



# NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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## NIS EXCHANGES AND TRAINING PROJECT

### SPECIAL ELECTION I

October 22 - November 12, 1994

### Final Report

prepared and submitted by

The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs

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**FINAL REPORT**

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**NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS  
SPECIAL ELECTION I  
October 22 - November 12, 1994**

**Final Report**

From October 22 to November 12, 1994, the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) organized a training program for 21 political activists from the Russian Federation. The program was part of the NIS Exchanges and Training (NET) Project of the U.S. Agency for International Development, administered by the Academy for Educational Development (AED).

**I. OVERVIEW**

NDI's program was designed to enhance the participants' command of methods and practices used by political parties in the United States to organize and manage political campaigns at the national, regional and local level. The program's main purpose was to provide skills and information that would enhance the participants' ability to build stable, democratic parties back in the Russian Federation.

Following immediately below is a concise description of the training component of the program. Detailed summaries of individual training activities are contained in section IX of this report. A full schedule is contained in the attached Appendices.

**A. Washington Program**

The program began with a seven-day stay in Washington, D.C. Orientation briefings provided an introduction to NDI, the U.S. political system and the 1994 elections. The participants spent a morning at the headquarters of the Democratic National Committee (DNC), where senior officials explained the structure of the DNC and its role and that of its supporting committees in the 1994 elections. That same afternoon, participants heard from Frank Donatelli, former Political Director in the Reagan White House, about the structure and ideology of the Republican Party.

The majority of another day was spent on Capitol Hill, where the participants toured the Capitol, the Supreme Court Building, the Library of Congress, and numerous Senate and House office buildings. In addition, the participants met with congressional staff in eight House member offices to discuss government and constituent service. Late one afternoon, the group attended a briefing at the Federal Election Commission, where Commissioner Danny McDonald outlined the role and function of his organization in regulating elections in the United States.

Two days in Washington were devoted to intensive training sessions held at NDI. The sessions focused on election related topics such as campaign management, message development, media relations and voter contact and were intended to familiarize the participants with techniques they would encounter as they observed campaign activity in Iowa, Massachusetts, Michigan and Oklahoma. The sessions consisted of twenty to thirty

minute presentations with one hour of subsequent questions. Each of these sessions enabled participants to explore the applicability of U.S. techniques to the situation in the Russian Federation.

#### **B. Regional Program: Iowa, Massachusetts, Michigan & Oklahoma**

Following the Washington program, the participants were divided into four smaller groups, each of which traveled either to Iowa, Michigan, Massachusetts or Oklahoma. Training activities in these states developed and expanded on topics explored in the Washington program. In each state, participants met with state party organizers, a representative of the state bureau for elections, District Office staff of a member of the U.S. House of Representatives, representatives of local advocacy groups, and journalists. At the center of the regional programs was campaign observation. In Michigan, for example, the participants traveled to locations around the state, including Alpena, Lansing, Saginaw, and Detroit, where they met with candidates and representatives in a number of federal and state-level campaigns. Each training activity highlighted a particular organizing technique (e.g., canvassing, voter targeting) or an aspect of the campaign process (e.g., role of the minority candidates, campaigning as a ticket).

### **II. DESCRIPTION OF THE PARTICIPANTS AND THEIR EXPECTATIONS OF THE PROGRAM**

NDI had been asked to design a fairly intense training program for "twenty-five political activists from a cross section of political parties of the Russian Federation." When the group finally arrived, it consisted only of twenty one individuals, five of whom were members of parliament. All supposedly "political activists," some were much more "active" than others: several were barely interested in the programming and seemed more interested in setting their own schedule for sightseeing or shopping. There was, however, at least one representative from eight of Russia's major political parties. Expectations of the program among the participants varied considerably: some were primarily interested in the administration of elections campaigns, while others wanted to focus on political advertising and message development. NDI made an effort to respond to the individual interests beyond what was already covered in the program by scheduling whenever possible professional appointments for a number of participants.

The diversity of interest and professional experience levels represented within the group hampered the overall effectiveness of the program. First, not all training activities were of equal interest to all participants, lowering the overall level of attention of the group. Second, the participants' differing levels of political expertise meant that a number of training sessions had to remain at the introductory level, at the expense of the more advanced members of the group.

### **III. PARTICIPANT ATTITUDES**

#### **A. Attitudes toward the United States**

All of the participants arrived with positive attitudes toward the United States; most had visited before. Some were more eager than others to learn about U.S. institutions,

experience the culture and meet with ordinary Americans. Their experiences during the program appeared only to confirm these positive attitudes, as the participants found that they had much in common with their American professional counterparts and with Americans generally. In a few instances, the participants' perceptions of particular institutions changed as a result of the program. Participants commented on how the program had confirmed the truly democratic nature of the United States' political system and the freedom of the press.

#### **B. Attitudes toward the Program**

Most participants' attitudes toward the program were positive throughout. On the whole, the regional portions were better received than the Washington program. Since a function of the Washington program was to introduce the participants to concepts whose practical application they would be able to observe during the regional visits, its benefits could only be fully appreciated in retrospect. Also, the Washington schedule was demanding, and much of the training took place indoors. The regional visits provided the participants with greater opportunity to explore life in the United States and come into contact with Americans from a variety of backgrounds. At the end of their visit, the participants were generally enthusiastic about what they had seen and learned during the previous three weeks. Most felt that the information they had received during the program would be useful to them upon their return to Russia.

The participants' attitudes toward the NDI staff and their interpreters were equally positive. Especially those staff members who travelled to Iowa, Massachusetts, Michigan and Oklahoma developed a warm personal relationship with the participants. The same can be said about the interpreters. In Massachusetts, one of the interpreters invited the group to have dinner at his home.

(For more information on the participants' reactions to the program, see sections VI and IX of this report.)

### **IV. LOGISTICS**

#### **A. Washington Program**

In Washington, the participants stayed in a hotel located four blocks from NDI headquarters. Buses or vans were provided for travel to meetings and activities not held at NDI. Each morning, an NDI staff member met the participants at the hotel to accompany them as they began their schedule. To facilitate the training, NDI provided a number of breakfasts and lunches; otherwise, participants were responsible for their own meals. Upon their arrival, the participants were given a listing of affordable restaurants near the hotel as well as maps of Washington, D.C., and the Dupont Circle area. During the first couple of days of the program, NDI staff took the participants on a walking tour of the area and showed them how to use the public transportation system. As a result, the participants became increasingly comfortable with getting around Washington on their own.

#### **B. Regional Program**

AED arranged for air travel to the four states; NDI arranged all transportation on the

ground. In Iowa, Massachusetts and Oklahoma, the participants were based in a hotel in the state's capital city. A van and driver provided transportation to training activities outside the hotel. Group meals were optional, except when required by the training. In Michigan, the participants had to change hotels several nights as they traveled to a total of four different locations around the state. NDI was able to meet the logistical challenges in each state by having a staff member accompany the group full-time.

## **V. PROFESSIONAL CONTACTS**

Throughout the program, NDI provided the participants with the opportunity for contacts with their American professional counterparts. At the end of every training session, time was allotted to allow the speakers to meet with the participants individually and exchange business cards. In addition, NDI arranged a number of personal appointments in response to participant requests. These appointments took place in Washington following the participants' return from the regions.

## **VI. MONITORING AND EVALUATION**

### **A. Methods Used to Monitor and Evaluate the Program**

One or two NDI staff accompanied the participants at all times during the training. This allowed NDI to monitor the program constantly, respond to the participants' incidental needs and make adjustments to the schedule after the program was already in progress. NDI also conducted an informal evaluation at the conclusion of the program which was attended by all the participants, NDI staff and interpreters who had worked on the program. The evaluation served as a review of the program as a whole, and consisted of two-hours of open discussion between the participants and NDI's program staff.

### **B. Results of the Evaluation**

#### **1. Washington Program**

Most of the participants agreed that the Washington portion of the program provided a valuable introduction and background that enabled them to leave for the regional programs with an understanding of the political and governmental system of the United States. The visit to the office of a congressman in Washington was especially valuable, because it allowed the participants to compare the functions of the Washington and district offices of the same legislator. The reaction to the training sessions held over the last two days of the Washington program was favorable, especially to Bill Kimberling, Beth Sullivan and Greg Minjack, who were cited for their dynamic and professional presentations. While the response to the Washington program was very positive, the main problem seemed to be the differing level of political knowledge (and interest) of the participants themselves.

#### **2. Regional Programs**

The participants clearly favored the regional visits to the Washington program. In addition to providing a closer look at the organizations and techniques discussed in Washington, the state visits allowed the participants to learn about a specific region within

the U.S. and interact extensively with ordinary citizens. Based on their comments, the participants felt the cultural aspects of the program had been as valuable as the technical instruction.

#### *Iowa*

The information received by the Iowa participants on campaigning and fundraising was considered valuable. The overall program was especially well received by the two Agrarian Party members of the Duma because of Iowa's agricultural characteristics. Although the delegates agreed that they knew next to nothing about the state when they arrived in the U.S., they all came away with a solid impression of America's heartland.

#### *Michigan*

The Michigan participants also found valuable the opportunity to see different campaigning techniques and to observe the electoral process. Especially praised were Bob Alexander, a staff member of the Mitchell for U.S. Congress campaign and Tom Boyd, Executive Director of the Michigan Democratic Party, for their informative presentations and the generous amount of time they spent with the participants.

#### *Massachusetts*

The group that went to Massachusetts was most impressed by the practical information gained in that state. The meetings with members of the Russian community and with students of Russian politics were highly commended.

#### *Oklahoma*

The participants left with an impression that "Oklahoma is the most important state in the Union." The delegates found the friendliness of Oklahomans and such electoral innovations as a mock students' election to be the most memorable parts of the program.

### **VII. FOLLOW-ON NEEDS**

The participants represented a broad range of democratic political parties within the Russian Federation and can serve as valuable contacts for future NDI and AED programming, both in the U.S. and in Russia. NDI intends to maintain contact with these individuals and provide them with any additional information or services requested. As a recommendation, AED ought to consider additional in country training of these individuals to further their skills and remain in touch. If such a course is taken, NDI would be eager to participate.

### **VIII. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE PROGRAMMING**

Based on its experience with this program, NDI would like to make four recommendations to AED for future programs:

1) *The selection process should be improved to ensure that participants share basic professional interests and have comparable levels of expertise.* As a training provider, NDI



was asked to design a very specific program. The full benefit of such a program can only be enjoyed by a very specific audience.

2) *The training provider needs to be informed much earlier of the final number of participants and their backgrounds.* In this case, NDI learned only days before the start of the program that the number of participants had dropped from 28 to 21. This late change in number and lack of biographical information made it difficult to schedule regional programs to address participants' interests.

3) *The training provider should be given more authority to organize travel and hotels in the United States.* As the size of the group fluctuated and regional programming developed, changes in the itinerary were inevitable. These changes were difficult to orchestrate because AED had control over all regional reservations.

4) *Per diem checks should be of equal amount for each foreign visitor.* NDI strongly believes that it is unfair to give one participant a significantly higher per diem allowance (Note: \$500 in this case) on the basis of which state or city the participant was selected to visit. Per diem allowances ought to be equal, and large differentials between city costs should be avoided by selecting similarly expensive destinations. Furthermore, participants generally save as much of their per diem checks as possible to bring home as savings; hence, allowances should be minimized further by providing as many meals as possible.

## **IX. SUMMARIES OF INDIVIDUAL TRAINING ACTIVITIES**

*(See also Program Schedule attached as Appendix 1 of this report.)*

### **A. Washington Program**

**Monday, October 24**

(orientation)

*Overview of the American Political System*

*Speaker: William Kimberling, Federal Election Commission*

An energetic and entertaining speaker, Mr. Kimberling presented a clear and concise speech on the structures, relationships and responsibilities of federal and local governments. Interspersing amusing illustrative examples to emphasize points, Mr. Kimberling reviewed the history of the party systems in the United States, the development of the two legislative houses and the separation of power. His presentation served as an excellent introduction to the American political system. The participants appreciated his command of the material, his sense of humor and his receptiveness to questions.

Tuesday, October 25

*The Democratic Party of the United States*

*Speakers: James Brady, President, Association of State Democratic Chairs  
Rick Boylan, Director, Party Affairs  
Don Sweitzer, Political Director, Democratic National Committee*

The discussion covered the history of the Democratic Party from its inception to the elections of '94 and the structure, roles and responsibilities of the national committee. Jim Brady, President of the Association of State Democratic Chairs, outlined his experience and the role of the state party in his home state, Louisiana. He also discussed in depth the relationship between state party structures nationwide and the national committee, and the extent of their coordinated efforts during an election year.

Rick Boylan, Director of Party Affairs, discussed the role of organizing committees, such as the Rules Committee, within the Democratic National Committee and the important functions they serve as the party determines its national platform and prepares for its quadrennial convention. Don Sweitzer, the DNC's Political Director, provided an overview of the issues at stake this election cycle and ran through the races in Iowa, Massachusetts, Michigan and Oklahoma.

The participants were surprised to discover the lack of structure evident within the party leadership, the national party organization, and requirements for party membership, especially considering the Democratic Party was the "oldest political party in the world." Nevertheless, the information they received contributed to their overall understanding of America's two-party system and introduced them to the political situation in the state which they would visit later in the program.

*The Republican Party of the United States*

*Speaker: Frank Donatelli, Partner, Bond Donatelli Inc.*

Mr. Donatelli traced the evolution of the Republican Party, from its inception in the mid 1800s to its situation in the mid-1990's. Mr. Donatelli also outlined the role and structure of the Republican Party's governing bodies, the Republican National Committee and its 50 state parties. Next, Mr. Donatelli discussed the party's five primary constituencies: small business owners and operators, high income professionals such as doctors and lawyers, "conservatives" who favor less federal and state government power and more leniency for the business, farmers and young voters between the ages of 18-28.

Mr. Donatelli then ran through 1994 election prospects. Unifying issues for the Republican Party included crime, taxes, immigration and anti-Clinton sentiment. According to Mr. Donatelli, Republicans have always been tough on crime and have always made it a very important issue in their campaign platforms. With regard to taxes, the Republican Party planned to take issue of Clinton's tax hike in last year's budget. The party view on immigration has always been based on a tough stance toward illegal immigration. Lastly, Mr. Donatelli discussed how the greatest unifying issue, Bill Clinton, allows Republicans to overlook certain splits within their own party as they gear up for '94 and '96.

At the conclusion of his presentation, Mr. Donatelli opened the floor for questions. He received a number of questions regarding the Republicans' "Contract With America" and potential presidential candidates for the '96 elections.

