

PROMOTION OF THE FAIR AND OPEN ELECTION OF 2004

In 2004 the International Renaissance Foundation (IRF) centered much of its attention on support of public initiatives and on operation of own projects pursued to guarantee fair and free election process in Ukraine. For these purposes IRF funded projects in the following avenues:

- Support of monitoring NGO coalitions;
- Monitoring of election campaigns coverage in mass media;
- Information and awareness campaigns;
- Exit poll empowerment;
- Support of civil initiatives aimed at voters' rights protection;
- Voter mobilization;
- Support of public councils and civic boards activities.

Over the period from the autumn 2003 to December 2004 IRF allocated to the non-government organizations of Ukraine **1 653 222 USD** for implementation of elections-related projects. The funded projects did not aim at empowering specific political forces but pointed toward the creation of an environment conducive to compliance with the Ukrainian electoral legislation standards, respect of the voters' rights and freedoms as well as the spread of information for the free choice of every citizen. The results and outcomes of the projects are accessible to all participants of the electoral process. Detailed information on the project outcomes may be reached via the implementers or at specialized Web resources (see Annex 1).

SUPPORT OF MONITORING NGO COALITIONS

The Foundation supported the coalition effort of the third sector at the 2004 Presidential election. Particularly, IRF promoted the establishment and activities of the civil coalition "New Choice – 2004" and the projects run by NGO coalition "Freedom of Choice".

Coalition "New Choice – 2004"

Civil coalition "New Choice – 2004" is a voluntary association of Ukrainian NGOs involved in projects that seek to secure fair, free and democratic 2004 election of the President of Ukraine.

The coalition was initiated by the Committee of Voters of Ukraine (CVU), Equal Access Committee, Democratic Initiatives Foundation, the Laboratory of Legislative Initiatives, Ukrainian Center for Independent Political Research, Foundation "Europe XXI", School of Political Analysis, Internews-Ukraine media association, and the Social and Humanitarian Consortium, with the expert support of Razumkov Center of Economic and Political Studies and of the International Foundation of Electoral Systems, with part of the funding and expertise coming from IRF. The Coalition embraced over one hundred NGOs from all over Ukraine.

The mission of the Coalition was to ensure fair, transparent and democratic election of the President of Ukraine in 2004, to consolidate civil society organizations in promoting the informed choice of the electorate, and to promote respect of the voters' rights and of the equality of the election process participants.

In the course of their activities coalition members had a number of working meetings with the representatives of different branches of power, Ukrainian NGOs, and the international community. This year such meetings, specifically, were held with Valeriy Mishura (Jan 23, 2004), Madeleine Albright (Feb 21, Serhiy Kivalov (June 9). The Coalition nominated its representatives at the Central Electoral Commission. Concurrently, the coalition members addressed Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich with a letter as to the discussion of possible cooperation between the Government and the NGO community, in order to lay the grounds for a fair presidential race.

The Coalition prepared and conducted a string of regional events, including press conferences, press centers and round table sessions. For example, within November and December of 2003 round table discussions were hosted in Kirovohrad, Sumy, Kharkiv, Donetsk, Chernihiv, Simferopol, Dnipropetrovsk, Poltava, Uzhgorod and Myko-

layiv. Their intention was to present the goals and tasks of the Coalition, to involve NGOs from the regions and to sign the Fair Elections Charter launched by the coalition member organizations. These meetings amassed an attendance in excess of 300 persons representing regional civil organizations, outlets of political parties, the authorities, local self-government bodies, and the mass media. In the wake of the round table meetings over 50 regional NGOs joined “New Choice – 2004”, while the Charter received nearly 100 individual and legal entities’ signatures.

Members of the “New Choice – 2004” Coalition monitored the elections held in 2004 in many parts of Ukraine. For instance, they organized comprehensive observing of the election of Romny mayor (March 28) in Sumy Region, did a wide scale monitoring of the City of Mukachevo mayoral campaign, and on May 30, 2004 in Odesa arranged for the operation of Independent Press Center “Elections 2004”.

On April 29, the Coalition jointly with NGO “Internews-Ukraine” held a round table event “Lessons of Mukachevo Mayor Election: Is a Repeat Possible?” attended by Parliament Members of Ukraine, leading political scientists, activists of Ukrainian and international monitoring NGOs, and the journalists.

In May and June the Coalition conducted seminar trainings on the role of non-government organizations in the elections for over 80 attendants from its member organizations.

Another accomplishment of the Coalition was its drafting and communication to the Verkhovna Rada of proposed legislative amendments envisaging equal opportunities for all presidential challengers in the candidates debates on the national television channels.

Coalition members exchanged information and covered the election developments in Ukraine by means of an Internet resource [www.monitor.org.ua] and through the “Tochka Zoru” (“Point of View”) newspaper. The latter was designed to raise the citizens’ awareness of the electoral proceedings and of the voters rights. The newspaper carried results of sociological studies and topical reference materials like “What social polls to trust?”, “How

to interpret public polls?”, “What is a parallel vote count?” together with media monitoring results, facts of violations of the electoral legislation, research of the political life, rights of voters and so forth. The published issues were distributed by 140 regional and district branches of the Committee of Voters of Ukraine, long-term observers, voting day monitors and “New Choice – 2004” member organizations amongst NGO activists and voters at round table discussions, seminars, conferences, forums, etc. The edition was also sent to the regional and district authorities, think tanks, research centers and libraries. The electronic version of the newspaper placed on such Websites as [www.monitor.org.ua], [www.polit.com.ua], [www.tz.cvu.kiev.ua]. The Coalition also sent out a weekly e-mail digest of the news, documents and announcements of upcoming events.

The Coalition actively worked to consolidate the efforts of the Ukrainian civil society aiming at free and fair elections in Ukraine. This was one of the reasons why on October 1 and 2 the Coalition arranged a special communication and mobilization forum for Ukrainian NGOs titled the New Choice of Ukraine.

The Forum participants counted 231 NGOs representing 24 Ukrainian regions that ran election monitoring and education projects. The Forum was also attended by members of election head quarters, the Central Election Commission, international organizations, diplomatic missions, and the media.

Among the participants of the discussion dedicated to implementation of election monitoring projects and associated problems of public awareness, effort coordination and result application, there were representatives of the Committee of Voters of Ukraine, Europe XXI Foundation, Ukrainian Independent Center for Political Research and Secretariat of the *Freedom of Choice* NGO Coalition of Ukraine.

The speakers at the session that concerned to the role of watch-dog organizations and judiciary in securing voters’ rights at the 2004 presidential elections included representatives of the Ukrainian Advocacy Council (RUPOR) and Committee of Voters Sumy Office.

The Forum participants representing the Telekrytyka Internet-magazine, Equal Opportunities Committee, Institute of Sociology of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, Internews-Ukraine International NGO and Freedom of Press Monitoring Committee in Crimea expressed their ideas on the operation of the media during the election campaign. In particular, they stressed the necessity of the civic and expert assessment of how balanced the presentation of information to voters was, and whether all contenders and their teams were granted equal access to the media.

The national and international observers session devoted to the definition of their legislative status and the problems of monitoring and observation missions coordination was conducted by delegates to the Forum from the Committee of Voters of Ukraine and *Sokil* International NGO. Representatives of the Democratic Initiatives Foundation spoke about presidential elections exit-poll peculiarities, namely such issues as reliability, organization of the poll, and the necessity of proper public support.

The Forum also held a number of round-tables, including “2004 Presidential Elections Monitoring Projects Results and Efficiency”, “Elections and the Media: Equal Access and Balanced Coverage”, “Key Issues in Organization of Civic and Independent International Observation Missions to Presidential Elections in Ukraine”, “Civic Initiatives and Education of Voters for 2004 Presidential Elections in Ukraine”.

Following the discussion, the participants passed an address to public authorities and local self-governments, law-enforcement bodies, judges, members of election commissions, and Ukrainian voters.

Address of the Participants of the Monitoring NGOs Forum New Choice of Ukraine

*to Local and Central Authorities,
Law-Enforcement Agencies, Judges, CEC Members*

Ukraine is facing presidential elections. These elections take place in a complicated social and political environment, in the atmosphere of increasing distrust to incumbent authorities, despair and intimidation. Independent civic monitoring reveals numerous violations of Ukrainian Constitution, election law and human right to free choice. We are concerned about the nature of election campaign coverage in media, statements of some public figures, interference of law-enforcement agencies with the election campaign, as well as voters' complaints. The latter concerns mostly violations of election law by authorities and law-enforcement agencies, as well as their non-compliance with democratic election principles.

International community and democratic governments of other countries also express their concern. They doubt that democratic processes are taking place in our country and distrust our official institutes and their representatives. Today they do not properly take into account our interests, tomorrow we will face the prospects of political isolation, economic sanctions and cultural alienation of Ukraine and Ukrainians.

We address this statement to those who possess power and have influence in Ukraine. Due to your efforts and your honesty, your objectivity and eagerness to cooperate with public, our society can get an opportunity to restore not just trust to authorities and to elections as a tool of people's power, but also strengthen Ukrainian democracy in the eyes of international community.

*Monitoring NGOs Forum
New Choice of Ukraine
October 1–2, 2004
Kyiv*

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**Address of the Participants
of Monitoring NGOs Forum New Choice of Ukraine**

to Ukrainian Voters

Ukraine has to make its choice today. This choice has to be made by each of us. Time has come to overcome despair and false conviction of the fact that irrespective of our voting the results of the elections will be programmed by authorities.

Hundreds of independent NGOs that monitor election campaign in Ukraine strive to protect the rights of each voter and to ensure free and conscious choice.

We, participants of the Monitoring NGOs Forum, will not allow vote rigging.

We rely on the support of Ukrainian voters, on their conscious and proactive civic stance. We ask you to make a few steps forward to fair elections: to check your name and the names of your relatives in voters' lists, to be critical of the information placed in newspapers, on radio and TV, not to be afraid to tell the truth to pollsters how will you vote and how you have voted.

Do not be afraid to vote the way you want. No matter how much they try to intimidate you, no one is able to check how you have voted!

Authorities are not omnipotent and they cannot control your choice.

*Monitoring NGOs Forum
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More information on the Forum can be found on a special web-page set up on the Civic Space portal: [ngoforum.civicua.org]. The Forum was covered by the following web-sites: [www.monitor.org.ua], [www.polit.com.ua].

The Coalition also was active in covering election developments both in Ukraine and abroad.

Leaders of expert organizations belonging to the New Choice 2004 Coalition held two press conferences – in Moscow on 22 October and in Warsaw on 25 October – where they stressed the danger of election violations that may seriously affect the election outcome.

On 9 November, the Coalition fitted up journalists from a number of TV channels and newspapers, including STB, Tonis, 5th Channel, Hromadske Radio, Vechirniy Kyiv, Tochka Zoru, and Politychna Ukrayina Internet-magazine, on a mission to Sumy region to collect materials and report on the conduct of presidential elections in this region on 31 October 2004.

The Coalition also held a mission press conference involving journalists, internal policy office of the regional state administration, Yuschenko, Moroz, and Symonenko's head quarters, as well as NDI, Freedom House, and OSCE international observers.

The press conference was dedicated to the media functions and rights, voter lists inconsistencies and their specification problems, as well as true levers of the Presidential Election Act and the Criminal Code of Ukraine that can be applied against election offences. In particular, Oleksandr Chernenko, spokesman of the Committee of Voters of Ukraine, presented a detailed account of the CVU's observation of the polling and counting processes. Mr. Chernenko also spoke about the incident at Trostyanets District Administration where its staff obstructed the media professional activities, as well as the journalists and CVU's attempts to get to the polling stations at Sumy National Agrarian University.

The New Choice Coalition was applying its every effort to inform the media and the Central Election Commission of Ukraine on the findings of the NGO election monitoring.

On 13 November, the Coalition representatives met CEC Chairman Serhiy Kivalov. More particularly, the Coalition was represented by Ihor Kohut (Coalition Chief of Staff), Yuliya Tyschenko (Ukrainian

Independent Center for Political Research Project Director), Oleksandr Chekmyshev (Equal Possibilities Committee Chairman), Ihor Popov (Chairman of the Committee of Voters of Ukraine), Ilko Kucheriv (Democratic Initiatives Foundation Director), and Kostyantyn Kvirt (Internews-Ukraine Director).

Mr. Kivalov said that he was pleased with the activities of the civic monitoring organizations and that he had always been attentive to their reports. He also tried to explain the reasons behind the sluggish vote count. In their turn, monitoring organizations expressed their criticism of the CEC operation and the work of the entire election commissions system. They again stressed the intricacies related to the compilation of voter lists and emphasized the problem of absentee certificates migration, as well as the necessity to discipline territorial and station commissions in terms of announcement of protocols and proper transmission of documents. The meeting participants also discussed the pressure on voters and members of election commissions. The Coalition representatives provided their assessment of preparation and conduct of voting in rural areas. The Equal Possibilities Committee and the Ukrainian Press Academy Project Directors drew the CEC Chairman's attention to the media manipulation and other wrongdoings to distort voter awareness. Finally, civic organizations called on the CEC to be more proactive on voter education and explanation of voter rights. Mr. Kivalov answered to the majority of critical observations and expressed his wish to hold other meetings with grassroots organizations from time to time.

Coalition Regional Activities. In Mykolayiv region, the Foundation for Mykolayiv Development set up an Information and Coordination Center within the framework of the New Choice 2004 Coalition to consolidate the efforts of regional civic organizations for free and fair elections. The Center promoted close ties with the civic education initiative *Znayu!* It also rendered advisory support to regional districts through its consultants that provide explanations of election legislative norms. In all regional districts and towns (24 subjects), regional coordinators organized round tables with the public, NGOs and election process actors. The Foundation also formed a base of 910 observers and 910 polling station commissioners. The project developments were covered by a special newsletter, *The New Choice of Mykolayiv Region 2004*.

Coalition “Freedom of Choice”

The coalition of Ukrainian civic organizations “Freedom of Choice” was established in 1999 with the participation of hundreds of Ukrainian NGOs in order to coordinate their activities and to implement comprehensive programs aimed at the democratization of the Ukrainian society and at the protection of the citizens' rights and freedoms.

In 2004 the “Freedom of Choice” Coalition received IRF support for a number of its projects.

The goal of the Project “Guaranteeing the free election of Mukachevo Mayor” was to assure regular civil control of the election's compliance with the Ukrainian legislation and the globally recognized democratic standards. In the framework of this project the Coalition held a series of monitoring actions, including: all-round collection of data on electoral violations (“Electoral Violations Collector”), monitoring of voter inducement, oversight of voters list compiling, parallel count of votes. The project was co-funded by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). When summing up the results of the effort, the “Freedom of Choice” Coalition stated that the election campaign failed to create equal opportunities for the contenders and did not create any of the conditions for a democratic and free election, that the judicial authorities were noticeably engaged into the election process in favor of one of the parties, that the government authorities directly campaigned for one of the candidates, that the law enforcement bodies acted under control of criminal groups and entirely avoided performance of own duties under the law, while law enforcement officials directed criminal groups, that the electoral commissions effected or connived with total falsification of the election. The results of this monitoring were communicated to the representatives of foreign missions in Ukraine and to Parliament Members of Ukraine.

A similar monitoring endeavor took place in Odesa within the Coalition's project “All-round civil monitoring of stand-in elections in Constituency # 136”. Conclusions derived from monitoring actions sharply contrasted with the Coalition's findings with regard to Muka-

cheve mayoral election. The electoral commissions were found partly unprepared to the conduct of elections, which led to multiple violations stemming from inaccuracies in the voters lists and the lack of satisfactory management of the election process; however, most of the problems were successfully resolved during the voting procedure. Moreover, the regional and local electoral commissions operated in a relatively open and exposed manner, and the facts of gross infringements on the part of their members or of candidates as well as instances of voter inducement were occasional only and sporadic. The candidates raced in a rather fair competitive environment, where the small use of the administrative resource did not essentially impact the election outcomes. Therefore, all-round monitoring of the election lawfulness and parallel vote count at all the 77 voting stations proved that the election had occurred rather freely and that the identified breaches had not exerted any substantial influence upon the voting outcomes.

The International Renaissance Foundation contributed to the support of the “Freedom of Choice” Coalition’s comprehensive program “Three steps to transparent funding of election campaigns in Ukraine”. The Program implied three stages of implementation: Step 1 – expertise of the standards and practices of the application of electoral legislations of the countries of CEE and C.I.S.; Step 2 – development of a package of proposals to upgrade the standards of electoral legislation and to improve the techniques of civic monitoring of election funds; Step 3 – performance of comprehensive public monitoring of the funding of the 2004 election campaign on the basis of international experience and improved provisions of the domestic electoral legislation. IRF funded a project of “Public monitoring of the financing of the 2004 Presidential election in Ukraine: An analysis and expertise” that took place within the framework of the said Program. The objective of this project was to expertise and assess the total value of contestants’ campaign expenses, to identify principal tendencies in the distribution of electoral funds and, consequently, to ensure their transparency and accountability. In the implementation of this project the Coalition went by its in-house mathematical and sociological model of cost analysis, designed and applied to account the campaigning cost levels by monitoring the dynamic of its activities and actions and by identifying the market structure of relevant services.

It included monitoring of candidates’ pre-election campaigning activities; monitoring of the national and regional mass media; interviewing of campaign officials to determine the market structure of campaign costs and dynamic, together with the pattern of election funds break-down, inclusive of their “shadowed” component.

