint campaign academies for representatives of these parties with IRI's Georgia program. This created a core group of specialists trained to think strategically and operate proactively while conducting political campaigns.

IRI's get-out-the-vote (GOTV) campaign used posters, t-shirts, public service announcements and rock concerts in selected cities to encourage youth to go to the polls. GOTV has been one of IRI's most successful programs in the Caucasus. Ilham Aliyev ultimately won the presidential election, which international observers said was marred by violence and irregularities. In addition, numerous opposition party members were incarcerated the day after the elections, and many remain in custody.



**Только МЫ можем с
Голосуй**

Belarus

Due to oppressive political conditions maintained by the authoritarian regime of President Alexander Lukashenko, IRI manages its Belarusian programs from nearby Vilnius, Lithuania.

This year, IRI worked toward building an effective electoral coalition among Belarusian pro-democratic opposition parties. Leaders of the five major democratic parties agreed to form a political bloc that would support a common slate of parliamentary candidates for the elections in late 2004. To further bolster the potential of this coalition, IRI trained parties, candidates, campaign managers and youth.

Belarus held local elections for more than 10,000 municipal and regional seats in March 2003. IRI-trained candidates saw some success despite repressive conditions.

A majority of opposition candidates was elected to the city council of the northeastern town of Belaziorsk. IRI is establishing sister-city relationships between Belaziorsk and similar towns in Baltic countries. In addition, IRI hosted groups of Belarusian activists in Lithuania, Poland, Estonia and Latvia in order for them to observe campaigns during the European Union referenda and see firsthand how elections are held in neighboring democratic countries.





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Georgia

In 2003, momentous political events took place in the Republic of Georgia. After a seriously flawed parliamentary election, peaceful protests forced President Eduard Shevardnadze, Georgia's most renowned leader since the fall of the Soviet Union, to leave office.

IRI spent much of the year helping parties prepare for the November 2 elections through campaign academies, women's training seminars and extensive get-out-the-vote (GOTV) efforts. In February, IRI hosted nine government spokespersons from the Republic of Georgia for a week in Washington to receive communications training and learn the responsibilities of public information officers. In October, IRI Chairman John McCain conducted a pre-election assessment of preparations for the elections. Shortly before the election, IRI launched a GOTV campaign that featured local celebrities and music concerts in several cities. In areas where the GOTV events took place, youth voting rates increased by 30 percent since the last national election.

During the election itself, IRI sent an observation delegation of Institute staff and volunteers that monitored voting and counting procedures in eight different provinces. IRI's post-election statement indicated that because of seriously outdated and inaccurate voter lists, a significant percentage of Georgians, including residents of entire city blocks, were prevented from voting.

In 2004, IRI will prepare Georgia's political parties for rescheduled parliamentary elections and the special presidential election.

Kazakhstan

IRI opened a new office and began a program to build a competitive multi-party system in Kazakhstan. In May, the Institute organized meetings for two national party chairs with local, state and national party leaders to share examples of how parties in the U.S. organize and operate.

In September 2003, Kazakhstan held elections for over 3,000 Maslikhat – municipal and regional councils – seats throughout the country. To help prepare for these elections, IRI conducted a training seminar for 110 Maslikhat candidates from four political parties. None of the candidates had received previous training on how to campaign or reach out to voters. IRI helped train 178 domestic election observers for the Maslikhat elections. The Institute's staff also served as accredited election observers.

Before Kazakhstan's parliament voted to change the country's election law, IRI organized a roundtable discussion to give all political parties an opportunity to influence the final legislation. The parties wanted a stronger role for local election observers. The primary significance of the roundtable was to engage the parties in the process of shaping Kazakhstan's electoral system.



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Наше БУДУЩЕЕ
зависит только от НАС!
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Без нашего УЧАСТИЯ–
Россия не будет НАШЕЙ!
Голосуй 7 декабря!



СОЗДАЙ СВОЙ
завтрашний день!
Голосуй 7 декабря!



Russia

In December, Russians voted in the fourth State Duma election to be held in their country since the fall of communism. For these pivotal elections, IRI conducted two national opinion polls and ran two public service announcements aimed at encouraging Russia's young citizens to vote.

IRI fielded the first public opinion poll during July and August, with a follow-up survey conducted in mid-October. The polls identified issues of importance to potential voters in order to make the electoral process more relevant and issue-based. The polls, which were later cited in the *Washington Post* and the *Washington Times*, were among the first such national surveys to accurately predict many election results. Results of the polls showed Unified Russia leading in the regions polled, with the economy cited as the issue of most concern to voters.

IRI developed two get-out-the-vote (GOTV) television advertisements targeting Russia's young voters. The advertisements, which featured slogans such as "freedom" and "a better future," received free airtime on one of Russia's most popular national television channels. Initial reports of voter turnout indicated that the television advertisements had a measurable impact. According to IRI exit polls, youth under the age of 30 made up nearly one-third of total voters in the three key regions where advertisements were frequent and 30,000 GOTV posters were distributed.

Ukraine

Political parties in Ukraine solidified coalitions in parliament that developed after the March 2002 elections and began preparing for presidential elections scheduled for October 2004. Many opposition parties attempted to hold local conventions in facilities around the country but could not get event permits from local officials. Some of these conventions were disrupted by youth, loyal to the incumbent regime, who barred people from entering. These setbacks show the extent of the uphill battle opposition parties will face in 2004, partly due to their limited access to state-owned news media.

IRI assisted Ukraine's political parties to run more effective campaigns, with particular attention to women and youth. IRI sponsored a study-tour to Washington D.C. where Ukrainian political leaders met with political party regional directors, state party representatives in Maryland, political consultants and pollsters, and local Virginia candidates. The Institute also facilitated an exchange between Ukrainian city council leaders and their counterparts in Poland.

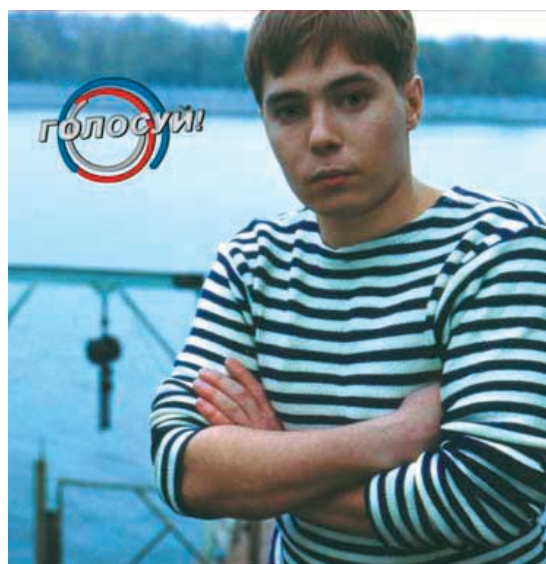


Uzbekistan

The Uzbek government continued to exercise control of the registration process to make it nearly impossible for pro-reform parties to organize and campaign. For the second time in 2003, the Ministry of Justice refused to register the Agrarian and Entrepreneurs Party and the Birlik Party. The government also tried to derail the annual congress of the Erk Freedom Democratic Party ("Erk") by harassing and jailing key members who organized the meetings. IRI assisted the pro-reform party with its first national press conference to gain public support and inform the public of government restrictions imposed on Erk. Its general secretary, Atanazar Arifov, received media training from Institute representatives before the event. Over 45 people attended the press conference, including members of the press, international organizations and embassies.