### **Wednesday, October 26**

*AM: Tour of the U.S. Capitol and Surrounding Landmarks*

*Tourguides: Scott Morton, NDI; Chris Hall, Close-Up Foundation*

*PM: Briefings at Congressional Offices of Representatives from Iowa, Massachusetts, Michigan & Oklahoma, Briefing at the FEC*

#### *Briefings at Congressional Offices*

*Speakers: Darrold Dandy, Office of Congressman Smith (D-IA)*

*Bill Spencer, Legislative Assistant, Office of Congressman Kennedy (D-MA)*

*Jonathan Miller, Legislative Director, Office of Congressman Kennedy (D-MA)*

*Roger Szemraj, Chief of Staff, Office of Congressman Barcia (D- MI)*

*Pat Rafaniello, Chief of Staff, Office of Congressman Brewster (D-OK)*

The purpose of the visits to Congressional offices was observe the functions of Congressional offices, both in Washington and in the Congressman's district. A visit to the corresponding Congressional district home office was incorporated in each regional program. For these sessions, the participants were divided into the four smaller groups which would travel to either Iowa, Michigan, Massachusetts or Oklahoma.

Each group of participants received information about the structure and staff of a Congressional office. They also learned how constituent letters and requests are processed. At Congressman Smith's office, participants were shown an example of a letter from a constituent and the subsequent action taken. Each participant visiting Kennedy's office received a newsletter along with an explanation of a Congressman's franking privileges. At Congressman Barcia's office, the participants were quite surprised to learn that congressional staff, both in Washington and in home offices, are prohibited by law from working on their member of congress's campaign. The participants visiting Congressman Brewster's office were interested in how the congressman budgeted his time between his congressional district in Oklahoma and Washington, D.C. They were also impressed by the "Oklahoma" memorabilia which decorated the Congressman's office.

#### *Briefing at the FEC*

*Speakers: Commissioner Danny McDonald*

The purpose of this session was to provide a discussion of campaign finance. Mr. McDonald began by describing reports of campaign violations. He explained the historical significance of Watergate and the resulting legislation dealing with campaign returns and finances. Mr. McDonald then detailed the non-partisan nature of the commission. Finally, he noted he had observed the Russian parliamentary elections of December 1993.

The participants asked questions regarding Mr. McDonald's impressions of the Russian elections, voter fraud and the reporting of campaign finances. At the end of the session at the FEC, the participants were given a demonstration of the computer technology used to track campaign financing.

**Thursday, October 27**

*Training Session I: Preparing for an Election*

*Speakers: Greg Minjack, Beckel-Cowan  
Beth Sullivan, EMILY'S List*

Beth Sullivan opened this training session with the question "What is a Campaign?" She outlined necessary determinations a potential candidate and his/her staff need to make before deciding to announce a campaign. These determinations included: identifying likely supporters, identifying the opponent's base, identifying the population or voting block that is undecided (the "swing block") and deciding whether there will be enough resources (people, money & time) to win the swing voter block and thus, the campaign. Ms. Sullivan discussed the importance of using one's resources wisely. Volunteers, she argued, were the most important resource and needed to be actively recruited. Great sums of money would be needed toward the end of the campaign (at least in the U.S. system) and, therefore, should be spent wisely. Ms. Sullivan then stressed the need for careful scheduling of all campaign activities due to time limitations.

Greg Minjack followed Ms. Sullivan and focused his presentation on the importance of campaign communications. Using Zhirinovsky as a case study. Mr. Minjack emphasized the effectiveness of appealing to the public's primary concerns through short, concise video appearances. Both in Russia and in the United States, Mr. Minjack argued, people want to hear that a candidate understands voters' plight(s) and has a plan to make their lives better. These people do not want to listen for ten to twenty minutes; they would rather hear it in thirty seconds. Communications is the most important function a campaign organization can perform on behalf of any candidate, and resources ought to be allotted accordingly. Mr. Minjack then detailed the various methods of communications which campaigns in the U.S. employ, including radio and TV advertising, public events, leaflet drops, publication of issue papers, debates, op-ed pieces, and direct contact with representatives of the political media.

The participants asked specific questions about campaign budgeting, such as what percentage of a campaign's budget was allocated to paid media and the functions volunteers perform and how volunteers are recruited. Overall, the session was a useful introduction to campaigns in the United States and allowed the participants to explore the applicability of certain aspects of U.S. campaigning to the situation on the Russian Federation.

*Training Session II: Message Development*

*Speakers: Annie Burns and John Scardino, Greer, Margolis, Mitchell, Burns & Associates*

Annie Burns and John Scardino spoke about message development and media consulting. They began by stressing the need to determine who are the voters you want to reach. The voter base will consist of your supporters, opponents, and the undecided. The undecided is the group which you will want to spent the most time targeting.

They then discussed the three types of research they use in deciding audience acceptance: polling, focus groups, and dial groups. They showed a commercial from a 1992 campaign platform with a response from a dial group superimposed on the screen. The Russian group was very interested in the extensive use of negative campaign advertisements. They wanted to know whether laws prohibit slanderous commercials. While many people agree that the message being broadcast is negative, the important point is that a message is being received.

Ms. Burns and Mr. Scardino ended their lecture by showing several campaign advertisements from the 1992 presidential campaign. Through this, they were able to emphasize that in campaigns at every level, the best way to capture your audience's attention is to keep it simple.

**Friday, October 28**

*Training Session IA: Campaign Media Relations*

*Speaker: Joyce Carrier, Deputy Assistant Secretary, U.S. Department of Treasury*

Ms. Carrier started off the session by enumerating the four main points of good campaign media relations: developing a press office, event planning, obtaining free media and the importance of advance. She traced the evolution of public officials' relationship with the press from the collegiate atmosphere of the 60's to the adversarial relationship of today. She then outlined the structure of a campaign, pointing out the crucial task of coordination between the different campaign offices. In addition, Ms. Carrier went through the organization and functions of a press office. She explained that one of the main functions of a press office was to keep the media focused on the message of a candidate. Finally, Ms. Carrier gave two examples of working with the press: press coverage of President Clinton's visit to Latvia and how the Treasury Department used the press to gain support for the passage of the Assault Weapons Ban.

Questions to Ms. Carrier focused on why it was so difficult to pass an almost self-evident piece of legislation such as the weapons ban, whether candidates artificially inflate their image through sensationalism, how exclusives are used to generate interest in a press conference, and how obscure topics can receive press coverage.

*Training Session IB: Strategic Planning and Daily Management*

*Speakers: Mike Matthews, The November Group*

The first morning session focusing on strategic planning and daily management of a campaign was conducted by Michael Matthews of the November Group, Inc. Matthews emphasized the basics of knowing the candidate's universe and sketched a continuum

outlining the voting base to illustrate his point. He asserted that the key to winning the election was gaining 51 percent of the vote, and the key to gaining 51 percent of the vote was persuading the 10-20 percent of the voting population that was undecided.

Matthews outlined the basics of campaign planning management, including what he called the campaign "Bible". In formulating the campaign plan, Matthews emphasized the following: the voting base, the resources and the budget. Within the budget, the following three categories must be designated: voter contact, public relations and communications.

Matthews stressed the importance of communication in the campaign and divided into two main categories-- the media plan, consisting of advertising on television and radio, and the field plan, which involves going door to door, phone banking, direct mail and organizations by committee.

*Training Session IIA: Designing Effective Campaign Literature and Direct Mail*

*Speakers: Hal Malchow, The November Group*

Mr. Malchow began by describing the historical factors leading to the advent of direct mail in U.S. politics. According to Mr. Malchow, direct mail is an effective campaign tool because it can deliver detail, provide a menu of information, document and verify information, be targeted and is a quieter medium than television, causing less controversy. Targeting is important when dealing with mail, Malchow said, since a piece is completely ineffective unless it is read. He stated that the mail had to draw the reader in so the message could be disseminated.

For the duration of the session, Mr. Malchow walked the participants through the steps of creating an effective piece of mail, showing actual piece created by his firm as good examples. Malchow began with advice on shaping the message, went on to the formulation of the best argument, and then spoke about choosing an opening visual, writing headlines, creating body copy, and the overall design.

Mr. Malchow briefly spoke about designing an effective campaign poster and the use of voter lists in the U.S. Questions were asked regarding the decision making process during the formulation of a piece of mail, the use of psychology in the design process and how the effectiveness of a piece of mail is measured. Each of the participants attending the session received several sample pieces of mail created by Mr. Malchow's firm and a written outline of his presentation.

*Training Session IIB: Budget & Finance*

*Speaker: David Nummy, International Republican Institute*

David Nummy spoke to participants about managing the budget and finances of a campaign. He emphasized the importance of reading the campaign plan before allocating the resources. After the plan has been read, Nummy suggested that the primary financial staff member compile the budget. A second approach would involve budgeting by department.

Nummy discussed the breakdown of a successful and efficient campaign budget as follows:

1. Administration/ Overhead (10%)
2. Personnel (10%)
3. Research (10%)
4. Fundraising (20%)
5. Voter Contact (50%)

Nummy also outlined the basics in campaign finance laws and fundraising. He stressed that the fundraising goals should be set prior to the start of the campaign. He also outlined the best ways to fundraise, including efforts by the candidate and supporters and eliminating unnecessary expenses.

*Training Session IIIA:            Communications*  
*Speaker:                            Greg Minjack, Beckel-Cowan*

Greg Minjack stated that in order to win a campaign, you need to communicate simple and all encompassing ideas. It is therefore necessary to adequately develop your message. The preparation steps include getting to know yourself and your opponent, and taking account of your strengths and weaknesses. The last step of the process is to simulate all environments preparing for various time lengths.

The session then turned to questions, and once again the issue of smear campaigns was discussed. In a related question, they wondered why campaigns have become so personal and intimate. The answer was integrated into the issue of trust. Mr. Minjack stated that America has come to believe all information and we have no prohibitive laws against slander.

*Training Session IIIB:            Voter Contact and Field Operations*  
*Speaker:                            Sarah Farnsworth, NDI*

Sarah Farnsworth discussed the importance and strategy behind voter contact. She emphasized the need for expanding the campaign message exponentially through direct contact with individual citizens. Farnsworth outlined the three most effective forms of voter contact as door to door, organizations and direct mail. She detailed the steps to identifying a potential voter as introduction, targeting support, persuading undecided voters and finally GOTV efforts. She also explained the need for direct contact with the media in assisting voter contact.

**Saturday, October 29**

*Departure for Regions*

**B. Iowa Program**

Six participants traveled to Des Moines, Iowa with NDI consultant Eva Busca, where they observed local campaign activity for the final ten days before election day. The participants were Natalya Blagorodova, Galina Ushakova, Sergei Malygin, Andrei Ignatiev, Vitaly Gukov and Viktor Repkin.

**Sunday, October 30, 1994**

*Visit to Herald Hill Farm*

*Speakers: Harold and Carol Hill*

The group visited Harold and Carol Hill at the Herald Hill Farm, a family farm since 1866. Mr. Hill discussed the nature of the farm, government subsidies he receives, taxes he pays, the availability of local services, and the political beliefs of American farmers. He then took the group on a tour. Two of the participants, Viktor Repkin and Vitaly Gukov, both members of Russia's Agrarian Party, found the visit extremely informative and pertinent to their interests. The remainder of the group appreciated the opportunity.

**Monday, October 31, 1994**

*Terry Brandstadt and Bonnie Campbell Press Conferences*

The participants observed Iowa Republican gubernatorial candidate Terry Brandstadt conduct a press conference. He concentrated his statements on rural development programs--particularly low-income housing. The delegation then attended a press conference for Democratic gubernatorial candidate Bonnie Campbell where the endorsement by the "People of Faith", a religious group, was announced. Ms. Campbell answered questions on public education, abortion, length of term in office, and housing. The two events enabled the participants to observe candidate interaction with the media and compare and contrast the differences between the gubernatorial candidates.

*The Role of the Media in Iowa Politics*

*Speaker: David Yepsen, Des Moines Chronicle*

The participants met with David Yepsen from the Des Moines Chronicle to discuss the role of media in Iowa politics and the issues in Iowa this election season.

Yepsen discussed how American newspapers had been founded by political advocates of different parties but, over the last few decades, had become more neutral in their reporting. He also argued that television had become much more important in political reporting over recent years, and explained how this had a negative impact on the democratic process. According to Yepsen, the American voter was getting less information, and



politicians were focusing energy on trying to manipulate television reporting. The participants asked questions concerning media influence and accountability, term limits, the role of farmers in Iowa politics, the influence of trade unions, and the death penalty.

*Briefing at the Iowa Democratic Party Headquarters*

*Speakers: Eric Tabor, Chairman of the Democratic Party  
Ron Parker, Communications Officer  
Doris Cardom, Financial Director*

Eric Tabor began with a discussion of the operation of the Democratic Party of Iowa, a well-funded party by national standards because of Iowa's special status as the first presidential caucus state. Most democratic party headquarters have 10 employees--Iowa has 35. Tabor also outlined the party's direct mail strategies, coordinated campaign organization, and off-year party building efforts. Ron Parker, the party's communications officer, discussed his responsibilities, which included giving interviews, responding to attacks on Democratic senators and congressmen, monitoring television and newspapers, putting together publications and newsletters and informing reporters of the political activities of candidates. According to Parker, the Iowa Democratic Party spent \$100,000 on television ads for candidates. Doris Cardom, the finance director for the Democratic Party, discussed the methods she had used to raise \$1.2 million for the party. In doing so, she explained how phone banks work, how direct mail was used, and how contributions were obtained from constituent blocks such as labor unions.

The participants asked questions about the budget of the party, allocation of funds, the Iowa Caucus process, the diversity of views among party members, and party fundraising strategy.

**Tuesday, November 1, 1994**

*Briefing at the Polk County Election Office*

*Speaker: Tom Parkins, Election Commissioner*

After providing a series of statistics on the voting population of Polk County, Mr. Parkins explained the voter registration process, the steps an individual must take to vote, voting privileges for prisoners, and ethics and disclosure. To close the session, Mr. Parkins distributed ballots to the participant and instructed them on proper voting procedures.

The participants were interested in Parkins' budget, the number of full-time staff his office was allowed to employ, and the types of systems Polk County used to process returns. They were impressed by the county's electronic return system which allowed for county-wide reporting in under two hours.