The results of the project showed that certain features of the campaign considerably complicated the calculation of each candidate’s campaign expenses. This was primarily because the administrative resource set in Viktor Yanukovich’s campaign before the first and the second rounds of the vote made it possible to raise resources that by far exceeded the needs of the campaign. This resulted in a huge extension of the funding basis within the boundaries of the country and helped cover many priorities and components of the campaign by using such administrative resource. The campaign structure of the pro-governmental and oppositional candidates changed before the revote of the second round, as Mr. Yushenko and Mr. Yanukovich switched places in terms of the content of their campaigns’ structural components. If the first concentrated mainly on publicity in electronic media, the latter mostly preferred meetings with voters, as was previously the case with Viktor Yushenko.

Total campaign expenses made up about UAH 4–5 billion (around \$1 billion USD equivalent). Of this amount, organization and support of the candidates’ headquarters costed more than \$160 million, remuneration of election commission members and observers totaled \$60 million, and large-scale actions could be valued at \$29 million (of this, \$25 million was used to support Mr. Yanukovich, while about \$3–4 million – Mr. Yushenko). Another popular publicity method was the publication of specially prepared articles in newspapers. The cost of such publications in regional media was around \$20 million, with about \$13 million spent by Mr. Yanukovich.

Most of the money was spent for political advertising. At the central TV channels alone, the total cost of political advertising broadcast during the campaign were estimated at about \$54 million, including about \$42 million for the political promotion of the pro-governmental candidate. Radio advertising expenses were estimated at some \$18 mil-

lion, while \$6 million were used for Internet promotion. Here, Mr. Yanukovych spent around \$4.5 million, while the rest is divided among other candidates.

About \$10 million was spent for the visual promotion of the candidates (“billboards”).

The real number of copies of printed campaign materials was tens of times larger than the declared number. The analysis showed that Mr. Yanukovych spent about \$25 million for printing alone, not counting dissemination. An additional \$10 million were spent to print provocation materials against Mr. Yuschenko.

Mr. Yuschenko spent around \$5 million for printing, while all candidates spent a total of about \$67 million for these purposes.

Provocation and the bribery of voters became the specific features of Ukraine’s 2004 election campaign. Mr. Yanukovych spent approximately \$32 million to bribe members of election commissions and \$30 million to organize instigations performed by so-called “technical candidates”. The estimated total expenses for such technical candidates reached \$18 million.

Within the format of the Program “Three steps to transparent funding of election campaigns in Ukraine” IRF also supported the creation of the International Supervisory Board (ISB) taking care of the legitimacy and objectivity of the results of civic monitoring. ISB was to warrant political impartiality and credibility of the monitoring outcomes, to render consultative support, expert comments and recommendations to the monitoring performers, and to arrange for the dissemination of the monitoring outcomes and of its experience throughout the international community. ISB developed recommendations for the improvement of those legislative provisions that regulate the funding of election campaigns.

The Foundation has supported the information project of the Coalition, which set up a specialized information service in the format of a hotline at: www.hotline.net.ua. The project’s main purpose was to ensure the efficient

operation of the multifunctional web-hotline organized to disseminate information on the 2004 presidential elections targeted to hundreds of regional media, NGOs, and public agencies of Ukraine. The project helped enhance the influence of NGOs’ information on the democratization of the election process through continuous information on their activities and implementation of their monitoring projects. The web-resource of the project can be found at: [www.hotline.net.ua].

Information on the implemented projects is available on the Web-site of the Coalition [www.coalition.org.ua].

MONITORING OF ELECTION CAMPAIGN COVERAGE IN THE MASS MEDIA

The International Renaissance Foundation granted support to a number of projects aimed at determining the margin of mass media manipulations with the public opinion and at monitoring the quantitative and qualitative parameters of how the central and regional media cover the programs and doings of candidates for the post of President of Ukraine.

The civic organization “Academy of Ukrainian Press” got a series of grants to monitor the news on Ukraine’s top six popular television channels and to do relevant content-analysis in terms of defining the level of their political engagement and detecting the manipulative technologies. The project was to help the voters to decide on the credibility of different channels and their news products. For this reason the results of the monitoring were publicized on monthly basis at press conferences and the project’s Web-site [www.aup.com.ua].

Some grants went to the Academy of Ukrainian Press, Equal Access Committee and the Common Space Association to do monitoring of news programs in the national and regional printed media. This monitoring focused on how Ukrainian printed media were accessible to candidates and members of their teams – as well as on the political preferences of such periodicals.

The results of these projects were most illustrative about the access of different candidates to the media. For instance, in summer V.Yanukovych's appearances on the national and regional television channels and in the local print and air prevailed over all other candidates. Indicatively, in August 2004 media attention to the former Prime Minister twice exceeded that to the incumbent President L.Kuchma (22,8 % against 11,9 %). V.Yuschenko had a 10,9 % score, while other players never topped the 5 % mark. At the same time V.Yuschenko was far ahead of all others in terms of the ironically negative modality of his personality coverage (3,5 %). A very similar situation was observed in summer with regard to sound bytes of direct speech of the news story protagonists. V.Yanukovych's percentage was twice higher than that of V.Yuschenko (2,2 % and, respectively, 1,1 %, while time-wise it is 499 seconds versus 117 seconds on the air). V.Yanukovych was also the leader by the number of channels where he spoke (all except the 5th Channel). Interestingly, V.Yuschenko, being the leader of voter poll preferences, had less sound byte time on the air not only than V.Yanukovych but also than a group of other candidates who, according to polls, enjoyed an extremely low level of popular support – V.Nechyporuk (497 seconds), I.Dushyn (373 seconds) and S.Komisarenko (351 seconds). At the same time the national and part of the regional press showed a bit more of pluralism and a somewhat narrower gap between the leading contestants. Analysis of the obtained summer results prompted monitoring project experts to state concerns as to the presidential campaign coverage in the Ukrainian media:

- Overt bias of the news, which clashes with such main principles of journalism as balance and impartiality of information and turns around the real needs and attitudes of the population, characteristically of totalitarian countries;
- Media use of special informational technologies breeding mass perception stereotypes;
- Media employment for multiplication of destabilizing political technologies, which, apart from stigmatizing and labeling, may generate an atmosphere of growing protest.

Through its monitoring project, the Ukrainian Press Academy revealed that the trend of unequal access to the media and the use of manipulative media technologies was also observed in September news:

Lop-sided presentation of events was preserved (on average 90% of the news in September and 92% in August).

The *Our Ukraine* coalition kept leading in the TV news among other collective participants of the campaign for the third month in a row: 7.5% of the news in September, 6% in August, and 4.5% in July. It was also the top target of negative and ironic assessments (the number of such assessments in September was 1.5 times higher than in July: 2.3% to 1.4%)

The TV news was focused on Victor Yanukovych. His attention rating beat that of the incumbent President and in September was twice as high as that of his main political opponent Victor Yuschenko (20% to 10%). Two positive messages about Mr. Yuschenko were coupled with one negative or ironic mentioning, while eight positive messages about Mr. Yanukovych were accompanied by one negative or ironic piece of news.

In September, Mr. Yanukovych was an absolute leader among the presidential contenders in terms of his direct speech broadcast in the TV news (13% in September and 8% in August). Due to his malady, Mr. Yuschenko's appearance was actually out of the news in the first weeks of September.

Before the revote of the second round of the presidential run-off, the media picture changed: journalists were trying to comply with professional norms of the news reporting, and in particular, for the first time this year the opposition was widely presented on the television channels. News became more balanced: 1) attention to key political subjects and figures became more equal; 2) positive and neutral assessments of the opposition and its leader were legalized; 3) A "Power bonus" in the attention of the news was not present.

During the entire presidential campaign, the share of the internal political news in the general information flow was gradually increasing: from 25% in June to 55% in November. The increase of the number of channels that were being monitored did not cause any changes in the share of news reports without mentioned source (9% in November and December 2004).

The main events of the weeks before December 26 were the election campaign of V.Yanukovych (12% of all news reports about Ukraine with variation on the channels of 10–16%), activities of the “orange revolution” (11%, with variations on the channels of 7–14%) and a danger of an economic crisis (8% in general, 12–15% on ICTV, Inter, TRC Ukraine). The 5th Channel paid special attention to voting regarding the constitutional changes in the Verkhovna Rada (13% with 3% on average in the flow), STB – reporting about the Verkhovna Rada seeking a compromise amongst the elites (7%), Tonis – relations of Ukraine with the international community (7%). Revoting on December 26 was the most frequently mentioned as an additional event in the context of main political developments (12%), and was viewed as a perspective conditioned by the current political activities.

In the beginning of December, the main political events happened mostly in Kyiv (45% in general, 58% on TRC Kyiv, 52% on STB). Other major events were coming from the East of Ukraine (15%), and most frequent reports were from Donetsk 4%.

The share of news with only one point of view remained on the level of previous months – 10%. However, the share of reporting and reflecting two points of view had quite high percentage (regarding voting for the legislative “packet” of the constitutional changes in the Verkhovna Rada – 54%, Yushenko’s illness – 43%, activities of Yanukovych’s supporters – 25%, resignation of the Prosecutor General – 24%). Though the political situation remained tense, the context of discussing news was more or less neutral (62%), which is the highest indicator for the entire period of the monitoring. Conflict and negative context was the smallest in the news of UT-1 and TRC Kyiv – 20%, and the largest – on TRC Ukraine (43%). Events were mostly

commented by journalists and politicians (89% and 41% of the reports), as well as by experts in 4% of the news reports (7% on STB).

Tendency to balanced coverage was realized by the TV channels also through redistribution of attention to main participants of the presidential election. As compared to November, attention towards those somewhat decreased (from 38% to 33% towards Yushenko, from 41% to 29% towards Yanukovych), and improved a little in favor of the Opposition leader. This also could be said about assessments of the presidential candidates. V.Yushenko was presented in a positive or neutral tone more often than Yanukovych (31% reports vs. 26%, in November 37% vs. 41%), and a little more rarely in an ironic or negative tone (7% vs. 8%, in November 13% vs. 6%). In general, Yushenko’s share of negative assessments was reduced two-fold: from 13% to 6%, whereas Yanukovych’s share was gone up (from 6% to 8%).

At the same time, amongst all politicians who were most frequently mentioned in the news, more than a half are Yanukovych’s supporters (53%, in November 52%), and a third are Yushenko’s supporters (37%, in November 38%).

In the beginning of December, one of Yanukovych’s advantages was better access to the news in live-time as compared to his opponent. Indicators of the live-time coverage increased twice as compared to the previous month (from 1884 sec. to 3880 sec.). In December, Yushenko’s live-time coverage went up too (3 times: from 447 sec. 1420 sec.). However, the disproportion in access to live-time in the news between Yanukovych and Yushenko remained. Yanukovych’s live-time coverage remained at 6,2% of all the news about Ukraine and took 4,3% of the time of the whole information flow, Yushenko’s live-time coverage – accordingly 3,8% of all reports, and 1,6% of the total news time. On the channel TRC Ukraine, Yushenko’s live-time was not present at all whereas Yanukovych’s occupied 16% of the weekly time volume. Only on the channel Tonis, V.Yushenko had somewhat more live-time as compared to Yanukovych (2,0% vs. 0,6% of the weekly time).

Amongst collective subjects of the electoral process, the Opposition was leading in terms of attention in the news (14%), CEC (13%), and “Our Ukraine” (11%). Political parties and factions that supported Yushenko were mentioned in a third of all the news reports (37%), those that support Yanukovich two times less – 16% of the news reports. CEC received most of ironic and negative assessments (7%). The context of discussion of the Opposition and Our Ukraine became more neutral and positive (a share of positive assessments increased from 7% to 11%, the share of negative assessments of Our Ukraine has reduced from 5% to 2%).

The results of the monitoring were communicated to foreign missions observing the election process in Ukraine. Data of the above described monitoring projects and upcoming event announcements is to be found at [www.aup.com.ua] and [www.telekritika.kiev.ua].

INFORMATION AND AWARENESS CAMPAIGNS

The International Renaissance Foundation was supporting projects and initiatives that raised the voters’ awareness of their rights and ways of protecting them, and also provided exhaustive information needed to make the conscious choice. Special emphasis was put on issues related to infringements of the electoral right and problems linked with violations of election administration, management of vote procedure, use of the administrative resource, secrecy of vote, enlightenment of the young electorate, making the lists of voters and so on.

The “Your Choice” project supported by IRF and the US Embassy to Ukraine envisaged editing and dissemination of a supplement page in the regional printed media.

9 issues of the page were distributed through 54 printed regional media (see Annex 4). In this manner this Project intended to serve to the voters in all parts of the nation more valid and quality information that each needed to make a conscious choice at the coming election.

The first issues of the paper focused on informing the voters about the contents of candidates’ programs, procedural aspects of the presidential election and prevention of violations of the electoral legislation and of the voters’ rights.

The issue # 7 was dedicated to the violations of the election legislation during the second round of voting. The circulation – 1 000 000 copies; of that, 700 000 copies were distributed as a part of regional mass media while 300 000 copies – through the public organization volunteers.

The 8th issue of the *Your Choice* inset was dedicated to the post-election situation in Ukraine. It provided information on the civil disobedience demonstrations in Kyiv and other Ukrainian regions, in particular law comments on the events, opinions of the both sides about the conflict, comments by the Parliament Chairman and CEC members on the parliamentary resolutions and the Supreme Court rulings. 737 100 copies of the 8th *Your Choice* were disseminated mainly in the eastern and southern regions of Ukraine through partner media and NGO volunteers. In such a way, the project tried to break the information blockade in the Ukrainian regions.

The 9th issue of *Your Choice* contained clarification of the amendments made to the Law on Presidential Elections adopted by the Verkhovna Rada, which conditioned the procedure for voting on December 26, as well as comments of experts regarding the political reform adopted thereby.

One of the own IRF projects envisaged production and circulation of social advertisement pieces to make a broad range of voters aware of their rights and possible ways of their defense, and to increase their social activity by creating the environment for an informed choice.

IRF contributed to the making of 5 such pieces. Agreements of their airing were reached with Inter, ICTV, STB, M1, Ukraine and Era television channels. The clips’ content was developed by way of panel

discussions and focus groups with participation of monitoring NGO representatives. IRF coordinated the production of such clips with other donor organizations – the US Embassy to Ukraine, the EC Mission to Ukraine, Moldova and Belarus, and Internews Network.

IRF funded the Hromadske Radio (Public Radio) project “Presidential Campaign 2004: A Close-Up”, oriented at investigative journalism practices and publicity of revealed blatant facts of violations of the voters’ rights and electoral legislation. The project may be followed at the channel’s Web-site [www.radio.org.ua].

IRF also supported a number of pre-election projects with the use of communication and information technologies (Internet). The Institute of electoral law jointly with the Civic Space Portal launched a project titled “The electoral legislation and election process in Ukraine”. The project, to be pursued during the Presidential campaign, aimed at free consulting of voters, electoral commissions members and observers as to respect of the election rights and recent amendments to the election-related legislation.

The project group rendered 200 Internet consultations. Its site [www.elections.civicua.org], apart from 200 regulatory documents and consultative matter, carried the most important news, events and time-lines of the electoral process, announcements and materials of conferences, workshops and trainings on election-related topics, information on international electoral standards and in-depth publications about the electoral law. The project also disseminated 5 issues of electronic newsletter “The Election Consultant”.

The Project “Systemic interactive study of the laws on the election of President of Ukraine” was to help those citizens who wanted to gain an understanding of such legislation independently, by providing answers to the most frequent questions in an interactive mode. The project implementers sought a rise in the legal awareness of the electorate, members of electoral commissions and observers, which would promote the conditions for the respect and effective application of the now operational electoral legislation during the 2004 Presidentials.

The “Election process on-line” project was to inform the public about the results of election monitoring projects.

The 4 regional and 2 national video-internet-conferences were to involve representatives of 80 monitoring NGOs and over a hundred journalists from the central and regional media. The regional conferences focused on discussing the election campaign monitoring projects in four regions of Ukraine (Western, Eastern, Southern and Central) and were scheduled once in two weeks throughout September and October. The two national conferences were held on the voting days: October 31 and November 21. These events were on-line-rendered at the Internet site (see Annex 3) [www.conference.civicua.org].

Conference participants announced preliminary presidential election monitoring findings, discussed the involvement of the youth in the elections, the role of civic organizations in the election process, protection of voter rights, as well as activities of the election process actors and compliance of the presidential campaign with the Ukrainian law. Civic organizations also answered the questions of the media.

Everybody interested was able to follow the Internet conferences on the project’s web-site, as well as send their questions on-line to the reporters at: ask_online@civicua.org.

19 Ukrainian regions took part in the Internet videoconferences. Between 17 September and 31 October, 23,219 hosts hooked up to the web-site which resulted in the total of 133,593 hits. Notably enough, no other Ukrainian organization held Internet videoconferences before.

In partnership with the UNIAN, the *New Choice 2004* coalition, the *Kandydat* media-center, the Civic Choice portal, and the IREX/IATP, the International Renaissance Foundation initiated an open and independent news center *Presidential Day 2004* based at the UNIAN. The center, which was for the first time deployed on October 31 – November 1, functioned through interactive on-line multimedia technologies.