In the summer of 2003, the Institute taught 124 party leaders and members in four regional cities the basics of democracy and the role of political parties. Similar training was held in December for 84 young people from Tashkent and Fergana to discuss the role of youth in political parties.

In March, IRI trained spokespersons from government and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) as well as journalists in week-long training sessions in Tashkent and Samarkand. Ten of the information officers received follow-up training, hosted by IRI in the U.S., where they learned the techniques and responsibilities of being a press secretary. The Uzbek delegation represented NGOs and ministries including foreign affairs and finance. They met with communications officials from the Departments of Defense and State and the Office of the Vice President, as well as state and local press professionals.



**Если ТЫ не решишь сам –
кто-то решит ЗА ТЕБЯ!**
Голосуй 7 декабря!

По заказу Министерства Юстиции Республики Узбекистан. Ташкент, Узбекистан. Фото: Арифов



Europe

Regional Summary

In 2003, IRI's Europe Division conducted programs in Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Macedonia, Romania, Serbia, Slovakia and Turkey and managed a unique regional program in the central and eastern European region. Elections were held in Bulgaria, Croatia, Serbia and Albania. IRI's work in the region improved political party communications, strengthened fragile political parties, encouraged youth participation in civil and political life, promoted regional cooperation and used new technologies to promote democratic changes and the spread of information.



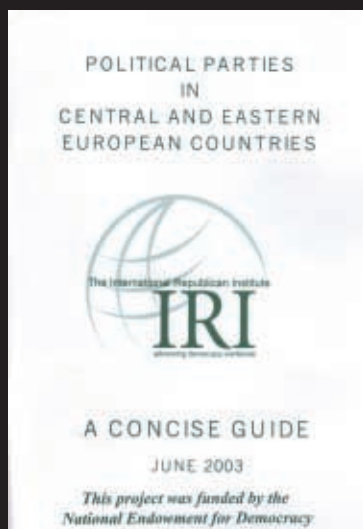
Albania

Albania is still recovering from the social upheaval in the late 1990s that set back the country's transition to democracy. IRI's Albania program in 2003 was geared towards two main goals: assisting the parliament in becoming more open and accountable to the public and advancing public debate.

In June, IRI brought a Lithuanian trainer to Albania to conduct a seminar on leadership and strategic management skills for members of parliament. In the upcoming year, IRI will work to make the legislators more accessible and responsive to the public, particularly in local districts.

To increase the visibility of youth issues, IRI brought together nongovernmental organization leaders and youth activists in June from Bulgaria and Turkey to train Albanian youth leaders on strategic planning and leadership techniques. In an effort to involve youth leaders in the political life of the country, IRI trained 300 young individuals from different parts of Albania to be observers for local parliamentary elections in October.

In 2004, IRI will conduct an "advocacy academy" throughout different cities in the country. After a final exam, the academy will help place graduates in political campaigns and internships with elected officials. Youth activists and individuals also will participate in an IRI-sponsored national baseline opinion survey.



Bosnia and Herzegovina

Bosnia and Herzegovina is still struggling to develop a functioning democratic government. Voter turnout is consistently below European averages, and Bosnian politics continues to be driven by personalities instead of issues and ideology. As a result, Bosnian citizens have very low expectations of their government and political institutions.

IRI opened an office in Sarajevo in December. IRI's program in Bosnia has three main components. First, IRI will work with local political parties in ten selected municipalities to help them with grassroots organization, message development and targeting, get-out-the-vote efforts, two-way internal and external communications, and general campaign strategy. Second, IRI will work with selected government ministries to help them develop modern communications operations. This will entail designing a communications strategy, structuring an effective communications office and training communications officials. Third, IRI will help the political parties in Bosnia develop an indigenous policy research and analysis capability. The goal of this component is to shift the focus of political discourse in Bosnia from personality and ethnic identity to public policy. IRI will utilize a series of public opinion polls and focus groups to identify issues of public importance to the people. Information gathered from public opinion

research will be used in all facets of the IRI program in Bosnia. The Institute expects programmatic activity to be particularly heavy in the local political party development component in advance of the October 2004 local elections.

Bulgaria

The Institute spent its 13th year in Bulgaria preparing for local elections in October 2003. IRI combined formal campaign training and informal consultations, supported by extensive public opinion polling, to address the specific concerns of local branches of national political parties. The intent was for the local organizations to have their particular issues addressed without diluting or contradicting campaign messages of national parties.

The Institute also assisted the parties with grassroots organization, internal communications, the identifying of campaign issues, youth leadership training and the use of opinion polling. As the October elections approached, the political parties integrated some of IRI's structural training into the campaigns themselves. Following the elections, IRI staff and the political parties analyzed the results and identified areas for improvement.

Croatia

In November, Croatia's governing coalition was defeated in one of the closest elections in Croatia's history. The Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ), a nationalist opposition party originally founded by former autocrat Franjo Tudjman, formed a government in early 2004 with a razor-thin majority. IRI fielded a series of national public opinion surveys throughout 2003 to gauge the political climate before parliamentary elections, predicting the outcome of the election with extraordinary accuracy.

During the year, IRI provided assistance to the members of the governing coalition parties in get-out-the-vote tactics, overall communications, campaign strategy, message development and targeting. The coalition included the center-left Social Democratic Party and the Croatian Peasants Party. In the last poll before the campaign, the Institute used a sample twice the typical size, giving IRI highly specific local data broken down by election district to use in party consultations.

IRI continued its work assisting ministries with streamlining and organizing their communications efforts. This program culminated in a highly successful series of government-sponsored events unveiling the new sections of the Zagreb-Split highway system.



Macedonia

IRI followed a landmark parliamentary election in 2002 with a comprehensive assessment of Macedonia's political parties. The February 2003 evaluation was used to design training programs tailored to each organization.

IRI conducted training for governing and opposition parties on how to be effective in Parliament and on communication techniques. IRI worked with selected local party branches and youth and women's organizations to craft political plans that address recruitment, fundraising, organizational and communications hierarchies and issue advocacy.

