

## **APPENDICES**

*Appendix I*

**IRI Activities in Bulgaria  
Since the June 1990 Elections**

After the June 1990 Bulgarian elections, IRI continued its training in democratic party building, parliamentary process and election law process in order to prepare the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) for their new positions in the Grand National Assembly and a second election to be held within the year.

Immediately following the elections, the Institute mounted intensive training seminars and consultations for the opposition on coalition building, parliamentary-party relationship, theme development, and election law analysis using Republican experts from the United States and International Democratic Union members from Western Europe.

In order to transform the UDF into a competitive viable and more efficient coalition, IRI also provided material support. Through this infrastructure support, which included computers, office supplies, transportation equipment, and communications equipment, IRI tried to compensate for the decided disadvantage that the UDF faced.

Furthermore, IRI sponsored civic education videotapes, featuring former U.S. President Ronald Reagan that appeared on Bulgaria's most popular television program. President Reagan encouraged all Bulgarians to participate in the democratic process, emphasizing the excitement and importance of a government by the people.

IRI commitment to Bulgaria is demonstrated by the dedication of Republican consultants William D. Harris, Charles Andraea, Cindy Hays, Robert Dahl, Bill Parks, Thomas Hoefeller and Jay Neptune. This cadre of political experts who have extensive backgrounds with the Reagan Presidential Campaigns, Bush Presidential Campaigns, Republican National Committee, and Federal Election Commission were instrumental in making the program work, each traveling to Bulgarian for training missions between five and 12 times. In addition, IRI identified Bulgaria as a pivotal country in the Balkan region for democratic development, and saw the critical need to place an In-Country Officer in Bulgaria for one full year to monitor the political situation and implement program activities.

## A. Political Party Training

IRI conducted training missions for the UDF in the capital of Sofia and in the countryside throughout 1990 and 1991. Initial emphasis was placed on organization and management at the national and regional levels. Training seminars on UDF structure and communication from the national leadership to the regional leadership was a primary focus in order to build a strong base for election preparation. IRI brought regional leaders to Sofia to meet with the national leadership to discuss grassroots development and support.

National and localized theme development was also a concentrated area of training for the UDF. Training seminars on opinion poll analysis for voter identification, issue identification and UDF support were held monthly during the second half of 1990.

Communicating identified themes through outlets in the legislative process, media leadership and platform development was phase three of IRI's political party training program. Symposia on press conference construction, press release development, speech writing and verbal communication techniques were held from late 1990 through 1991.

Election preparation was the critical area of IRI training for the UDF. The aforementioned components to democratic party development were reiterated during the early months of 1991. Candidate identification and candidate training consultations were held at the national level. The UDF needed assistance in recruiting community leaders to run for city councils, mayors and the parliament. IRI assisted the UDF in composing a procedure for candidate selection in a process without primaries.

IRI developed a training workbook for the UDF in order to assist party organizers and candidates at the local level prepare for the elections. IRI held numerous seminars in Sofia and Bulgaria's major cities, which addressed each chapter in the workbook. The intention of creating the workbook was twofold: first, to clearly explain key terms and essential components associated with preparing for an election and, second, to provide simple worksheets that would help political parties effectively organize people and resources for elections. Worksheets were created to enable parties to designate volunteers, locations for rallies and speeches, and equipment needs — all vital components for effective election preparation. With the

software programs provided to the UDF by IRI, the national leadership was able to input the data obtained from the worksheets so that concise information was available to strategize for the elections.

In an effort to best assist the UDF, IRI provided training for equipment utilization and consulted with political leaders on regional communication centers for intra-coalition organization.

## **B. Parliamentary Training**

Between October 1990 and July 1991, IRI sent six missions that emphasized the workings of parliamentary democracy, both processes and structures. The newly elected opposition MPs were virtually without knowledge of parliamentary procedures, committee structures and priorities, constituency outreach programs, as well as the general concept of constituent representation.

IRI recognized the fact that the UDF was a coalition of broadly based political parties and clubs with a wide spectrum of ideologies. Therefore, the parliamentary program needed to address UDF internal conflicts in order to best assist the coalition in presenting clear, unified ideas for drafting legislation.

IRI sought to train newly elected members of the Grand National Assembly on their responsibilities as elected officials. What role does political party unity play in attracting individual votes? What contact should be maintained with the constituency? How should legislation be conceived and drafted? How should an office be organized and staffed? How should records be kept? What is the role of the opposition party? How often should an MP travel to his/her constituency? What activities should be performed in the constituency area? What role do individual parties play in GNA? What are methods of constructive debate? How should internal coalition building be accomplished?