The center was attended by around 400 journalists, as well as presidential contenders and their representatives including Yu.Tymoshenko, S.Havrysh, Yo.Vinsky, B.Tarasyuk, Yu.Kostenko, I.Pliusch, N.Vitrenko, V.Volga, S.Komisarenko, I.Dushyn, and A.Chornovil. Among other visitors there were political scientists O.Garan, K.Bondarenko, V.Fesenko, A.Okara, V.Karasyov, V.Polokhalo, Ya.Pavlovsky, and V.Bala, as well as representatives of public monitoring organizations and initiatives such as O.Chekmyshev, V.Ivanov, S.Taran, Yu.Tyschenko, I.Pidluska, M.Svystovych, Ye.Zolotaryov, N.Ligachova, and writers O.Zabuzhko, L.Poderevyanskyi, V.Tsybulko, and Yu.Lukanov.

At 8 pm and 11:30 pm on 31 October, a consortium of a number of leading Ukrainian polling agencies, including Democratic Initiatives Foundation (I.Kucheriv), SOCIS (M.Churylov), Kyiv International Institute of Sociology (V.Paniotti, V.Khmelko), Social Monitoring Center (O.Balakiryeva), and Razumkov Centre (A.Bychenko), presented the preliminary and final exit-poll results.

At 10 am on 1 November, the Committee of Voters announced its parallel vote count results.

The information center also maintained a news hotline supplied with messages of civic monitoring organizations, regional CVU representatives, UNIAN, *Kandydat*, and *Hromadske Radio* reporters. The news was provided in Ukrainian, Russian and English.

For the first time in Ukraine, Internet-videoconferences were set up with the regions (Lviv, Sevastopol, Sumy, Mykolayiv, Khmelnytsky, Vinnytsia, Chernigiv, Poltava, Zhytomyr) to highlight hot news of the ballot day. According to Bigmir.net, the number of host visitors of the conference reached 15,705 with the total number of hits 97,027.

A number of direct telephone reports were made by Tochka Zoru reporters from polling stations abroad (Munich and New York) covering the polling and violations outside Ukraine.

The information center also supported a 24-hour hotline of legal assistance to voters and journalists.

In such a way, the center was able to keep the media, as well as the Ukrainian and international society informed on the activities of the civic monitoring organizations to ensure free and fair elections in Ukraine.

The Presidential Day 2004 was recognized the longest press conferences in Ukraine and was included into the Ukraine Record Book.

At the second round of the presidential election on November 21–22, the center was attended by 341 Ukrainian and foreign media, MPs, representatives of the presidential contenders and NGOs, political scientists, sociologists, international observers, and prominent Ukrainian singers, writers, actors, and artists.

Upon the announcement of election results on November 22 and the beginning of the protest demonstrations, the partners agreed to continue the work of the press center. As a result, about 20 press conferences were organized between November 23 and December 10, the majority of which were broadcasted on the Internet. The UNAIN provided all visitors with free access to its news and announcements. The press center also published hourly news letters, *Hot News*, on the basis of political and NGO news lines and disseminated them among the demonstrators in the center of Kyiv. Altogether 131 *Hot News* were published. In addition, the International Renaissance Foundation helped the center to set up special information windows next to the UNIAN and in Khreshchatyk Street (with the support of Kyiv Council) where fresh issues of the *Hot News*, the *Pravda Peremozhe* (the Truth Will Win), photos, and caricatures were posted up every hour. In the busiest days, between November 23 and December 7, the center worked 24 hours a day.

The Joint Information Center resumed its activities on 26 and 27 December 2004. For the period of operation the Center *President Day – 2004*, journalists showed close attention to its activities: over 2000 representatives of domestic and foreign mass media, representatives of non-governmental organizations, observers, politicians, sociologists, culture researchers and writers visited the UNIAN Agency on 26 and 27 December. Project partners noted the experience gained in organization of similar mega-events and expressed their willingness to continue the cooperation.

The Center comprised broadcasting of the presidential debates on-line.

On 26 December, the Center opened the photographic exhibition *Ukrainian Choice – 2004* and the exhibition of political cartoons; two more exhibitions are prepared, those will be displayed in the Verkhovna Rada (Parliament) of Ukraine and the European Parliament in February 2005.

IRF has promoted the principles of balanced coverage of the news by the Ukrainian media and of unbiased presentation of political information. This was particularly important during the period preceding the election, when voters had to arrive at own choice decisions. That is why IRF-initiated 2d Forum “For Elections Without Censorship” held one year prior to the election, on November 10, 2003.

The Forum brought together 200 journalists from all regions of Ukraine and 100 – from its capital, as well as Parliament Members, representatives of the executive branch of power, and diplomats. The Forum approved its Resolution “On principles of media activities during the pre-election period” and came up with the brochure “Mass Media and the Presidential Election 2004”.

The International Renaissance Foundation was also giving active support to the regional election-related initiatives. For instance, in Nikopol NGO “Sokil” launched its project “Ukraine 2004 – for the People’s President!” Its objective was to study and to spread amongst the city’s population the public opinion about the lawfulness and transparency of the election course in Ukraine. The organizers of the project also intended to identify infringements in the process of the campaign and to cover them in the local media.

In the framework of the Nikopol project a public reception and a hot line were operating, already addressed by 69 individuals. The implementing group also conducted four workshops and a public hearing attended by 450, where the agendas included methods and means of voter activation and the role of NGOs in democratic elections. In this wake the project attracted other public organizations of the city as well as representatives of political parties who agreed to furnish in-

formation on violations of the law during the campaign. The accomplishments of the project were highlighted in the Voter’s Page column of 2 issues of Nikopol Environmental Herald with a circulation of 5 thousand and free distribution across the region.

The Foundation kept on supporting certain projects aimed at impartial and balanced regional coverage of the election campaign developments. For example, Lviv Social and Humanitarian Consortium “Genesis” made and offered information parcels on the election course in Lviv within the framework of its Internet-project “Culture and Politics” (“CuPol”) on [www.cupol.lviv.ua].

As of the beginning of August the project’s own correspondent network prepared over hundreds news pieces and dozens pieces of political analysis. Information products originating in the project were fed to all local media and also the all-Ukrainian Internet-editions. The project’s customers included all Lviv media (“Postup”, “Lvivska Hazeta”, “Subotnya Poshta” and “Ukrayinsky Shlyakh” newspapers, “Lux” and “Lvivska Khvylya” radio stations, “Nash Reporter” news service of Noviy Kanal TV channel) and the leading national Internet sites.

The IRF also supported joint initiative of the Simferopol Information and Press Center and the Central Election Commission. The project called “Holding 3 Seminars for Journalists from the Central and Southern Ukraine to Consider the Election and Election Legislation Coverage” was aimed at facilitating the enhancement of quality of the presidential elections coverage and awareness of the journalists of the provisions of new Law on Presidential Elections. The project was directed towards teaching the journalists how to be guided by the peculiarities of holding presidential elections and election legislation and how to spot the most important problems of the election process. The project provided for three seminars for journalists (two – in Kyiv, one – in Simferopol) to be held by the experts of the Information and Press Center (the city of Simferopol) jointly with the Central Election Commission. A key audience of the project was journalists from the central and southern regions of Ukraine (about 60 people). The seminars were expected to be attended by the journalists from the Kyiv, Chernihiv, Zhytomyr, Kherson and Zaporizhzhya Oblasts as well from the Autonomous Republic of Crimea.

The IRF also supported initiatives to involve foreign media into the coverage of the Ukrainian election. The *Ukrainian Elections Through the Eyes of the World* Project carried out by the Ukrainian-Polish Forum drew the European media and international observers to the coverage and observation of the 2004 election campaign in Ukraine.

Before the first round of elections, the project provided journalists and EU observers with the information on the Ukrainian election law and on how openness and transparency of the Ukrainian government was ensured. It also cast the light on the election and political technologies used at the presidential elections. The project informed the foreign journalists on the development of the election process and candidates' election funds, monitoring procedures and comparison of the media access possibilities of various presidential contenders.

On 29 October, the project conducted a round table in Kyiv, *Ukraine on the Eve of Presidential Elections*, where international journalists and experts could ask questions to representatives of seven presidential candidates, Ukrainian political scientists and independent press. A group of journalists and observers also visited the CEC press center, the 5th TV Channel, and the press center of the State TV and Radio Company of Ukraine. On 29 October, the project participants took part in a training briefing for international observers, and visited an open-air concert in support of presidential contender V. Yanukovich. On 30 October, the journalists participated in the opening of press services at the UNIAN and DINAU new agencies and the Central Election Commission, attended the head quarters of some candidates, held a number of meetings with the Committee of Voters of Ukraine, the New Choice 2004 Coalition, the Freedom of Choice, the PORA public initiative, as well as visited a court hearing of Kyiv Court of Appeal on the absence of many Kyiv citizens in voter lists. On the ballot day, the journalists and expert observers visited polling stations in 5 Kyiv boroughs, Vasylkiv town (including a hospital and a military school), and Kovalivka village of Kyiv region. Afterwards they shared their impressions and spoke on air about the polling violations at the CEC, UNIAN, and DINAU press centers and on 1+1, Era, and 5th Channel. On 1 November, the journalists and observers partici-

parted in the round table *Ukraine After Presidential Elections* where they expressed their observations and recommendations.

The project participants included journalists and expert observers from Poland, Slovakia, Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, the Czech Republic, Germany, and the Netherlands. During their meetings and visits, the journalists were able to broadcast on air from the site to their media. Information materials developed by the project and disseminated through the EU media helped to provide quick and objective information to the Europeans on the realities of the Ukrainian election and assess its democracy degree. In particular, due to the energetic efforts of Polish journalists that made up the majority in the project target group, the election campaign developments, the voting process and the vote count caused a relevant reaction in Poland and promoted a prompt and adequate response of Polish politicians to the lack of transparency and democracy of the election process in Ukraine.

The IRF also supported the project "Georgian mass media about the course of the repeated voting during the Presidential Elections in Ukraine on November 21, 2004". The project covers a visit of two Georgian journalists, Sifia Kvlividze (newspaper *Rezonance*, Tbilisi) and Tamila Mchedlishvili (newspaper *24 Hours*, Tbilisi), to Kyiv and preparation of the materials on the Presidential Elections in Ukraine. The expected result of the project was preparation of a series of articles in Georgian mass media on the course of the Presidential Elections in Ukraine.

Another project supported by the IRF is the Coalition's information campaign on the coverage of the reason of the political crisis and developments in Ukraine. This project aimed to make Russian media disseminate objective information on the after-election situation in Ukraine. For these purposes, on November 30, 2004, the *New Choice 2004* held a press conference "Situation in Ukraine: Realities and Expectations" at the RIA-News agency in Moscow where the Coalition was represented by the leading Ukrainian NGOs involved in election monitoring projects, namely the Committee of Voters of Ukraine (Chairman Ihor Popov), Democratic Initiatives (research manager Iryna Bekeshkina), Kyiv Mohyla-Academy Policy Analysis School (Director Oleksiy Haran), and the Equal Possibilities Committee (Chairman Oleksandr Chekmyshev).

The press conference initiators explained the social and political situation that developed in Ukraine after the CEC announced the results of the presidential elections. They also spoke in detail about the moods of the people, showed pictures and videos about the demonstrations in Kyiv and Ukrainian regional centers, and presented the social polls results.

Ihor Popov accounted for numerous violations of the election law including excessively frequent absentee voting, artificially increased number of home voters, untraditionally high turnout in the eastern regions, criminal interference and violent attacks at observers and journalists. Iryna Bekeshkina presented the results of the National Exit Poll conducted on November 21 by the leading sociological companies in Ukraine. Oleksandr Chekmyshev spoke about the findings of the Ukrainian media monitoring.

The participants of the press conference called on the Russian media to be as much as possible objective when covering the developments in Ukraine.

The IRF believed that one of the most objective and efficient methods to inform voters of the contenders' election programs was public TV debates. For these purposes, the IRF announced two tenders that should encourage Ukrainian media to organize and conduct TV debates. The first tender for the Election TV Debates promoted open and balanced televised debates within the Ukrainian legislative framework in order to raise voters' awareness of the programs and future steps of the presidential contenders. Financial assistance was to be provided to support debates between the presidential contenders after the first round.

Through a tender procedure, the IRF supported the Internews-Ukraine in the implementation of the Election Debate and TV project. In its turn, the project rendered organizational and logistic support necessary for the organization of election TV debates between the presidential contenders at an independent site and in the format accepted in democratic countries. It also helped to get the consent of five nationwide TV channels to broadcast the debates on air and obtained the CEC support. Preparation to the debate and its public promotion helped to raise the necessary public interest to the debate and a relevant perception of their importance. These efforts also con-

tributed to the result, when both presidential contenders agreed to participate in a public debate at the First National TV Channel.

The second tender, Coverage of the Presidential TV Debates Importance for the Informed Choice of the Public, promoted the significance of the election debates as a democratic institute that supported the informed expression of the will of the voters. The tender provided 25,000 USD of assistance to the project to set off electronic and press media campaigns promoting the idea of election debates.

The IRF made a statement in the media in which the Foundation leadership called on the people to join the demand of an open TV debate between the presidential contenders before the second round of elections.

Open TV Debate Demand

In 2004, the International Renaissance Foundation has focused the majority of its activities on the support to public initiatives for free, fair, and transparent election process in Ukraine. This includes media coverage monitoring, conduct of the exit poll and protection of voter rights.

Public monitoring of the election campaign developments revealed numerous violations of the Ukrainian Constitution, election law, and the civic right to free choice and reliable information in particular.

These brutal offences have caused a critical confrontation not only between the political camps of the two main presidential candidates, but also threatened that the newly elected President may be illegitimate because the majority of people will not recognize the elections free and fair.

Under these circumstances, while we still have time, we all have to think about the ways to avoid the threats that the society faces nowadays.

Today it is obvious that one of such ways is an open public debate between the two main presidential contenders to be broadcast on air at the nationwide TV channels. Such a debate acquires a critical significance for the second round of elections.

The International Renaissance Foundation has already announced its intention to support the organization and conduct of such a debate. At the same time, other international donor organizations are ready to assist in their conduct. Civic organizations have also participated in the discussion of the election TV debate format.

We know that there are nationwide Ukrainian channels that are ready to organize and conduct TV debates between the two main presidential contenders.

However, a wish is not enough. **Both candidates** shall consent to debate on air, while no such consent has been given yet. With the extreme intensification of the election struggle, the candidates and their head quarters may be unable to cover the existing critical distance of the confrontation. As this is the right that we have as citizens, we shall become mediators between them and demand their participation in a number of TV debates to be broadcast to the entire country.

On behalf of the International Renaissance Foundation, we call on everyone to join this demand.

Hryhoriy Nemyrya,
Chairman of the IRF Board

Yevhen Bystrytsky,
IRF Executive Director

1 November 2004

The International Renaissance Foundation also actively lobbied various formats of election debates. Thus, the New Choice 2004, the UNIAN news agency, and the Public Space portal supported by the International Renaissance Foundation came up with an initiative to hold debates between Yuschenko and Yanukovych's teams. Initiators proposed to organize four debates between the head quarters chiefs (Zinchenko and Tihipko), authorized representatives of both candidates (Kravchuk and Tomenko), authorized representatives of both candidates in the CEC (Havrysh and Klyuchkovskiy), and leaders of the majority and opposition parliamentary factions (Bohatyryova and Tymoshenko).

In addition, the IRF announced a call for proposals from regional TV and radio companies and production studios on *2004 Election Chronicle: Creation of Documentary Videos, Sketches, Programs*. The project was aiming to promote objective coverage of the election and regional election peculiarities through TV documentaries. Eight such projects were supported in Lviv, Ternopil, Chernivtsi, Sumy, Chernihiv, Poltava, Kherson regions and Crimea. The selected TV companies created documentary videos, sketches and programs on the election campaign developments in different Ukrainian regions. This shall include specific regional features of elections, real life campaigning, polling day pictures, acceptance of polling results by the people and other.

The IRF initiated project "Round Table: Media – 2004: Elections and Ethical Standards in Journalism". In the project framework, it was planned to carry out a round table with journalists, managers and owners of various mass media, in particular, of the central TV-channels. During the round table it was planned to discuss the after-election situation in the state, changes in the editorial policy of mass media. The round table became an instrument to consolidate media environment in the post-election period.

IRF provided support to election marathons on Radio Era FM. The first one, the Freedom Marathon, covered the progress of repeat voting at presidential elections of 21 November 2004 and their results. The marathon continued for three weeks in November and December. Direct broadcast of the marathon to the Independence Square and the Khreschatyk Street was also organized through the support of IRF.

The other marathon – the Elections Night – was dedicated to the progress of the repeat voting in the second round of presidential elections held on 26 December. Politicians and representatives of non-governmental organizations and international elections observer missions took part in the radio marathon. In the process of the radio marathon, each listener had an opportunity to phone to the studio and put questions to its guests.

The IRF also supported the initiative of the Telekrytyka NGO to publish a book, "Journalist Revolution: 2004". The Project envisages creating a book about journalists' resistance to oppression by the authorities, which began in

2002 and became the most activated during the presidential election campaign in September-December 2004. The book will contain a chronicle of the most important events that occurred in domestic mass media during September-December 2004; the most resonant newspaper stories regarding the problems and achievements of professional journalists' self-organization in their fight against censorship and oppression by the authorities; interviews with key participants in the journalists' resistance, NGOs and professional journalist union heads and leaders; an expert survey regarding the future steps of the journalist community needed to strengthen their attained success and expand professional journalistic standards. The book will be issued in 4000 copies.