Wednesday, November 2, 1994

*Briefings with NGOs*

*League of Women Voters of Iowa*

*Speaker: Marla Sheffler, Executive Director*

Ms. Sheffler began with an overview of the League's history, current activities and membership and her own responsibilities as Executive Director. The functions of the League were described as two-fold: to educate voters and to advocate issues. The League provides information on voter registration and elected officials and sponsors candidate forums and debate. The participants learned that although the League never supports a particular candidate, it does advocate positions; members frequently gather to decide by unanimous vote which issues should be pushed.

Ms. Sheffler elaborated on the role of the Board of Directors and the backgrounds of the individuals on the board, touching on voting processes, electing leadership, decision making, budgeting, and issue endorsement.

The participants asked about the League's membership recruitment and fundraising activities, membership requirements and relationship with the media. The session provided a first hand look at an experienced national NGO's activities in one of fifty states. One suggestion which resulted from the meeting was that future participants be given an opportunity to meet with the national organization in addition to representatives in a field office.

*Meeting with Prairie Fire*

*Speaker: Barb Grabner, Executive Director*

The second NGO with which the participants met was called "Prairie Fire," a non-profit NGO set up in 1985 to represent the interests of farmers in Iowa's state legislature and local governments. Barb Grabner, Executive Director of Prairie Fire, outlined the current status of the organization and its two primary issues: the church land project, an effort to encourage farmers to volunteer their skills to till church owned land, and the evolution of corporate agriculture and its effect on consumers and the environment. Ms. Grabner discussed Prairie Fire's tactics for influencing public policy, including grass roots lobbying campaigns targeting specific legislators and "action alert letters" mailed to constituents. Ms. Grabner also explained how the rural areas are becoming less populated and, consequently, farmers are losing voting power. As a result, Prairie Fire has tried to build coalitions with groups with similar interests, such as the Iowa Farmer's Union.

The participants asked Ms. Grabner to identify concrete steps Prairie Fire was taking to assist the weakened farmer and to give an example of Prairie Fire's success. Ms. Grabner explained how Prairie Fire had organized many meetings around the state to assist farmers in developing and passing favorable legislation. In one instance Prairie Fire was able to introduce and pass legislation which protected bankrupt farmers from losing their property to bank foreclosure. The legislation required the bank to give each farmer certain buyback options.

Prairie Fire was an ideal example of a grassroots NGO and was of particular interest to Viktor Repkin and Vitaly Gukov, both members of Russia's Agrarian Party.

Thursday, November 3, 1994

*Bonnie Campbell for Governor Campaign*

*Speaker: Laura Bellin*

As campaign manager for gubernatorial challenger Bonnie Campbell (D), Ms. Bellin was able to provide a broad description of the campaign organization, its activities over the final days up to the election and the issues which were uniting voters on her candidate's behalf.

Ms. Bellin first outlined the campaign's staff and their respective functions. Bonnie Campbell's campaign, well staffed by gubernatorial campaign standards, had a full-time campaign manager, press secretary, field director and small field staff, media consultant, fundraiser, accountant, scheduler, driver and receptionist. The Campbell campaign also had a large volunteer network to assist in phone banking and GOTV efforts. For example, the participants learned that on election day the campaign intended to have volunteers contact more than one hundred thousand voters to remind them to vote.

In the meantime, Ms. Bellin explained, the campaign was focusing its energy on communications. At the end of the week, local newspapers were supposed to endorse a candidate, and the Campbell campaign was vying for a number of endorsements. Preparations were also being made to communicate these endorsements to the public.

Ms. Bellin gave the group examples of position papers and explained how they were developed and the purpose they served.

The participants asked about the campaigns fundraising, overall budget, government support, speechwriting, and Ms. Campbell's responsibilities as Attorney General while she was campaigning.

*Lunch at the Rotary Club*

*Speakers: Panel on Economic Rural Development*

The participants were invited to a Rotary club lunch where they had an opportunity to listen to a discussion of economic development in Iowa. NDI set up a meeting for them with Secretary of Agriculture Dale Cochran and Mike Regan, a representative of the Chamber of Commerce.

*Evening Campaign Activities with Democratic Candidates*

The group attended a political rally on behalf of Democratic candidates, featuring speeches by President Clinton, Bonnie Campbell, Congressman Smith, and Senator Harkin. After the rally, the group attended a reception for President Clinton at the Savery hotel, where they heard a speech from the President.

## **Friday, November 4, 1994**

### *Trip to Grinnell*

#### *Workshop at the Iowa Peace Institute*

*Speakers: Jeanne Maze and Warren Reinicke*

Jeanne Maze and Warren Reinicke, both of the Iowa Peace Institute, talked about conflict resolution tactics and exchange projects they had initiated between high school and university students in Russia and the Ukraine. Some 6000 international students were now studying in Iowa. The group also learned about the Peace Institute's efforts to set up special educational seminars where Russian students meet with Iowans to learn about agriculture and politics in American life. The participants seemed to appreciate the opportunity to learn about exchange programs and the tactics of conflict resolution.

### *Meeting with Danny Carroll, Republican Candidate for the state legislature*

First elected to the County Board of Supervisors in 1984, and again in 1988 and in 1992, Mr. Carroll announced his campaign for state legislature in November 1993, one year prior to the election. Over the course of a two hour meeting, Mr. Carroll outlined all the activities he and his campaign staff had undertaken in hopes of winning.

In December 1993 and the spring of 1994, Mr. Carroll was a participant in two intensive training sessions, each a week long, on political campaigning and fundraising, sponsored by the State Republican Party. As a result of those seminars, Mr. Carroll decided to spend a good portion of his time and money on direct mail. He had sent out 20,000 pieces of mail and targeted various groups, including people over fifty-five, businessmen, young families, women, and people who had voted in 1990 and 1992.

He also focused on newspaper advertising in his district. He spent \$1,000 on yard signs and spent many weekends campaigning from door to door. Some 30-40 volunteers would be mobilized over the final two weeks for literature drops, phone banks, and GOTV. Mr. Carroll anticipated spending upwards of \$30,000. He estimated the victor would win by roughly 500 votes out of 12,000 cast.

Mr. Carroll was an energetic candidate vying for a hotly contested seat. He was happy to spend time with the group and explain the measures his campaign was taking in its final days. The participants gained insight into how to run a small campaign on a modest budget.

## **Saturday, November 5, 1994**

The group was given a free day.

## **Sunday, November 6, 1994**

In the morning the group went to a Greek Orthodox Church and heard a sermon dealing with the forthcoming elections. They met with the congregation after the service and had coffee. They then joined Liz Garst on the Campbell campaign and observed volunteers

going door to door to distribute pamphlets. In the evening the Russia's Choice delegates went to a Democratic political rally at Drake University and met with Laura Bellin to discuss campaign strategies and management in greater detail.

**Monday, November 7, 1994**

*Meeting with Lobbyist for the School Districts of Iowa*

*Speaker: Susan Donovan*

A political scientist who works with the Iowa Association of Education, Ms. Donovan discussed how she lobbies both the state and federal government on behalf of Iowa's local school boards.

After providing an overview of her issues of focus, labor relations and curriculum development, Ms. Donovan outlined the structures of the state's school boards. She contrasted lobbying techniques used at different stages and levels, beginning with influencing a bill before it arrives in the appropriate state-house committee, lobbying committee members, lobbying the governor for a veto, and, at the federal level, directly lobbying Iowa's Senators and U.S. Representatives.

The participants were interested in the services provided by Ms. Donovan's lobbying firm, the decision process which school boards use to determine positions on issues or pending legislation, and the method of payment for school board lobbyists. With regard to payment and services, Ms. Donovan answered that the school districts pay dues, and her organization provides investment, insurance, lawyer consultation and other services in addition to representation. Ms. Donovan then explained the voting process which school districts use to make recommendations on pending legislation and present a platform for the upcoming year.

*Meeting with the National Pork Producers Council*

*Speaker: Neil Dirks*

Mr. Dirks began by providing detailed information about pork producers and the association. The National Pork Producers Council consists of 45 state associations. In 1990, the national census counted 231,000 pork producers in the country, 82,000 of whom are in Iowa. The role of the Council is to promote pork, to provide information to consumers on pork products, to research and improve pork products, and to act as a lobbying organization for pork producer interests.

Mr. Dirks discussed the role of the Council's Political Action Committee (PAC) and the decision process which the local associations use to determine which candidate to support. According to Mr. Dirks, the PAC never contributed more than \$500 to any one candidate, and often contributed to both Democratic and Republican candidates provided they both were pro-agriculture. Mr. Dirks also discussed the vehicles which the Council uses to communicate with its constituency. These included frequent newsletters, phone bank activities, and an annual three day legislative session in Washington, D.C. At the conclusion of his presentation, Mr. Dirks outlined the Council's staff structure, which totaled 78 people. The Agrarian Party representatives in the Russian delegation were especially interested in this session.

**Tuesday, November 8, 1994 (Election Day)**

Viktor Repkin and Vitaly Gukov spent the day with Dale Cochran, Iowa's Secretary of Agriculture, as he visited many polling sites. The Russia's Choice delegates visited the Republican headquarters, the Democratic headquarters, the Election Bureau and several polling stations in Des Moines. In the evening the entire group went to the Bonnie Campbell for Governor headquarters, where they watched the campaign staffs reaction to negative election returns. They then went to celebrate Dale Cochran's reelection to Secretary of Agriculture, one of the few democrats to be elected in Iowa. During discussion throughout the evening, the Russians attributed the Democratic failure to a lack of a coordinated national campaign and bad organization on the ground.

**Wednesday, November 9**

*Return to Washington, D.C.*

## C. Massachusetts Program

Five participants traveled to Massachusetts with NDI Program Assistant Mike Pevzner, where they observed local campaign activity over the final ten days before election day. The participants were Vladimir Lyssenko, Valerii Khomiakov, Irina Zubkevich, Valdimir Zharikhin and Vyacheslav Gulimov.

### Saturday, October 29

*Orientation to the City of Boston; Overview of Massachusetts Politics*

*Speaker: Paul Harold, Former Massachusetts State Senator and President of the Boston International Visitors Center*

Upon its arrival in Boston, the delegation met Mr. Harold at the John Hancock Observatory. With a panoramic view of Boston and the surrounding towns visible from the 60th floor of the tower, Mr. Harold gave an anecdotal overview of places of interest and landmarks. Mr. Harold's knowledge of the city was of keen interest to the Russian visitors, who asked questions about both the sights and about the subdivision of state and local government functions in Boston and the surrounding towns.

Over dinner, the group was able to continue its introduction to Massachusetts. Mr. Harold served in the state senate for fourteen years, and ran as a Democratic candidate for U.S. Congress in 1992; he was thus able to provide the group with an insider's view of state politics. He described Massachusetts as a historically Democratic state, but one whose demographics had been changing in recent years to make for a majority of independent voters. He then briefed the Russian visitors on the composition of the state house and senate, and which races would be interesting to watch.

The participants were interested in the structure of the state government, but their main interest was more focused on the national races for U.S. Congress, as well as the gubernatorial race.

### Sunday, October 30

*Visit to a Democratic Political Event in Dorchester*

The event was sponsored by the AFL/CIO of Massachusetts, and was conducted at the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Hall in Dorchester, a largely blue-collar area of Boston that has been one of the Democrats' strongest bases. The rally's purpose was to garner support and press coverage for the Massachusetts Democratic candidates. The crowd of about 1,000 was largely composed of union members. The Russian delegates listened to speeches by gubernatorial candidate Mark Roosevelt, Shannon O'Brien, the candidate for State Treasurer, U.S. Congressman Joe Moakley, Secretary of State candidate Bill Galvin, and Senator Edward Kennedy. The speeches were short and aimed specifically at the concerns of union members. The delegates had an opportunity to briefly speak with Ms. O'Brien, Mr. Galvin, and Senator Kennedy. The visit provided them with an opportunity to observe how a candidate's message is condensed for media coverage, as well as how the "coattail effect" of a popular candidate like Senator Kennedy is used to pull in votes for other Democratic candidates who may not be as well-known or popular.

### *Walking Tour of Historic Boston*

The tour was provided by a private tour guide who specializes in the history of revolutionary Boston. The delegation walked along the heart of Boston's Freedom Trail, stopping at such historical sites as the Old State House, the site of the Boston Massacre, King's Chapel and Faneuil Hall. The Russian visitors were given a historical background of Boston as the focal point of the American Revolution, as well as the history of the most important events and players of that struggle.

### **Monday, October 31**

#### *Fundraiser for Rhode Island Gubernatorial Candidate Lincoln Almond (R)*

The delegation travelled to Providence, RI to attend a fundraising event for former U.S. Attorney Lincoln Almond. The event was attended by representatives of Rhode Island and Massachusetts insurance company executives, and Mr. Almond largely concentrated his presentation to address their concerns. He also expanded upon his platform of tougher sentencing laws to combat crime, initiatives to stimulate the economy, as well as his position as an outsider with a record of integrity who can reform the state's government. The delegates had a chance to talk to Mr. Almond, and to question him themselves about his campaign, as well as his platform. After his speech they were able to discuss the significance of political events such as fundraisers with some of the insurance executives, especially Edward Donahue, Regional Manager for the Alliance of American Insurers, who had helped to organize this event.

#### *Visit to Rhode Island Supreme Court Building*

The delegation visited the Rhode Island Superior and Supreme Courthouse, located in Providence. After a tour of the building, the group was able to sit in on a criminal case, involving a juvenile convicted of multiple murder charges. Unfortunately, the judge called for a recess soon after the group entered the courtroom, but the group was still able to witness at least part of an American judicial proceeding.

#### *Tour of Brown University and Visit with a Russian Department Faculty Member*

The Russian delegation met with Professor Alexander Levitsky, the Chairman of Brown University's Russian Department, where they were able to chat informally about the political situation in Russia, as well as its effect on dropping student enrollment in Russian courses in Brown, as well as other American Universities. The conversation also covered graduate level studies of Russian language and politics, with the delegates asking various questions about the functioning of the Russian Department and career options for students of Russian.

#### *Briefing at Massachusetts State House: Elections in Massachusetts*

*Speakers: Timothy Gassert, Deputy Secretary of State, Elections Division  
Jacqueline Ladd, Supervisor of Election Information*

Tim Gassert gave the group an overview of the political landscape in Massachusetts, focusing on the work of the elections division, the offices -- both on the state and federal level -- for which candidates compete, the process of getting onto a ballot, the primary



process, the process of proposing a ballot question, and the makeup of Massachusetts voters and voting patterns. The delegates were provided with copies of sample primary and general election ballots, the Massachusetts Voters' Guide, and maps of the Massachusetts electoral districts for state and federal elections.

