THE INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE



Advancing Democracy Worldwide

UKRAINE PARLIAMENTARY AND LOCAL ELECTIONS March 26, 2006

ELECTION OBSERVATION MISSION FINAL REPORT

Ukraine Parliamentary and Local Elections March 26, 2006

Election Observation Mission Final Report



The International Republican Institute

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The International Republican Institute (IRI) received funding from the National Endowment for Democracy to deploy a 26member international delegation to observe the pre-election environment, voting and tabulation process for the March 26, 2006 elections in Ukraine.

The March elections were Ukraine's fourth parliamentary elections since the country declared independence in 1991, as well as the first conducted by the government of President Viktor Yushchenko. The 2006 elections were a test for the Yushchenko administration to conduct a free and fair election. The international community and mass media were watching to see if the new government would make use of administrative resources and other fraudulent means to secure the victory for its political bloc in the election.

The IRI delegation concluded that the pre-election period showed dramatic improvements in comparison to the previous parliamentary and presidential elections which were conducted amid widespread instances of fraud, organized and systematic use of administrative resources, and harassment of independent media and opposition candidates. The 2006 elections represented the most free and fair campaign environment in Ukraine since independence. The mass media environment was free of the violence and threats against journalists as in past elections. Campaigns were given equal media coverage and had the ability to buy advertising from all media outlets. Activists were able to campaign freely, without the threat of physical violence. Finally, the Yushchenko government showed restraint from using administrative resources for partisan political purposes.

Election Day likewise was free of fraud and tension unlike in the past. The IRI delegation concluded that the administration of the election process was conducted according to Ukrainian law and in good faith. No cases of voter intimidation or election falsification schemes were reported. There were, however, long lines to vote caused by the length and number of ballots; a result of the parliamentary and local election being held at the same time.

Based upon its observations, IRI concluded that the 2006 preelection period and March 26, 2006, Election Day constituted a dramatic improvement over past elections in Ukraine. IRI has offered several recommendations to help the Ukrainian authorities further improve the administration of elections, such as holding parliamentary and local elections separately and creating a nationwide registry of voters. Overall, IRI believes that the March 26, 2006, elections were an accurate reflection of the will of the citizens of Ukraine on Election Day. They were conducted in accordance with international standards and Ukrainian election law. The March 26 balloting was the most open and transparent in Ukraine's post-Soviet history and should be recognized as an important step in Ukraine's democratic development.

I. Introduction

The March 2006 parliamentary elections in Ukraine were the first nationwide elections to be conducted by the Yushchenko government as well as the first in Ukraine's history to be conducted exclusively under a party list system. The world's attention was focused on the Yushchenko administration to see whether it would deliver a free and fair pre-election period and voting process or whether it would make use of administrative resources to influence the outcome of the vote.

Moreover, because local and parliamentary elections were conducted simultaneously and under the new party list system, there were widespread concerns about the accuracy and competency of the administration of the elections. As a result of the constitutional amendments that entered into force on January 1, 2006, the deputies elected to parliament in the March election would enjoy additional powers, such as the power to nominate the prime minister and members of the cabinet of ministers, therefore adding more importance to this ballot.

To observe the election process, IRI deployed an election observation mission of 26 members, including members from Great Britain and the United States. The IRI observers traveled to 10 oblasts and observed voting in nearly 120 polling stations.

This report will summarize the pre-election, Election Day, and post-election findings of IRI's election observation mission (EOM). This report will also make recommendations for improvement of Ukraine's election administration.

II. Pre-Election Period

A. Political Situation in Ukraine 2004 – 2006

The March 2006, parliamentary elections followed two tumultuous years in Ukraine's political history.

Viktor Yushchenko was elected President in a contentious process. The 2004 presidential run-off election between him and incumbent Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovych was believed to be widely marred by fraud and interference by the now former authorities. This sparked the popular protests known as the Orange Revolution and the Supreme Court of Ukraine invalidated the second round of the election - calling for a repeat election - which resulted in a Yushchenko victory.