EXIT-POLL EMPOWERMENT

In order to make sure whether the tabulation of votes after the presidential election is correct or, contrarily, whether rigging occurred, IRF jointly with other donors supported the all-Ukrainian exit-poll project. Since the technology of polling the voters at the voting station exit door based upon a well-elaborated set of sociological methods it may become a really reliable instrument to measure the fairness of an election.

To organize this project a number of credible social research agencies, such as the Democratic Initiatives Foundation, Kyiv International Institute of Sociology, Razumkov Center of Political and Economic Studies, Socis Center, Social Monitoring Agency formed a consortium. Two last agencies went out of the consortium after the first round of voting.

Apart from IRF, co-funding for the project was given by the Eurasia Foundation and the Embassies of Canada, United States, Sweden, Switzerland, Norway, Denmark, United Kingdom, and The Netherlands.

The exit-poll results completed on October 31, 2004 during the first round of voting were different.

Exit-poll results completed with the method of personal interview by Socis Center, Social Monitoring Agency (sample – 24 967 voters; error – 2%):

N.Vitrenko – 1,35%
 A.Kinakh – 0,77 %
 A.Moroz – 5,88 %
 P.Symonenko – 6,11 %
 V.Yuschenko – 38,28 %
 V.Yanukovych – 42,67 %
 Against all – 1,47 %

Exit-poll results completed with the secret ballot method by Kyiv International Institute of Sociology, Razumkov Center of Political and Economic Studies (sample – 24 750 voters; error – 2%):

N.Vitrenko – 1,4%
 A.Kinakh – 0,8 %
 A.Moroz – 5,4 %
 P.Symonenko – 4,9 %
 V.Yuschenko – 44,4 %
 V.Yanukovych – 38,0 %
 Against all – 2,3 %

At the second round of elections Victor Yuschenko became the President of Ukraine according to the National exit poll results. 54% voted for Yuschenko and 43% for Yanukovych. 3% voted against both candidates.

Exit poll was held by Kyiv International Institute for Sociology (KIIS) and Razumkov Center. Each organization had a national sample of 15,000 voters (30,000 altogether) which were interviewed at 460 polling stations. Polling was conducted with a secret ballot method when an interviewee filled out the questionnaire himself and threw it in a ballot box.

All the data received was summarized by the head of KIIS Volodymyr Paniotto. He forecast an error of 2%. Number of those who refused to answer was 27% (compare to 22% in the first round).

Democratic Initiatives Foundation, which was a coordinator of the exit poll project, announced the results obtained by polling in the regions of Ukraine:

- Western region (Lvivsky, Rivnensky, Volynsky, Carpathian, Chernivetsky, Ternopil, Frankivsk regions): For Yuschenko 90%, for Yanukovych – 9%;
- Western-Central region (Zhytomyrsky, Vinnytsky, Khmelnytsky, Cherkasky, Kirovogradsky, the city of Kyiv and its Region): for Yuschenko 79%, for Yanukovych – 18%;
- Eastern-Central region (Chernigivsky, Sumsy, Poltavsky, Dni-pro regions): for Yuschenko 56%, for Yanukovych – 39%;
- Southern region (Odesa, Mykolaiv, Kherson, Zaporizhia regions and the Crimea): for Yuschenko 29%, for Yanukovych – 67%;
- Eastern region (Kharkiv, Luhansk, Donetsk regions): for Yuschenko 13%, for Yanukovych – 84%.

Exit poll was highly evaluated by Russian sociologists who had been invited to Ukraine for the second round of elections. Oleksiy Grazhdankin (Levada Center) said that the exit poll conducted by KIIS and Razumkov Center was “of high quality and met international standards”.

National Exit Poll Consortium held an exit poll during the second run-off of the presidential elections on December 26. The polling was conducted at 460 polling stations. 29,259 voters were interviewed. The results of the exit poll are the following: Yuschenko – 56,3%, Yanukovych – 41,3%, against both candidates – 2,4%. Refusal rate was about 19%. A possible error – 1,8%.

National Exit Poll Consortium comprises Democratic Initiatives Foundation, Kyiv International Institute for Sociology (KIIS), and Ukrainian Center for Economic and Political Research named after O.Razumkov. KIIS and

Razumkov Center held two independent representative polls and afterwards summed up their results.

The polling was held with a secret ballot method when an interviewee filled in the questionnaire himself and then threw it in the ballot box. Thus, even interviewers did not know the answers of the interviewees. Such method is very similar to the procedure of secret voting.

Foreign sociologists from Russia (Levada Center) and Poland (PBS) were invited to Ukraine to provide consultations to the Consortium members. They also monitored the process of polling on Election Day and acknowledged a high professional level of the project performers and reliability of the obtained results.

Results in the regions of Ukraine:

- Western region (Lvivsky, Rivnensky, Volynsky, Carpathian, Chernivetsky, Ternopil, Frankivsk regions): For Yuschenko 92.8%, for Yanukovych – 6.22%;
- Western-Central region (Zhytomyrsky, Vinnytsky, Khmelnytsky, Cherkasky, Kirovogradsky, the city of Kyiv and its Region): for Yuschenko 84.8%, for Yanukovych – 12.9%;
- Eastern-Central region (Chernigivsky, Sumsy, Poltavsky, Dni-pro regions): for Yuschenko 58.7%, for Yanukovych – 37.3%;
- Southern region (Odesa, Mykolaiv, Kherson, Zaporizhia regions and the Crimea): for Yuschenko 31.2%, for Yanukovych – 65.9%;
- Eastern region (Kharkiv, Luhansk, Donetsk regions): for Yuschenko 12.8%, for Yanukovych – 85.1%.

Within the framework of the exit poll support, the IRF implemented its own operational project “Visit by Russian and Polish Sociologists as Observers and Auditors to Kyiv for the First Round of Presidential Elections”. The project aimed at the professional audit of public opinion polls on the ballot day by domestic and international experts. International experts represented the leading sociologist organizations of Russia (Levada Center) and Poland (PBS), while Ukrainian experts came from the Institute of Sociology of the

Academy of Sciences of Ukraine and the Sociology Association of Ukraine. The professional audit was useful for maximum transparency of the sociologist services conducting exit polls.

Russian and Polish experts sent their conclusions on Ukrainian exit polls. Their response was generally positive as they stressed the professionalism of the project implementers. At the same time, they proposed to amend certain project procedures by the second round of elections. Expert proposals and recommendations were passed to the consortium members for them to improve their project mechanisms, as a similar monitoring of the public opinion poll undertook at the second and “third” round of elections.

The exit-poll project implementation was covered on [www.dif.org.ua] and [www.exitpoll.org.ua].

SUPPORT OF CIVIL INITIATIVES AIMED AT VOTERS' RIGHTS PROTECTION

The International Renaissance Foundation supported a number of initiatives that aimed at the protection of voters' rights at all stages of the electoral process – during the candidates' campaigns, voters lists compiling, issuing of away vote tickets, voting per se, vote tabulation, etc.

On IRF's initiative the Forum “Human Rights In Elections” took place on March 31 – April 1 in Kyiv. Its purpose was to assess the human rights situation in the nation and to develop a common vision of the human rights advocacy NGO activity during the election campaign of 2004.

The Forum was attended by over 180 delegates from more than 80 human rights organizations in all regions of Ukraine and by representatives of important international human rights entities. Key figures during the discussions were Nina Karpachyova (Ukrainian Parliament Human Rights Ombudsperson), Lyudmila Alekseyeva (President of the Helsinki Human Rights Federation, Head of Moscow Helsinki Group), Sergey Kovalyov (first Human Rights Commissioner of the Russian State Duma, President of the Board of Memo-

rial International, Moscow) and others. The Forum hosted panels and round table discussions on such topics as “Active protection of election rights”, “Monitoring of human rights respect during pre-election campaigning”, “Enlightenment and awareness actions during electoral campaigns”. Results of the Forum were reflected in the Resolution of 53 participant organizations and their Statement addressed to Parliament Members, executive authorities and other agents of the electoral process. Another passed decision was to strengthen cooperation of the Ukrainian human rights organizations in the course of 2004 election campaign.

Information on the Forum and its work may be found at human rights advocacy sites [www.khpg.org], [www.rupor.org] and [www.humanrights.civicua.org].

Advocacy project *Development of the Network of Advocacy Organizations to Increase their Influence on Authorities and Society for Efficient Protection of Human Rights* implemented by the Ukrainian Helsinki Human Rights Association aimed to improve the methods of joint operation of public advocacy organizations and to strengthen their influence on the 2004 elections through the consolidation of their efforts.

The project developed and maintained a joint web-site of advocacy organizations [www.rupor.org] and set up a Foundation for Legal Protection of Victims of Human Right and Fundamental Freedoms Violations to provide legal assistance to those voters whose rights were violated. 18 leading advocacy NGOs from 15 Ukrainian regions involved into the cooperation.

A network of advocacy organizations of Ukraine was active and efficient in providing its legal assistance to voters that were persecuted by law-enforcement authorities for their political views or participation in election campaigns either for, or against certain presidential candidates. These organizations helped to win court proceedings and liberate activists of the PORA public initiative that were charged on faked accusations in Chernihiv, Kyiv, Kirovohrad, Vinnytsya, Poltava and other cities of Ukraine. The above Foundation helped to attract qualified attorneys to provide legal defense in courts.

The project was disseminating information on the possibilities to appeal to the Foundation for Protection of Victims of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms Violations and its operation in the central media (*Dzerkalo Tyzhnya* and *Facty i Komentari* newspapers). To better coordinate international efforts on the issue, the English version of the web-site is under preparation.

The Ukrainian Helsinki Human Rights Association that ran the project monitors the status of human rights during elections. Over the recent month, the Association prepared and disseminated reports and statements on political persecution of public activists and obstruction of the freedom of movement. Famous international advocacy organizations, such as International Helsinki Human Rights Federation (Vienna), International Amnesty (London) and others, were involved into the defense of lawlessly arrested people.

The Monitoring and Protection of Freedom of Peaceful Assembly in Ukraine project run by the *Respublika* Institute was another important election component as it made the first ever analysis of the exercise of the freedom of assembly in Ukraine. The projects aimed to collect information about the constraints on the freedom of peaceful assembly, analyze legislative initiatives and develop proposals for legislative regulation of peaceful assemblies and provision of legal assistance in the cases of ungrounded limitation of this right.

As of today, the project analyzed legislative initiatives that shall regulate the freedom of peaceful assemblies, and conducted a public discussion thereon. Other activities included a joint address of advocacy organizations sent to the Ukrainian parliament, legal assistance provided in 5 resonant cases on limitation of the freedom of peaceful assemblies, preparation and dissemination of reports on the status of freedom of peaceful gatherings in Ukraine (See [www.zmi.kiev.ua/content/view/1393/2/]. The development of the project has been covered by the following web-sites: [www.rupor.org] and [www.zmi.kiev.ua]. Report on the status of the freedom of peaceful assembly in Ukraine was presented at an annual OSCE conference on human dimension in Warsaw.

The project helped to complain against the notorious ruling of Romny Court in Sumy region which in August 2004 prohibited the march of protesting students to Kyiv. The Court of Appeal of Sumy Region cancelled this ruling and returned it for a new hearing.

The project continued providing legal assistance in complaints against decisions of local courts concerning ungrounded constraints on the right to peaceful assembly.

As for national minorities, their rights were watched by the *2004 Presidential Elections in the Context of Interethnic Affairs* that was run by the Ukrainian National Communities Congress in partnership with the Diamatik Social and Economic Research Center.

The project's aim was to prevent the use of dirty PR technologies based on the ethnic or confession issues during election campaigns. This project was developed mostly for information purposes, as well as for monitoring and analyzing election programs of presidential contenders, political parties and coalitions, party press, and statements made by party leaders and members on the issues concerning national and religious minorities, as well as cases of national and religious intolerance at 2004 presidential elections.

The project was targeting at political scientists and analysts, political parties and coalitions, journalists, active members of national minority organizations, religious activists, presidential contender support groups, and authorities (Parliament, Nationalities and Migration Committee etc).

Between October 8 and 10, the project held its constitutive seminar, Monitoring of Election Campaign in the Context of Interethnic Relations, in Kyiv. The seminar resulted in an expert team set up and trained to monitor election climate in different regions of Ukraine in the context of interethnic and interconfession relations.

The project implementation and results were covered by the monthly *Forum of Nations* newspaper and the Ukrainian National Communities Congress: [www.kngu.org].

In addition to the further monitoring of interethnic and interconfession relations and cases of any gaming with ethnic or confession issues during elec-

tions, the project held a number of meetings with the presidential contenders or their representatives to reveal their positions on interethnic and interconfession relations.

In the advocacy area, the International Renaissance Foundation was actively cooperating with other donor organizations, especially at the regional level. Within the framework of the IRF project (On the Way to the Civil Society in Crimea: Monitoring of the Status of Compliance with the Ukrainian Legislation on Rights of Native Ethnic Groups and National Minorities and Their Involvement into the Decision-Making Process), and the European Commission project (Strengthening the Role of Civic Organizations in Protection of Human Rights in Crimea), a round table was organized on 9 November at the Sevastopol Information press center. The round table *Be Aware of Your Rights* was initiated by the *Krym-Perspektyva* Regional Resource Agency and the *Initium* League of Crimean Tatar Lawyers. About 50 civic organizations, representatives of local communities, authorities and media of Crimea showed up.

At the round table, the monitoring group on protection of human rights in Crimea presented the results of its work, in particular as concerns respect and violation of voter rights at the presidential elections. The participants were also informed of the results of voter rights violations monitoring by the CVU Crimean office, young voter rights monitoring by the *Student Chooses Freely* Monitoring Committee, and the Crimean Media Monitoring of the presidential campaign.

One of the discussion was focused on the problem of free expression of will at Crimean universities that voted under the pressure of university administrations and a considerable number of unregistered observers that held journalist badges or false certificates and interfered with the work of elections commissions.

The round table participants passed a resolution in which they called on all civic organizations in Crimea and active leaders of communities to join the dissemination of the Active Voter Commemorative Note (with the circulation of 100,000 copies) in the most remote Crimean regions, as well as in those areas where the number of violations related to mistakes in voter lists and non-inclusion into the voter lists was the highest.

The round table participants also joined the IRF initiative of the Open TV Debates Demand.

The International Renaissance Foundation also supported *Video Documentation of Human Rights Violation During the Presidential Election in Ukraine*, a project implemented by Chernihiv Civic Committee for Protection of Human Rights. The project promoted video documentation of violations of human rights at the second round of presidential elections 2004 by human rights organizations. One of the main tasks of the project included provision of civic organizations of Ukraine with video cameras and necessary additional equipment. The partners of the project and the receivers of the video equipment included advocacy regional and nationwide advocacy organizations: Vinnytsya Advocacy Group, Zhytomyr City Civic Organization *Institute for Introduction of Innovations*, Kirovohrad Office of Public Control Civic Organization, Luhansk Office of the Committee of Voters of Ukraine, Sevastopol Advocacy Group, Sumy Committee for Protection of Human Rights, Ukrainian Helsinki Human Rights Association, Kharkiv Advocacy Group, Kherson Oblast *Health and Charity* Foundation. The project organizers systematized the video materials received and disseminated them through the independent media. Thus, the project encouraged civil organizations to participate actively in the control of the election process on the independent and extrajudicial basis.

The IRF had initiated a round table “Election 2004: Civil Rights and Duties of the State”, which was conducted on November 11, 2004. Its participants included law experts, representatives of the presidential contenders, public authorities, international and diplomatic missions.

The round table was arranged to discuss the status of human rights protection in Ukraine, and also the way public authorities fulfill their duties stipulated by law during the presidential elections. The issues discussed at the round table included the following:

- The exercise of the civil right to form public authorities through the presidential election;
- Constitutional, civil, administrative, and criminal liability for the violation of the election law and application of the liability norms;

- Police efforts to ensure law and order at the election campaign;
- Freedom of peaceful assemblies and its restraint.

The speakers of the round table included Yevhen Bystrytsky (IRF Executive Director), Mykola Melnyk (Chairman of the IRF Rule of Law Program Council and the Deputy Chairman of new Central Election Commission), MPs Volodymyr Stretovych and Serhiy Holovatyi, practicing lawyers, as well as representatives of the Ukrainian Helsinki Human Rights Group, the Respublika Institute, Chernihiv Civic Committee for Protection of Human Rights, and diplomatic missions.

The round table participants expressed their deep concern about the violations of the international standards of free and fair elections in Ukraine, the use of the police against the people and organizations that support the opposition, the prohibition on the meetings of voters with the presidential contenders, numerous facts of the administrative pressure on voters, tendentious and biased coverage of the oppositional candidates' programs.

It was noted that despite of the numerous statements made by foreign governments, international organizations, Ukrainian and international advocacy organizations, the Ukrainian government decided not to react to the violations of human rights and international commitments. Therefore, the elections risk achieving the result that may lack the mandatory legitimacy and may cause a considerable delay in Ukraine's development towards the true democracy and the rule of law society.

Another project supported by the IRF is the Human Rights at Elections TV Documentary produced by the Power of Law Foundation for Social and Legal Protection of People. The documentary is made up of videos on violations committed during the second round of the presidential election. The videos were produced by the activists of regional advocacy organizations. This project helped Ukrainian MPs to get these video materials before the parliamentary no-confidence vote in the CEC. The film was shown on the local TV channels in the east and south of Ukraine.