Questions to Secretary Gassert addressed specific points such as the number of signatures needed to get on a certain ballot, the nature of the ballot questions, the patterns of voter turnout, ways to register for a certain party, the functioning of primary elections, the advantages and disadvantages of holding primary elections, how the order of candidates on a ballot is determined, and what advantages an incumbent has over his opponent, and how an electoral district is redrawn.

Jacqueline Ladd then demonstrated actual types of ballots used in Massachusetts elections. She offered some anecdotal facts about the origins of most of Boston's electoral machines (they were bought by Boston's jailed Mayor, Jim Curley, in the 1930's, and are still in use today). Sample absentee ballots were shown, and the delegates were given copies of an absentee ballot request form. Questions were fielded about how to get an absentee ballot, fraud prevention, and how ballots are counted.

The two presentations provided a solid block of information about the practical questions of elections, and the participants were able to fill in some holes in their understanding of the electoral process that had not been as clearly covered in the meeting with Senator Harold.

#### *Tour of Massachusetts State House*

The tour was provided by the Secretary of State's Office, and encompassed both the State Senate and State House Chambers, the Executive Chamber, and other halls in the building. Along with a historical background of the various chambers, the delegates learned various anecdotal stories about past occupants of the State House -- both from the executive and legislative branches. The tour served to enhance the participants' knowledge of the history of both Massachusetts government and politics.

#### **Tuesday, November 1**

##### *Briefing at the Massachusetts Democratic Party Headquarters*

*Speaker: Gus Bickford, Executive Director*

Mr. Bickford started off the briefing session with an overview of how the state Democratic Party fits into the political system of Massachusetts. He then described the structure of the party, its goals, and the problems faced by Democratic candidates this year in Massachusetts. The participants were given materials summarizing the activities of the party within a two-year election cycle, voter registration and turnout in the state, and statistics on enrollment in the Democratic Party.

The participants were greatly interested in how the party is structured, and even more so about where and how the party obtains its funding. The delegation was also interested to know how the party specifically coordinates the campaigns of the various Democratic candidates, and whether there are any problems when dealing with the campaign of a popular and well-financed candidate such as Senator Kennedy.

The meeting provided the participants with an understanding of how political parties in the United States function in practical terms of getting their candidates elected, and were especially impressed by the cyclical and never-ending process of constantly preparing for the next election.

*Lunch Meeting with Two Boston Journalists*

*Speakers: Wayne Woodlief, Political Columnist, Boston Herald*  
*Robert Turner, Chief Editorial Writer, Boston Globe*

Both journalists were able to talk at length about the process of covering the politics of Massachusetts. They elaborated upon the distinctions between editorial opinion in a newspaper and objective coverage. The conversation flowed back and forth between differences in the journalistic practices in Russia and the U.S., and how the differing political climate effected each country's news media. The delegates were especially interested as to how the media in the U.S. avoids the corruption that pervades it in Russia. Turner and Woodlief described the reasons for the media's objectivity, but were not able to suggest definitive solutions to the problems faced by journalists in Russia. Overall, the discussion provided a good background into how the media in the U.S. functions, what forces drive the focus of journalists, and how these forces are used by various candidates to generate coverage of their campaigns.

*Briefing at Massachusetts Republican Committee Headquarters*

*Speaker: Bill Vernon, Executive Director*

Vernon spoke about the Republican coordinated campaign, the state committee's budget, its fundraising activities, the differences in organization, composition and ideology between the Massachusetts Republican and Democratic Party, and the laws which govern state party organization, campaign contributions and campaign spending.

Questions arose about whether there was any friction between the state committee and Governor Weld's campaign, since the Governor was running largely on his own record and personality, rather than on a party platform. The delegates also were interested to know how a party with such a small following in a traditionally Democratic state could function and even hope for success. Mr. Vernon then talked about problems with raising money for so many high-level candidates, and about the division of campaign activities between a candidate's campaign and the state party. Finally, Mr. Vernon was asked about his prediction of the results of this election, and likely candidates for the 1996 presidential race.

The meeting provided the participants with a good view of the contrast between the two main parties in Massachusetts.

*Walpole, Massachusetts: Candidates' Forum*

The delegates travelled in the evening to a small town forum for candidates to the State Senate and State House of Representatives in Walpole. They had an opportunity to meet with State Senator Bill Keating (D), State Representative Jo Ann Sprague (R) and Joe Pentowski (R), a candidate for the State House, and to talk to the candidates about the issues

of concern to the residents of Walpole. The forum itself provided delegates an opportunity to see how American politics works at the grassroots level, with candidates addressing issues of specific concern to the residents of Walpole.

### **Wednesday, November 2**

*Briefing: Lobbying in Massachusetts*

*Speaker: Judith Meredith, Visiting Fellow, McCormack Institute of Public Affairs  
Edmund Beard, Senior Fellow, McCormack Institute*

Judy Meredith, a state lobbyist who founded her own lobbying firm in 1980 spoke about special interest groups in Massachusetts, and the techniques of influencing legislation at the state level. She suggested two approaches to lobbying: the carrot method which would generate positive media for a legislator, and the stick approach which would threaten a legislator with lost votes and negative publicity during his reelection campaign. She offered a practical, step-by-step example of a lobbying campaign that she had actually conducted on behalf of the handicapped. Ms. Meredith also pointed out that a large part of successful lobbying involves getting the right information to the right legislators at the right time. Ed Beard, a political scientist, suggested that lobbyists fulfill the function of multiple ideological parties in Russia -- by influencing both Democrats and Republicans to take stands that address the concerns of constituents.

The participants asked how one can generate publicity for an issue, what laws govern lobbying and contributions to candidates, and how many lobbying organizations existed in Massachusetts and in the U.S. in general.

*Visit to Gubernatorial Candidate Mark Roosevelt's (D) Campaign Headquarters*

*Speaker: Mike Gritton, Communications Director*

Gritton showed the delegation around the campaign office, explaining the division of responsibility between the candidate, the campaign manager, the communications director and the press secretary. He pointed out that the campaign itself pays for the rental of the office, equipment and staff, while it receives financial help from the state party for other items such as campaign signs and voter information. He outlined the changing responsibilities of staff members as the campaign progresses, with the candidate becoming less involved in the day-to-day decisions as his time becomes more valuable visibility and publicity events. Finally, Mr. Gritton demonstrated the process of generating a press release, and coordinating various issues with the candidate's platform.

*Visit to the Campaign HQ of Roosevelt's Opponent, Governor Weld (R)*

*Speaker: Mike Labuskes, Director of Labor Resources*

Labuskes provided a perspective on a much better funded campaign, demonstrating the various functional areas of the campaign team: fundraising, research, campaign management and operations. He explained the campaign's reliance on volunteers, and gave an overview of the campaign's organization. Labuskes then gave a breakdown of the structure of the executive branch of Massachusetts, and of the governor's powers. The participants were shown video clips of the campaign's television advertisements, and they were impressed by the absence of computer graphics, with the entire segment concentrating

on showing Governor Weld interacting with people. The participants were able to see the contrast between a well-funded and confident campaign such as Weld's and that of his opponent.

### **Thursday, November 3**

#### *Visit to Russian Radio Station, WMNB-Boston*

*Speakers: Samuel Vidrin, General Manager*

The participants talked to the employees of the station about the Russian community in Boston. The station has approximately 5,000 paying subscribers in the Boston area, and mainly provides news, talkshows and simultaneous translation of television programs to the Russian speaking residents of Boston. The delegation also recorded an interview about their impression of the campaigns that they had witnessed in the U.S., and of their analysis of the political situation in Russia. This was broadcast on November 4.

#### *Visit to Kevin O'Sullivan's U.S. Congressional Campaign in Worcester, MA*

*Speakers: Kevin O'Sullivan, Massachusetts State Senator*

*Frank Callahan, Campaign Manager*

After a brief meeting with Mr. O'Sullivan, the delegation was given a tour of the candidate's campaign office. Mr. Callahan spoke of the Democrats' problems nationally, but added that President Clinton's was still very valuable in a strongly Democratic state like Massachusetts. The group was shown how the campaign researches and keeps statistics on its opponent's voting record in both Congress and the State Senate, as well as Mr. O'Sullivan's record in the State Senate. These records are then compared to help isolate both candidates' past views on current campaign issues. Mr. Callahan distributed copies of voter records that are kept on file to determine which voters to concentrate on. He explained that these records as well as a candidate's fundraising records are freely accessible public information. The delegates were then shown the operation of a phone bank, and given a sample text used by a telephone caller.

The delegates asked questions about areas of the campaign that interested them, such as how easy it is to track illegal contributions to a campaign, how a candidate can register to run for office, what regulations govern campaign spending, how mass mailings are conducted, and how redistricting takes place.

The meeting was valuable because it gave the delegates an opportunity to see a campaign outside of Boston, and to observe how a candidate for national office must still concentrate specifically on the issues that concern his future constituents.

#### *Meeting with the Mayor of Worcester*

*Speaker: Raymond Mariano, Mayor*

Mayor Mariano spoke about the structure of the city government of Worcester and of other cities in Massachusetts, outlined the city's budget and its relationship with the state and federal government, and spoke about the major issues of concern to Worcester residents. The participants discussed local taxation and federal and state grants for municipal projects, and how the appropriations are controlled. The participants were interested particularly in

the division of powers between the various levels of government and the mayor's role in governing the city. The delegates were then presented with ceremonial keys to Worcester.

#### **Friday, November 4**

##### *Visit to Senator Kennedy's Campaign Headquarters*

*Speakers: Jay Heimbach, Assistant to Director of Operations  
Denise Rawles, Deputy Campaign Director*

This session allowed the participants to concentrate on those aspects of a campaign which had not yet been sufficiently covered, such as the use of "surrogates," such as Kennedy family members, national political figures, celebrities or local politicians, to stand in for the candidate during press conferences and visibility events. The delegates were shown commercials from the Democratic camp, again emphasizing the candidate's human side, and his focus on personalized messages, especially of constituents whom he had previously helped. Mr. Heimbach also showed the participants two campaign departments that they had not had a chance to see yet: the Constituencies Department, which worked on generating press and votes for Senator Kennedy on the basis of his work for his constituents, and the Issues Office, which keeps track of anything that the candidate needs to know on a particular topic.

Ms. Rawles then spoke about the historic nature of the campaign -- the first time that the Senator has faced a serious challenge in 32 years, and about the use of the Senator's popularity to help other Democratic candidates. The speakers then answered the participants' questions about polls the campaign conducts on its own, the campaign's relationship with other campaign offices which they had already visited, and about government help for candidates at the national level. The session proved to be a valuable contrast with the previous campaign visits, because of the reputation and long service of Senator Kennedy, both of which were obvious factors in his campaign strategy.

##### *Tour of Harvard University; Presentations at the Institute of Politics and the Russian Research Center*

*Moderators: Jay Siegel, Fellow, Kennedy School of Government  
Lisabeth Bernstein, Associate Director, Russian Research Center*

The tour and the two discussion sessions allowed the participants to both become acquainted with the most prestigious university in the United States, and to answer the questions of interested scholars and students about their impressions of the United States, as well as their analysis of the political situation in Russia. The fundamental problem with Russian politics, suggested one of the participants, is that while the participants know who should be elected, the Russian electorate does not. Everyone agreed that the lessons that they had learned about the conduct of campaigns in the United States would be invaluable in their application to campaigns in Russia. Both sessions allowed the participants to provide some feedback of their impressions, and to meet American students and scholars of Russian Studies.

#### **Saturday, November 5**

### *Campaign Tour of Massachusetts by Train with Republican Candidates*

The delegation spent the day on a train tour of five towns in Massachusetts, travelling with Republican gubernatorial candidate Mitt Romney, Governor Bill Weld, Lieutenant Governor Paul Cellucci, Attorney General candidate Janis Berry and Treasurer Joe Malone. This tour proved to be perhaps the most important part of the program in Massachusetts, as the delegates were able to meet with and talk to all of the candidates, to hear the candidates' speeches at each stop, to witness the proceedings through the eyes of journalists who were located in the same car as the participants. Wayne Woodlief of the Boston Herald spoke at length about the various techniques used by candidates to generate attention, and the participants were able to see these techniques themselves: passing out flyers, shaking hands with supporters, delivering speeches which supported both a candidate's own platform, and those of his fellow Republicans. The five rallies were well attended, and the participants were able to see for themselves the euphoric attitude of campaign volunteers and their supporters.

### **Sunday, November 6**

The participants were able to go on a tour of Boston with local interpreter Alex Tetradze. The day was partially spent at the DeCordova Museum, after which the participants dined at the home of Leo Galperin, another local interpreter.

### **Monday, November 7**

#### *Visit to Congressman Joe Kennedy's District Office*

*Speaker: Albert Rielly, Systems Manager*

Rielly explained the function of a congressional district office, and outlined the delineation of functions between a Representative's district and Washington office. Mr. Kennedy's district office deals mostly with constituent services. Mr. Rielly also explained that the functions of a district office and those of a campaign office are separated by law. He spoke about the Congressman's family name, which he suggested to be a large factor as to why he was running unopposed. The participants received a breakdown of the population and voting patterns in the 8th district. Mr. Rielly then went through an actual constituent request from the receipt of a letter to the determination of a response. He demonstrated the division of various requests by geographical location and case type, and showed the participants sample form letters to popular issues. The visit demonstrated to the delegates the strict delineation of functions between a congressman's three offices, and gave them hands-on experience in answering constituent requests, something especially relevant to the two members of parliament among the delegates.

#### *Meeting with the Libertarian Party of Massachusetts*

*Speakers: Jeff Chase, State Committee Member*

*Dean Cook, State Chair, Libertarian Party; Candidate for Governor*

*Walter Ziobro, Jr., Treasurer for Several Libertarian Candidates*

*Susan Poulin, Candidate for State Treasurer*

The speakers gave an overview of the origins, principles, strategy and structure of the

Libertarian Party. They pointed out that most of their work is done at the state level, with the party fielding few viable national candidates. The speakers pointed out that the Party does relatively well in states which have a strong individualistic tradition, such as New Hampshire, and that most of their elected officials serve on a local level in such states. The discussion then turned to other third parties in American politics. The Libertarians pointed out that most other third parties are based almost exclusively on a charismatic leader, such as Ross Perot, and that once this leader leaves the political arena, his party tends to disintegrate. The Libertarians, however, base their aspirations on their political program, which they said was gaining support slowly but surely.

The delegates were interested in how such a small party was able to compete with much better financed and better-known candidates from the two mainstream parties, what the Libertarians' stand was on various issues addressed by the other parties, and what kind of a support base the party had in Massachusetts. The meeting showed the delegates that although the U.S. has a two-party political system, there are other political parties that are able to advance their concerns simply by running candidates.