After being sworn in as the third President of Ukraine since it achieved independence in 1991, President Yushchenko appointed his ally from the presidential campaign, Yulia Tymoshenko, as Prime Minister. She was then confirmed by an overwhelming majority of the Parliament. However, a series of internal conflicts between the Yushchenko administration and the cabinet eventually led to a split in the "orange team," which culminated in a September 2005 crisis. Presidential Chief of Staff Oleksandr Zinchenko resigned alleging corruption in the Yushchenko administration. This led to Yushchenko's dismissal of the entire Cabinet of Ministers including the accused officials and Prime Minister Tymoshenko.

Following the cabinet dismissal in September, Yushchenko appointed Yuri Yekhanurov to the post of the Prime Minister. The Yekhanurov government immediately faced difficult negotiations with Russia on the price of its natural gas exports to Ukraine. In the middle of freezing January temperatures, the two sides eventually struck a deal that kept gas flowing to Ukraine. However, a controversial intermediary company, RosUkrEnergo, was given a monopoly on the resale of Russian and Turkmen gas to Ukraine. Questions about this previously unknown company caused a heated debate among the political elites in Ukraine, and were eventually used by the Parliament as a reason to dismiss Prime Minister Yekhanurov and his cabinet on January 10, 2006. Due to loopholes in the legislation, however, the Yekhanurov government was able to continue operating through the election.

The constitutional changes adopted in December 2004 continue to be debated, and differences of opinion remain between the President and Parliament over the shift in powers. New constitutional reforms, among other provisions, extend the term served by parliamentary deputies from four to five years. The reforms also decrease the authority of the president of Ukraine and vest many of the powers previously enjoyed by the president into the parliament and the prime minister. The parliament now has the right to select the prime minister and all other ministers except the Interior, Defense and the Foreign Ministers, who continue to be appointed by the President.

To prevent President Yushchenko from initiating court proceedings against the constitutional reform, Parliament would not approve his constitutional court nominees, thus leaving the highest court of Ukraine without the quorum necessary to conduct business. In his State of the Nation speech before Parliament in February 2006, Yushchenko announced his intention to initiate a national referendum on constitutional changes after the 2006 parliamentary election.

B. Leading Electoral Blocs and Parties in the 2006 Elections

Prior parliamentary elections were conducted in 1994, 1998 and 2002; each of which were conducted under different election laws. The law governing the 2006 elections was adopted by the

Verkhovna Rada, Ukraine's parliament, and signed into law by President Yushchenko on July 7, 2005.

The Verkhovna Rada is a 450-member unicameral body. Previously, half of Ukraine's deputies were elected via a party list system, while the other half were elected in single-mandate elections. However, the new election law provides exclusively for a party list system. Parties had to pass a three percent threshold of total number of ballots cast to seat candidates from their lists.

In the 2002 elections, six parties or blocs passed the four percent threshold required at the time to win representation in the parliament. The parties were the Bloc of Our Ukraine, the Communist Party, For a United Ukraine, Bloc of Yulia Tymoshenko, the Socialist Party, and Social Democratic Party (united). In addition, 93 independent candidates as well as the following parties won single mandate seats: Democratic Union, the Unity Bloc, the National Economic Development Party, and the Ukrainian Sea Party.

In the 2006 parliamentary elections, the Central Election Commission (CEC) registered 45 electoral blocs and political parties. Prominent blocs and parties registered in 2006 were:

- 1. Party of the Regions of Ukraine, led by former Prime Minister and 2004 presidential candidate Viktor Yanu-kovych.
- 2. People's Union Our Ukraine Bloc, the successor of President Yushchenko's "Our Ukraine" bloc which includes People's Union Our Ukraine Party, Rukh, the Party of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs (led by former Prime Minister Anatoliy Kinakh), and several smaller parties.
- 3. Bloc of Yulia Tymoshenko, led by the former Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko.