IRF supported the project "Legal Public Monitoring of the Election Campaign in the East and the South of Ukraine and Protection of Voters' Rights

in the Repeat Voting Period" of Kharkiv Group for Human Rights Protection. The project envisaged preparation for and performance of video monitoring over the progress of the repeat voting on 26 December 2004, monitoring over breaches of applicable legislation and provision of legal assistance in filing complaints with a court plus further representation of interests of the stakeholders before the court. In the framework of the project, it was envisaged to establish 75 mobile groups (a driver with a car, a journalist with a camera and a lawyer), each of the groups to perform monitoring in a specific election district. The mobile groups were to cover the Autonomous Republic of Crimea (4 groups), Sevastopol (1 group), Kharkiv and Lugansk Oblasts (15 groups per each), Kherson and Mykolayiv Oblasts (10 groups per each) and Vinnytsya, Dnipropetrovsk, Sumy and Chernihiv Oblasts (5 groups per each). Highly-qualified attorneys, who provided representation before a court with a view to allow the submitted complaints, were also involved in the project. The organizing group was established in the framework of project activities, each group carried out analysis of laws and regulations and identified problem issues that resulted in system violations of voters' rights and legislation on elections. In particular, staff members of Kharkiv Group for Human Rights Protection informed representatives of the stakeholders about possible negative consequences for the election process of implementation of Order No. 571 of the Minister of Internal Affairs dated 26 May 2004, which provided for entering the data on a person's temporary stay into the insert to that person's passport. The Order as such was not published and did not undergo registration with the Ministry of Justice. On 22 December 2004, the Office of the General Prosecutor of Ukraine brought a protest to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, by which it requires that the respective clause of the Order be cancelled.

Training seminar for lawyers of the mobile groups was held on 22 December. Basic types of possible violations of voters' rights and possible measures to prevent those were discussed. Press conference on the outcome of the project implementation was held at UNIAN Agency on 28 December.

Round table on "Organizational and Legal Forms of Interaction between Local Governance Bodies and Law-enforcement Bodies within Conditions of Socio-political Crisis" was held through the support of IRF in the premises of the Association of Ukrainian Cities and Communities on 15 De-

ember 2004. The round table was organized through the initiative of the Society of Scientists for Promotion of Municipal Reform.

The objective of the round table was to initiate the process of discussing a set of problems related to unsatisfactory level of interaction of the local governance bodies and representatives of the “enforcement structures” during the 2004 presidential campaign and to analyze new organizational forms of establishing such cooperation on the eve of the voting scheduled for 26 December.

More than 40 participants attended the round table. Management of the Association of Ukrainian Cities and Communities, mayors of Ternopil, Cherkasy, Vasylkiv, Brovary, Berdyansk and other towns, peoples’ deputies (members of Parliament), a representative of the Commissioner of Verkhovna Rada (Parliament) of Ukraine on Human Rights, Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs, Deputy General Prosecutor of Ukraine, Deputy Head of the Security Service of Ukraine and representatives of higher educational institutions, the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Security Service of Ukraine were among those.

Participants of the round table approved the resolution that outlines specific mechanisms of cooperation between local governance bodies and law-enforcement bodies with a view to ensure fairness and transparency of elections to be held in Ukraine on 26 December 2004.

For further information about the round table held, please visit the website of the Association of Ukrainian Cities and Communities at: [www.auc.org.ua/activities/news/amu/?id=18073&ln=ua].

The IRF has supported *The Preparation and Dissemination of the Ukrainian Rights Protection Organizations Report on Human Rights in Ukraine in 2004* Project that was submitted by the Association of Public Organizations the “Ukrainian Helsinki Union of Human Rights”. The first annual report on human rights in Ukraine in 2004 is to be drafted within the framework of this Project and, to discuss the Report, the conference is to be held with the participation of public authorities, rights protection organizations, journalists, and foreign states’ representatives. The report’s preparation has as its

aim the systemic generalization of monitoring projects to analyze human rights in Ukraine. Significant attention will be paid to human rights during the election campaign in 2004 and, particularly, to universal suffrage, freedom of assembly, freedom of speech, and the like. The Report will contain an analysis of Ukrainian legislation in the field of some laws, as well violations of law with respective summaries and conclusions. This Report will be disseminated both in Ukrainian and English. The Report will be disseminated abroad through diplomatic representatives, international organizations, rights protection organizations, the International Helsinki Federation in particular, and foreign mass media. The full version of the Report will be available at [www.rupor.org].

The review *The IRF Rule of Law related activities during the presidential election campaign* see in Annex 2.

VOTER MOBILIZATION

The International Renaissance Foundation gave its support to the initiatives that were to summon the voters to come to the voting stations on the election day and to cast their votes.

One of such initiatives was the research project of the Center for Independent Political Research “How do rural dwellers vote? Making the informed choice real”. Rural dwellers of Ukraine make up a third of the nation’s electorate and are known as actively participating in any plebiscites. Therefore, the objective of this project was to analyze rural dwellers’ motivations, to research possible channels and instruments of administrative pressuring and to identify the peculiarities of the organization and conduct of elections in the rural parts of the country (how electoral commissions are formed, how observers operate, how candidates’ publicity campaigns are held, etc.). Apart from that the project implies analysis and explanations of those parts in the candidates’ platforms that have to do with the development of the agrarian sector.

The research culminated in a set of recommendations as to the further upgrading of the domestic laws and regulations on the elections and referenda processes.

Relevant information is accessible on the Institute's Web-site [www.ucipr.kiev.ua/print.php?sid=3967].

Another IRF-supported project was the Voters Club established by NGO "Yuzhnokomunariivsk City Community" to enlighten and raise the awareness of local voters.

At the club a lawyer consulted with regard to different aspects of the electoral laws; seminars were held; information products got printed. Specifically, consultations were already given to 56 citizens; "Voter's Manual" was published and found its readership, as well as flyers on voters list compiling and endorsement signatures collection (1,000 copies each); the two conducted seminars focused on the "Aspects and technologies of the conduct of Presidential election".

The fact that the Club launchers received a surprisingly great number of requests and invitations to participate in different events was a definite evidence of the fairly successive performance of the project.

Projects "I go to vote" of the Volyn Association for the Youth Rights Promotion and "It's your first vote" of the Committee of Young Voters of Ukraine were devised to activate the young electorate. The initiators of the former project tried hard to commit eight thousand students who were going to vote for the first time, and 150 thousand young people residing in Volyn Region.

In order to reach this goal the implementing group developed and published a topical "Election – 2004" material in two issues of "Initiatyva" newspaper for the young (with an aggregate circulation of 4 thousand). The Volyn Association for the Youth Rights Promotion launched its Information Center "Why I go to vote" giving advice on the electoral laws, rights of the youth and the course of the election process. Within the framework of this project the Association organized and held a regional students' contest of essays "Why I go to vote"; it also published and circulated "We go to vote" posters and booklets. Further project plans include awareness meetings with students of 26 educational establishments in the region, to call upon them to cast their votes at the upcoming election. The project efforts were keenly cov-

ered by the local media and the Web site [www.iniciativa.com.ua]. In the format of the second project – "It's your first vote!" – two printed posters and a brochure (20 thousand and 10 thousand copies, respectively) were to convince the youth to participate in the election process.

The progress of the project is monitored at Web-sites [www.polit.com.ua] and [www.politics.kherson.ua].

The project of Poltava Women's Association "Churayivna" titled "Encouraging the participation of Poltava Region rural women in civic processes" promoted establishment of women's boards in the villages as a means of activating and engaging the rural female electorate.

The organizers of this project developed "Provisions on women's boards" that were to become the regulatory foundation for legitimate women's associations. 23 meetings with the women of Poltava and Dykanka districts addressed the goal, tasks and operational modes of women's boards.

The project organized a discussion of the candidates' election programs with the people living in the countryside.

The International Renaissance Foundation also supported the Public Night Guard project as a call on voters to stay on watch at the polling stations during the vote count. The project was initiated by the Europe XXI foundation in cooperation with the New Choice 2004. It aimed to set off a media campaign and to disseminate information materials to ensure organized vigilance of voters at polling stations during the vote count to avoid falsifications at the second round of elections.

On 19 November the project gave a press conference at the UNIAN news agency. By this time, the project printed out and disseminated 100,000 leaflets calling on voters to stay on watch and setting forth the key objectives of the campaign. There also were produced 30,000 arm-bands with the symbols of the campaign. The project issued a radio-shot to inform people on the Night Guard initiative. The shot was aired on Era-FM, First National Radio Channel (UR-1), and Era

TV and Radio on the Second National Radio Channel. All information materials were disseminated in the Crimea, Transcarpathian, Luhansk, Ternopil, Rivne, Kharkiv, Chernivtsi, Vinnytsya, Dnipropetrovsk, Poltava, Donetsk, Zaporizhzhya, Lviv, Kherson, and Zhytomyr regions.

The project developments were covered by the New Choice 2004 web-site [www.monitor.org.ua].

SOCIETY CONSOLIDATION

The protests against falsification of the presidential election which began on November 22, 2004 were followed by the separatist claim of pro-governmental governors and representatives of local authorities of Southern and Eastern regions of Ukraine to create Southern-Eastern Ukrainian Autonomous Republic. To prevent the country's cleavage and to support the activities aimed at consolidation of Ukrainian society, the IRF funded a number of projects.

The International Renaissance Foundation had initiated a forum of NGOs "Ukraine: the Unity of Civil Society" that was conducted in Kharkiv on December 6. The Forum was organized to assess the work of Ukrainian civic organizations during the presidential campaign and to consolidate their efforts. The time and the place for the Forum were prompted by the separatist trends that arose in the south-east of Ukraine upon the beginning of the civil disobedience movement incited by widespread falsifications at the second round of the presidential election. Around 250 civil society representatives that participated in the Forum analyzed and presented the results achieved by the Ukrainian NGOs at the both rounds of the presidential election in monitoring and analysis of the political situation; voter education and mobilization; legal assistance and protection of human rights; youth initiatives; protection of the vulnerable social groups; as well as media and PR technologies. The Forum participants also developed two strategies to consolidate NGO efforts aiming at preservation of peace and unity in the country, and to monitor governmental actions to ensure their accountability and

transparency. The Forum was broadly covered by the local and central media, while a number of the participants spoke live on the local radio.

Round table on "Ukraine: Unity of Civil Society" was held through the support of IRF in Simferopol on 17 December 2004. Representatives of major analytical, monitoring, human rights and educating public non-governmental organizations from the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, from Odesa, Kherson and Zaporizhzhya Oblasts of Ukraine and from Kyiv took part in the round table. Europe XXI Foundation, Social and Humanitarian Consortium "Geneza", Ukrainian Center for Independent Political Research and Local Democracy Fund, Kharkiv, provided general coordination of the Forum.

The objective of the Forum was to hold public dialogue for the civil society organizations to develop a strategy aimed towards consolidating the activities of NGO's in Ukrainian regions and overcoming the crisis, preserving the unity, integrity and security of the state.

Resolution of the Forum, in particular, stated that "representatives of non-governmental organizations find it advisable to enter into a Public Agreement for understanding and cooperation between non-governmental organizations and government authorities for the purposes of democratization of all spheres of Ukrainian society. Establishment of Public Councils, which will promote the public dialogue and involvement in it of all governmental levels, from the Cabinet of Ministers to village councils, will become a possible form of practical implementation of such agreement."

The film "This Is Our Country" made by movie directors from Dovzhenko Cinema Studio was shown in the air of Era television channel as well as 5th Channel through the support of IRF. The film is dedicated to comparison of the events of the "orange revolution" and massive protests of miners. The purpose of the film is to show the commonality of initial positions of the protesters in the East and West of the country and to avoid the split of Ukrainian society. The television film is also planned to be shown on air of local television companies in the Eastern and Southern regions.

The Foundation supported the initiative of the Institute for Economic Research and Political Consultation to organize a round table for economists "Ukraine: How to Preserve the Single Space for Economic Growth". The

idea of this discussion was driven by the discussion of the threat of the economic crisis and autonomization of some regions based on their claimed economic self-sufficiency. The round table invitees included economic analysts and representatives of analysis offices of Ukrainian public agencies and diplomatic missions. The following topics were tabled for discussion:

- Macroeconomic situation: main threats to the stability; political crisis and banking; Ukrainian public finance at the times of political uncertainty;
- Ukrainian economic space: integrity, autonomization, federalism.
- Economic relations at the times of political crisis; business and political uncertainty.

IRF also supported the cultural and social initiative, “Christmas Together: unite Ukraine into a single family in a shared Christmas celebration in Lviv”. Within the Project’s framework, the Kharkiv Human Rights Center “Derevo Zhyttya”, organized the trip of Kharkiv youth to Lviv to celebrate Christmas in the Ukrainian folk tradition. In this way the Project’s purpose was to avoid the negative consequences of the artificial division of Ukrainian society into East and West and unifying the young generation of Ukrainians.

SUPPORT OF PUBLIC COUNCILS AND CIVIC BOARDS ACTIVITIES

A principal direction in IRF’s effort was the establishment and support of activities of the public councils and civic boards of the Verkhovna Rada’s Committees. With the assistance of IRF such boards pursued projects with electoral components.

IRF was among the initiators of the establishment of the Public and Political Consultative Council under the Chairman of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine. The first step in the implementation of the initiative was the Ordinance # 594 of the Chairman of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine (of May 26, 2004) “On the Public and Political Consultative Council” approving the list of its

17 individual members – representatives of Ukraine’s leading civic organizations. The objective of the Council is to promote public participation in the legislative process by involving prominent think tanks and independent experts into discussions and development of parliamentary initiatives to resolve the most significant issues of the domestic and foreign politics of Ukraine. Special mention is to be given to the following priorities in the Council’s activity:

1. To support the practices of wide public discussions of the principal challenges and major steps in the domestic and foreign politics of Ukraine.
2. To ensure implementation of the principle of rule of law, freedom of expression and freedom of information in the social and political life of Ukraine.
3. To prepare recommendations as to legislative introduction of the European standards into the processes of development and implementation of the domestic and foreign politics of the nation.
4. To promote the empowerment of the civil society institutions and to abide by its traditions, standards and values.

The Council held two meetings. On June 3 and July 26 members of the Council discussed the results of the election campaign coverage in the media, ways of preventing violations of the Law “On Election of President of Ukraine”, organizing of the national exit-poll, and interaction of NGOs with the Central Electoral Commission. A result of the discussions was the initiative as to the Parliament’s establishment of the Provisional Special Committee (September 7) to check up on abuses during the presidential election. The Verkhovna Rada also adopted an address to central and local authorities demanding compliance with laws during the election and non-interference, and an address to mass media editors as to impartial coverage of the election.

The activity of the Council was covered in “Holos Ukrayiny” daily and the Parliamentary Web-site [www.rada.gov.ua].

Experts of the Public Board on freedom of expression and freedom of information drafted legislative proposals to create the appropriate regulatory environment for pre-election television debates between presidential challengers and, specifically, designed the relevant draft law and submitted to the CEC a draft regulation on the procedure of pre-election television debates. Both initiatives were widely discussed and expertised. The Secretariat and the members of the Public Board were continuously monitoring the realities of the freedom of expression and of compliance with the media legislation, with an emphasis on peculiarities and needs of the pre-election period.

The effected monitoring resulted in a report made public in August by the Chair of the parliament Committee on freedom of expression and freedom of information. The Public Board's initiative as to a moratorium on media check-ups and inspections in the pre-election period was supported by the Verkhovna Rada and the President, in, respectively, their Resolution and Decree. Legislative suggestions of the Public Board experts as to pre-election debates on television got partly reflected in the new Law of Ukraine "On Election of the President of Ukraine".

Experts of the IRF-assisted Civic Board of the Verkhovna Rada's Committee for human rights, national minorities and inter-ethnic relations, being affiliated with leading human rights advocacy groups and NGOs, monitor the election law compliance in the regions of Ukraine, analyze facts of pressure on voters by the authorities, and process voters' appeals with regard to protection of their infringed electoral rights. The Board conducted awareness events for participants of the electoral process, drawing attention to the theoretical aspects of the election laws and to specific instances where incorrect interpretation might lead to violations of the legislation. Most actively this effort proceeds in Chernihiv Region. The materials of monitoring and on voters' rights violations were continuously presented on [www.rupor.org], the Web-site of the Council of Ukrainian human rights organizations "RUPOR".