## **Tuesday, November 8**

### *Election Observation in Quincy and Boston*

*Speakers: Paul Harold, Former State Senator*

*Tim Gassert, Assistant Secretary of State*

*John Cushman, Special Personnel Officer, Boston Election Department*

The delegates travelled to Paul Harold's home in Quincy, where he showed the delegates a sample ballot, and explained the differences between the various electoral machines used in Massachusetts. The delegates then visited a polling station in Quincy, where Mr. Harold and Secretary Gassert walked the delegates through the process of casting a punch-card ballot. At the Election Department in Boston, the delegation was met by Mr. Cushman, who explained the function of the Department and demonstrated another type of electoral machine, a mechanical one which was used at the Boston polling station, but which was too expensive for Quincy.

The participants questioned all three speakers on how to register to vote, the percentage of eligible voters that participate, how cities update voter lists, and to prevent fraud and multiple votes. Also of interest was the process of counting the ballots, and the process of writing in a candidate, which is non-existent in Russia. The demonstration of the actual voting procedures was a good way for the delegation to round out its understanding of the election process.

### *Visit to Election Night Victory/Concession Parties*

The participants visited the election night parties of Democrats Senator Kennedy and Mark Roosevelt, and of Republicans Mitt Romney and Governor Weld. During the parties they were able to see the results of the ballot counts from across the country, to sense the euphoria of the winning camps, and the hopes for the next race of the losers, as well as to listen to the concession speech of Mitt Romney and the victory speech of Ted Kennedy. These visits provided the participants with a unique opportunity to see the end of an election

campaign, for which the numerous staffers and volunteers had worked for many long months. In addition, the participants observed media coverage of these events.

**Wednesday, November 9**  
*Return to Washington, D.C.*



## **D. Michigan Program**

Five participants traveled to Michigan with NDI Program Assistant Megan Masson to observe campaign activity over the final ten days before election day. They were: Igor Lukashov, Boris Pustintsev, Natalya Shirshikova, Konstantin Zhuravlev and Sergei Vasilenko.

### **Saturday, October 29**

#### *The Role of Labor in Michigan Politics*

*Speaker: David Hecker, Executive Assistant to the President of Metro-Detroit Area AFL-CIO*

Mr. Hecker described how the AFL-CIO needed to be involved in the political process since it affects the union members as much as a negotiated agreement with management. He then detailed how the union becomes involved in the political process through endorsements, Get Out the Vote (GOTV) efforts and mass mailings.

#### *Democratic and Republican Rallies*

As an introduction to this election season in Michigan, the participants were divided into two groups to observe a rally for either a Democratic or Republican state-wide candidate. Three participants attended a rally for Democratic candidate for governor, Howard Wolpe, at the Perfecting Church in Detroit to celebrate the opening of a print/copy business associated with the church. The candidate invited the participants to appear on stage with him. The delegates seemed touched by the warmth of the people and received videotapes of the performance of the gospel group from the church.

Meanwhile, the remaining two participants attended a rally for the Republican slate in Dearborn. Speeches were made by Spencer Abraham, the candidate for Senate and Governor John Engler. Republican candidates for Secretary of State, Attorney General, the Supreme Court, U.S. Congress, State Senate and the State House also appeared.

### **Sunday, October 30**

#### *Campaigning at Sunday Morning Services in Lansing African American Churches*

The participants accompanied Lingg Brewer, candidate for State House, Dianne Byrum, candidate for State Senate, Ms. Barbara Roberts Mason, a member of the Michigan State Board of Education and Mr. Dennis Archer, mayor of Detroit, to three churches in the Lansing area. At each stop, the candidates were introduced to the congregation and at times asked to say a few words. Mayor Archer stressed the importance of voting and urged the people to cast their ballots on election day. At the last church, the participants stayed for the entire service.

Through this observation, participants had the opportunity to see organization and

campaigning in a minority community in the United States. They appreciated the cultural experience and were touched by the prayers of the congregations for themselves and their country.

*Political Briefing on Michigan*

*Speaker: Bill Ballenger, former Republican State Senator and editor of "Inside Michigan Politics," a weekly newsletter*

Mr. Ballenger stated that Governor Engler was heavily favored to win re-election. He described the history and personality of Engler and of his Democratic opponent, Howard Wolpe. Ballenger gave a similar run-down of the U.S. Senate candidates Spencer Abraham and Bob Carr, and the basic tenets of the three other parties fielding candidates: the World Workers' Party, Natural Law Party and Libertarian Party. In response to questions, Mr. Ballenger described Michigan's election laws on primaries and how a party qualified to be on the ballot. Questions also concerned the formulation of new political parties and the black vote.

**Monday, October 31**

*State Party Operations*

*Speakers: Gary Corbin, Michigan Democratic Party (MDP) State Chair  
Tom Boyd, MDP Executive Director*

Corbin and Boyd described the structure of the MDP, the members of their formal board of advisors and informal board, and the functions and staff of the state party headquarters. Corbin said that as the incumbent party nationally, the MDP was expecting losses but trying to minimize them. Boyd detailed the advantages the U.S. system gives to the Democratic and Republican parties. The process of building a party platform was also discussed. The party was summed up by Boyd as a provider of campaign services and technical skills rather than a major player in the creation of policy.

Questions addressed party discipline and how, in the U.S. system, the candidate selection is made. Tom Boyd closed the session with a description of direct mail, giving an example of a piece recently mailed by the MDP.

*Training with a local NGO: Michigan Education Association (MEA)*

*Speakers: Ann Graham, MEA, Political Action Director  
David W. Crim, MEA, Political Action Consultant*

Ms. Graham described the MEA and the need of the union to be involved in the political process since the government directly affected its members and their children. To influence the political process, Ms. Graham explained how the MEA uses endorsements coupled with financial and in-kind campaign support. Ms. Graham sketched the MEA's dues system and sources of finance. Graham and Crim described the tension between the MEA and Governor Engler, a Republican who recently took action to withdraw the teachers union's right to collective bargaining. Participants asked about test scores, the structure of public education, charter schools and the possibility of a state-wide strike.

*Michigan Bureau of Elections*

*Speakers: Chris Thomas, Director, Michigan Bureau of Elections  
Marilyn Freeman, Michigan Bureau of Elections  
Tim Hanson, Michigan Bureau of Elections  
Sharman Moore, Michigan Bureau of Elections  
Josephine Scott, Michigan Bureau of Elections*

The purpose of this session was to present the process of declaring candidacy and running for election in Michigan. Thomas presented an organizational chart of all Bureau of Elections officers from the state to the precinct level and described the flow of information and responsibility. Ms. Freeman described the process of voter registration, how candidates file to be on the ballot, the formation of political action and candidate committees and financial disclosure by a campaign. The participants received a packet containing a mock ballot, a voter registration form, and all the forms used to file candidacy and disclose campaign finances.

Ms. Moore and Mr. Hanson led the participants on a tour of the Bureau, demonstrating newly implemented computer technology for public access to campaign finance information. Ms. Josephine Scott completed the session by outlining the schedule for this election cycle and describing the Bureau's duties.

The participants asked questions regarding fraud, campaign finance disclosure and public funding. Each participant received a packet containing voter registration information, political party qualifications, manuals for political party and candidate committees, information on the Michigan Campaign Finance Act, and instruction and form booklets for both political party and candidate committees.

**Tuesday, November 1**

*Grass Roots Organizing*

The purpose of the trip to Alpena was to observe a campaign relying primarily on grass roots organizing. The participants visited the campaign of state congressional candidate G.T. Long, a grass roots organizer for the Michigan Democratic Party for the past fifteen years.

The participants observed various activities basic to a grass roots campaign: door to door campaigning, shaking hands at local businesses, and a phone bank. The participants also had a Thanksgiving dinner at a local couple's home with the candidate. In addition, participants had ample time to interact with the candidate, his campaign manager and volunteers. G.T. Long spoke with the participants at length about how to recruit volunteers, organize and keep them. Each received a copy of a field training manual written by Mr. Long. In Alpena, the participants also had the opportunity to observe how a candidate attracts press attention. A television station and two print journalists, one from the Detroit News, covered the delegation's visit, giving Mr. Long extra visibility.

The participants appreciated the time they spent with G.T. Long and his campaign. In the small-town setting, they felt they had seen real America. Door to door campaigning

was the primary campaigning skill offered and its utility in Russia sparked debate.

### **Wednesday, November 2**

#### *Visibility event at an Automobile Plant Gate with State Senate Candidate Rose Aquilina*

The delegation joined Rose Aquilina, a Democratic candidate for State Senate, at an auto plant gate when the afternoon shift let out. The participants observed Ms. Aquilina shaking hands and handing out magnets with her name and logo. The participants enjoyed the hustle and bustle of the plant gate. Although they had limited time to speak with the candidate, they observed a candidate interacting with a large group of people and increasing her familiarity with the voters.

#### *Constituent Servicing at Congressman Barcia's Home Office in Saginaw*

*Speakers: Veronica L. Horn, Staff Assistant, U.S. House of Representatives  
Robert LeFevre, Staff Assistant, U.S. House of Representatives*

The purpose of this session was to demonstrate how a congressman maintains contacts with constituents. Ms. Horn and Mr. LeFevre gave the participants a tour of their office, explaining it was one of three in Congressman Barcia's district. The participants were shown the files of complaints or problems brought to the office by constituents. Ms. Horn and Mr. LeFevre described how they handled requests. Questions were asked about the location of the offices, staff, funding and military base closings.

### **Thursday, November 3**

#### *Organization of the Republican Party in Michigan*

*Speaker: Anthony Spearman-Leach, Regional Field Director, Michigan Republican State Committee*

Mr. Spearman-Leach first differentiated the Detroit Metro area from the rest of Michigan, explaining the demographics and politics of each. He detailed the Republican Party's effort to reach ethnic and racial groups. Mr. Spearman-Leach, an African-American, has been active in recruiting in the black community. He described the structure of the Michigan Republican Party and its informal functioning. He then took the participants to the City-County Building and County Commission Building in downtown Detroit to demonstrate the lengths he has to go to retrieve information.

Questions were asked about party control over elected officials, the influence of NGOs on the Michigan Republican Party, and fundraising.

#### *The Role of the Media in Michigan Politics*

*Speaker: David McHugh, Staff Writer, Detroit Free Press  
Christopher Cook, Staff Writer, Detroit Free Press*

During lunch, Mr. McHugh inquired about the state of the media in Russia and was greeted by vivid descriptions. The conversation then turned to Michigan and how papers are organized to avoid some of the problems presently being encountered in Russia. Mr. Cook and Mr. McHugh described how business staffs and reporters are separate in U.S. papers. They answered questions regarding the objectivity of the press and the influence of

advertisers.

*Coordination of a State-wide Campaign*

*Speaker: Eddie McDonald, Deputy Campaign Manager, Carr for Senate*

Mr. McDonald sketched the construction of a state-wide campaign, using the Carr for Senate race as an example. Beginning in February of an election year, Mr. McDonald outlined what steps a candidate needs to take, the process of hiring a staff, and the duties of campaign managers, schedulers, fundraisers, and field operations directors. How to plan strategy was addressed, as was the question of when and how strategy decisions are made. Mr. McDonald also stressed the need for voter contact and how it is achieved.

Questions were asked about security, diversity within a campaign and what campaign staff does between elections. Mr. McDonald responded that the campaign should reflect the diversity of the state and that a core group of campaign staff never disbands.

**Friday, November 4 through Monday, November 7**

*Campaign Observation*

*Howard Wolpe for Governor Campaign*

Igor Lukashov and Natalya Shirshikova were placed on the Wolpe for Governor campaign. Meetings were arranged for Mr. Lukashov and Ms. Shirshikova with the campaign manager, deputy campaign manager, communications director, scheduling coordinator, and volunteer coordinator. The two Russians accompanied the candidate at a press event in Detroit, and a rally in Dearborn which was attended by Vice President Gore. In this way, Mr. Lukashov and Ms. Shirshikova saw the inner workings of a state-wide campaign and spend a substantial amount of time with key staff members.

*Ingham County GOTV Office*

Konstantin Zhuravlov and Sergei Vasilenko were assigned to the Ingham County GOTV office. They received a manual the office had used to construct the organization. They spoke with volunteers and paid staff about why the Get Out the Vote Effort was important, how to target neighborhoods for door-to-door campaigning, and how to organize volunteers. The participants witnessed mail drops, literature disbursements and preparations for the GOTV effort on election day. They also attended a Get Out the Vote Rally the night before the election at a local church.

Mr. Zhuravlov and Mr. Vasilenko how a county wide campaign effort is run. They were introduced to the concept of targeting voters. They also observed a successful volunteer recruitment effort.

*Bob Mitchell for U.S. Congress*

Boris Pustintseyev observed the Mitchell for Congress campaign. He saw door-to-door campaigning, attendance at a Get Out the Vote Rally, and spent time with the candidate on election day. Mr. Pustintseyev also observed the functions of the Mitchell campaign headquarters.

Mr. Pustintseyev, a former nominee for an elected position, saw a well-organized

campaign and gained a better understanding of the role each person plays in such a campaign.

### *Identifying and Targeting Voters*

*Speaker: Mark Grebner, Practical Political Consulting*

Grebner, a partner in a firm which sells and publishes voter lists, explained how and why campaigns use these lists and how they are compiled through a computer data base. He stressed that the sale of voter lists was a business and the selection of information was a business decision. Grebner's firm also sells polling samples and he spoke briefly about their compilation.

The participants were interested by Mr. Grebner's business. They asked questions about how he prevented the resale of his product, the computer hardware necessary, and Mr. Grebner's insights into Michigan politics.

### **Tuesday, November 8**

#### *Observation of Polling Sites*

On the morning of Election Day, the delegation visited three polling sites, accompanied by Ms. Josephine Scott of the Michigan Bureau of Elections. Participants observed voting, were shown how the voting machines operated, and the security measures taken. The polling stations were in a white, African-American, and Hispanic neighborhoods. Ms. Scott answered the participants' questions, mostly related to security, fraud and the types of building selected for polling stations. The participants were concerned about what they perceived as a lack of security.

#### *Observation of the Ingham County GOTV Office*

The participants visited the Ingham County GOTV Office on the afternoon of Election Day. Bob Alexander, a volunteer at the office and a member of the Mitchell for Congress campaign, spoke to the group about the purpose and organization of the office's activities on Election Day. The participants then shadowed sweep teams composed of volunteers going door to door urging people to vote. The number of volunteers impressed the participants.