- 4. The Socialist Party of Ukraine, led by the former Rada Speaker and Parliamentary Deputy Oleksandr Moroz.
- 5. The Communist Party, led by former presidential candidate and Parliamentary Deputy Petro Symonenko.
- 6. The People's Party, led by Parliamentary Speaker Volodymyr Lytvyn.
- 7. People's Opposition Bloc, led by former Parliamentary Deputy and failed presidential candidate Nataliya Vitrenko, who also heads the largest party in this bloc, the Progressive Socialist Party.
- 8. The Bloc of Kostenko-Plyushch, led by Parliamentary Deputy Yuri Kostenko and former Parliamentary Speaker Ivan Plyushch.
- Bloc of PORA Reforms and Order, consisting of the youth oriented Pora Party and the Party of Reforms and Order, led by the former youth movement leader Vlad Kaskiv and Finance Minister Viktor Pynzenyk, respectively. World heavyweight boxing champion Volodymyr Klychko headed the list of this bloc.
- 10. "Ne Tak" Bloc, consisting of the Social Democratic Party United led by the Chief of Staff to former President Leonid Kuchma Viktor Medvedchuk, the Republican Party led by former Ukrainian Oil Company Chairman Yuri Boyko, and the Women for the Future political party led by Valentyna Dovzhenko.

Many other small or one-issue parties were on the ballot, and all received less than one percent support in nationwide public opinion polls. They included the Green Party, Bloc of Karmazin, People's Democratic Party, Bloc of Lazarenko, European Capital Party, Viche Party, For Union Party and Freedom Party, among others.

C. Campaign Period

Through monitoring of the news media, meetings with election commissions, and regular contact with political parties, campaigns and civil society in all regions of the country, IRI closely followed the 2006 parliamentary and local election campaigns in Ukraine. IRI found that the pre-election environment in Ukraine was dramatically improved relative to election campaigns in 1998, 1999, 2002 and 2004. IRI recognized dramatically reduced use of administrative resources, improved campaign environment, increased media freedoms and improved cooperation with international observers. However, one issue that remained problematic from previous campaigns was the condition of the voter lists.

• Dramatically Reduced Use of Administrative Resources

The new Yushchenko government showed restraint from using administrative resources for partisan political purposes. Fear of criminal prosecution for election related crimes was a strong deterrent among election commissioners and government officials. As a result, few were willing to risk using their positions to gain advantage for the candidate of their choice. This was in stark contrast to the blatant use of administrative resources during the 2004 presidential election.

• Improved Campaign Environment

Unlike the 2004 election, campaign activists were able to campaign freely, without the threat of physical violence. Obstacles to campaigning were few and more regional in nature. While there were a limited number of instances in which campaign workers and volunteers were asked to leave an area, their rights were usually restored by local authorities shortly thereafter.

Increased Media Freedoms

The 2006 elections represented the most free mass media environment in Ukraine's history. None of the national and local party headquarters leaders interviewed by IRI said they had been denied media coverage. There was drastically less pressure on journalists to advocate for certain candidates, more objectivity in news programs than in the past and no violence or threats against journalists as in past elections. In addition, campaigns were able to buy advertising from practically all mass media outlets. Nevertheless, concern remains over the tendency to accept payment for favorable news coverage by many journalists in Ukraine.

• More Frequent Use of the Courts to Resolve Disputes

IRI received reports from every region of the country of campaigns making use of their lawyers to file lawsuits when they believed they had been denied their rights under the law. While local courts remain more prone to pressure, Appeals Courts have largely been favorable to protecting the rights of campaigns and their activists, especially with regard to candidate registration and election commission membership.

Cooperation with International Observers

IRI found that campaign offices in Ukraine became increasingly open to meeting with international observers. Some campaigns, however, actively avoided such meetings. The Bloc of Volodymyr Lytvyn, the Party of Regions and the Progressive Socialists were either unwilling to meet or did not understand the role of international election observers. Other campaign headquarters, however, were open and eager to accommodate international observers.

Voter Lists Remain Problematic

While there were many improvements in the 2006 campaign relative to previous elections, it was clear that many of the mistakes on the voter lists from the 2004 campaign have not been corrected. The public was once again unaware of the law that protected their right to check their information. Mistakes ranged from minor ones like misspellings of names (translated from Russian to Ukrainian) to serious ones like deceased persons remaining on the lists.

III. Election Period

For the purpose of this report, the election period encompasses the entire period of the election observation mission. It was conducted from March 21 - 29, 2006.