IRI conducted the training exercises with 10-12 MPs at a time, placing importance on small group interaction and participation. IRI consultants spent numerous hours in the Grand National Assembly attending plenary sessions, committee meetings and UDF organizational meetings. Additional consultations were conducted with those UDF coalition leaders outside parliament on coordinating with the UDF parliamentarians.

To support the techniques and approaches outlined in the seminars and consultations, IRI distributed many manuals that assist the U.S. Republican leadership in Congress.

### **C. Election Law Process**

Prior to the June 1990 elections, IRI played a large role in assisting the UDF leadership during the election process roundtable discussions.

The program of election process training continued in the post-election period with primary focus on election law drafting. IRI assisted the UDF in being pro-active, instead of re-active, in the process of designing a democratic election law for "free and fair elections." IRI attempted to identify and train those responsible in negotiating laws and then to educate as many UDF political organizers about the basic rules.

With experts and software from the Republican National Committee, IRI was able to assist the UDF in producing election result analysis. With technical assistance, the UDF developed a tracking system software program so that voting patterns and demographic analysis could be initiated for long-term use.

Other aspects of IRI training workshops focused on comparative election law, different systems of election balloting, instruction on get-out-the-vote campaigns and ballot security. IRI also consulted UDF leadership on the areas of the election law which were confusing. Timelines on election process deadlines were developed and distributed to all party organizers. In addition, IRI created a ballot security outline for party organizers to train pollwatchers for the October 1991 elections.

IRI plans to continue these three programs with funding from the Agency for International Development well into 1993. Moreover, the IRI proposes to establish a Regional Party Training Institute in Bulgaria in late 1992. It will provide an outstanding opportunity for the democratic parties of the Balkan region to exchange ideas, share experiences, and develop a network for better relations among the future political leaders of the Balkans nations.

The Institute will host conferences and roundtable discussions between these various parties that will be overseen by experts from the United States and Western Europe. These actions will continue the dialogue and training that is necessary for Bulgaria and other

nations to continue on the road of democracy. Building stable, indigenous, democratic institutions takes patience, understanding and long-term commitment. IRI has made that commitment.

*Appendix II*

**NDI Activities in Bulgaria  
Since the June 1990 Elections**

After the June 1990 elections, NDI continued to support the institutionalization of democratic change in Bulgaria. A series of seminars and consultations were sponsored in cooperation with the Bulgarian Association for Fair Elections, which was renamed the Bulgarian Association for Fair Elections and Civil Rights (BAFECR) in July 1990. NDI also continued to monitor the political situation in Bulgaria and to advise on electoral reform issues.

**A. Seminar on Parliamentary Procedures**

In July, three weeks after the newly elected Grand National Assembly (GNA) convened, NDI sponsored a parliamentary training seminar for approximately 45 Bulgarian legislators and advisors. The seminar addressed issues relating to democratic procedures and organizational structures in the GNA. The experts participating in the seminar included: Floyd Fithian, a former member of the U.S. Congress and chief of staff to U.S. Senator Paul Simon; Francois Frison-Roche, a parliamentary expert from France; Connie Hedegaard, a member of the Danish Parliament for the Conservative People's Party; Martha Keys, a former member of the U.S. Congress; Jozsef Szajer, a member of the Hungarian Parliament and a founding member of the Federation of Young Democrats (FIDESZ); and Antonio Vitorino, a former member of the Portuguese Parliament and currently a judge on the Constitutional Court of Portugal.

During the course of the seminar, the strengths and weaknesses of the French, Danish, Portuguese, Hungarian and U.S. systems were described. From a broader perspective, the seminar enhanced the reputation of BAFECR as a leader in promoting the institutionalization of democracy in Bulgaria. The seminars were featured on Bulgarian television, along with interviews of the international participants. BAFECR also published and distributed a 100-page transcript of the seminar to all members of the GNA.

## **B. Seminars on Local Government, Human Rights and Civic Education**

In response to further requests from BAFECR and GNA members, NDI organized on September 15 and 16, a series of seminars on local government, human rights and civic education in Sofia. During the following week, NDI and BAFECR sponsored smaller seminars in six cities for BAFECR activists.