#### *Observation of Election Returns*

Late in the evening on Election night, the delegation joined workers from the Michigan Democratic Party including Tom Boyd and Gary Corbin at the Wolpe for Governor Headquarters in Lansing where reports of election results were being received. When the delegation arrived, it was known that Republicans had won both the governor and senate races. The press release from the Party Chair, Gary Corbin, was read to the participants.

### **Wednesday, November 9**

#### *Debriefing Session*

*Moderator: Tom Boyd, Executive Director, MDP*

The purpose of this session was to discuss the results of the elections and the participants' observations of the campaigns they watched. Tom Boyd opened by stating that

the Democrats had lost control of both the U.S. House and Senate. In Michigan, the Republicans maintained control of the governor's office and Senate and took full control of the House by a two seat margin. Boyd listed the outcomes of all the races the participants had observed during their trip. He described what this meant for the Michigan Democratic Party.

Boyd then turned the discussion over to the participants. The Wolpe and Carr campaigns were critiqued. The Mitchell campaign was discussed and the candidate's chance to run successfully for office again despite losing this time. Finally, a debate arose over whether door-to-door campaigning would be effective in Russia.

## **E. Oklahoma Program**

Five participants traveled with NDI Program Assistant Darren Nance to Oklahoma City, Oklahoma to observe campaign activity over the final ten days before election day. They were: Svetlana Mostinskaya, Evgenii Ikhlov, Sergei Magaril, Vladimir Nirko and Albert Rivkin.

### **Saturday, October 29**

#### *Tour of Oklahoma City*

Upon its arrival, the delegation toured the city and was briefed on its historic character. The delegation was informed of the different campaigns and candidates in Oklahoma while observing yard signs and billboards. This served as a brief introduction to the city, state and people during this important election year.

### **Sunday, October 30**

#### *Visit to Native American Community*

After discussing the Native American influence in Oklahoma, the group visited the Cherokee Trading Post, which is a trading post for Native Americans of the Cherokee tribe in Yukon, Oklahoma. The participants were very interested in the Native American history of the United States and what the role of Native Americans was in politics and government. The participants asked many tribal leaders questions regarding their feelings toward politics. The participants were informed of the importance of Native American issues in Oklahoma and that there were Native Americans that held public office at almost every level of government.

#### *Welcome to Oklahoma Dinner*

*Speakers:*     *Oklahoma State Senator Enoch Kelly Haney*  
                  *Oklahoma State Senator Bernice Shedrick*  
                  *Oklahoma State Senator Bill Mickle*  
                  *Former Oklahoma State Representative Kenneth Nance*

The dinner served to welcome the participants to Oklahoma and to get a feel for Oklahoma politics through discussion with each Senator. Each Senator provided an interesting perspective to each participant. Senator Haney, a full blood Creek-Seminole Indian and a well known artist of Native American paintings, was in the midst of his campaign for re-election. Senator Shedrick had just lost in the primaries in her bid in the Governors race, and Senator Mickle was also up for re-election in a rural district in



southeastern Oklahoma.

The discussion involved questions from each participant regarding personal background such as how each Senator started out in politics and why. The participants were also very interested in hearing about each of the Senator's campaigns and what the issues were in each of their districts. Senator Shedrick, the Chair of the Senate Education Committee, proved very interesting to all the participants and sparked numerous questions regarding the U.S. education system. Every participant was equally interested in discussing Native American issues with Senator Haney. The dinner proved to be an excellent welcoming to Oklahoma and the state's politics.

#### *Barn-Yard Halloween Social for Laura Boyd for State Representative*

The participants visited a fundraiser for Oklahoma State Representative Laura Boyd who was running for re-election. Ms. Boyd discussed how important it was to plan fundraising events in order to raise money, keep energy levels high, and receive feedback from supporters. The participants were impressed by the simplicity of the event and the remarkable turnout. They asked questions about how the event was organized and how invitations were sent. They also asked questions about what the typical activities were for a candidate for state legislature and if these type of events were effective for a state-wide race.

#### **Monday, October 31**

##### *Overview of state elections in Oklahoma at the State Capitol Building*

*Speakers: Tom Kielhorn, Political Pollster  
Frosty Troy, Editor, Oklahoma Observer*

Frosty Troy and Tom Kielhorn gave an overview of Oklahoma politics to the participants. They outlined the major issues in Oklahoma, defined the stakes for each political party in the '94 elections, and reviewed each party's factions, message and strategy. The participants asked questions about the Christian right within the Republican Party, the abortion issue, the number of seats in the Oklahoma House of Representatives and Senate and the breakdown according to parties. Mr. Troy added comments about the history of the Democratic and Republican parties in Oklahoma. In addition, Mr. Kielhorn spoke about polling and the role he plays in campaigns.

##### *Tour of State Capitol Building and Governor's Office*

*Speakers: Pat Foster, Chief of Staff, Governor David Walter's office*

Ms. Foster gave the participants a tour of the State Capitol Building which included a brief outline of the history of the state and an explanation of the organization of the House of Representatives and Senate. The participants were interested in hearing how each party organized itself within the House and Senate and if the Representatives and Senators of each respective party met to discuss certain issues and legislation.

Ms. Foster also gave the participants a tour of the Oklahoma Supreme Court and Governor's office, where each participant was presented a Honorary Oklahoma Citizenship Certificate and state flag by the Speaker of the Oklahoma House of Representatives, Representative Glen Johnson.

#### *Briefing at the State Democratic Party Headquarters*

*Speaker: Mike Turpen, Chairman of the Oklahoma State Democratic Party*

Mr. Turpen discussed the structure of the Oklahoma Democratic Party and the Chairman's responsibilities. He discussed the party platform and the role of the party staff. Also, he described the services provided to candidates by the Democratic Party Headquarters, including polling data, direct mailings, and phone banks. The participants asked questions about what the mechanisms were to determine who will be the party's candidates. The participants received pamphlets about the Democratic Party and its platform.

#### *Fundraiser for David Perryman for U.S. Congress*

*Speaker: David Perryman*

David Perryman visited with the participants about his campaign and what his campaign emphasized. The participants asked questions about volunteer recruitment and grassroots organizing for his race. The participants socialized with others at the fundraiser and enjoyed seeing Halloween activity with the children at the event.

#### **Tuesday, November 1**

#### *Briefing at the Oklahoma State Election Board*

*Speaker: Lance Ward, Secretary of the Oklahoma State Election Board*

The purpose of this session was to present the process of declaring candidacy and the rules of running for election in Oklahoma and to give the participants an idea of the role of state election boards. Mr. Ward began the session by giving an overview of the

organizational structures of the Election Board. He explained how a candidate could file to be on the ballot and procedures to do so. The participants received a packet of materials used by the Election Board including forms to register voters, file candidacy, and disclose campaign finances.

The participants asked questions regarding the nomination of the Secretary of the Election Board, processes used by the Election Board to ensure fairness. The participants expressed that this session had been very useful and beneficial in light of the problems with the organization of elections in Russia.

#### *Briefing at Logan County Election Board*

*Speaker: Doug Sanderson, Secretary of the Logan County Election Board*

Mr. Sanderson began his presentation with a brief history of elections in Oklahoma from statehood in 1907 to the present, using examples of old voting boxes and wax-sealed ballots. After explaining the current voting machines, Mr. Sanderson invited each participant to vote by ballot and machine and compare and contrast the two processes. He also discussed the efforts of the election board to encourage every citizen to vote, including information campaigns and election-day GOTV drives. He also distributed absentee ballots and explained the absentee voting process.

At the end of the session, each participant thanked Mr. Sanderson for the information and conveyed their support for the right to have free and fair elections.

#### *Logan County Republican Party Headquarters*

*Speaker: Tim Green, County Chairman and Candidate for County Commissioner*

Mr. Green explained the role of the county party headquarters during an election season and outlined how the party provided support to local Republican candidates. He also explained his local race, discussing the major differences between a local and a state wide campaign.

The participants were given local campaign pamphlets and brochures on local candidates. Also, they were impressed by the office and its small, yet useful volunteer staff. The participants then went door-to-door campaigning with Mr. Green and observed how a local candidate campaigns with limited resources.

**Wednesday, November 2**

#### *Briefing at the State Republican Party Headquarters*

*Speaker: Clinton Key, State Chairman*

Mr. Key outlined the structure and organization of the Oklahoma Republican Party and the services it provides to its candidates. He discussed the differences between the Democratic and Republican Party by outlining some of the major issue differences. The participants then walked through the headquarters with Mr. Key while he explained the responsibilities of each person in the office. He then discussed the current state-wide races and the Republican candidates.

The participants were impressed by the organization of the office and asked questions regarding fundraising on a party level and the relationship of the Oklahoma Republican Party with the National Republican Party.

### *The Role of Non-governmental Organizations in Politics*

*Speakers: Bruce Hunt, Oklahoma Education Association  
Claudia Kanas, Oklahoma Medical Association*

Each speaker explained how their association determines which candidates to support and the procedures of endorsement. They also explained the type of support provided to its endorsed candidates. The presentations proved interesting because of the differences in issues between the Oklahoma Education Association and the Oklahoma Medical Association.

The participants inquired as to the Associations' methods of support to candidates and political parties. Also, they asked about the Associations' expectations of their victorious candidates.

### *Jack Mildren for Governor Campaign Headquarters*

*Speaker: Jack Mildren, Lt. Governor and Candidate for Governor*

After discussing his campaign and platform, Mr. Mildren opened the floor to questions. The participants asked about his campaign's activities over the final days and why he thinks he should be Governor. The participants then met with his political consultant about polling and candidate image. Each was fascinated by the idea of hiring a consultant to provide advice and recommendations to candidates and political parties.

**Thursday, November 3**

*Briefing with Local Media*

*Speakers: Brian Ford, Tulsa World  
Terri Watkins, KOCO-TV  
Dan Mahoney, KWTW-TV*

The speakers discussed the role of the media in politics and campaigns. They explained how candidates used newspapers, TV, and radio broadcasting to promote their message. They also discussed the responsibilities of the media during an election and what the media does to get people out to vote.

The participants were extremely interested in the media's role in Oklahoma politics and inquired as to the most effective form of media for candidates. Not surprisingly, they learned that TV appearances had the most impact.

*State Democratic Party Caravan with:*

- *Jack Mildren for Governor*
- *Dave McCurdy for U.S. Senate*
- *Nance Diamond for Lt. Governor*

The participants traveled to Pryor, Oklahoma to join the caravan through four small towns in Oklahoma. Upon arrival in Pryor, the participants met with the mayor and numerous local candidates and supporters at the county Democratic Party Headquarters while waiting for the caravan to arrive. The delegation then joined in the caravan and travelled to Claremore, Oklahoma to the United States Veterans Hospital, where the caravan ended.

The participants discussed local government and local campaigns with different members of the community. They asked questions about financing small campaigns and the candidates' relationship with the state party. The participants were also interested in why most of the residents of the small towns they had seen were primarily affiliated with the Democratic Party.

*Glenn Johnson for State Representative Fish Fry Fundraiser*

*Hosts: U.S. Congressman Bill Brewster  
Mrs. Bill Brewster  
Rep. Glenn Johnson*

The participants travelled to Holdenville, Oklahoma to a fish fry for Rep. Glenn Johnson. Enjoying the small town atmosphere and banjo band, they discussed the specifics of Congressman Brewster's rural campaign. They learned about agricultural issues, the level of interest of these communities in politics, and the importance of the church in GOTV activities.

Friday, November 4, 1994

*Visit to Congressman Ernest Ishtook's District Office*

*Speakers: Congressman Ernest Ishtook*

Congressman Ishtook opened the session by taking the participants through his district office, describing the functions of each staff member and the systems of communication with the Washington office. Congressman Ishtook described his district, which includes the Oklahoma City area, and gave examples of constituent requests. The Chief of Staff outlined how these requests are processed.

The participants were highly interested in the discussion and asked questions about the main functions of the office and payment of the staff. They also discussed the Congressman's current campaign for re-election against an Independent candidate.

*Discussion with Young Democrats and College Republicans*

*Speakers: Kimberly Hawkins, President, Young Democrats of Oklahoma  
Joseph Kitto, President, College Republican of Oklahoma*

The speakers discussed the development of each organization and their efforts to attract young voters to participate in politics and the electoral process. They discussed the benefits of having young people, including their flexibility and time to volunteer with campaigns during school.

The participants were interested in the organizations' development and asked questions about what it would take to get such organizations started in Russia. A few of them mentioned the idea of having the speakers come to Russia to meet with young voters to motivate them and spark interest in creating such organizations.

*Closing Session with Democratic Party Chairman, Mike Turpen*

The participants met with Mr. Turpen at the Democratic Party headquarters to discuss last minute campaign efforts. He described his role as chairman and made a fundraising call (with the participants on speaker phone) to show them how he asks people for money. The participants were very shocked that he could just call someone and ask them for money. They asked questions about targeting donors and the role these contributors play in the party.

*Republican GOP Fundraising Event with President George Bush*

The participants attended this event to observe a huge fundraiser with thousands of

people and the role of a high level dignitary, like President Bush, in raising money. In addition to witnessing the high level of energy and media attention, the participants observed the logistics and volunteer effort that had been organized. Upon his arrival, the participants had an opportunity to meet and take a photo with President Bush. The participants enjoyed this event. They were, however, shocked to find that people would pay to have their picture taken with President Bush.

## **Saturday, November 5**

### *Volunteer Organization with Rep. Laura Boyd Campaigning for Re-election*

In this session, the participants met at the campaign headquarters of Laura Boyd. Rep. Boyd discussed her volunteer effort to distribute campaign leaflets throughout the city of Norman. She showed the participants the maps of the city with different neighborhoods highlighted for the volunteers to know which neighborhood to distribute their leaflets in. Rep. Boyd also introduced her campaign intern who was receiving college credit in political science by interning with her campaign.

The participants asked questions about the responsibilities of the intern and found this idea incredibly interesting. The participants then went with Rep. Boyd to distribute leaflets. Together they walked to the Cleveland County Democratic Party Headquarters where they observed yard sign production and a phone-bank.

### *Luncheon hosted by Phi Gamma Delta Fraternity*

The participants enjoyed an informal lunch at the fraternity of Phi Gamma Delta where they discussed politics with local businessmen and students.