The delegation attended a full-day briefing on the election process and political situation in Ukraine upon their arrival in Kyiv. Among those briefing the delegates were the Honorable John Herbst, U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine; Stephen Nix, Esq., IRI Eurasia Division Director; Brian Mefford, IRI Resident Program Officer; Ostap Semerak, Vice-Chairman of the Political Council of Reforms & Order; Ravisa Bohatyriova, Member of Verkhovna Rada and member of the political council of the Party of Regions; Halyna Harmash, Member of Verkhovna Rada and Secretary of the Central Political Council of the Socialist Party of Ukraine; Mykhaylo Volonyets, Member of Verkhovna Rada, independent trade union activist and member of the political council of the Bloc of Yulia Tymoshenko; Yuriy Klyuchkovskiy, Member of Verkhovna Rada, author of the current election law and member of the Our Ukraine Bloc; Andriy Shevchenko, President of Public Media Center; Ellie Seats, Esq., U.S. Agency for International Development Elections Specialist; and Honorable Bohdan Futey, U.S. Federal Judge.

On March 24, 2006, IRI observers deployed to the following oblasts: Kyiv, Chernihiv, Donetsk, Dnipropetrovsk, Ivano-Frankivsk, Kharkiv, Luhansk, Odesa, Ternopil, and the Autono-mous Republic of Crimea.

A. Pre-Election Meetings

Upon arrival in their respective region, delegates conducted a series of meetings with local election officials, media representatives and political party activists. These meetings provided the delegate teams with the most up-to-date information about each region as well as the opportunity to learn of polling sites that might warrant extra scrutiny on Election Day.

Overall, IRI observers found that local election officials, regional political party leaders, and representatives of the media had positive expectations of Election Day. They also did not report any serious violations that took place in the pre-election period, which was not the case in previous elections in Ukraine. In the past, opposition political parties did not enjoy access to the media equal to that of governing parties. Moreover, opposition parties often were not able to purchase airtime for political advertisements during past elections. Political activists were often intimidated or sometimes victims of violence, and there was widespread use of administrative resources in Ukraine's past elections. This included, for example, managers at state institutions encouraging their employees to vote for the incumbent party, or opposition parties not being able to use state resources, such as auditoriums, for campaign purposes. During the March 2006 parliamentary elections, no such instances were reported in any of the 10 regions visited by IRI observers, which constituted a considerable improvement from previous elections in Ukraine

One concern, however, which was repeatedly expressed at the pre-election meetings was the state of the voter lists. While the CEC made considerable efforts to improve the voter lists, they still contained errors in spellings of the voters' names, addresses, or in some cases had voters who were deceased or had moved on the roster. Most Ukrainians were not aware of their right to check their information on the list prior to the election.

B. Election Day

On Election Day, delegates arrived at their first polling station at 6:30 A.M., one half hour before polls opened at 7:00 A.M. Delegates witnessed the sealing of empty ballot boxes and the signing of the ballot security protocols by polling station commission workers. Throughout the day, delegates continued to visit polling sites to observe the conduct of elections. Delegates visited, on average, between 15 and 20 sites, varying the length of stay at each site as necessary, based on perceived or visible violations.

Delegates arrived at their last polling site at 9:30 P.M., one half hour before the closing of polls. Delegates observed whether precinct station commission members followed procedures on proper closing, vote tabulation and delivery of ballots to the District Election Commissions (DEC).

IRI observers concluded that the overall election process was fair, transparent, free of intimidation or tension, administered in good faith and in accordance with the law. The environment was peaceful and calm, in sharp contrast with the previous elections.

The IRI election observation team was pleased to note that the various political parties were fairly represented as members of polling stations and district election commissions. Most political parties also fielded observers, who were present at nearly every polling station. Political parties should be commended for their efforts and for the active role they played in the administration of this election.

IRI found that most poll workers received training by their respective DECs or the CEC. IRI also noted a high level of cooperation and receptiveness on the part of the poll workers and commission leadership towards international observers. Commission workers were forthcoming and cooperative in answering questions.

IRI also observed that, despite widespread concerns about voter lists prior to Election Day, the percentage of people who had to be turned away because of voter list errors was low.