PROJECTS PROMOTING FAIR AND OPEN 2004 ELECTION OF PRESIDENT OF UKRAINE

SUPPORT OF MONITORING NGO COALITIONS

Project	"New Choice – 2004" NGO Coalition's round table discussions in Kyiv, Kirovohrad, Poltava, Chernihiv, Sumy, Simferopol, Donetsk, Dnipropetrovsk, Kharkiv, Uzhgorod, Mykolayiv and Romny	[1]
Budget (USD)	9 345	
Content	Round table presentations of "NEW Choice – 2004" Coalition to consolidate the NGO effort for an open, transparent and democratic election in Ukraine	
Organization	All-Ukrainian NGO "Committee of Voters of Ukraine"	
Project Director	Mykola A. Podopryhora	
Contact data	Tel.: (044) 490-61-34 E-mail: cvu@cvu.kiev.ua Web page: www.cvu.org.ua www.monitor.org.ua	
Project	Institutional support of the performance of the Secretariat of "New Choice – 2004" NGO Coalition	[2]
Budget (USD)	72 705	
Content	Financial, technical and administrative support of the performance of the Secretariat of "New Choice – 2004" NGO Coalition	
Organization	International Renaissance Foundation	
Project Director	Ihor O. Kohut	
Contact data	Tel.: (044) 461-95-00 E-mail: kohut@irf.kiev.ua Web page: www.monitor.org.ua	

SUPPORT OF MONITORING NGO COALITIONS

Project	Publishing of the “New Choice – 2004” NGO Coalition’s newspaper	[3]
Budget (USD)	7 150	
Content	Publishing of the “Tochka Zoru” (“Point Of View”) newspaper of the “New Choice – 2004 NGO Coalition	
Organization	All-Ukrainian NGO “Committee of Voters of Ukraine”	
Project Director	Oleksiy M. Koshel	
Contact data	Tel.: (044) 490-61-34 E-mail: cvu@cvu.kiev.ua Web page: www.cvu.org.ua www.monitor.org.ua	
Project	Communication and mobilization forum of non-government organizations of Ukraine “New Choice of Ukraine”	[4]
Budget (USD)	37 000	
Content	Preparing and holding the communication and mobilization forum of non-government organizations implementing election-related projects	
Organization	International Renaissance Foundation	
Project Director	Ihor O. Kohut	
Contact data	Tel.: (044) 461-95-00 E-mail: kohut@irf.kiev.ua Web page: www.monitor.org.ua	

SUPPORT OF MONITORING NGO COALITIONS

Project	Coalition “New Choice – 2004” as a rejoinder to attempts at abuse and fixing at all stages of campaigning in Mykolayiv Region	[5]
Budget (USD)	10 000	
Content	Support of the establishment and activities of Information and Learning Center in Mykolayiv and of the network of “New Choice – 2004” regional coordinators	
Organization	City of Mykolayiv Development Foundation	
Project Director	Mykhaylo Ye. Zolotukhin	
Contact data	Tel.: (0512) 35-85-07 E-mail: centre@sed.nikolaev.ua	
Project	Guaranteeing the free election of Mukachevo Mayor	[6]
Budget (USD)	6 460	
Content	Guaranteeing transparent and fair conduct of the mayoral campaign in the City of Mukachevo. Accumulation of monitoring, awareness and informational techniques for election-related NGO projects	
Organization	Secretariat of “Freedom of Choice” Coalition of civic organizations	
Project Director	Oleksandr G. Solontay	
Contact data	Tel.: (044) 461-90-22 E-mail: info@coalition.org.ua Web page: www.coalition.org.ua	

SUPPORT OF MONITORING NGO COALITIONS

Project	All-round civil monitoring of the stand-in election in Constituency # 136 in the City of Odesa	[7]
Budget (USD)	4 194	
Content	Implementation of a set of civic monitoring initiatives to validate voters lists, to support the information resource (hot line), to hold parallel vote counts, to monitor electoral violations and to publicize the monitoring results	
Organization	Secretariat of 'Freedom of Choice' Coalition of civic organizations	
Project Director	Volodymyr Ch. Sventystky	
Contact data	Tel.: (044) 461-90-22 E-mail: info@coalition.org.ua Web page: www.coalition.org.ua	

Project	Public monitoring of the financing of the 2004 Presidential election financing: an analysis and expertise	[8]
Budget (USD)	15 332	
Content	Expert analysis of the total costs of candidates' campaigns, identification of principal cost distribution tendencies in order to ultimately provide for the transparency and accountability of election funds	
Organization	Anti-Corruption Committee of Ukraine of the "Freedom of Choice" NGO Coalition	
Project Director	Anna O. Yarova	
Contact data	Tel.: (044) 461-90-22 E-mail: info@coalition.org.ua Web page: www.coalition.org.ua	

SUPPORT OF MONITORING NGO COALITIONS

Project	"Hotline" Specialized Information Service www.hotline.net.ua	[9]
Budget (USD)	3 475	
Content	To ensure efficient operation of the specialized multifunctional information resource "Hotline" to raise citizens' awareness of their election rights and voting procedure, the course of the election campaign, the presidential candidates' programs	
Organization	Freedom of Choice Coalition	
Project Director	Mykhailo Plotnikov	
Contact data	Tel.: (044) 461-90-22 E-mail: info@coalition.org.ua Web-page: www.hotline.net.ua	

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MONITORING OF ELECTION CAMPAIGN COVERAGE IN THE MEDIA

Project	Content analysis of periodical press in the pre-election period	[1]
Budget (USD)	69 047	
Content	Monitoring of the national and regional periodical press during the pre-election period. Development of accessible research-based techniques to monitor media activity in Ukraine, to establish a permanent monitoring group	
Organization	International Charity Foundation "Academy of Ukrainian Press"	
Project Director	Valeriy F. Ivanov	
Contact data	Tel.: (044) 296-13-36 E-mail: info@aup.com.ua Web page: www.aup.com.ua	

MONITORING OF ELECTION CAMPAIGN COVERAGE IN THE MEDIA

Project	Ukrainian monitor – for an informed choice	[2]
Budget (USD)	34 516	
Content	Content analysis / monitoring of the mass media in Kyiv and 24 regions of Ukraine as to granting voters' access to information required for everyone's conscious choice; monitoring of candidates' equal access to the media and equal social advertising opportunities; collection of voter proposals regarding the future president's program and their dissemination as a special newspaper supplement	
Organization	Common Space Association	
Project Director	Yuriy V. Nesteryak	
Contact data	Tel.: (044) 211-45-16 E-mail: monitor@prostir.org souspilst@adam.kiev.ua Web page: prostir-monitor.org	

Project	Protection of the mass media and journalists' rights during the election campaign – conduct of the 2d Forum of Ukrainian journalists	[3]
Budget (USD)	14 490	
Content	Raising the regional media editors' and journalists' awareness of the statutory regulation of media operations during election campaigns	
Organization	Non-Government Organization "Civic Project for the Ukrainian Democratic Circle"	
Project Director	Oleksandr Paliy	
Contact data	Tel.: (044) 296-86-32, 296-35-57 E-mail: gr_rada@i.com.ua	

MONITORING OF ELECTION CAMPAIGN COVERAGE IN THE MEDIA

Project	Organizing and holding the 2d Forum of Ukrainian journalists "Mass media for elections without censorship and restrictions", November 2003	[4]
Budget (USD)	25 173	
Content	To organize and hold the 2d Forum of Ukrainian journalists "Mass media for elections without censorship and restrictions" attended by leading journalists of the national and regional media, representatives of the authorities and international organizations	
Organization	Independent Media Trade Union of Ukraine, Kyiv	
Project Director	Serhiy I. Huz	
Contact data	Tel.: (044) 220-71-97, 537-20-03 E-mail: golova@profspilka.org.ua Web page: www.profspilka.org.ua	

Project	Monitoring of equal access of voters to information and candidates to the media; analysis of media pre-election status	[5]
Budget (USD)	13 800	
Content	Organization and conduct of the monitoring of equal access of voters to information and candidates to the media, and analysis of media pre-election status	
Organization	Common Space Association	
Project Director	Yuriy Nesteryak	
Contact data	Tel.: (044) 211-45-16 E-mail: monitor@prostir.org souspilst@adam.kiev.ua Web-site: prostir-monitor.org	

MONITORING OF ELECTION CAMPAIGN COVERAGE IN THE MEDIA

Project	Content monitoring of tv news broadcast by leading Ukrainian channels in terms of access to the media by different political forces	[6]
Budget (USD)	51 480	
Content	Content monitoring of TV news broadcast by leading Ukrainian channels in terms of access to the media different political forces and publication of project reports	
Organization	Ukrainian Press Academy, International Charity Foundation	
Project Director	Valeriy Ivanov	
Contact data	Tel.: (044) 296-13-36 E-mail: info@aup.com.ua Web-site: www.aup.com.ua	

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INFORMATION AND AWARENESS CAMPAIGNS

Project	Televising a series of social advertising products	[1]
Budget (USD)	300 074	
Content	Broadcasting of a set of social advertising pieces on central Ukrainian television channels for voter awareness purposes	
Organization	International Renaissance Foundation	
Project Director	Oksana V. Voloshenyuk	
Contact data	Tel.: (044) 461-95-00 E-mail: voloshenuk@irf.kiev.ua Web page: www.irf.kiev.ua	

INFORMATION AND AWARENESS CAMPAIGNS

Project	Presidential campaign 2004: a close-up	[2]
Budget (USD)	50 000	
Content	Institutional support of the Public Radio and of this channel's cooperation with the "New Choice – 2004" NGO Coalition to improve the citizens awareness of the election campaign developments	
Organization	Public Radio Charity Foundation	
Project Director	Taras O. Kuzmov	
Contact data	Tel.: (044) 494-40-15, 253-24-04 E-mail: radio@radio.org.ua Web page: www.radio.org.ua	

Project	The electoral legislation and election process in Ukraine	[3]
Budget (USD)	14 331	
Content	Collecting of data base (legislation and regulations) on the organization and conduct of elections. Developing the informational Web page. Presentation of this Web resource and its capacity, dissemination of information on the servicing system. Launch of interactive communication with users, accumulation of reference materials, monitoring of election-related news, etc. Production of promotion materials and their circulation among members of area and precinct electoral commissions	
Organization	Public organization "Institute of Electoral Law"	
Project Director	Nataliya V. Bogasheva	
Contact data	Tel.: (044) 463-65-93 E-mail: eli_org@ukr.net Web page: www.elections.civicua.org	

INFORMATION AND AWARENESS CAMPAIGNS

Project	Election process on-line	[4]
Budget (USD)	71 573	
Content	Use of information and communication technologies to coordinate monitoring and observations in the course of election campaigns in Ukraine in order to prevent violations of the election laws throughout the nation	
Organization	International Renaissance Foundation	
Project Director	Olesya I. Arkhypska	
Contact data	Tel.: (044) 219-24-29 E-mail: arkhypska@irf.kiev.ua Web page: www.conference.civicua.org	

Project	Systemic interactive study of the laws on the election of President of Ukraine	[5]
Budget (USD)	8 000	
Content	Creation of a system of interactive study of the laws on the election of President of Ukraine	
Organization	Public organization "Institute of Electoral Law"	
Project Director	Nataliya V. Bogasheva	
Contact data	Tel.: (044) 463-65-93 E-mail: eli_org@ukr.net Web page: www.elections.civicua.org	

INFORMATION AND AWARENESS CAMPAIGNS

Project	"Your Choice – 2004" – promoting the informed choice by publishing of special pre-election supplements and their circulation with the regional press of Ukraine	[6]
Budget (USD)	242 406	
Content	Development, publishing and dissemination of "Your Choice – 2004" insert page containing information on securing free voting and prevention of voters' rights infringements	
Organization	International Charity Foundation "Academy of Ukrainian Press"	
Project Director	Oleh S. Khomenok	
Contact data	Tel.: (044) 463-58-63 E-mail: gazeta@mediareform.com.ua khomenok@i.com.ua	

Project	Publishing of analysis and information newsletter "Transparent Politics"	[7]
Budget (USD)	12 000	
Content	Weekly impartial analysis of the current issues of the development of the democratic, law-governed and informed Ukrainian society by means of publishing of analysis and information newsletter "Transparent Politics"	
Organization	Public organization "Institute of Politics"	
Project Director	Serhiy O. Makeyev	
Contact data	Tel.: (044) 296-35-57 E-mail: mail@tomenko.kiev.ua Web page: www.tomenko.kiev.ua	

INFORMATION AND AWARENESS CAMPAIGNS

Project	Comic strip handbook "How election laws are violated. An observer's acting guide"	[8]
Budget (USD)	7 000	
Content	Designing and publishing of the comic strip handbook "How election laws are violated. An observer's action guide"	
Organization	Non-government organization Luhansk Regional Policy and Social Research Center "Politsocium"	
Project Director	Volodymyr V. Ivanov	
Contact data	Tel.: (0642) 42-06-73, 42-04-40 E-mail: politsocium@yandex.ru	
Project	Fair Election – 2004	[9]
Budget (USD)	8 000	
Content	Making of a group of multiplication trainers to train members of electoral commissions and observers; rendering of relevant legal knowledge to the target groups; publishing of manuals for members of electoral commissions and observers	
Organization	Non-government organization "Institute of Political Education"	
Project Director	V. Taran, Jr.	
Contact data	Tel.: (044) 228-72-42, 228-71-93 E-mail: taranv@mail.ru	
Project	'Ukraine 2004 – for the People's President!'	[10]
Budget (USD)	5 000	
Content	Active information, awareness, monitoring and human rights advocacy campaigning in the territory of 35 th Constituency in Nikopol	
Organization	Nikopol Youth Organization "Sokil"	
Project Director	Viktor O. Blyznyuk	
Contact data	Tel.: (05662) 3-28-66, 5-21-71 E-mail: sokil@en.net.ua	

INFORMATION AND AWARENESS CAMPAIGNS

Project	Impartial informing of election process agents in Sumy Region during 2004 Presidentials	[11]
Budget (USD)	15 510	
Content	Monitoring of the performance of local authorities with regard to the informing of citizens about the electoral process and candidates' programs and in terms of granting equal media access to candidates. Countering of the use of dirty technologies in the media (signing of the journalists' professional ethics code and its implementation). Local social research and publishing of the monthly information and analysis newsletter "Kompas Sumshchyny"	
Organization	Sumy Regional Committee of Youth Organizations	
Project Director	Oleksandr O. Khoruzhenko	
Contact data	Tel.: (0542) 21-03-29 E-mail: lebid@ukrpost.net	
Project	Upgrading and improvement of the public Internet-edition "Culture and Politics" to promote free and open election in Ukraine	[12]
Budget (USD)	2 000	
Content	Upgrading and improvement of the public Internet-edition "Culture and Politics" to inform the population of the course of electoral process in Lviv Region	
Organization	Social and Humanitarian Consortium "Genesis"	
Project Director	Lyubomyr S. Skochylyas	
Contact data	Tel.: (032) 297-55-70 E-mail: skochylyas@yahoo.com consort@geneza.lviv.ua Web page: www.geneza.lviv.ua	

INFORMATION AND AWARENESS CAMPAIGNS

Project	"Each Will Consider– All Will Elect!"	[13]
Budget (USD)	2 000	
Content	Coverage of Presidential candidates' positions as to issues of most interest to voters of Ivano-Frankivsk Region, and dissemination of such information through the media and NGOs of the Region	
Organization	Ivano-Frankivsk City Development Institute	
Project Director	Viktor Ye. Kimakovych	
Contact data	Tel.: (0342) 53 74 93 E-mail: stanis@if.if.ua Web page: www.galicia.org.ua/IRMSite.htm	

Project	Holding 3 Seminars for Journalists from the Central and Southern Ukraine to Consider the Election and Election Legislation Coverage	[14]
Budget (USD)	6 202	
Content	Facilitating enhancement of quality of the presidential elections coverage and awareness of the journalists of the provisions of new Law on Presidential Elections	
Organization	Information and press center (Simferopol)	
Project Director	Iryna Popkova	
Contact data	Tel.: (0652) 27-31-90 E-mail: irina@ipc.crimea.ua	

Project	Ukrainian elections through the eyes of the world	[15]
Budget (USD)	36 032	
Content	Participation of the European media and international observers in the coverage and observation of the 2004 election campaign in Ukraine	
Organization	Ukrainian-Polish Forum, International NGO	
Project Director	Anatoliy V. Yakovets	
Contact data	Tel.: (044) 228-07-41, (044) 228-61-04 E-mail: ukr-pol@i.kiev.ua	

INFORMATION AND AWARENESS CAMPAIGNS

Project	2004 Presidential Day, Open and Independent Information Center	[16]
Budget (USD)	64 266	
Content	Organization and conduct of a 24-hour press-center during the first and the second rounds of the presidential elections based on modern information and communication technologies	
Organization	International Renaissance Foundation	
Project Director	Olesya Arkhypska	
Contact data	Tel.: (044) 461-97-09 E-mail: arkhypska@if.kiev.ua	

Project	Photographic exhibition "Ukrainian Choice – 2004"	[17]
Budget (USD)	8 857	
Content	Organization of an exhibition of political cartoons and photos on "Orange Revolution" to be displayed in the Verkhovna Rada (Parliament) of Ukraine and the European Parliament in January 2005	
Organization	International Renaissance Foundation	
Project Director	Olesya Arkhypska	
Contact data	Tel.: (044) 461-97-09 E-mail: arkhypska@if.kiev.ua	

Project	Elections 2004: provincial chronicles, chronicle and documentary film	[18]
Budget (USD)	2 000	
Content	Creation of the elections 2004: provincial chronicles, chronicle and documentary film	
Organization	Telecom-Service	
Project Director	Serhiy Ladynskyi	
Contact data	Tel.: (05449) 75-3-59	

INFORMATION AND AWARENESS CAMPAIGNS

Project	"Regional features of national choice", partner project of regional TV and radio companies and production studios	[19]
Budget (USD)	2 000	
Content	Creation of a program "A Diary of One Ukrainian Day" showing 10 Ukrainian cities	
Organization	Independent regional TV Agency <i>Cyprus</i>	
Project Director	Oleh Zhyvotovskyi	
Contact data	10-A, Block 101, Office 52-53, Poltava Region	
Project	"Crimean Tatars After the First Round of Presidential Elections 2004: Their Prospects, Hopes and Results", video film	[20]
Budget (USD)	2 000	
Content	Creation of video film "Crimean Tatars After the First Round of Presidential Elections 2004: Their Prospects, Hopes and Results"	
Organization	TAV-DAIR Private TV and Radio Company	
Project Director	Vitaliy Khomutov	
Contact data	Tel.: (06559) 9-35-94	
Project	"Election Night at TV-4" Program	[21]
Budget (USD)	3 000	
Content	Support to Election Night at TV-4	
Organization	TV-4 Company	
Project Director	Oksana Habruska	
Contact data	2 Sahaidachnyi Str., Ternopil	