IRI continued to make extensive use of public opinion research, making it possible to give advice tailored to each party's needs. The parties used the information to develop and target their messages and communications strategies. IRI also used polling data to select topics and issues of interest to help women and youth organizations better focus their efforts and resources. In September, an IRI-sponsored conference entitled "Making Changes" brought trainers from the United States and Ukraine to teach women how to promote women's issues within political parties and government.

Regional Program

IRI's Regional office, based in Bratislava, Slovakia, provides direct support for IRI country programs and serves as an information resource for leaders from throughout the region. In addition, the program offers a youth leadership training program for political parties from the region.

In February 2003, IRI held a conference entitled "Public Opinion: The State of the Art in Central Europe" to demonstrate the latest techniques in the field of opinion polling. IRI subsequently published a guide with the results of the conference featuring contributions from experienced pollsters.

The regional office later held a conference for those Eastern European countries slated to join the North American Treaty Organization (NATO). Parliamentary delegations from Bulgaria, Romania and Slovenia joined their Slovak colleagues to discuss new responsibilities that come with NATO membership.

In May, at the request of IRI field offices, the program hosted a conference entitled "Effective Local Governance," attended by 40 mayors and deputy mayors from throughout the region, to discuss trends in local governance.

Later in the year, IRI launched the Leadership Institute for Central and Eastern Europe (LICEE). In its first seminar, held in July, 46 young political leaders participated from the Visegrad-4 countries, which include Hungary, Poland, the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic. Later seminars followed for Balkan and Baltic countries. The LICEE program will be one of IRI's legacies to an area of the world in which IRI has worked extensively for over a decade. The program provides practical campaign-related skills to young people and will produce leaders accountable to their constituencies for generations to come.



Romania

With a program called Opening Politics by Acting Locally (OPAL), IRI stimulated demand for responsive government and political parties in Romania. In 2003, IRI's Bucharest-based program worked in three counties: Sibiu, Arad and Bihor. In November, IRI conducted assessment meetings in four other counties to establish a network of civil society and local party participants for the OPAL program.

In July, IRI commissioned a Romanian polling agency to establish baseline measurements for community organizations and serve as a continuing guide for IRI activities. In addition, the poll questions have shaped IRI's programs to help local political parties and civil society groups develop strategic action plans and platforms for the upcoming campaign season.



Serbia

The events of 2003 posed many challenges to Serbia's continued transition from dictatorship toward democracy. The repeated failures to elect a president challenged reform-oriented parties to reconnect with voters but also led to deepening rifts between the leaders of the democratic parties. Following the assassination of Prime Minister Zoran Djindjic in March 2003, IRI worked closely with his Democratic Party to rebuild its party structures and weather the internal upheaval that followed the leader's death. As it became clear that elections would likely be called before the new year, IRI began working more actively with each of the political parties to prepare campaign platforms and candidates. In 2004, IRI plans to help the parties analyze the December elections and identify areas for improvement.

In New Belgrade and Indija, IRI's close cooperation with municipal leaders resulted in new effective and interactive outreach strategies promoting constituent services and the accessibility of local government.

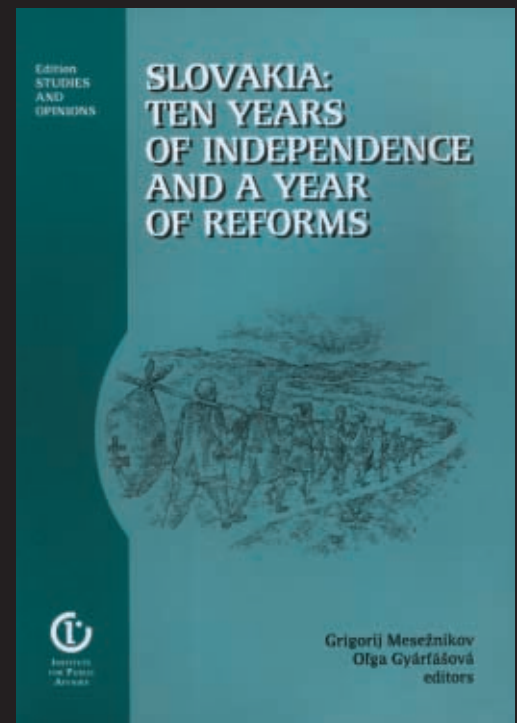
IRI also worked with ten civic organizations to design and implement innovative get-out-the-vote (GOTV) projects.

Slovakia

Slovakia's 2002 parliamentary election produced a government made up of a coalition of four pro-western, pro-reform, center-right parties.

In January, IRI first commissioned a major public opinion poll entitled "The New Slovak Government: the First 100 Days in Office." Dozens of experts then gathered at a conference hosted by IRI and the Institute for Public Affairs (IVO) to discuss the results of the survey, assess the government's reform strategies and review the impact of the media on popular perceptions of the government. IRI co-published a widely-distributed book summarizing the findings of the conference in both English and Slovak.

IRI later conducted another poll examining the public's view of the government, the direction of Slovak society, prospects for the future and the country's progress since independence a decade ago. With this data in hand, IRI and IVO hosted another meeting that generated nationwide media coverage. The conference speakers explained the widespread apprehension among the public over the coalition's reform agenda.



Turkey

IRI expanded its programming to stimulate the civic and political participation of youth in Turkey. Under the GencNet ("YouthNet") banner, the Institute hosted a total of 17 regional workshops in cities around the country during the spring and fall semesters. Participants in each city generated an agenda of local problems, created projects to address those community needs and formed specialized committees to implement the projects. Two of these workshops brought together previous GencNet participants from multiple cities to share experiences.

In May, IRI hosted the Fourth Annual GencNet National Conference in Istanbul. Almost a thousand youth from all corners of the country gathered to celebrate their achievements and discuss local government and higher education. The two-and-a-half-day conference received substantial national media coverage, bringing the youth agenda further to the forefront of Turkish society.



IRI built upon the success of its popular GencNet website (www.gencnet.org), which provides original news articles, event announcements, an extensive nongovernmental organization database, an interactive discussion board and poll questions, among other features. Hits on the website averaged over 18,000 per day during a two-month stretch in the summer, a traditionally slow period for websites.

In 2003, the Institute also began preparations for the first student internship program with political leaders in Turkey — to be held in the summer of 2004.