The most significant and widespread problem with the administration of the 2006 elections was holding parliamentary and local elections simultaneously. In some regions, this resulted in voters receiving up to six ballots. Most of these ballots contained a long list of political parties. This resulted in long lines to vote at most polling stations. Often voters refused to wait in long lines and forfeited their right to a secret vote by marking their ballots outside the voting booths. The number and length of ballots also resulted in long vote tabulation and ballot count procedures. In many cases, poll workers had to stay awake and work through the night in order to count the ballots for parliamentary and local races.

IV. Post-Election Analysis

Public opinion polls conducted in the run-up to the election suggested that between five and nine parties and blocs were most likely to enter the new parliament. The Party of Regions led the majority of polls, followed by Our Ukraine Bloc and the Bloc of Yulia Tymoshenko. No party was expected to win enough seats in parliament necessary to nominate the prime minister, but coalition negotiations prior to the election failed to bring any agreement on a post-election coalition government.

The final election results were surprising, with the Tymoshenko Bloc surpassing Our Ukraine and winning second place with 22.29 percent of the vote. The Party of Regions won the most votes, as pre-election polling indicated. Five political parties passed the three percent threshold. Final election results follow:



After the CEC announced the results, four political blocs and parties filed a joint complaint with the Supreme Court of Ukraine against the CEC: People's Opposition Bloc of Nataliya Vitrenko, Viche Party, the Bloc of Yuri Karmazin, and the Bloc of Volodymyr Lytvyn. According to election results announced by the CEC, these political forces did not cross the three percent threshold necessary to win representation in the Rada. The aforementioned parties and blocs complained that their votes were stolen in favor of the larger parties and demanded a nationwide recount of the ballots. On April 25, 2006, the Supreme Court rejected this complaint and therefore affirmed the validity of election results, ending the electoral process.

Since no single political party received the 226 seats in the parliament (the amount necessary to nominate the prime minister), the political parties that entered parliament had to form a coalition within one month after official election results were certified and printed in the Verkhovna Rada and Cabinet of Ministers publications. In the event that no coalition was formed, the president had the power, though not the obligation, to dismiss the parliament and call for new elections. After months of negotiations, Viktor Yanukovych's Party of Regions formed a ruling coalition with the Socialist Party of Ukraine and the Communist Party and nominated Yanukovych for the post of Prime Minister. On August 3, President Viktor Yushchenko opted against dissolving parliament and calling new parliamentary elections and instead agreed to Yanukovych's nomination for the post of the Prime Minister. Following the parliamentary approval of Yanukovych, the Universal of National Unity was signed by the leaders of Party of Regions, the Socialist Party of Ukraine and People's Union Our Ukraine.

V. Findings and Recommendations

IRI deployed international observers to all three previous parliamentary elections in Ukraine. After the 2002 elections, IRI made 11 recommendations to improve the electoral process, many of which were incorporated into the 2004 election law, such as non-interference of local and national authorities in the pre-election campaign environment and free and fair mass media coverage of the campaigns, political parties and candidates. IRI's 2006 observation mission report cites four recommendations for improving the electoral process.

IRI's recommendations on both the pre-election environment as well as the Election Day process are based on the findings of IRI's pre-election observations, the Election Day observation as well as an understanding of the Ukrainian electoral system that the institute gained from more than 13 years of work in the country. IRI's programs have included election observation missions to four parliamentary elections and three presidential elections, as well as broad-based training in political techniques at the grassroots level throughout the country.

IRI determined that the 2006 parliamentary elections benefited from a new parliamentary election law that provided better guidelines for commissions, courts and candidates. IRI found that improvements in election administration contributed to improved transparency and fairness in the election process, most notably, the division of commission seats among different parties and blocs.

In addition, IRI views the stipulation allowing representatives of Ukrainian non governmental organizations and political parties to serve as election monitors as a significant step forward in strengthening political parties and civil society and their role in the political process. IRI noted an increased participation by the political parties in the election process. The various political parties were fairly represented as members of polling station and district election commissions as well as poll watchers.