INFORMATION AND AWARENESS CAMPAIGNS

Project	Five video films on elections 2004 in Lviv region	[22]
Budget (USD)	2 000	
Content	Creation of five video films on elections 2004 in Lviv Region	
Organization	Brody District Communal TV and Radio Company	
Project Director	Snizhana Kovalchuk	
Contact data	1 Rynok Sq., Brody Town, Lviv Region	
Project	Film about perception of presidential contenders' promises by voters	[23]
Budget (USD)	2 000	
Content	Creation of a film about perception of presidential contenders' promises by voters	
Organization	Private Entrepreneur Olesya Mikheeva	
Project Director	Olesya Mikheeva	
Contact data	8 Lyvarna Str., Kherson	
Project	"Presidential Elections 2004" TV program	[24]
Budget (USD)	3 000	
Content	Support to creation of "Presidential Elections 2004" TV Program on DAR Chernihiv TV Program	
Organization	DAR Private TV and Radio Company	
Project Director	Olha Kapustyan	
Contact data	6 Rodimtsev Str., Apt. 35, Chernihiv	

INFORMATION AND AWARENESS CAMPAIGNS

Project	"32 October" documentary video film	[25]
Budget (USD)	3 000	
Content	Support to creation of "32 October" documentary video film	
Organization	BL Studio	
Project Director	Bohdan Lastivka	
Contact data	E-mail: bpa@poshta.org.ua	
Project	Georgian mass media about the course of the repeated voting during the presidential elections in Ukraine on November 21, 2004	[26]
Budget (USD)	1 000	
Content	Visit of Georgian journalists to Ukraine to cover the repeated voting during the presidential elections	
Organization	International Renaissance Foundation	
Project Director	Stanislav Liachinsky	
Contact data	Tel.: (044) 461-95-00 E-mail: liachinsky@irf.kiev.ua Web-page: www.irf.kiev.ua	
Project	Information campaign by independent monitoring organizations on the coverage of the reasons of the political crisis and development in Ukraine	[27]
Budget (USD)	3 686	
Content	Arrangement of a press conference of the "New Choice 2004" Coalition in Moscow to disseminate objective information on the post-election situation in Ukraine	
Organization	International Renaissance Foundation	
Project Director	Ihor Kohut	
Contact data	Tel.: (044) 461-95-00 E-mail: kohut@irf.kiev.ua Web-page: www.monitor.org.ua	

INFORMATION AND AWARENESS CAMPAIGNS

Project	The "Freedom Marathon" – radio marathon covering the progress of repeat voting at presidential elections of 21 November 2004	[28]
Budget (USD)	5 690	
Content	Support of the radio marathon on "Radio Era FM" covering the progress of repeat voting at presidential elections of 21 November 2004	
Organization	"Radio Era" Ltd.	
Project Director	Victor Kovalenko	
Contact data	Tel.: (044) 210-43-90 Web-page: www.radioera.com.ua	
Project	"Elections Night" – radio marathon covering the progress of revoting of the second round at presidential elections of 26 December 2004 and its results.	[29]
Budget (USD)	3 000	
Content	Support of the radio marathon on "Radio Era FM" covering the progress of revoting of the second round at presidential elections of 26 December 2004 and its results	
Organization	"Radio Era" Ltd.	
Project Director	Victor Kovalenko	
Contact data	Tel.: (044) 210-43-90 Web-page: www.radioera.com.ua	

INFORMATION AND AWARENESS CAMPAIGNS

Project name	Creation and publication of the book "Journalist revolution: 2004"	[30]
Project budget (USD)	4 850	
Project content	Creation and publication of the book "Journalist revolution: 2004"	
Organization	NGO "Telekrytyka"	
Project Director	Serhiy Chernenko	
Contact data	Tel.: (044) 577-03-57 email: liga@telekritika.kiev.ua web-page: www.telekritika.kiev.ua	

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EXIT-POLL EMPOWERMENT

Project	Public opinion information and 2004 exit-poll campaign	[1]
Budget (USD)	24 970	
Content	Conduct of exit-poll campaign in 2004	
Organization	Charity Foundation "Democratic Initiates"	
Project Director	Ilko Kucheriv, Jr.	
Contact data	Tel.: (044) 490-70-57, 229-88-35 E-mail: dif@carrier.kiev.ua Web page: www.dif.org.ua	

EXIT-POLL EMPOWERMENT

Project	Visit by Russian and Polish sociologists and auditors to Kyiv for the first round of presidential elections	[2]
Budget (USD)	21 053	
Content	Organization of a professional audit consortium of leading Ukrainian sociological agencies conducting the 2004 National Exit Poll	
Organization	International Renaissance Foundation	
Project Director	Pavlo Byalyk	
Contact data	Tel.: (044) 461-97-09 E-mail: byalyk@irf.kiev.ua Web-site: www.kngu.org	

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SUPPORT OF CIVIL INITIATIVES AIMED AT VOTERS' RIGHTS PROTECTION

Project	Conduct of the forum of human rights NGOs of Ukraine	[1]
Budget (USD)	27 835	
Content	To conduct in Kyiv on March 31 – April 1 2004 the 1 st All-Ukrainian Forum of human rights NGOs "Human Rights In Elections"	
Organization	Chernihiv Public Committee for Human Rights Promotion	
Project Director	Oleksiy V. Tarasov	
Contact data	Tel.: (0462) 16-53-81 E-mail: publcom@hotmail.com Web page: www.humanrights.civicua.org	

SUPPORT OF CIVIL INITIATIVES AIMED AT VOTERS' RIGHTS PROTECTION

Project	The development of NGO network to increase their impact on the authorities and society and to actively promote human rights	[2]
Budget (USD)	53 119	
Content	Establishment and support of activities of the Fund for legal protection of the victims of violations of human rights and freedoms, expansion of cooperation of human rights NGOs	
Organization	All-Ukrainian NGO Association "Ukrainian Helsinki Group for Human Rights"	
Project Director	Volodymyr M. Yavorsky	
Contact data	Tel.: (044) 417-41-18 E-mail: info@rupor.org secretariat@rupor.org Web page: www.rupor.org	

Project	Monitoring and protection of the right to free assembly in Ukraine	[3]
Budget (USD)	49 430	
Content	Collection of information on abridgements of the constitutionally granted right to freedom of assembly, analysis of legislative drafts and development of proposals on statutory regulation of the free assembly practices and procedures, giving legal assistance in instances of unfounded limitations in the implementation of this right	
Organization	Institute of Social and Economic Studies "Respublika"	
Project Director	Volodymyr Chemerys, Jr.	
Contact data	Tel.: (044) 220-11-36 E-mail: res-publica1@yandex.ru Web page: www.zmi.kiev.ua	

SUPPORT OF CIVIL INITIATIVES AIMED AT VOTERS' RIGHTS PROTECTION

Project	Security of elections	[4]
Budget (USD)	6 000	
Content	Securing members of electoral commissions and public officials involved in the election against making decisions that entail criminal or administrative liability	
Organization	Zhytomyr City NGO "Institute of innovational implementations"	
Project Director	Oleksandr M. Krukivsky	
Contact data	Tel.: (0412) 25-83-36 E-mail: krukivskiy@ukr.net	

Project	Videotaping of violations of human rights during the Presidential Election	[5]
Budget (USD)	27 470	
Content	Videotaping of violations of human rights during the repeat voting of presidential election by the representatives of Ukrainian human rights organizations	
Organization	Chernihiv Public Committee for Human Rights Protection	
Project Director	Olexiy V. Tarasov	
Contact data	Tel.: (0542) 32-19-39 E-mail: info@matrix-ua.org	

Project	Via civic control to the civil society	[6]
Budget (USD)	3 165	
Content	A wide range of civic control procedures as to the conduct of election of President of Ukraine in 2004	
Organization	Bila Tserkva City Youth NGO "Moloda Elita" ("The Young Elite")	
Project Director	Oleh O. Oliynyk	
Contact data	Tel.: (04463) 9-01-13 E-mail: Molodaelita@ukr.net	

SUPPORT OF CIVIL INITIATIVES AIMED AT VOTERS' RIGHTS PROTECTION

Project	Public monitoring of voters lists in Constituency # 206 in the City of Chernihiv during the Ukrainian Presidential election campaign of 2004	[7]
Budget (USD)	5 445	
Content	Validation of voters lists in Chernihiv Constituency # 206 and publicizing of the facts of violations of the Law on Election of President of Ukraine as regards the listing of voters	
Organization	Chernihiv City Branch of the All-Ukrainian NGO "Committee of Voters of Ukraine"	
Project Director	Yuriy V. Paperny	
Contact data	Tel.: (04622) 4-13-93 E-mail: solo@ic.com.ua	
Project	Monitoring of compliance with the rights of the handicapped and of their participation in the voting	[8]
Budget (USD)	3 500	
Content	Conduct of monitoring of compliance with the rights of the handicapped and of their participation in the voting	
Organization	Lviv Center for Social Protection and Rehabilitation of the handicapped "Sozarin"	
Project Director	Oleksandr P. Lavrynovych	
Contact data	Tel.: (0322) 297-19-05 E-mail: alus@mis.lviv.ua era9@wp.pl	
Project	"Human Rights at Elections" TV Documentary	[9]
Budget (USD)	10 590	
Content	Production of the "Human Rights at Elections" TV Documentary	
Organization	Force of Law Foundation for Social and Legal Protection of People	
Project Director	Oleh Spornykov	
Contact data	Tel.: (044) 249-47-14 E-mail: info@rol.org.ua Web-page: www.rol.org.ua	

SUPPORT OF CIVIL INITIATIVES AIMED AT VOTERS' RIGHTS PROTECTION

Project	2004 presidential elections in Ukraine in the context of interethnic affairs	[10]
Budget (USD)	4 000	
Content	Monitoring and analysis of election programs of presidential contenders, political parties and coalitions, political party press, speeches of party leaders and members as concerns national and religious minorities, as well as cases of national and religious intolerance during 2004 presidential elections	
Organization	Ukrainian National Communities Congress in partnership with the Diamatik Social and Economic Research Center	
Project Director	Joseph S. Zisels	
Contact data	Tel.: (044) 248-3670 Tel./fax: (044) 248-5377 E-mail: knou-2@mail.ru diamatik@ukr.net diamatik@voliacable.com Web-page: www.kngu.org	
Project	Legal public monitoring of the election campaign in the East and the South of Ukraine and protection of voters' rights in the repeat voting period.	[11]
Budget (USD)	25 969	
Content	Establishment of mobile groups to provide legal assistance to voters on the day of repeat voting for election of the President of Ukraine.	
Organization	Kharkiv Group for Human Rights Protection	
Project Director	Yevhen Y. Zakharov	
Contact data	Tel.: (057) 700-67-71 E-mail: root@khpg.org Website: www.khpg.org	

SUPPORT OF CIVIL INITIATIVES AIMED AT VOTERS' RIGHTS PROTECTION

Project	Round table on "Organizational and Legal Forms of Interaction between Local Governance Bodies and Law-enforcement Bodies within Conditions of Socio-political Crisis" [12]
Budget (USD)	2 606.2
Content	Organizing and holding the round table on "Organizational and Legal Forms of Interaction Between Local Governance Bodies and Law-enforcement Bodies within Conditions of Socio-political Crisis"
Organization	Non-governmental organization "Society of Scientists for Promotion of Municipal Reform"
Project Director	Leonid Y. Podobyed
Contact data	Tel.: (044) 227-54-11 E-mail: aus@rgl.kiev.ua Website: www.auc.org.ua

Project	Preparation and dissemination of the Ukrainian human rights organizations report on human rights in Ukraine in 2004. [13]
Budget (USD)	20 708
Content	Systemic generalization of monitoring projects to analyze human rights in Ukraine in 2004 and publication of the report on human rights in Ukraine.
Organization	Ukrainian Helsinki Union of Human Rights
Project Director	Eugene Zaharov
Contact data	Tel.: (044) 417-41-18, (057) 700-67-71 e-mail: zakharov@rupor.org web-page: www.rupor.org

VOTER MOBILIZATION

Project	How do rural dwellers vote? Making the informed choice real [1]
Budget (USD)	18 250
Content	Research of the specific features of election campaigns in rural areas, development of recommendations as to elimination of leverages of administrative pressure on rural voters
Organization	Independent Center for Political Research
Project Director	Yuliya A. Tyshchenko
Contact data	Tel.: (044) 230-91-78, 235-65-05 E-mail: ucipr@ucipr.kiev.ua Web page: www.ucipr.kiev.ua

Project	Mobilization of voters by establishing the Voters Club with NGO "Yuzhnokomunaryvsk City Community" and by holding on its premises various workshops on legal, political, economic, religious and human rights aspects of the elections [2]
Budget (USD)	5 000
Content	To ensure active and informed participation of citizens in the electoral process
Organization	NGO "Yuzhnokomunaryvsk City Community"
Project Director	Lyubov F. Leonenko
Contact data	Tel.: (06252) 4-17-66 E-mail: grand@enakievo.com

Project	I go to vote [3]
Budget (USD)	8 000
Content	Mobilization of young voters of Volyn Region
Organization	Volyn Association for the Youth Rights Promotion
Project Director	Petro Yu. Verzun
Contact data	Tel.: (03322) 5-24-21 E-mail: Aspmv@ukr.net

VOTER MOBILIZATION

Project	It's your first vote	[4]
Budget (USD)	12 000	
Content	Activating young voters to take part in the social and political life by their involvement into the electoral processes in the nation	
Organization	All-Ukrainian Youth NGO "Committee of Young Voters of Ukraine"	
Project Director	Yevhen L. Shayan	
Contact data	Tel.: (044) 490-61-35, 490-61-36, 490-61-37 E-mail: pangalin@cvu.kiev.ua Web page: www.cvu.org.ua	
Project	Encouraging the participation of Poltava Region rural women in civic processes	[5]
Budget (USD)	3 000	
Content	Encouraging the participation of Poltava Region rural women in civic processes by establishment of women's boards in the villages	
Organization	Poltava Women's Association "Churayivna"	
Project Director	Viktoriya O. Kurylko	
Contact data	Tel.: (0532) 66-46-37 E-mail: churayivna@pi.net.ua	
Project	"Night Guard" action of public control over elections	[6]
Budget (USD)	3 813	
Content	Ensuring monitoring of vote count by voters in Sumy	
Organization	Sumy Sity Youth NGO "Matrix"	
Project Director	Serhiy V. Aleschenko	
Contact data	Tel.: (0542) 32-19-39 E-mail: info@matrix-ua.org	

VOTER MOBILIZATION

Project	Public Night Guard – a call on voters to stay on watch at polling stations during the vote count	[7]
Budget (USD)	6 350	
Content	Organization of a media campaign and dissemination of information materials to ensure organized vigilance of voters at polling stations during the vote count	
Organization	Europe XXI Foundation	
Project Director	Ina Pidluska	
Contact data	Tel.: (044) 235-86-57 E-mail: europe@europexxi.kiev.ua Web-site: www.europexxi.kiev.ua	

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SOCIETY CONSOLIDATION

Project	Forum of NGOs "Ukraine: the Unity of Civil Society", Kharkiv, Simferopol	[1]
Budget (USD)	33 495	
Content	The holding of forums of NGOs for the purpose of analysis of third sector activities and elaboration of further steps to overcome the crisis.	
Organization	Foundation "Europe XXI"	
Project Director	Inna Pidluska	
Contact data	Tel.: (044) 235-86-57 E-mail: inna@europexxi.kiev.ua Web-page: www.europexxi.kiev.ua	

SOCIETY CONSOLIDATION

Project	Placement of a film <i>This is Our Country</i> on the Era TV, 5 th TV and local TV channels in Southern and Eastern regions	[2]
Budget (USD)	5 000	
Content	Placement of a film <i>This is Our Country</i> on the Era TV, 5 th TV and local TV channels in Southern and Eastern regions	
Organization	International Renaissance Foundation	
Project Director	Stanislav Liachinsky	
Contact data	Tel.: (044) 461-95-00 E-mail: liachinskiy@irf.kiev.ua Web-page: www.irf.kiev.ua	
Project	Ukraine: How to Preserve the Single Space for Economic Growth, Round Table for Economists and Social Scientists	[3]
Budget (USD)	3 776.6	
Content	Organization of the round table "Ukraine: How to Preserve the Single Space for Economic Growth"	
Organization	Institute for Economic Research and Political Consultation	
Project Director	Ihor Burakovsky	
Contact data	Tel.: (044) 228-63-42 E-mail: burakovsky@ier.kiev.ua Web-page: www.ier.kiev.ua	
Project	Christmas Together: unite Ukraine into a single family in a shared Christmas celebration in Lviv.	[4]
Budget (USD)	4 033	
Content	Organization of a Christmas celebration in the Ukrainian folk tradition by bringing Kharkiv youth to Lviv with the goal of united Ukrainian society	
Organization	Kharkiv Human Rights Center "Derevo Zhyttya"	
Project Director	Tamara Tratsevych	
Contact data	email: lifetree@un.com.ua	

THE IRF RULE OF LAW RELATED ACTIVITIES DURING THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN

[updated on the 8th of December, 2004]

I. Assistance to civil activist, who were persecuted by authorities during the election campaign

1. *Legal assistance to participants of the civil campaign PORA and other activists in cases of unlawful detentions and administrative arrests.*

The activity of the group of civil activists who consolidated in the election campaign PORA, aimed to distribute unbiased information on candidates for the position of the President of Ukraine. Because of such activity, the authorities, in particular, internal affairs authorities illegitimately persecuted them for their political views. Hundreds of people were detained groundlessly and arbitrarily for a period of up to 72 hours, eight people were sentenced to arrest on administrative charges for 10 days, and six people were forcibly sent to shelters as persons who do not have permanent places of residence. All of these actions were committed with brutal violations of legislation and infringements of widely recognized human rights. For instance, decisions to sentence six people to administrative arrests in the town of Sumy was approved at a closed court hearing; six students from Lviv detained in Vinnytsya and escorted to a shelter, when detained, had passports with marks that confirmed their permanent places of residence. In violation of legislative requirements, their family members were not informed regarding the detention, and police officers prevented lawyers from contacting the detainees. Due to the efforts of human rights protection organizations, legal experts assessed the facts of detention properly and the detainees received timely legal assistance. An extensive civil campaign was rolled out against the arbitrary detentions; organizers of the campaign managed to engage well-known international organizations for human rights protection, particularly, Amnesty International (London) and the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights (Vienna). Amnesty International recognized that

six of the detainees sentenced to administrative arrest in a closed court hearing in the town of Sumy were prisoners of conscience, which was the first case of this kind during the years of independence. Appellate courts cancelled the decisions on the administrative arrests. When the internal affairs authorities faced widespread resistance to their oppressive actions, several days before the day of the second round of voting, November 21, 2004, they discontinued detentions and arrests of civil activists.