### **1. Local Government Seminar**

A vital step in Bulgaria's democratic transition is the creation of genuinely representative local governments. The NDI-sponsored seminar was designed to expose GNA members to different models of local government as practiced in democratic countries. As one participant explained, "There is a need to distinguish between local administration, which you have had for 45 years, and local government, which you will have an opportunity to choose in the future."

The international participants in the seminar included: Glenn Cowan, a former New Jersey mayor, city commissioner and public safety director and a civic education expert; Baroness Patricia Hollis, a member of the House of Lords, a city councillor for 25 years, professor of local government at the University of East Anglia and the Labor Party's expert on local government; Dr. Ryszard Piotrowski, law professor in Warsaw and an advisor to the Polish Parliament on local government reform; Katja Pitsounis, former town councillor in Greece; and Joseph Sweat, executive director of the Tennessee Municipal League. The audience of more than 75 Bulgarians included the Speaker of the Grand National Assembly, numerous members of the GNA who serve on the committee that is charged with drafting a local government law, and BAFECR activists. During the week following the seminar, the Council of Ministers produced draft legislation for local government elections.

### **2. Human Rights Seminar**

On September 15, NDI and BAFECR sponsored a seminar on human rights for more than 200 participants, including members of parliament, members of the two largest bar associations in Bulgaria and human rights activists. The panelists included: Roberta Cohen, former deputy assistant secretary for humanitarian affairs and human rights at the U.S. Department of State during the Carter



Administration; Larry Garber, NDI senior counsel; Menno Kamminga, a professor of international law in the Netherlands and former legal advisor to Amnesty International; Patrick Merloe, an attorney and chair of the International Committee on Human Rights of the San Francisco Bar Association; and Theodore Zang, representative in Bulgaria for Helsinki Watch and professor at Sofia University. The discussions defined the role of different international and domestic human rights organizations, and addressed the obligations imposed by different human rights conventions and protocols to which Bulgaria is a signatory.

Following the seminar, the team of experts met with President Zhelev. The team urged the president to take a leading role in encouraging the translation, publication and distribution of relevant human rights documents so that Bulgarian citizens could learn their rights and pursue government compliance with them. BAFECR subsequently translated and published a number of these human rights instruments.

### **3. Seminars for BAFECR Activists**

Using the international participants as trainers, NDI organized seminars for BAFECR activists in Sofia, Vratsa, Plovdiv, Varna, Bourgas, Kurdjali and Pleven. The seminars, which were attended by as many as 200 activists, provided BAFECR members an opportunity to discuss the role of the organization in local elections and human rights monitoring. The seminars outside Sofia were successful in directing the attention of BAFECR activists to the continuing role of BAFECR in institutionalizing the democratic process in Bulgaria.

The presence of experts from Western Europe and the United States, and the publicity they received, reassured the seminar audiences of the West's continuing interest in and support for Bulgaria's democratic progress. And, once again, BAFECR's close association with an international organization such as NDI and its wide network of international contacts enhanced BAFECR's credibility throughout Bulgaria as a nonpartisan organization promoting democratic change.

### **C. Follow-up Consultations on Parliamentary Procedures, Election Administration and Local Government**

In November, NDI dispatched Representative Ronnie G. Flippo (D-AL) and Robert Dove, parliamentarian emeritus of the U.S. Senate, to Bulgaria for two weeks to consult with MPs and their advisors on the development of parliamentary procedures. Soon thereafter, the GNA enacted a set of parliamentary rules.

In early January, NDI Senior Counsel Larry Garber returned to Bulgaria to consult with presidential advisors and GNA members concerning the recommendations of NDI's international observer delegation to the June 1990 elections. Garber urged the government to convene a Central Election Commission to address the administrative issues of the election process so that irregularities and last-minute decisions that had undermined confidence in the last elections, would not occur again.

In April, Joseph Sweat returned to Sofia to advise Mayor Alexander Karakachanov. During his week-long visit, Sweat discussed with the mayor and members of his administration various issues related to local government management. Sweat also recommended that NDI implement a local government training program in Bulgaria.

### **D. Assessment of the Grand National Assembly**

In late May, Robert Dove returned to Sofia to assess the functioning of the GNA and the effectiveness of its rules. Contrary to Bulgarian popular opinion, Dove found that the GNA had enacted a broad range of legislation targeted at transforming the Bulgarian political and economic structure.