Latin America and the Caribbean

Regional Summary

Crises throughout Latin America and the Caribbean continued in 2003. While widespread protests forced Bolivia's democratically elected leader to resign, Peru's government teetered dangerously close to its own demise. Elsewhere, both Venezuela and Haiti saw a continued impasse between the government and the democratic opposition while the Cuban regime committed flagrant human rights violations in spite of international condemnation. Faced with such continued crises of governability and waning confidence in leadership, political parties and democratic institutions increasingly recognized the need for reform. In order to bolster this sentiment, IRI focused on intensive political party training and civic participation programs that promote greater political representation and accountability. IRI expanded its Latin America portfolio in 2003 with a new field office in Bolivia and the launch of a Mexico party-strengthening program.

Argentina

After two tumultuous years of financial and political crises, Argentines went to the polls in May 2003 to elect a new president. Nestor Kirchner won with only 22 percent of the popular vote and was tasked with restoring trust to political institutions and solving the complex social and economic problems that remained.

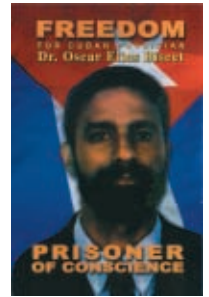
Although the political crisis seems to have subsided, the need to increase the quality and effectiveness of political leaders in Argentina at all levels of government still remains. IRI launched a leadership development project to train new and emerging political and civic leaders committed to public service and good governance. Working with youth in the provinces of Buenos Aires, Santa Fe and Cordoba, IRI sponsored seminars led by both Argentine and international experts. Seminar topics focused on transparency, responsible fiscal management, political reform and electoral systems. The project brought together a network of young leaders who are actively committed to political reform. IRI has worked with these professionals to identify different aspects of the country they wish to change while providing them with the technical tools necessary to make these changes.

Cuba

The year 2003 was a particularly difficult year for democracy and human rights in Cuba. In March, Fidel Castro's regime arrested and imprisoned more than 75 citizens on charges of treason. Among the victims were political dissidents, journalists, economists, civil society leaders, managers of independent libraries and labor union activists. The Cuban democracy movement, nonetheless, continues to gain strength from the efforts of democracy activists. IRI continues to partner with the Directorio Democratico Cubano (Directorio) to increase international awareness and moral support for Cuba's internal pro-democracy movement.



This year saw the release of another edition of IRI/Directorio's *Steps to Freedom*. The publication chronicles the Cuban pro-democracy movement in 2002, a year in which more acts of nonviolent civic resistance occurred on the island than ever before. Clearly, the Cuban government's March crackdown was in response to a movement that is gaining strength and momentum with each passing year.



IRI and Directorio will continue to support a peaceful transition through unwavering moral commitment to those struggling for democracy inside Cuba. Increasing numbers of pro-democracy leaders in Latin America and Europe are now also part of the movement for solidarity with the Cuban people's desire for freedom.

Guatemala

Systemic problems continued to detract from the consolidation of democracy in Guatemala in 2003. Disillusioned by government corruption and the inability of the political parties to articulate and respond to their constituents' concerns, Guatemalans have detached from the political establishment. Most political parties resemble closed personal networks rather than open organizational structures conducive to two-way political communication.

To encourage discussion and analysis of current national issues among leaders across the political spectrum, IRI developed a strategic analysis and discussion series on the major public policy issues facing Guatemala. The participants crafted meaningful platforms that focused on corruption, economics and citizen security issues instead of personality politics. In May, IRI and a coalition of party representatives presented a joint report, *Pillars for Governability* to the Guatemalan public. It summarized multi-party consensus on some of the most serious issues facing Guatemala.

The November 2003 national elections set the direction of IRI programming. In the early part of the year, IRI promoted internal democratization and trained party leaders on constituent communications, governance issues and electoral observation techniques. IRI also provided leadership development training to youth leaders from two major political parties.

As the elections drew near and parties focused on the campaigns, IRI modified its trainings to meet the specific requests and needs of parties and organizations. IRI trained political-party representatives on efficient campaign organization, strategic analysis, leadership and candidate development. IRI also worked with parties to foster a better understanding of key democratic values and pursued efforts to implement communication strategies, incorporate ethics and accountability into party platforms, and bring different perspectives to the political process.

Haiti

IRI has supported the growth of democratic institutions in Haiti since 1987 and undertaken major observation missions for the 1990, 1995 and 1997 elections. Since 1998, IRI has provided training and technical assistance to Haiti's political parties and civil society groups.

IRI also created a website called www.haitigetinvolved.com to provide Haitians, as well as the international community, with accurate information about Haiti's political, economic and social conditions. Offered in English, French and Creole, the website serves as an informational clearinghouse for political parties and civil society groups to access.

As Haiti's internal political situation continued to deteriorate, IRI complemented its existing party training program with a new effort to engage Haiti's women and youth constituencies.



Representatives of Haiti's political parties, community groups, nongovernmental organizations, unions and churches attended five clusters of IRI-sponsored training workshops throughout 2003. In these sessions, young Haitians as well as leaders absorbed the basics of campaign management, communications, platform development and coalition building.

Mexico

The 2000 presidential election year ended over 70 years of one-party rule. Change within Mexico's political parties, however, remains slow. The year 2003 brought legislative elections, the result of which was a deeper divide between the ruling Partido Accion Nacional (PAN) party and the opposition. The political deadlock within the Mexican Congress crowded out legislators' ability to respond to voter needs.

In an effort to bolster a multi-party democratic system, IRI began training the three major parties on internal reform issues that are crucial to long-term success. IRI also held political communication conferences to improve party outreach to voters. IRI built on these efforts by training parties and newly elected legislators to effectively use district offices for conducting constituent services.

IRI continued its partnership with the Asociacion Nacional Civica Femenina (ANCIFEM) in 2003, providing this women's civil society organization with technical training for message development, organizational structure and fundraising techniques. The training will give ANCIFEM the ability to become an independent, self-financing organization that can continue successful operation for years to come.

Nicaragua

Nicaraguan democracy remains fragile. Former Nicaraguan president Arnoldo Alemán was arrested on corruption charges and continued his control over his party, hindering reform efforts of the current president, Enrique Bolaños. As much of Alemán's support has come from the National Assembly, making the activities of public officials visible to the average Nicaraguan has been essential in the battle for greater accountability.

To this end, IRI and its local partner, Hagamos Democracia, conducted a range of activities, including publishing and distributing the daily record of the National Assembly. Hagamos Democracia occupies a unique place in Nicaraguan public life, as it is the only source of detailed information on the proceedings of the National Assembly. In 2003, Hagamos distributed over 300

legislative reports to embassies, businesses, organizations and individuals. Hagamos also organized its first forum on the principles and workings of democracy for journalists who cover government. Participants learned how to use democratic principles as a barometer to track political developments in Nicaragua.