The IRI election observation mission to Ukraine did not characterize these elections as free or fair; rather it analyzed the strengths and weaknesses of the elections and the electoral system in its entirety and offers recommendations for improvements, as follows:

Pre-Election Recommendations

1. Finding: The CEC worked in a professional and transparent manner both in the run-up to the election and on Election Day. In particular, the CEC has taken concrete steps to improve the voter lists, resulting in an improved process of checking the lists prior to Election Day. Despite the good faith efforts of the CEC, the voter lists do contain inaccuracies, some of which resulted from the transliteration of names (such as changes in spelling between Russian and Ukrainian languages). These inaccuracies did result in problems for some voters.

Recommendation: To address these issues, IRI recommends that parliament consider the appropriate legislation that would allow the CEC to create a national, computerized database of voters. Creation of a permanent voter registry would allow voter information to be updated according to changes in their life (marriage, death, age eligibility, change of address, etc.). This registry would prevent local poll station commissions from having to correct mistakes in the final days before an election and would help eliminate the concerns over voter lists in the future. It should be noted that Ukraine has made efforts to adhere to international standards for establishing a deadline for voter registration and making corrections to the voter lists; most developed democracies have deadlines for making changes to voter lists and this is a positive step forward for Ukraine in preventing election fraud.

2. Finding: Days before the 2006 elections, Ukrainian authorities were debating changes to the new election law governing the parliamentary and local elections.

Recommendation: A new election law has been adopted in the run-up to each recent parliamentary and presidential election. IRI recommends that Ukraine's electoral legislation be unified through the drafting and adoption of a permanent electoral code, which should consider lessons learned in the administration of previous elections as well as recommendations from election monitoring organizations. By having a unified, permanent election code, the playing field will become more leveled for all parties and controversial last minute changes can be avoided.

3. Finding: Currently, political parties and blocs may campaign for only 45 days. This time is not sufficient to effectively communicate platforms to the voters, and reinforces the politics of personality rather than an issue-based campaign. The short period of time for campaigning is especially discriminatory for independent candidates for city mayor. Since independent candidates lack a party label, voters do not have adequate time to learn about their message – thereby giving an advantage to party-backed candidates and specifically incumbents.

Recommendation: IRI recommends that the campaign period for the parliamentary and local elections be extended. Previous Ukrainian legislation allowed for 60 days of campaigning. IRI suggests that a longer campaign period is needed, in excess of at least 75 days.

Recommendations on Election Day Process

1. Finding: Conducting parliamentary elections, along with local elections for oblasts, raions, city councils, mayors, and villages, creates an undue burden on polling station officials. In addition, voters were sometimes confused by the number of ballots, which varied from four to six depending on the oblast. As a result, some voters were forced to wait in long lines to receive their ballots and then again for a voting booth.

Recommendation: To avoid long lines in the future and to simplify the process of election administration, IRI recommends that parliamentary and local elections be held separately.

APPENDIX I – IRI Preliminary Statement on the Ukrainian Elections

March 27, 2006

Ukrainian Elections Meet International Standards

Kyiv, Ukraine -- The International Republican Institute (IRI) election observation delegation determined that Ukraine's March 26 parliamentary elections met international standards and were carried out in accordance with Ukrainian election law. The elections were the most open and transparent in Ukraine's post-Soviet history and reflected the will of the Ukrainian people. Ukraine's successful conduct of elections should be commended and should be considered an important step in the consolidation of democracy in Ukraine.

IRI found that improvements in election administration contributed to continued increases in transparency and fairness in the election process. These improvements in turn provided an atmosphere which allowed citizens to freely exercise their right to vote, without fear or intimidation.

I. FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Conducting parliamentary elections, along with elections for oblast, region, city and mayor, creates an undue burden on polling station officials. In addition, voters were sometimes confused by the number of ballots, which varied from four to six depending on the oblast. As a result, some voters were forced to wait in long lines to receive their ballots and then again for a voting booth. Also contributing to long lines, was the small size of some polling stations. To avoid long lines in the future, IRI recommends that parliamentary and local elections be held separately and that larger polling stations be provided. The CEC has worked in a professional and transparent manner. In particular, the CEC has taken concrete steps to improve the voter lists, resulting in a much improved process of checking the lists prior to Election Day. Despite the good faith efforts of the CEC, the voter lists do contain some inaccuracies, some a result of the transliteration of names. These inaccuracies did result in some problems for voters. In an effort to address these issues, IRI recommends that parliament consider the appropriate legislation that would allow the CEC to create a national, computerized database of voters.