### *Observing Pre-Game Campaign Activity and Volunteer Effort*

- *University of Oklahoma vs. University of Missouri*
- *Dave McCurdy for U.S. Senate Campaign, Democrat*
- *Frank Keating for Governor, Republican*

The participants observed the volunteers distributing campaign stickers and t-shirts as people walked to the stadium. The participants were very impressed with the number of volunteers participating in this effort and the number of campaigns represented. The participants then watched the football game following a brief discussion of the rules of football and the objective of the game.

## **Sunday, November 6**

### *Jack Mildren for Governor, Frank Keating for Governor*

The participants observed the campaign activity at the campaigns' headquarters which included last minute Get Out the Vote efforts, phone banking, and volunteers preparing to distribute yard signs the day before the election.

### **Monday, November 7**

#### *Phone Banking at the Oklahoma Education Association*

*Speaker: Bruce Hunt, Government Relations*

The participants saw how a non-governmental organization organized a phone-bank to communicate the positions of favorable candidates and encourage people to get out and vote.

#### *Lunch with United States Ambassador Jim Jones*

*Speaker: Jim Jones, US Ambassador to México*

The participants were able to join a luncheon with Ambassador Jones, who served 12 years in Congress and four years as the president of the American Stock Exchange. The participants were very impressed by the loyalty and pride Ambassador Jones showed to his home state. The participants asked questions about Ambassador Jones' past experience and what his views were regarding the elections and the current campaigns.

#### *Home Visit with the Marshall Family*

The participants were given the opportunity to visit the home of an American family. The Marshall's have lived in Norman all their lives. Mr. Marshall is retired from the Army and now teaches ROTC at a local high school. Mrs. Marshall teaches English as a second language at the University of Oklahoma.

The discussion during dinner was dominated by questions about the American education system in general. The participants were also interested in how the Army was organized and what the ROTC program entailed.

### **Tuesday, November 8**

#### *Observation of the Voting Process*

Participants were given the opportunity to observe the voting process at different voting precincts. The voting table officials showed the participants the voting lists and explained each step of the voting process from the time the voter walks up to the time the voter places the ballot in the voting machine.

#### *Observation of Student Mock Vote*



The participants observed a student mock vote that was organized for the gubernatorial and senate races in Oklahoma. The participants thought that this was an excellent way to educate children on the voting process and about democracy. They believed that this would get children involved in the electoral and political process at a young age so that when they were able to vote, they would be interested in the issues and know how to participate in the process.

*Observation of Democrat and Republican Watch Parties*

First, the participants went to the Democratic Party watch party; the mood was very somber considering most candidates and all state-wide candidates had lost. They observed Jack Mildren's concession speech.

The participants then went to the Republican Party watch party where the environment was upbeat; they observed the victory speeches of all state-wide Republican candidates.

## APPENDICES

## Iowa Schedule

### Saturday, October 29

- 10:00 a.m. ● Depart Washington, D.C. on US Air Flight 607
- 1:22 p.m. ● Arrive in Des Moines
- 2:30 p.m. ● Visit to Cummings Apple Orchard  
Location: 280 10th Avenue, Cumming, Iowa  
tel: 515/981-4413
- 4:30 p.m. ● Check into Savery Hotel  
400 Locust, Des Moines, Iowa  
tel: 515/244-2151
- 6:00 p.m. ● Visit to Historic Farms for a Halloween Festival

### Sunday, October 30

- afternoon ● Visit to Herald Hill Farm  
Discussion of Rural Empowerment and Rural Lobby in Iowa  
Hosts: Howard and Carol Hill
- 6:30 p.m. ● Dinner at the Old Depot Restaurant

### Monday, October 31

- 8:30 a.m. ● Depart Hotel
- 9:00 a.m. ● Observe press conference for Republican Governor Terry Brandstat
- 10:00 a.m. ● Observe press conference for Democratic gubernatorial candidate,  
Bonnie Campbell
- 11:00 a.m. ● The Role of the Media in Iowa Politics and Regional Political Briefing  
Speaker: David Yepson, *Des Moines Register*
- 2:00 p.m. ● Briefing at Iowa Democratic Party Headquarters  
Speakers: Eric Tabor, Iowa Democratic Party, State Party Chair  
Ron Parker, Iowa Democratic Party, Communications Officer  
Doris Cardom, Iowa Democratic Party, Financial Director

## Tuesday, November 1

- 9:00 a.m.     ● Depart Hotel
- 9:30 a.m.     ● Briefing at Polk County Election Office  
Speaker:     Tom Parkins, Election Commissioner
- 2:00 p.m.     ● Shopping Excursion

## Wednesday, November 2

- 9:00 a.m.     ● Depart Hotel
- 9:30 a.m.     ● League of Women Voters of Iowa  
Speaker:     Marla Sheffler, Executive Director
- 2:00 p.m.     ● Prairie Fire - Farm Lobby Group  
Speaker:     Barb Grabner, Executive Director

## Thursday, November 3

- 9:00 a.m.     ● Depart Hotel
- 9:30 a.m.     ● Campbell for Governor Campaign  
Speaker:     Laura Bellin, Campaign Manager
- 12:00 p.m.    ● Lunch at the Des Moines Rotary Club  
Theme:       Panel Discussion on Economic Rural Development
- 7:30 p.m.     ● Rally for Democratic Ticket in Iowa  
Featured Speakers:   President Clinton  
                          Gubernatorial Candidate, Bonnie Campbell  
                          Congressman Smith  
                          Senator Harkin
- 8:45 p.m.     ● Reception for President Clinton at the Savery Hotel

## Friday, November 4

- 9:30 a.m.     ● Depart Hotel
- 10:00 a.m.    ● Seminar on Conflict Resolution: Mediation Between Municipal, State and Federal Government at the Iowa Peace Institute

Speakers:     Jeanne Maze  
                  Warren Reinicke

1:30 p.m.     ●Lunch at a Turkish Restaurant

3:00 p.m.     ●How to Run a Small Campaign  
Speaker:       Danny Carroll, Republican Candidate for the State House

**Saturday, November 5**

3:00 p.m.     ●Shopping excursion

8:00 p.m.     ●Cultural Activity

**Sunday, November 6**

10:00 a.m.    ●Depart Hotel

10:30 a.m.    ●Observation of a Greek Orthodox Church Service

1:30 p.m.     ●Observation of door-to-door campaigning  
Host:           Liz Garst, Campbell for Governor Campaign

6:00 p.m.     ●Political Rally at Drake University

7:30 p.m.     ●Meeting with Laura Bellin  
Discussion of campaign strategies and management

**Monday, November 7**

9:00 a.m.     ●Depart Hotel

9:30 a.m.     ●Lobbying Activities of the Iowa Association of Education  
Speaker:       Susan Donovan

1:00 p.m.     ●National Pork Producers Council  
Speaker:       Neil Dirks

**Tuesday, November 8**       **ELECTION DAY**

8:30 a.m.     ●Depart Hotel

- 9:00 a.m. ● Viktor Repkin and Vitaly Gukov join up with Dale Cochran, Iowa's Secretary of Agriculture
- 9:30 a.m. ● Observation at Iowa Democratic Party Headquarters
- 1:00 p.m. ● Observation at Iowa Board of Elections
- 3:00 p.m. ● Observation at Iowa Republican Party Headquarters
- 5:30 p.m. ● Regroup for dinner
- 7:00 p.m. ● Watch returns with the Campbell for Governor Campaign
- 8:30 p.m. ● Attend Victory Party for Iowa Secretary of Agriculture, Dale Cochran

**Wednesday, November 9**

- 9:00 a.m. ● Check out of Hotel
- 9:45 a.m. ● Depart Hotel
- 11:38 a.m. ● Depart Des Moines on US Air Flight 1444/616
- 4:54 p.m. ● Arrive in Washington, D.C.

## SCHEDULE FOR MASSACHUSETTS (10/29-11/9)

**STAFF:** Mike Pevzner

**PARTICIPANTS:** Vladimir Lyssenko  
Vyacheslav Gulimov  
Irina Zubkevich  
Vladimir Zharikhin  
Valerii Khomiakov

### Saturday, October 29

11:28am Arrive, USAir #2387  
Van to hotel  
Check into hotel

Swiss Chalet - Newton  
160 Boylston St.  
Newton, MA  
Tel# (617) 527-9000

5:00pm Tourist Briefing by Paul Harold, International Visitors' Center  
Phone: (617) 773-6785  
Loc: John Hancock Tower Observatory  
•Intro to Boston / Mass. politics and government

6:30 Participants proceed to dinner with Mr. Harold/  
van to pick up Zharikhin at Logan; bring him to hotel

### Sunday, October 30

10:15 Leave hotel via van

11:00am Democratic Rally in Dorchester  
LOC: IBEW Hall; sponsored by AFL/CIO  
call to determine location

12:30pm Roosevelt and Kennedy will arrive at rally

2:00pm-3:30pm Walking Tour of Historic Boston  
Statue of Sam Adams --Faneuil Hall  
(617) 367-2345; (617) 367-3766

4:00pm Free time / Optional visit to N.E. Aquarium

**Monday, October 31**

- 8:15 Leave hotel via van
- 9:30-10:30 Fundraiser for gubernatorial candidate Lincoln Almond in Providence RI  
Contact: Ed Donohue  
LOC: 1 Old Stone Square, Providence, 11th floor  
(Heminway's Restaurant on 1st floor)
- 11:00-12:30pm Tour of Brown University / Visit with Russian Department / Lunch in Providence
- 12:30pm Board van to Boston
- 1:45pm Arrive at One Ashburton Place (Tim Gassert - Elections Division)  
Ph: 617-727-2828
- 2:00-4:00pm Election Briefing (Tim Gassert)
- 4:00-5:00pm Tour of MA State House (Mike Maresco)  
617-727-2804

**Tuesday 11/1**

- 8:15am Leave hotel via van
- 9:00-11:00am Briefing at MA Dem. Party HQ (Gus Bickford, exec. dir.)  
LOC: 45 Bromfield Street, Boston  
Phone: (617) 426-4760  
•Role of MA Dem. Party / MA Dem. races in 1994
- 12:00pm-1:00pm Lunch with Wayne Woodlief (Boston Herald)  
ph: (617) 426-3000  
fx: (617) 542-1315  
and Bob Turner (Boston Globe)  
#: (617) 929-3071; fax: (617) 929-2098  
LOC: Last Hurrah  
(basement of Omni Parker House -- near State House)  
Contact re. reservations: Sarah (617) 227-8600  
•Coverage of politics by newspapers on local/national levels



2:00pm Briefing at Massachusetts Republican State Committee HQ  
contact: Bill Vernon, executive director  
(617) 725-1994; fax: (617) 367-7342  
LOC: 114 State Street, 5th Floor, Boston  
  
•Role of MA Rep. party / Rep. candidates / Diff. w/ Dems.

7:30pm Walpole, Mass.: League of Women Voters forum  
Bill Keating (state senator - D), other candidates  
Contact: Paul Harold  
LOC: Old Post Road School, Walpole, Mass.

### Wednesday 11/2

8:15am Leave hotel

9am-12pm Role of Nongovernment Organizations in the political process

Judy Meredith, Visiting Fellow, UMass John McCormack Inst. of Public Affairs,  
(617) 338-0954

LOC: University of Mass.

State Office Conference Room -- refreshments provided  
18 Tremont Street, Boston, 18th Floor

1:00pm Visit to Roosevelt/Massie (D) gubernatorial campaign office  
LOC: 10 Tremont Street, 6th Floor  
contact: Linda Wik or Trip Jones (Campaign manager.)  
phone: (617) 367-9494; fax: (617) 367-0685

2:00pm Visit to Governor Weld's campaign HQ (R)  
contact: Mike Labuskes  
(617) 367-9400; fax: (617) 367-4255  
LOC: 90 Canal Street, 4th Floor, Boston

### Thursday 11/3

10:15 Leave hotel via van

11:00am Visit to Russian radio station in Boston  
LOC: 358A Watertown Street, Newton MA  
Contact: Sam Vidrin  
•Discussion: emigre community in Boston

1:30pm-2:30pm Visit to Wellesley College  
(en route to Worcester)

3-4:30pm O'Sullivan (D) for Congress campaign office visit  
(508) 798-1994, fx: (508) 797-9293  
Contact: Bill Robbins (scheduling)  
Frank Callahan (Off. Mgr)

*Directions: From Marlboro: Take I-290 westbound to Worcester. Take Route 9/Lincoln Square exit; right off ramp, 2nd right in about 100ft. Then second right onto Grove road. Follow 1/4 mile till old factory complex (entrance at end #108). Parking lot across street.*

5:00pm Meet with Worcester's mayor (Raymond Mariano). Receive keys to Worcester.  
Worcester's sister city is Pushkin.  
Contact: Robert Pezzella  
Phone: (508) 799-1153; fax: (508) 799-1156  
•Local government in Mass.