IRI also opened an office in Managua in September to launch a program on electoral law reform and party youth leadership development. The youth component is aimed at helping parties become less hierarchical and more responsive to the views of youth and other members. In order to take more prominent roles in their parties and encourage internal democratization, party youth members have sought out training to better prepare them to assume decision-making positions in their party structures. In addition to holding consultation meetings with party youth auxiliaries, IRI organized a multi-party youth training on leadership and ethics, party organization, internal and external communications and democratic participation.

Peru

Peru's democracy has advanced considerably since former strongman Alberto Fujimori was forced to resign in 2001. Peru is still hampered, however, by weak democratic institutions. Most political parties lack the organizational capacity to fully and effectively function nationwide. Even fewer parties have established an ideological foundation that provides members with a unifying set of values and principles. There is little transparency or ethical probity in the way political parties manage finances or raise money. As a result, much of the Peruvian public has lost confidence in the country's political establishment.

To promote political stability, IRI continued to help party members and leaders develop a clearer understanding of their roles in a democracy. In August, IRI partnered with the Lima College of Public Accountants to hold the Advanced Ethics and Transparency in Financial Management Training Academy. This was the second in a series that trained party officials to practice ethical and transparent financial management.

In August, IRI organized a national conference on conflict resolution to promote cooperation between the newly formed regional governments and the national government. The newly elected officials from Peru's provinces gathered with members of the National Decentralization Council to discuss productive ways to resolve tensions arising from the capital's delegation of power to regional and local government.

In 2004, IRI will continue to aid the decentralization effort through capacity-building trainings with the newly elected regional presidents and their staffs. In addition to decentralization, the Institute will continue its political party training in Peru, with a special initiative focused on transparency and accountability in party financial management.

Regional Program: Party Renewal

As Latin America encounters challenges to democratic governance, the region's political parties, often perceived as little more than transitory vehicles to power, face growing popular skepticism of their roles and objectives. Because IRI believes that political parties are crucial components of effective democracy, the Institute has launched a project to revitalize this key democratic institution throughout the hemisphere. The program includes parties from six countries: Argentina, Bolivia, Ecuador, Guatemala, Mexico and Nicaragua. By bringing together parties from these diverse countries with party representatives whose institutions are at various stages in democratic development, IRI encourages the sharing of both successful and unsuccessful experiences to promote internal party democratization.



IRI's regional program offers participating political parties the opportunity to analyze strengths and weaknesses, identify specific internal challenges to democratization and formulate strategies to address them. The project has created a network of reform-minded party activists who can share lessons learned in the consolidation of democratic institutions and find allies in the long-term process of party renewal. As IRI carries out the project, it gives special attention to themes of good governance, civic involvement and ethics and transparency.

In June 2003, IRI staffers traveled to the six countries to assess over 30 political parties, secure participation and identify reform-minded party representatives within selected political institutions. IRI also conducted seminars with each party to begin the process of party self-assessment and to identify obstacles to internal democratic reform. Parties routinely targeted sluggish youth development, weak internal and external communications and top-heavy management as challenges to party reform. Early in 2004, the Institute will hold a regional conference in Antigua, Guatemala, to address these issues and train parties on grassroots development, negotiation and crisis management.

Venezuela

In 2003, IRI continued working to build stronger, more accountable political parties in an effort to strengthen Venezuelan democracy. Venezuela remained mired in a stalemate between President Hugo Chavez and the democratic opposition. While the past four years of the Chavez presidency have been turbulent, a weeks-long nationwide strike in early 2003 further polarized the two sides.

Despite the agreement to collect signatures for a recall referendum on the president, the outcome of the political standoff remains uncertain. In this complicated political environment, IRI continued to train political parties on the fundamentals of party strengthening.

A key component of IRI's training in 2003 included platform development. Last year, IRI implemented a nationwide poll on quality of life issues for the exclusive use of the parties. The results of the poll were closely examined by party leaders and highlighted much of what is currently absent in party platforms. IRI will use these findings in future trainings to help parties make platforms more reflective of the needs of the electorate.

Last year, IRI began a nationwide campaign school that has already trained hundreds of representatives from all of Venezuela's major political parties and 19 of 23 states. The school covered campaign organization, message development, grassroots campaigning, membership and recruitment, fundraising, and other aspects of a professional campaign. IRI also began a political party poll watcher training aimed to increase transparency and accountability in the electoral process. Given the uncertainty of the Venezuelan political situation, IRI's program was designed to enable parties to closely monitor any electoral event that may take place in the near future.



Middle East and Northern Africa

Regional Summary

The year 2003 was a seminal one for the Middle East and marked the start of a new chapter for IRI's work in the region. With the announcement in December 2002 of the Administration's Middle East Partnership Initiative (MEPI), a bold step was taken to not only increase support for political development in the Middle East but also to couple this support within a comprehensive package of economic and educational aid and increased diplomatic attention. After many years of existence on the fringes of foreign policy considerations, the reform imperative in the Middle East finally came to center stage.

Afghanistan

As Afghanistan approaches national elections and arguably the most important phase in its history, IRI has continued to help local organizations prepare Afghans for this monumental event. In 2003, IRI expanded the publication and distribution of *Erada*, Afghanistan's only independent daily newspaper printed in Dari and Pashtu.

In an effort to foster a dynamic civil society, IRI also continued to work with an umbrella group of 275 nongovernmental organizations that help coordinate the delivery of crucial basic services to Afghan communities. In the absence of elections to date, such groups have provided a rare link between Afghan citizenry and governing institutions in Kabul.

IRI's mobile teams of democracy activists reached into remote districts and villages while offices in regional centers gave the Institute more permanent venues to coordinate activities. IRI has been facilitating open discussion and informed debate about the constitution, elections, and the role of pluralism and political participation in the new Afghanistan.