The CEC, as well as lower level commissions, should be commended for providing a calm, peaceful environment on Election Day, in sharp contrast to previous elections. The various political parties were fairly represented as members of polling stations and district election commissions and the parties should be commended for their efforts.

During the campaign period preceding Election Day, IRI found the a lively campaign among the parties. An Independent Ukrainian media played a vital role in covering the campaigns and the candidates, providing voters with informed commentary and coverage. Notably, IRI found the use of administrative resources by national and local officials basically absent, a tremendous improvement over the presidential elections of 2004.

II. BACKGROUND

IRI delegates monitored more than 100 polls in Chernihiv, Dnipropetrovsk, Donetsk, Ivano-Frankivsk, Kharkiv, Kyiv, Luhansk, Odesa, Ternopil, and the Autonomous Republic of Crimea oblasts. In addition, through a grant from IRI the Democracy Development Foundation (DDF), a domestic Ukrainian nongovernmental organization, monitored an estimated 2,600 polling sites with more than 150 observers. DDF was the only Ukrainian elections monitoring organization that conducted and coordinated both domestic and international election observation for the parliamentary and local election.

IRI's delegation was led by The Honorable Michael Trend, former member of Britain's parliament. Other delegates were Steven Berry, President, Steven K. Berry, LLC; Thomas Carter, President, Commonwealth Consulting Corp.; Marjorie Finkelnburg, Director of Government Relations, Pfizer; The Honorable Bohdan Futey, U.S. Court of Federal Claims; Charles Greenleaf, former Assistant Administrator, U.S. Agency for International Development; Lilibet Hagel, Trustee, Meridian International Center; Reuben Jeffery III, Chairman, Commodity Futures Trading Commission; Patricia Morgan, State Chairman for Rhode Island, Republican National Committee; Gardner Peckham, Managing Partner, BKSH & Associates; Roman Popadiuk, former U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine; Bob Schaffer, former Congressman representing Colorado's 4th District; and Morgan Williams, Director of Government Affairs, SigmaBleyzer.

IRI staff also served as observers and assisted in the mission. IRI staff were led by Georges Fauriol, Senior Vice President of IRI, Stephen B. Nix, Regional Director for IRI's Eurasia division and Chris Holzen, IRI's Country Director for Ukraine.

Since 1993, IRI has worked to help strengthen political parties and good governance in Ukraine at both national and local levels. IRI also works with youth, women and civil society to increase their participation in the political process. In preparation for the March 2006 parliamentary elections, IRI carried out trainings on campaign management, voter education, youth mobilization, and political party poll watching.

IRI has monitored more than 140 elections since 1983.

APPENDIX II – Election Observation Delegation Members

The Honorable Michael Trend Former Member of the British Parliament	The Honorable Reuben Jeffery, III Chairman Commodity Futures Trading
Steven K. Berry President	Commission
Steven K. Berry, LLC	Patricia J. Morgan State Chairman for Rhode
Thomas Carter	Island
President	Republican National
Commonwealth Consulting Corp.	Committee
	Gardner G. Peckham
Marjorie Finkelnburg	Managing Director
Director, Government	BKSH & Associates
Relations	
Pfizer	Dr. Roman Popadiuk
	Executive Director
The Honorable Judge Bohdan	George Bush Library
Futey	Foundation
United States Court of Federal	Former U.S. Ambassador to
Claims	Ukraine
Charles Greenleaf	The Honorable Bob Schaffer
Former Assistant	Vice President for Business
Administrator	Development
USAID	Aspect Energy, Inc.
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Mark Lenzi Resident Country Director, Georgia

Brian Mefford Resident Program Officer, Ukraine

Peter Sondergaard Assistant Program Officer, the Kyrgyz Republic

Natalia Tailikh Assistant Program Officer, Ukraine

APPENDIX III - IRI in Ukraine

IRI's work on the parliamentary elections began in December 2005, with numerous training programs on campaign techniques, training for political party lawyers, a voter education campaign for rural women, and youth get-out-the-vote training programs. This work, plus IRI's 12 years of ongoing political party development work in Ukraine, provided a solid framework from which to measure the ability of political parties to compete on a level playing field in the elections.