#### **Friday 11/4**

9:00 Change hotels (Collonade, Boston)

10-11am Visit to Kennedy for Senate Campaign  
LOC: 270 Congress St.  
Contact: Jay Heimbach / Denise Rawles

2:00-3:00pm talk at Harvard Inst. of Politics -- Kiersten Hildebrand  
or Charlie Royer (director) (617) 495-5278  
LOC: Harvard Institute of Politics  
79 John F. Kennedy Street  
Cambridge  
  
(conference room)

3:30-5:00pm Talk at Russian Center with grad students/faculty  
Liz Bernstein, Assoc. Director (617) 495-2124  
LOC: Russian Research Center

5:00pm Informal gathering with refreshments at Russian Center with grad. students

eve: Cultural Event (Dance Theater of Harlem)

**Saturday 11/5**

11:00am Arrive at North Station, Boston for Republican rally

12:00-5:00pm Train tour of Massachusetts to 5 rallies with Gov. Weld, Lt. Gov Selucci, senatorial candidate Mitt Romney

**Sunday 11/6**

Cultural day

AM Tour of Boston / visit to DeCordova Museum

PM Home visit at "typical" Mass. household -- Leo Galperin

**Monday 11/7**

9:30am-12pm Visit to Rep. Joe Kennedy's Office  
Topic: Constituent servicing  
Contact: Al Rielly  
LOC: Schrafft Center, Charlestown

2:00-4:00pm Briefing with the Libertarian Party of Massachusetts  
Contact: Dean Cook  
LOC: at hotel (Boston Room)

**Tuesday 11/8**

10:30 visit to polling stations  
with Tim Gassert and Paul Harold  
Quincy -- Jim Sheets, mayor (talk to Tim)  
Boston: City Hall

1:00pm Tour of Kennedy Library and Museum  
Contact: Sheldon Stern

3:00pm Visit to Boston Election Department  
Contact: Abe Hantout, Commissioner

8:00pm Kennedy and Roosevelt election parties at Park Plaza  
Weld party at Sheraton Ballroom (Mike Labuskes)  
Romney Party at Westin Hotel

**Wednesday 11/9**

Fly back to DC

3:00pm Depart Boston USAIR #481

4:39pm Arrive National Airport  
wait for the bus at USAir terminal

## Michigan Schedule - AED October/November

### Saturday, Oct. 29

- 9:40 a.m. ●Depart Washington on Northwest Flight 265
- 11:15 a.m. ●Arrive in Detroit
- 1:00 p.m. ●Role of Labor in Michigan Politics  
Speaker: David Hecker, Executive Assistant to president of Metro-Detroit Area AFL-CIO  
Location: TGI Friday's Restaurant  
26299 Evergreen  
Southfield, MI phone: 810/353-5530
- 2:00 p.m. ●Attend Rally in Dearborn for Republican nominee for the Senate, Spencer Abraham  
Location: Henry Ford Community College  
5101 Evergreen (on the corner of Evergreen and Ford)  
●Attend Rally in Detroit for Democratic nominee for Governor, Howard Wolpe  
Location: Perfecting Church  
13220 Greenfield  
Detroit, MI phone: 313/836-4100
- 3:30 p.m. ●Regroup - Travel to Lansing (1 hour, 45 minutes)

*Hotel - Park International, Lansing*

### Sunday, Oct. 30

- 10:30 a.m. ●Campaigning at Sunday Morning Services in Lansing African American Churches  
Contact: Mary Holmes, Campaign Manager, Ferguson for U.S. Senate (primary)
- 1:00 p.m. ●Tour of Michigan Library and Historical Center  
717 W. Allegan St., Lansing
- 4:00 p.m. ●Political Briefing on the region  
Speaker: Bill Ballenger  
Location: Park International

*Hotel - Park International, Lansing*

**Monday, Oct. 31**

- 8:45 a.m.     ●Depart Hotel
- 9:00 a.m.     ●Michigan Democratic Party Headquarters,  
*606 Townsend, Lansing*  
-Discuss role and structure of Democratic party  
-Overview of current election within that state, especially on campaigns to be  
  seen by participants during the regional program  
Speakers:     Gary Corbin, Michigan Democratic State Party Chair  
               Tom Boyd, Executive Director, Michigan Democratic Party  
               MDP Staff
- 11:30 p.m.    ●Guided Tour of the Capitol Building  
Contact: Brenda, Speaker's Office, 517/373-1983
- 2:00 p.m.     ●Training with local NGO: Michigan Education Association  
*1216 Kendale Boulevard, East Lansing*  
Speaker:      Ms. Ann Graham, Political Action Director
- 3:30 p.m.     ●Michigan Bureau of Elections  
*Mutual Building, 208 N. Capitol, Fourth Floor*  
-Discuss the process of declaring candidacy and running for election in  
Michigan  
Speaker:      Chris Thomas, Director and staff
- 8:00 p.m.     ●Visit the Boyd household on Halloween night

*Hotel - Park International, Lansing*

**Tuesday, November 1**

- 7:30 a.m.     ●Meet in Hotel Lobby, check-out
- 8:00 a.m.     ●Travel to Alpena (4 hours)
- 1:00 p.m.     ●Tour of Besser Machinery Factory     (517) 354-4508  
*801 Johnson Street, Alpena*
- 2:30 p.m.     ●Grassroots campaigning with G.T. Long, Northern Michigan Field  
Representative, MDP, and Candidate for Michigan House of Representatives  
(106th District)
- 7:00 p.m.     ●Dinner with Charlie and Judy Rosebush  
*188 Long Rapids Road, Alpena*

*Hotel - Best Western of Alpena*

**Wednesday, Nov. 2**

- 9:00 a.m.     ● Visibility event with G.T. Long and trip to Lake Huron
- 10:00 a.m.    ● Travel:     Alpena to Saginaw (2.5 hours)
- 12:30 p.m.    ● Lunch
- 2:00 p.m.     ● Visit to Congressman Jim Barcia's District Congressional and Campaign Offices
- 5:00 p.m.     ● Campaign with State Senate Candidate Rose Aquilina, unconfirmed

*Hotel - Radisson Flint River Front*

**Thursday, Nov. 3**

- 10:30 a.m.    ● Meeting with Republicans in Detroit and Flint  
Contact:       Tony Spearman-Leach
- 12:30 p.m.    ● Lunch  
The role of the media in Michigan politics  
Speakers:     Dave McHugh, reporter, Detroit Free Press,  
                  Don Gonyea, reporter for National Public Radio  
Location:     *Omni International Hotel, Room 802*  
                  *333 E. Jefferson Ave, Detroit*  
Contact:       Jeannie, Catering Department, 313/222-7700
- 2:00 p.m.     ● Carr for Senate campaign  
                  *601 West Fort, Suite 400, Detroit*  
Contact:       Eddie McDonald
- 3:30 p.m.     ● Depart for Lansing
- 7:30 p.m.     ● Address Students and Staff of James Madison College, Michigan State University  
Contact:       Norman A. Graham, Director of European and Russian Studies,  
                  Michigan State University

*Hotel - Park International, Lansing*

**Friday, Nov. 4**

8:30 a.m. ●Meeting with Principal Pat Rose and teachers at Post Oak Elementary School  
2320 Post Oak Lane, Lansing

9:05 a.m. ●Observe classroom and meet students at Post Oak

11:00 a.m. ●Join Campaign Observation  
Campaigns: Mitchell for Congress, Wolpe for Governor, Local GOTV office

*Hotel - Park International, Lansing*

### **Saturday, Nov. 5**

Morning ●Campaign Observation

3:30 p.m. ●Trip to Ann Arbor

*Hotel - Park International, Lansing*

### **Sunday, Nov. 6**

3:30 p.m. ●Identifying and Targeting Voters  
Speaker: Mark Grebner, Practical Political Consultants

*Hotel - Park International, Lansing*

### **Monday, Nov. 7**

●Campaign Observation

*Hotel - Park International, Lansing*

### **Tuesday, Nov. 8 ELECTION DAY**

8:00 a.m. Meet in the Hotel Lobby

8:30 a.m. ●Observe polling, etc.

evening ●Watch returns with a campaign

*Hotel - Park International, Lansing*

### **Wednesday, Nov. 9**

10:30 a.m. ●Meet in Hotel Lobby - Check-out

11:00 a.m. ●Shopping - Location TBD



1:30 p.m. ●Depart for Airport

3:00 p.m. ●Depart for Washington from Detroit Metro on Northwest Flight 12

## Oklahoma Schedule

### Saturday, October 29

- |            |  |
|------------|--|
| 8:30 a.m.  | Leave for Airport from D.C. hotel                          |
| 10:19 a.m. | TWA Flight #123  |
| 1:55 p.m.  | Arrive in Oklahoma City                                    |
| 3:00 p.m.  | Arrive at Century Center Hotel                             |
| 6:30 p.m.  | Dinner at Sleepy Hollow Restaurant (an Oklahoma tradition) |

**Sunday, October 30**

**TOUR OF OKLAHOMA CITY**

- 9:30 a.m. Meet in the Lobby
- 10:30 a.m. ●LAZY-E Arena: National Steer Roping Finals (Rodeo)
- 12:30 p.m. Lunch
- 1:30 p.m. ●Tour of "National Cowboy Hall of Fame" and/or  
●"Remington Park"; Thoroughbred Horse Racing
- 4:00 p.m. "Welcome to Oklahoma Dinner" with  
Glen Johnson, Speaker of the House of Representatives, at the  
Nance family home
- 7:00 p.m. Barn-Yard Halloween Social for Laura Boyd for State  
Representative, Norman, OK.

**Monday, October 31**

- 9:00 a.m. Oklahoma State Capitol  
● Political Briefing on the region  
Speakers:  
● Tom Kielhorn, Political Pollster for the Oklahoma Democratic Party.  
● Tom Cole, Political Pollster for the Oklahoma Republican Party  
● Frosty Troy, Editor, *Oklahoma Observer*, an Oklahoma political newspaper.
- 10:30 a.m. Tour of State Capitol and Governor's Office: Governor David Walter's Office  
Pat Foster, Chief of Staff
- 12:00 p.m. Lunch: Downtown Oklahoma City
- 2:00 p.m. Briefing at the State Democratic Party Headquarters  
Mike Turpen, Chairman of the Oklahoma Democratic Party  
● Overview of the Oklahoma Democratic Party
- 6:00 p.m. David Perryman (Democrat) for U.S. Congress Fundraiser
- 7:30 p.m. Halloween Activity and Dinner in Bricktown (Old Downtown)

**Tuesday, Nov. 1**

- 9:00 a.m. Oklahoma State Election Board; Oklahoma State Capitol  
Lance Ward, President of the Oklahoma State Election Board
- Overview of operations of the State Election Board
- 10:30 a.m. Travel to Guthrie, OK. (Oklahoma's first state capital)
- 11:00 p.m. Logan County Election Board  
Doug Sanderson, Secretary of the Logan County Election Board
- Operations of a county election board
- 12:00 p.m. Lunch with Lance Ward and Doug Sanderson
- The Sand Plum restaurant, Guthrie, OK.
- 1:00 p.m. Historic tour of Guthrie on the "Guthrie Trolley" with stops to:
- Oklahoma's first state capital building
    - History of Oklahoma's state capital being stolen
  - Logan County Republican Party Campaign Headquarters
    - Organizational Structures of Party and GOTV efforts
  - Wal-Mart
- 3:30 p.m. Rural Campaign Activity in Guthrie (Door-to-Door campaigning) with candidate for county assessor
- 7:00 p.m. Dinner/Fundraiser for Dave McCurdy (Democrat) U.S. Senate

**Wednesday, Nov. 2**

- 9:00 a.m. Briefing at the State Republican Party Headquarters  
Clinton Key, Chairman of the Oklahoma Republican Party  
● Organization and Responsibilities of State Party
- 10:30 a.m. Visit to a State-wide Campaign Office  
Frank Keating (Republican) for Governor  
● Organization of a State-wide Campaign
- 12:00 p.m. Lunch
- 1:30 p.m. Oklahoma State Capitol  
Bruce Hunt; Director of Government Relations, Oklahoma  
Education Association  
Claudia Kanas; Government Relations, Oklahoma State Medical  
Association  
● Discussion of a non-governmental organization's role in  
supporting a candidate and their expectations from lawmakers  
whom they supported during the election
- 5:00 p.m. Dinner
- 6:00 p.m. Observe Campaigning Downtown
- 7:30 p.m. Oklahoma City *Blazers* vs. Ft. Worth (Hockey) and optional  
Country/Western Dancing after the game.

**Thursday, Nov. 3**

- 9:00 a.m. Oklahoma State Capitol  
Roundtable with Local Journalists  
Speakers: KOCO-TV OKC (ABC), *The Daily Oklahoman*;  
(Oklahoma's largest newspaper), KTOK-OKC (Radio)
- 11:00 a.m. Oklahoma University Department of Political Communication  
Speaker: Chair of the OU Political Communication Center;  
"Collection of Political Commercials"
- 1:00 p.m. Lunch and Penn Square Mall;shopping
- 4:00 p.m. Return to Hotel
- 6:00 p.m. Dinner
- 7:00 p.m. Wes Watkins (Independent for Governor) Fundraiser

**Friday, Nov. 4**

- 9:30 a.m. Visit to Congressman's District Office  
Congressman Ernest Ishtook (Republican)  
● Discussion of Constituent Servicing
- 11:00 a.m. Lt. Governor Richard Mildren's Campaign Office  
● Discussion of his campaign for Governor
- 1:00 p.m. Campaign Observation  
Frank Keating (Republican) for Governor  
Jack Mildren (Democrat) for Governor  
Wes Watkins (Independent) for Governor
- 5:00 p.m. Campaign Rally/Fundraiser with Frank Keating
- 7:00 p.m. Dinner



**Saturday, Nov.5**

- 8:30 a.m. Travel to Norman, Oklahoma
- 9:00 a.m. Meet with Laura Boyd (Democrat) for Oklahoma State House of Representatives at campaign headquarters to see volunteer effort to distribute leaflets throughout the City of Norman
- Discuss local campaign strategies and organization as well as volunteer recruitment
  - Walk down the street to the Cleveland County Democratic Party Headquarters to see state-wide campaign's organization for pre-game campaigning as well as organization of the office
- 11:00 a.m. Early Lunch
- 12:00 p.m. Observe pre-game campaigning and volunteer effort at Owen Field (Football Stadium)
- 1:30 p.m. Football Game; University of Oklahoma vs. University of Missouri
- 6:30 p.m. Dinner

**Sunday, Nov. 6**

**The participants will observe organization and volunteer activity of state-wide and local campaigns including following a candidate.**

**Observation Activities: GOTV, Phone Banking, Media Events, and Volunteer Participation.**

**(A detailed schedule will be distributed in Oklahoma of today and tomorrow's events.)**

**Monday, Nov. 7**

**Tuesday, Nov. 8**

**Election Day**

**8:30 a.m.**

**Breakfast**

Watch Darren and Family Vote at Sky Ranch Elementary School and observe the voting process with Representative of the Oklahoma Election Board and campaign activity at a number of polling stations including last minute GOTV efforts

**10:30 a.m.**

**Moore-West Mid-High School**

- Observe Mock-Vote that was set up to teach elementary and high-school students the voting process and how to read, study and debate the issues.

**6:45 p.m.**

**KOCO-TV Station, Oklahoma City, OK.**

- KOCO-TV President
- Observe how results come in and how TV channels report the results

**8:00 p.m.**

**Watch Parties**

- State-wide Democratic Watch Party
- Frank Keating for Governor
- Dave McCurdy for U.S. Senate

**Wednesday, Nov. 9**

9:30 a.m.	Hotel Lobby ( Check-Out )
10:00 a.m.	Leave to Will Rogers Airport
11:17 a.m.	TWA #106
4:23 a.m.	Arrive Washington, D.C.

The following newspaper clippings were attached to this document as originally published. However, due to copyright restrictions, we are unable to reproduce them for the web.

Bowers, Frank: "Visiting Russians Learn How to Vote"  
*The Des Moines Register* November, 2, 1994

Mason, Kathy "The Russians are Coming and They're Watching the Election Process"  
*The Alpena News* November 2, 1994, 1A-2A

Babic, Marty Jean "Russians Watch Campaign Closely"  
*The Saginaw News* November 3, 1994, B3

Damman, Sara Gray "Russians Hit the Campaign Trail"  
*The Detroit News* November 4, 1994, 1B, 6B