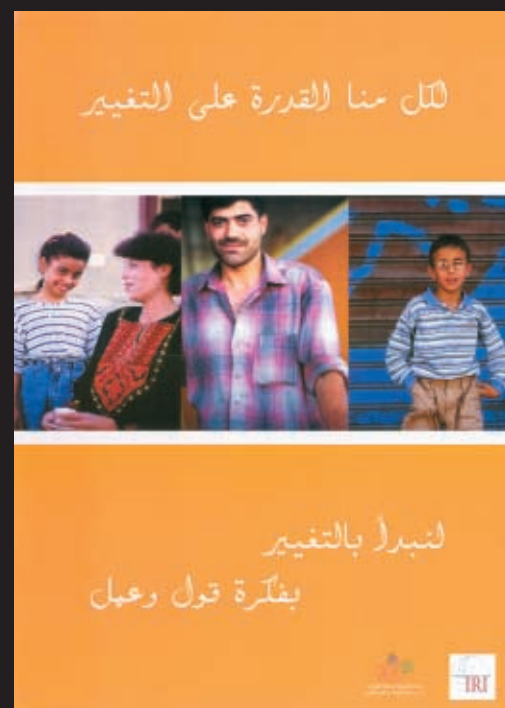
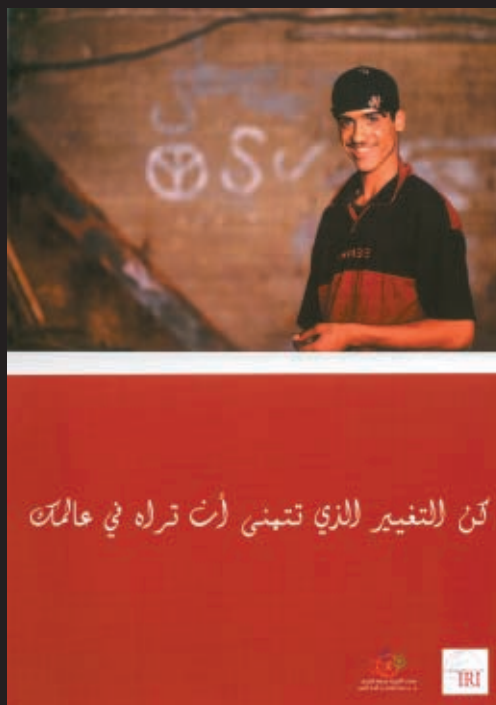
Iraq

In the past year, events in Iraq transformed the Middle East and the nature of U.S. involvement in the region. Responding to this new opportunity to promote and support democratic governance, IRI conducted an assessment mission in July. The Institute subsequently established a Baghdad field office and hired several local staff to support the development of a vibrant, independent civil society. IRI sponsored some of Iraq's first-ever policy research and conducted democracy training to help prepare Iraqis for a democratic future. The training included an emphasis on debate, education and advocacy for civil society groups on issues relating to Iraq's crucial transition. IRI also



began a constituent outreach program to help the interim Iraqi Governing Council and future governing institutions communicate their policies and agendas to citizens.

In December, the Institute finished compiling a database of new political parties and an opinion poll to help those parties choose candidates and build platforms. In June 2004, sovereignty will transfer from the Coalition Provisional Authority to an Iraqi provisional government. IRI's efforts to build Iraq's political infrastructure will be a critical factor to the success of the transition and future elections.



Jordan

IRI helped prepare Jordanians for mid-year parliamentary and municipal elections by educating voters and promoting representative government and electoral participation. IRI supported regional workshops for Jordanian youth that incorporated mock parliaments, training and interactive exercises to discuss concepts of democracy and participation.

Through its local partner, the Princess Basma Youth Resource Center, IRI helped provide venues for women candidates seeking elected office to share campaign platforms and receive feedback from the public. Three short documentary films, produced by the Princess Basma Center to teach the basics of democracy, were aired on local and regional television stations and are currently being used in other parts of the region.

IRI also sponsored a series of two-day "Democratic Living" workshops in Jordan's northern, central and southern regions throughout the year. Participants received training on the importance of democracy and discussed issues relevant to Jordanian society.

In October, Jordan's King Abdullah II launched a public campaign to promote political reform, created a new ministry to guide government efforts in this direction and announced the formation of a new cabinet. Within a few weeks of the cabinet's formation, IRI and its partners released a public opinion poll that reflected expectations of the newly appointed cabinet.

In 2004, IRI will pursue new opportunities to advance political reform in the Hashemite Kingdom.



Morocco

Developments in 2003 in Morocco strengthened political reform first initiated by Mohammed VI when he became king in 1999. Morocco's municipal elections in September 2003 marked another step in the country's political reform process that began with successful parliamentary elections in 2002.

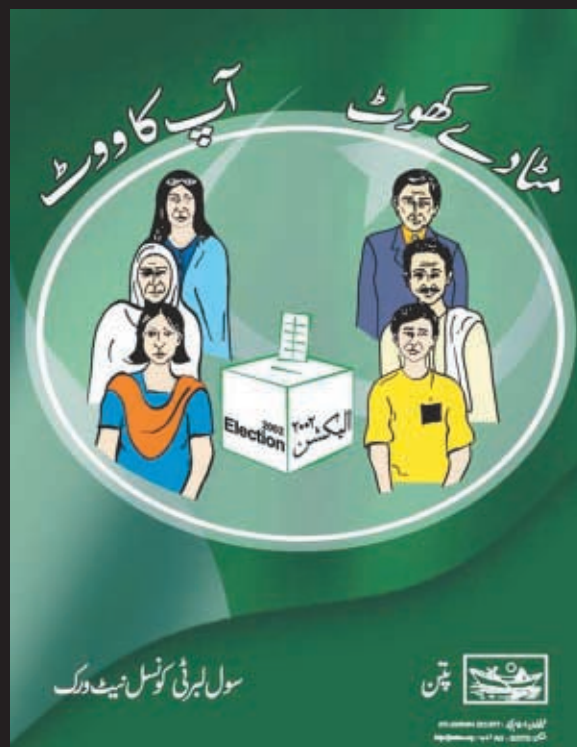
In response to Morocco lowering its voting age to 18, IRI coordinated a voter education and get-out-the-vote (GOTV) initiative that worked with Morocco's independent civil society to encourage participation from young voters and other marginalized groups. The GOTV effort resulted in the distribution of more than 80,000 printed leaflets and 20,000 posters and also included daily radio announcements during the three weeks leading up to elections. In an effort to confront apathy and disinterest among youth, the voter education campaign targeted five urban areas to create a network of newly mobilized Moroccan young people actively involved in politics.

After the election, IRI began working with newly elected local councilors to improve their effectiveness in responding to the needs of communities. IRI is implementing specialized pilot projects in Casablanca and Tetouan in cooperation with target local councils to address key deficiencies at the local level.

Oman

Boasting the largest universal suffrage elections among Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries, the Sultanate of Oman provides an encouraging example of representative government. Since 1999, IRI has worked in Oman to strengthen its parliamentary institutions by working with committee and research staff in both houses of the bicameral Council of Oman.

In 2000, IRI and the popularly elected Majles A'Shura, began implementing a program of technical assistance to train staff and strengthen the Council's ability to fulfill its mandate. In 2003, in coordination with the Council of Oman, IRI also began supporting the development of institutional links between the Council and emerging representative institutions in neighboring GCC states. In mid-2003, this program included a staff delegation from institutions in five of the six GCC member states to the Canadian Parliament. The visit was designed to expose participants to developed parliamentary procedures, including research and policy analysis methodologies. Through programs organized by IRI, Council of Oman staff participated in conferences and training events in the United Kingdom, Qatar, Thailand, Egypt, Germany and the United States.