### **E. Seminars for BAFECR Activists**

From May 24-31, NDI sponsored a civic education program in cooperation with the Bulgarian Association for Fair Elections and Civil Rights (BAFECR). The program involved: 1) a seminar in Sofia, which was attended by BAFECR activists from 68 cities; 2) visits to six cities to meet with BAFECR leaders, municipal leaders and BAFECR activists; and 3) a town meeting for 250 BAFECR activists in Sofia. In addition, the international participants met with government officials and political party leaders to discuss preparations

for the October elections, including matters relating to election reform.

International participants included: Nureya Abarca, a professor of psychology at the Catholic University in Santiago and a member of Participa, a civic education organization in Chile; Margaret Blackshere, assistant to the President of the American Federation of Teachers in Illinois, responsible for lobbying legislators and conducting voter education programs; Jan Bubenik, a leader of the student movement at the time of the "Velvet Revolution" and a former representative in the Czechoslovakian Federal Assembly; David Cohen, former president of Common Cause and currently co-director of the Advocacy Institute; Deborah Seiler, former consultant to the California state legislature on election administration, campaign reform, reapportionment, ballot measures and constitutional amendments; and Ingse Stabel, Norway's Equal Status Ombud and attorney with extensive experience in local government, election administration and constitutional law.

The meeting with BAFECR activists throughout the country highlighted the extreme mistrust toward central authorities that existed among large segments of the population. There were frequent questions about the fairness of the 1990 elections and the role of BAFECR and international observers in validating the elections. Many activists believed that "fear" would, once again, play a large role in the October elections.

*Appendix III*

**NDI Pre-Election Survey Report**

August 5-9, 1991

The following statement is offered by a fact-finding mission to Bulgaria sponsored by the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) in anticipation of the upcoming elections. This is the first of two such missions. NDI also plans to co-sponsor an international delegation at the time of the elections.

The participants were:

- **GERARD DANAHER:** Legal Adviser to the Fianna Fail (Republican) Party in Ireland, Chairman of the Employment Appeals Tribunal in Ireland and participant in the April 1990 NDI pre-election mission and the international observer delegation to the June 10, 1990 Bulgarian elections;
- **RICHARD EATON:** Chief of Staff to Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-NY) and former New York state judge;
- **LARRY GARBER:** NDI Senior Counsel and principal author of the NDI/IRI international observer delegation's report on the June 10, 1990 elections (the "Green Report");
- **DIMITRIOS K. KATSLOUDAS:** Director of the Center for Political Research and Information in Greece and Adviser on Political Communication to the Greek Prime Minister Constantine Mitsotakis;
- **LISA C. MCLEAN:** NDI Program Officer responsible for coordinating NDI's Eastern and Central European programs and participant in the international observer delegation to the June 10, 1990 elections; and,
- **DAVID PHIRI:** Businessman, former Zambian Ambassador to Sweden, former Governor of the Bank of Zambia and currently chairman of the Zambian Independent Monitoring Team (ZIMT).

The mission was assigned the following tasks: 1) to assess the quality of the draft electoral laws; 2) to identify administrative impediments to free and fair elections; 3) to evaluate political conditions in Bulgaria at the outset of the election campaign; and, 4) to determine

which issues require further investigation by subsequent missions. In pursuance of these tasks, the mission met with government officials (including the prime minister), political party leaders and members, journalists and representatives of nongovernmental organizations in Sofia, Varna, Bourgas, Kavarna and Michurin. The delegation's itinerary, in large measure, was facilitated by the Bulgarian Association for Fair Elections and Civil Rights (BAFECR), with which NDI has worked since April 1990.

This statement highlights several points regarding the Bulgarian election process that is scheduled to commence in the immediate future. The findings of the mission will be incorporated into a more complete report that NDI will publish prior to the elections.

1) The mission notes the considerable progress that Bulgaria has made during the past year in developing a pluralist political system in which fundamental rights are respected. In particular, Bulgaria deserves credit for being the first of the former Warsaw Pact countries to adopt a new constitution, which, whatever its flaws, marks a significant break from the constitution of the previous regime. The upcoming elections should mark a further institutionalization of the democratic process in a country that for 45 years was controlled by a communist dictatorship.

2) At the same time, the mission detected a widespread lack of confidence among sectors of the population and considerable skepticism regarding the conduct of the 1990 elections. Whatever the truth of the allegations presented regarding fraud in the 1990 elections, there is a real need to ensure not only that the upcoming elections are conducted peacefully, fairly, honestly and openly, but that they are seen to have been so conducted. A failure in this regard will only result in further political and economic stagnation.