IRI's training program in Ukraine started in 1993, centering on political party building and parliamentary training. The program promoted the creation and development of democratic structures at both the national and regional levels. IRI's programs have since evolved to reflect the results of democratic elections, and now include training for local elected officials, development of youth and women auxiliary movements within political parties and development of nongovernmental organizations. Through this broad spectrum of programming, IRI is helping the Ukrainian people learn the skills needed to build a strong, stable democracy.

IRI seminars in Ukraine continue to show positive results with almost 500 IRI-trained candidates elected to local, regional and parliamentary seats in 2002 alone. In addition, greater numbers of IRI-trained women and youth are now active in political parties.

Political Party and Candidate Development

To ensure Ukraine has vibrant parties that respond to the concerns of their constituents, IRI conducts trainings on party structure and organization, coalition building, campaign techniques and member recruitment. IRI also works with parties to encourage them to create issue-based agendas rather than personalitybased politics.

IRI is currently conducting trainings designed to strengthen political parties at the grassroots level. IRI trains political party activists on the latest get-out-the-vote techniques, helps political parties formulate their platforms and target messages by identifying priority issues for Ukrainian voters through the use of nationwide surveys. IRI also provides training to political partynominated poll watchers on their rights and responsibilities as election observers.

Public Opinion Research

IRI has conducted numerous nationwide surveys and focus groups in Ukraine to provide political parties and the Ukrainian government with accurate information on the opinions of voters. While polling reveals the quantitative aspects of public opinion, focus groups reveal the qualitative aspects. IRI regularly conducts focus group research to target its programs and help political parties design and shape their campaign messages.

Voter Education Initiatives

IRI developed a voter education program focusing on rural women, giving them information about their rights as participants in the electoral process. IRI trained women mayors from raions and villages across Ukraine on how to exercise their legal rights during an election and to fight administrative pressure. IRI also hosted almost 100 informal gatherings throughout the country to inform rural women of the political situation in the country, their political and legal rights, and the role of individuals in election campaigns.

Election Monitoring

IRI has deployed delegations to observe every parliamentary and presidential election since Ukrainian became independence in 1991. In 2004, IRI sponsored international election observation missions for the October 31 first-round, November 21 runoff and December 26 repeat run-off for the presidential election. IRI observers found numerous instances of fraud and intimidation in the first two rounds of voting.

Youth Leadership Development

The future of Ukrainian democracy rests in the hands of its youth. To ensure democracy has a strong and stable future, IRI works with three youth-oriented NGOs: Youth for XXI Century, Eastern Ukrainian Fund for the Development of Democracy and Youth Initiatives. In 2004, these NGOs collaborated on joint activities such as poll watcher training, election monitoring and youth voter turnout activities. IRI assisted these groups in creating regional Youth Political Leadership Schools (YPLS). The goal of the schools is involve more youth and educate them about their political system. Many of the YPLS's graduates have gone on to become more actively involved in politics and political parties.

Governance Initiatives

To ensure Ukraine's elected officials are representing the citizens of Ukraine, IRI provides substantive training to staff members at all levels of the Ukrainian government. IRI trains government staffers on communications skills, constituent service, management, and other skills needed to effectively govern.

Civil Society Initiatives

IRI provides financial assistance to several Ukrainian political NGO's that provide training on leadership and political topics. In addition, IRI has built a comprehensive program of identifying, strengthening and preparing civil society organizations for long-term viability. In an effort to assist the organizations in their attempts to become viable institutions, IRI conducts workshops on various approaches to organizing and administering an NGO. Workshop topics include program development, fundraising, accounting, roles and functions of a board of directors and senior staff, media relations and legal status.

Women's Initiatives

IRI has worked with Ukrainian women's groups over the past several years to increase their participation in the political process. As a result, many Ukrainian women are increasingly at the forefront of issue advocacy in their communities and are taking on leading roles in Ukraine's national government. IRI conducts a number of women-focused trainings to increase participation in civic life and to introduce Ukrainian women to their peers in other countries.



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