Pakistan

Following national and provincial elections in October 2002, IRI continued to encourage fair and transparent political processes by working with civil society groups to provide accurate information regarding voter attitudes and responses to political changes. In coordination with its local partners, IRI conducted a post-election poll in early 2003 to provide feedback to decision makers on voter attitudes as the newly elected parliament and related government institutions began to take shape. Through a local partner, IRI also conducted a series of workshops with the newly-elected provincial assemblies in Balochistan and the North West Frontier Province on issues related to the role of local, provincial and federal government.



Qatar

Since 1995, the Emir of Qatar has introduced a series of political reforms, including granting women the right to run for elected office and vote, holding universal elections for a Municipal Council and passing a new constitution by referendum in April 2003. Beyond articulating the responsibilities of government in a codified manner, the new constitution mandates universal elections for an expanded Advisory Council with legislative authority.

In 2003, IRI staff built relationships with Qatar's emerging civil society to explore areas for mutual cooperation. As Qatar prepares for forthcoming elections, IRI will be prepared to provide assistance.



West Bank and Gaza

As IRI approaches nearly a decade of programming in the West Bank and Gaza, a signature achievement of the Institute's work to date in support of democratic governance has been the development of what has been described by locals as a "culture of polling." In the absence of elections at the local level since the establishment of the Palestinian Authority in 1993 and at the national level since 1996, IRI's ongoing survey research, in partnership with the Development Studies Programme (DSP) at Birzeit University, has provided a mechanism through which Palestinians have been able to voice their sentiments on matters ranging from government performance and corruption in public life, to new elections and women in politics.



In combination with related programming in 2003 that offered forums for the discussion of constitutional issues, IRI remains committed to supporting those within Palestinian society who seek a peaceful, democratic future.

In cooperation with local partners, IRI also conducted 50 workshops and seminars in six major cities throughout the West Bank in 2003 in which nearly 200 women received training in communications, public speaking, media relations and campaign management.



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In the 20 years since the creation and founding of IRI, efforts to fund the democracy movement have been supported largely by the U.S. government. IRI's programs to advance democracy in Asia, Africa, Eurasia, Europe, Latin America, the Caribbean and the Middle East have increased by 30 percent in 2003. Generous contributions from corporations, foundations and individuals make it possible for IRI to increase the number of programs to help build lasting democracy throughout the world.

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History of the International Republican Institute

The International Republican Institute was created in 1983 as a response to a call by President Ronald Reagan to institutionalize democracy throughout the world. In a speech delivered to the British Parliament in 1982, President Reagan said: "The objective I propose is quite simple to state: to foster the infrastructure of democracy, the system of a free press, unions, political parties, universities, which allows a people to choose their own way to develop their own culture, to reconcile their own differences through peaceful means."

With the support of statesmen from both American political parties, the Institute was created as a part of the National Endowment for Democracy and opened its doors in 1984. IRI launched its first program that year when it helped monitor elections in Grenada. During the 1980s, the reality of communism meant that large parts of the world were off limits to IRI in its efforts to promote democracy. Nonetheless, the Institute was able to exercise real impact. In 1986, IRI election monitors chronicled the fraud committed by the government of Ferdinand Marcos in a presidential election. Corazon Aquino, the actual winner of the Philippine election, was soon ushered into office in a display of peaceful "people power." IRI's programs in Central America culminated in 1990 with the first democratic election in Nicaragua.

The collapse of the Soviet Union opened opportunities for new democracies and for the Institute. IRI staff and election monitors helped oversee Russia's first post-communist polls in 1993. IRI spent much of the 1990s training political parties in Eastern Europe to form coalitions and run issue-based campaigns. Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Bulgaria, Slovakia, Romania, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania have achieved a depth of democratic institutionalization to be considered for membership in the European Union and NATO.

The Institute first began work in Serbia in 1991 when Slobodan Milosevic came to power in a national election. After years of aggressive war and ethnic cleansing by Serbia, IRI campaign training helped a coalition of progressive parties defeat Milosevic in 2000.

Less than a year after the referendum in 1999, which paved the way for East Timor's independence from Indonesia, IRI started building the infrastructure for democracy in the country. In May 2002, East Timor became the world's youngest country, and the Institute continues to help the Timorese develop a stable, grassroots, organized and idea-based multi-party system, crucial to democratic stability.

IRI's years of work in East Africa laid the groundwork for the most credible elections in Kenya's history in 2002.

The progress towards democracy has been uneven and has suffered some set backs. After a promising election in 1993 that initiated IRI's decade-long program, Cambodia has seen violence and corruption plague its elections and political process.

The trauma of September 11 and the transformation of Iraq focused new attention in the Middle East. IRI's Middle East program stepped up efforts to expand political opportunities for women in Jordan and helped launch the first independent newspaper in Afghanistan. IRI's Iraq program is expanding from Baghdad to several regional offices in order to support that country's transition to democracy.

From a few programs and staff, IRI has grown to work with 55 countries and territories through more than 37 offices throughout the world.

IRI was conceived 20 years ago during a Cold War against communism and continues as the United States confronts terrorism and fanaticism. Looking ahead towards the next decade, IRI still has much work to do.

2003 Volunteers

IRI relies on volunteers and experts who have worked at the highest level in political campaigns, state legislatures, the U.S. Congress and state and federal government. Volunteer trainers give their time from several days to weeks to one of the 50 countries around the world where IRI conducts programs. The purpose of these training events is to build lasting democracies overseas by teaching others how to:

- Run political campaigns
- Communicate with the public
- Monitor elections
- Organize civil society
- Deliver government services
- Increase women and youth participation
- Manage the legislative process
- Reform political and governmental institutions

Volunteer trainers are crucial to IRI's efforts to advance democracy worldwide. IRI's Board of Directors, officers and staff thank them for their generous work in 2003.