3) Given the above, the mission is concerned that the election law has yet to be adopted, even though there are fewer than 55 days left before September 29, which President Zhelu Zhelev has announced as the election date. The delay in adopting the law is particularly worrisome because the plan is to hold national and municipal elections simultaneously, which in some regions of the country will mean there will be as many as five elections occurring on the same day.

Even if a new election law is adopted by the National Assembly in the next few days, the still-to-be designated election officials will

have to work at an extraordinary pace to prepare for the elections. In this context, the political parties may wish to consider whether it might not be more practical to schedule the national and municipal elections for different days.

4) The mission has reviewed the draft election law now pending before the National Assembly and notes several changes that have been proposed to address problem areas identified during and following the 1990 elections. Among the provisions that the mission welcomes are the following:

- the emphasis on preparing accurate voter registries. These registries were seriously flawed last year and resulted in increased suspicions regarding possible “phantom” voters. The mission welcomes the role given to political parties in reviewing the lists;
- the decision to prohibit the distribution of ballots prior to the elections, which should help eliminate a potential source of intimidation;
- the provisions regarding media access, which provide all contesting parties with free and equal access to television and radio;
- the providing of protocols to all parties and all observers, which should permit the verification of the results; and,
- the recognition given to domestic and international observers, which should enhance confidence in the process and encourage participation in the elections.

5) The debate underway in the National Assembly highlights the deep divisions that exist in Bulgaria regarding aspects of the proposed election law. For example, several Bulgarians stated that the provision proscribing the casting of ballots by Bulgarians living abroad was inconsistent with the newly adopted constitution.

While the practice in democratic countries differs with respect to this issue, the mission fears that, given the circumstances in Bulgaria, constitutional challenges to this or other sections of the election law will only delay the preparations and potentially cause administrative chaos. Thus, every effort should be made to adopt a law that reflects a consensus of the political parties and that can withstand constitutional challenges.

6) The mission is also concerned that efforts to prevent the Movement for Rights and Freedom and other ethnic organizations from registering as political parties will violate the principle of freedom of association and prejudice the ability of minorities to participate fully in the electoral process. This matter should be monitored by civil rights groups in Bulgaria and by the international community.

7) The mission was informed by several journalists that recent actions by the legislature are perceived as bids to censor the mass media. Clearly, such efforts have no place in a democratic society. With respect to the print media, the delegation was told that the state still plays a large role in the distribution of newspapers and in controlling the supply of newsprint. Moreover, the tax laws apparently disadvantage independent newspapers, as compared to party newspapers, a situation that potentially could eliminate independent newspapers from the market.

8) Given the suspicions that exist, all efforts must be made to assure that the elections are in fact free and fair and are *perceived* to be free and fair. In this context, the Central Election Commission, as soon as it is appointed, should commit to: a) announcing publicly each of its decisions; b) establishing effective procedures for reviewing election-related complaints; and, c) publishing certified election results, section-by-section, within a specified time period immediately following the elections.

The mission also encourages the use of all means possible to ensure an effective monitoring of the elections. The political parties bear a principal responsibility in this regard; they must recruit and train a sufficient number of volunteers to be present at polling sites throughout the country.

BAFECR, which established its *bona fides* during the 1990 election and has remained active since the elections, should implement its plan of action. This plan includes developing a civic education program that will explain the election procedures to the population, monitoring the pre-election campaign, having volunteers present at polling sites on election day, and performing a credible parallel vote tabulation. In accordance with the draft election law, the mission believes that any organization — trade union or other — which wishes to conduct an election monitoring operation should not only be permitted but should be encouraged to do so. A refusal to allow an

organization to conduct an election monitoring operation will fuel suspicion as regards to the *bona fides* of the electoral process not only in the minds of the members of that organization, but also among other sectors of the Bulgarian people and the international community. Finally, international observers, who once again have been welcomed by government officials and political party leaders, should undertake to monitor the elections responsibly.

9) Bulgaria stands at the dawn of a new era. The fair conduct of the upcoming elections are critical to the institutionalization of the democratic process in Bulgaria, for the establishment of a new, free and effective economic order and for the acceptance of Bulgaria by the community of democratic nations.

*August 9, 1991*