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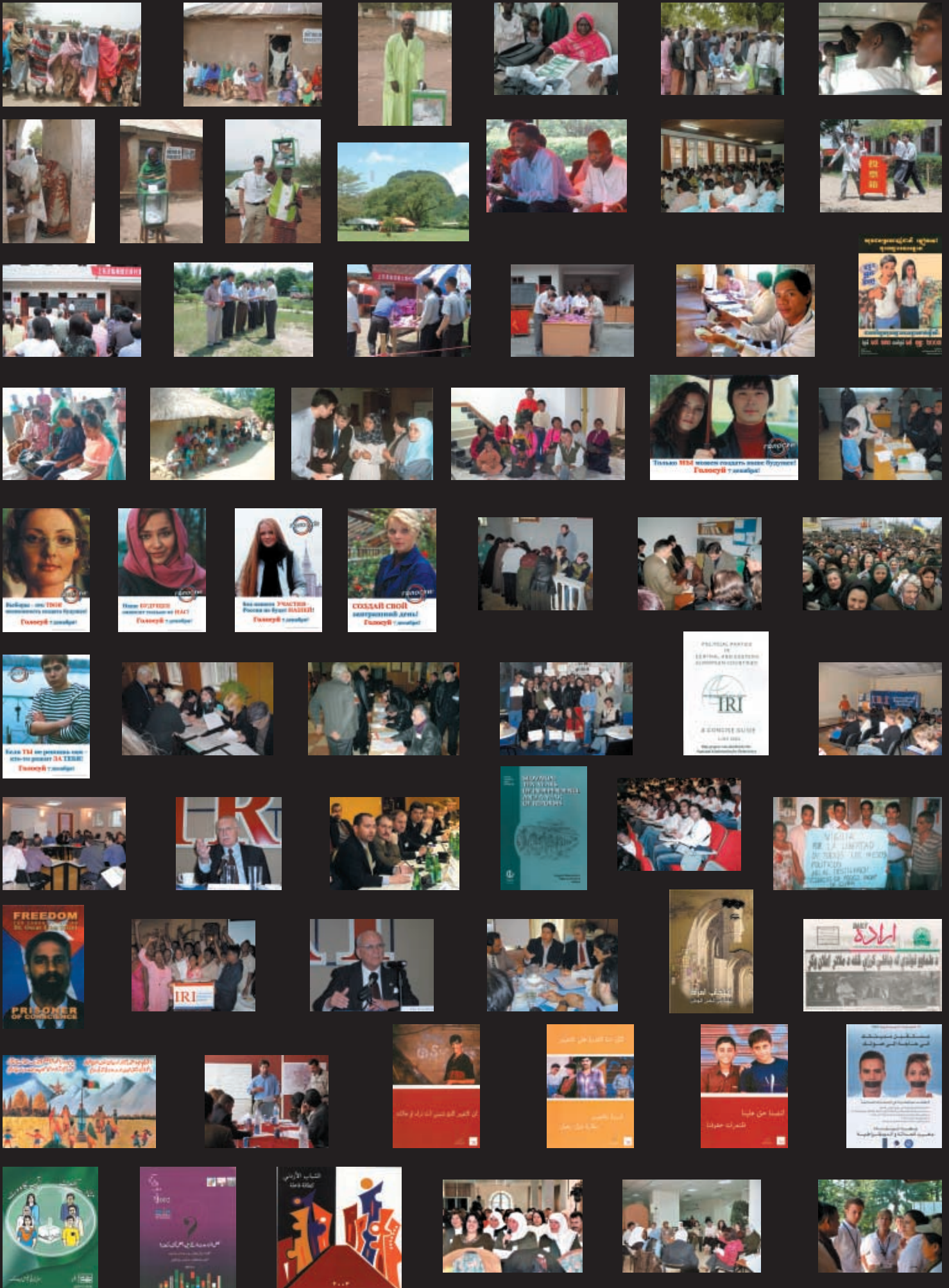
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Photo Descriptions

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- Page 5:** (all photos): Nigeria's April elections.
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- Page 8:** (all photos): IRI trains political activists in Uganda.
- Page 9:** (from top to bottom): Election workers bring ballot box to election grounds during May elections in China's Fujian Province. Tallying votes after elections. Ballot sorting. Ballot sorting continued. Newly elected village leaders receive their official certificates of office after May elections.
- Page 10:** (from top to bottom): Cambodians sort ballots during July elections. Cambodian get-out-the-vote (GOTV) poster.
- Page 11:** (from top to bottom): Training session with the Women's Caucus, IRI's local partner in East Timor. Village residents wait for district deputados to arrive for a townhall meeting. IRI President and CEO Dr. George Folsom listens to questions from participants at an IRI-sponsored seminar held in June in Indonesia.
- Page 12:** Tibetan patients anxiously wait for care at a health clinic in Yushu Autonomous Prefecture, Qinghai Province.
- Page 13:** (from top to bottom): Russian GOTV poster, translated "Only We Can Build Our Future! Vote December 7!" Voting in Georgia's November election.
- Page 14:** Russian GOTV posters translated (from top to bottom): "Elections—Your Opportunity To Build The Future. Vote December 7!"; "Our Future Depends On Us. Vote December 7!"; "Without Our Participation, Russia Won't Be Ours! Vote December 7!"; "Build Your Future! Vote December 7!"
- Page 15:** (top two photos): Georgians prepare to vote during November election. (bottom photo): Political rally in Ukraine.
- Page 16:** (from top to bottom, left to right): Russian GOTV poster. Political rally in Ukraine. Georgians sign-up to vote during November election.
- Page 17:** (from top to bottom): Albanian youth are awarded certificates for their successful completion of an IRI-training program. The June 2003 edition of the political party guidebook published by IRI's Bratislava-based regional office.
- Page 18:** IRI trains Albanian youth. An IRI-supported youth leadership seminar of the Political Academy for Central and Southeastern Europe (PACE) in Tryavna, Bulgaria.
- Page 19:** (from top to bottom): Czech President Vaclav Klaus speaks at IRI in November. Parliamentarians discuss the challenges of NATO accession at a conference of IRI's Europe Regional Program.
- Page 20:** (from top to bottom): An IRI publication on the political situation in Slovakia following the last parliamentary elections. Participants at the Fourth Annual GencNet National Conference in Istanbul.
- Page 21:** The Association of Independent Teachers carries out a vigil as part of the Freedom Without Forced Exile Campaign in Cuba.
- Page 22:** (from top to bottom): Cuban pro-democracy poster. Haitian women participants pose at an IRI-training workshop in the Dominican Republic.
- Page 23:** Nicaraguan President Enrique Bolaños visits IRI.
- Page 24:** Political party representatives discuss strategy with IRI President and CEO Dr. George Folsom at a two-day regional conference hosted by IRI.
- Page 25:** (from top to bottom): Poster distributed as part of IRI's women's leadership program for Palestinian women. Afghan newspaper -- *Erada* -- published with IRI's assistance. Afghan songtape used to promote democracy. Jason Roe, chief of staff for Florida Rep. Tom Feeney teaches Iraqis basic principles of democracy.
- Page 26:** (all graphics): Jordanian voter education posters.
- Page 27:** (from top to bottom): Moroccan GOTV poster. Pakistani GOTV poster. Pakistani post-election public opinion survey published by IRI.
- Page 28:** (from top to bottom): Civic participation handbook for youth in Jordan, produced and distributed by the Princess Basma Youth Resource Center in partnership with IRI. IRI hosts two-day women's conference in the West Bank.
- Page 31:** Gov. Christine Todd Whitman leads IRI's election observation team during Cambodia's July elections.



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