2. *Protection of participants of the civil campaign PORA from criminal charges for establishing militarized organizations and for keeping explosives and forged money.*

In the framework of its activity, the fund for legal support of human rights violations victims helped the activists of the civil campaign PORA, against whom criminal cases had been instigated. Explosives and fake money found at their apartments were used as grounds for criminal charges. Mass media controlled by the authorities interpreted the fact of seized items as proof of the terrorist and militarized nature of the PORA campaign. Thanks to efforts of lawyers of the oppressed activists, the activists were freed and the charges were lifted, as there was no proof that the seized items were in the possession of the detainees. From the very beginning of the criminal cases, human rights protection organizations made statements about the high likelihood of the fact that the fake money and the explosives had been intentionally left at the apartments of the PORA activists.

II. Documentation of and resistance to violations of elections-related legislation

1. *Assistance to voters in appealing actions and decisions that infringe their rights*

Human rights organizations helped voters protect their rights in court in 10 regions of Ukraine. They helped them issue appeals and make claims in court free of charge. Most frequently, voters mentioned in their complaints the exclusion of their names from voter lists. In other cases of infringements

that entail administrative or criminal liabilities, claims were submitted to law-enforcement authorities.

One of the most serious problems that occurred on Election Day was that independent observers were prevented from observing the voting process and the vote counting process at voting points. In cases when observers faced restrictions, such decisions were appealed in court. Partially, the infringements were eliminated. As a demonstrative example, we can take the case when the Head of a Vinnytsya-based human rights protection group, acting as a correspondent of the “Noviy Vybir” newspaper, was not admitted to a restricted-access voting point located in prison №81. Upon his claim, the court obligated the prison’s administration to give access to the correspondent as an observer and permit him to videotape the event. The Court of Appeal rejected the claim, which the administration submitted with support of the Prison Department, and ruled that the decision of the court of first instance would stand.

2. *Videotaping of violations.*

The network of human rights protection organizations with the support of the IRF established 50 groups of observers in 10 regions of Ukraine. The groups were furnished with video cameras to videotape infringements of human rights on Election Day. The videotaping of the voting process made it possible to legally assess the actions of many election commission members because, as a rule, a court takes the videotaped materials into account and views them as material evidence, including evidence in hearings of a criminal case. In addition, the observers managed to videotape serious and regular violations of election-related legislation, particularly, the intentional damaging of vote bulletins, voting outside the election points, repeated voting by the same voters, massive use of forged tear-off vote certificates and many others. The videotaped materials were processed by the foundation “Chynnist Zakonu”. It is worth noting that people who were videotaping the events often had to work under pressure when they were intimidated. In Severodonetsk, unidentified individuals assailed and beat up an activist from a human rights protection organization when he was exiting an election point. They stole his video camera and materials he had videotaped at the election point.

3. *Submissions of information on the documented facts of violations of election-related legislation to the headquarters of the candidates and international observers.*

After documentation of the facts of infringements of voters' rights, human rights protection organizations timely submitted documents to the headquarters of each of the candidates as officials entitled to appeal the results of voting. In addition, the materials were transmitted to international observers who took them into account when making conclusions on the widespread and regular violations of election-related legislation. These materials were submitted to mass media as well.

4. *Preparation of a joint position and distribution of summaries of violations that occurred during the election campaign.*

Information on infringements of human rights that occurred during the presidential election campaign in Ukraine was collected and analyzed at all stages of the campaign. Conclusions of the Ukrainian human rights protection organization on the progress of the election were submitted to mass media and international human rights protection organizations. Based on these conclusions, Amnesty International made two statements of its position on infringements of human rights during the presidential election campaign in Ukraine, and the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights made three statements.

III. Appealing the illegitimate actions and decisions approved during the election campaign

1. *Hearings of the claim against unlawful actions of the Central Election Commission at the Supreme Court of Ukraine.*

During the hearings of the claim submitted to the Supreme Court by a person empowered to act for Viktor Yuschenko, the plaintiff's representatives used a large number of materials generated by the activities of human rights protection organizations. In particular, materials of the case contained summaries on the progress of the second round of voting issued by the Kharkiv Human Rights Group, the Ukrainian Helsinki Human Rights Union; videos

collected by the Chernihiv Civil Committee for Human Rights Protection; claims against the non-admission of observers to voting points made by representatives of the Vinnytsya Human Rights Protection Group and the Luhansk Committee for Protection of the Constitutional Rights and Freedoms of Citizens.

2. *Appealing the decision made by the Luhansk Regional Council.*

The Luhansk Regional Department of the Voters Committee of Ukraine, which acted with the support of the IRF Program "Rule of Law", submitted a claim to appeal the decision of the Luhansk Regional Council to discontinue broadcasting the television channels "5th Channel" and "Era", which supported the opposition. Subsequently, the Luhansk Oblast Council revised its decision on termination of broadcasting the 5th Channel and the ERA TV and Radio Broadcasting Company.

IV. Distribution of information on violations of election-related legislation; communications to the public

1. *Round table "Human Rights and Obligations of the State".*

Under the IRF Program "Rule of Law" a round table on infringements of human rights during the 2004 election campaign was held. It involved representatives of the candidates' headquarters, Members of the Parliament of Ukraine, representatives of diplomatic missions, law-enforcement authorities and journalists. The round table was held in the period between the first and the second rounds of voting and was aimed at disclosing the facts of infringements of voters' rights and taking steps to eliminate these infringements. The key point of the discussion supported with numerous evidences was the role of law-enforcement authorities in the election campaign. In particular, the foundation "Chynnist Zakonu" presented videos showing a violent assault at a peaceful demonstration of Viktor Yuschenko's supporters near the office of the Central Election Commission a week before the first round of voting. The videos show convincingly that police did not take efforts to curb the assailants and avoided performing their duty to safeguard public order. Police identification documents were confiscated from the detained assailants.

2. *Processing of video materials and submission to television channels.*

Videos taped during observations in the second round of voting were submitted to television channels “5th Channel”, NTN and Tonis, upon their requests. Information about the availability of videos showing the facts of infringements of voters’ rights and violations of the legislation was disseminated among mass media and posted on the web site “Telekrytyka”. On the basis of the filmed materials, the Validity of Law Foundation produced a documentary about the falsifications of the results of the repeated voting during the Presidential Elections in Ukraine, held on November 21, 2004. It was demonstrated by regional TV companies in the South and East of Ukraine.

3. *A press conference at the UNIAN agency, distribution of statements on violations that occurred during the second round of voting, issued by the Vinnytsya Human Rights Group, Kharkiv Human Rights Group, Ukrainian Helsinki Human Rights Union, Sevastopol Human Rights Group and other organizations.*

On completion of the second round of voting on November 21, 2004 the Ukrainian Helsinki Association for Human Rights and its regional members held a press conference at UNIAN agency. It presented facts of widespread infringements of voters’ rights documented by human rights protection organizations, including videos. Participants distributed a statement saying that voting results at all of the voting points where substantial violations occurred should be announced invalid and emphasized that the Central Election Commission was not only supposed to sum up all of the votes received based on election protocols, but also considered all claims and appeals carefully and announce the final results of the election only after such consideration.

4. *Section “Human rights organizations on the election campaign in Ukraine” posted on the popular Russian website “Human Rights in Russia”.*

With support of the IRF’s the Rule of Law Program, leaders of the Ukrainian Helsinki Association for Human Rights, Eugen Zakharov and Volodymyr Yavorskiy, took part in a press conference held in Moscow. They agreed with Russian human rights protection organizations to cooperate during the presidential election campaign in Ukraine. It is extremely important to communicate with Russian society on what really happens in Ukraine,

because Russian mass media distribute misleading information. Therefore, the section “Human rights organizations on the election campaign in Ukraine” was created on the website “Human Rights in Russia”. It contains information of the Ukrainian human rights organizations translated into Russian.

V. Analytical support for a legitimate solution to overcome the political crisis in Ukraine

When the Central Election Commission summed up the results of voting and announced Viktor Yanukovych the winner, millions of people took part in protest demonstrations. Regional authorities and local governance authorities started to issue resolutions accepting or not accepting the results of the voting announced by the Central Election Commission. There were several options for overcoming the political crisis that broke out in Ukraine. The Rule of Law Program involved the best experts from Kyiv and Kharkiv to initiate legal solutions that would help find a way out of the crisis. During this time, a number of analytical documents were issued and submitted to the Parliament of Ukraine, Members of Parliament and mass media. Most of the options offered to the Parliament have already been taken into account, or are being discussed. It is necessary to point out the following issued documents:

1. Constitutional and legal analysis of the political situation in Ukraine, prepared by scientists of Kharkiv National Legal Academy named after Yaroslav Mudriy: Yuriy Baulin, Doctor of Legal Sciences; Viktor Kolisnyk, Doctor of Legal Sciences; Volodymyr Bogutskiy, Candidate of Legal Sciences; Fedir Venislavskiy, Candidate of Legal Sciences; Viktor Kychun, Candidate of Legal Sciences; Oleksandr Kushnirenko, Candidate of Legal Sciences; Boris Olkhovskiy, Candidate of Legal Sciences; Stanislav Pogrebniak, Candidate of Legal Sciences; Vsewood Rechitskiy, Candidate of Legal Sciences; Mykhailo Sibiliyov, Candidate of Legal Sciences; Tetiana Slinko, Candidate of Legal Sciences; Yuriy Tkachenko, Candidate of Legal Sciences; Robert Khorolskiy, Candidate of Legal Sciences; Olena Shostko, Candidate of Legal Sciences.
2. Legal mechanism and stages of overcoming the political crisis, prepared by experts of the Ukrainian Helsinki Association for Human Rights: Viktor Kolisnyk, Doctor of Legal Sciences; Mykhailo Buromenskiy,

Doctor of Legal Sciences; Fedir Venislavskiy, Candidate of Legal Sciences; Viktor Kichun, Candidate of Legal Sciences; Pavlo Lyubchenko, Candidate of Legal Sciences.

3. Statement of the Kharkiv Human Rights Protection Group: On the second round of voting in the Ukrainian presidential campaign.
4. Statements of the Kyiv Legal Association: On the unacceptability of criminal persecution of individuals involved in captures of governmental offices and in blocking of government institutions during the demonstrations in Kyiv; On the legal status of the Committee for National Rescue; On the need to stop the unconstitutional actions of officials from the government authorities aimed at breaking the territorial integrity of Ukraine.

VI. Activities during the re-voting of the second round of the Presidential Elections in Ukraine, held on December 26, 2004

The network of Ukrainian law enforcement organizations, in cooperation with the popular Maidan public Internet resource [www.maidan.org.ua] and supported by the IRF, organized activities of the 75 mobile groups for legal support of voters. Such groups, consisting of a cameraman, journalist and lawyer, rendered assistance to members of election commissions, voters in order to ensure efficient exercise of their voting rights. The groups recorded over 100 various violations of the electoral law. They helped in the appealing of unlawful actions, decisions and negligence of election commissions.

LIST OF INTERNET PUBLIC ACCESS POINTS: SITES OF INTERNET CONFERENCES WWW.CONFERENCE.CIVICUA.ORG

Kyiv

International Renaissance Foundation
46 Artema St.

Vinnytsya

Vinnytsya Regional General Research Library named after K.A.Timiryazev
73 Soborna St.

Dnipropetrovsk

Dnipropetrovsk Regional General Research Library
10, Yu. Savchenko St.

Donetsk

Donetsk Regional General Research Library
84, Artyoma St.

Zhytomyr

Regional Children's Creative Activities Center
10, Rad Sq.

Zaporizhzhya

Zaporizhzhya Regional General Research Library named after A.M.Gorky
142, Lenin Av.

Ivano-Frankivsk

Children's Creative Activities Center
37, Sichovykh Striltsiv St.

Kirovohrad

Kirovohrad Regional General Research Library named after D.I.Chizhevskiy
24, Karl Marx St.

Luhansk

Regional Youth Library
4, Shevchenko St.

Lutsk

Lutsk Regional Youth Library
2, Voli Av.

Lviv

Internet Center of the Institute of Political Technologies
8, Rynok Sq.

Mykolayiv

Regional Research and Education Library
31, Admiralska St.

Odesa

Odessa Regional General Research Library named after M.Hrushevsky
49/51 *Troyitska St.*

Poltava

Regional Medical Research Library
133, *Pushkin St.*

Rivne

Regional Library for the Youth
18, *Kyivska St.*

Sevastopol

Sevastopol Central Youth Library named after A.Gaydar
76, *Lenin St.*

Simferopol

Crimean Republican General Research Library named after I.Franko
10, *Gorky St.*

Sumy

Regional General Research Library
10, *Heroyiv Stalingradu St.*

Ternopli

Ternopil Children's Library
17, *Copernicus St.*

Uzhgorod

Transcarpathian Regional General Research Library
16, *Svobody Av.*

Kharkiv

Kharkiv Politechnical University
21, *Frunze St., KhPU Computer Center*

Kherson

Kherson State Regional General Research Library named after O.Honchar
2, *Dnipropetrovska St.*

Khmelnysky

Regional Library for the Youth
33, *Soborna St.*

Cherkasy

Regional Youth Library
24, *Kirov St.*

Chernivtsy

"Yunist Bukovyny" Palace of Culture
5, *Chervonoarmiyaska St.*

Chernihiv

The Municipal Centralized System of Libraries
22, *Kyryonos St.*

EDITIONS CARRYING "YOUR CHOICE" SUPPLEMENT PAGE

Lviv Region

1. Ekspres
2. Postup
3. Subotnya Poshta
4. Volya Narodu (Busk)
5. RIA Lviv
6. Novi Khorizonty (Drohobych)

Chernivtsy Region

7. Molodiy Bukovynets
8. Chas

Transcarpathian Region

9. RIO

Ternopil Region

10. Ternopilska Hazeta
11. RIA Plyus
12. RIA Rayony

Volyn

13. Desyaty Kvartal (Lutsk)
14. Khmelnytska Oblast
15. Ye!
16. Vsim
17. Fortetsya (Kamyanets-Podilsky)
18. Rivnenska Oblast
19. Rivnenska Hazeta (OHO)
20. Rivne Vechirnye

Vinnysya Region

21. RIA
22. RIA (Kozyatyn)
23. Nezavisimiy Kuryer

Zhytomyr Region

24. Ria-Tyzhden
25. Merkurij

Cherkasy Region

26. Vechirni Cherkassy
27. Nova Doba
28. Antenna

Poltava Region

29. Poltavska Dumka
30. Telegraph (Kremenchuk)
31. KOLO
32. Moya Gazeta (Myrhorod)

Sumy Region

33. Vvest
34. Dankor
35. Panorama
36. Region (Shevchenkove)

Donetsk Region

37. Privet (Kramatorsk)
38. OKNO (Druzhkivka)
39. TV+ (Slovyansk)
40. Vostochniy Proyekt (Kramatorsk)

Luhansk Region

41. XXI Vek

Kirovohrad Region

42. Ukrayina-Tsentr

Dnipropetrovsk region

43. Populyarniye Vyedomosti (Pavlohrad)
44. Sobytiye

Zaporizhzhya Region

45. MIG
46. Verzhe
47. Nashe Vremya Plyus
48. Berdyansk Dyelovoy (Berdyansk)
49. Melitopolskiye Vedomosti
50. Zaporizka Sich

Mykolayiv Region

51. Nikolayevskiye Novosti

Kherson Region

52. Grivna

Odesa Region

53. Slovo

Autonomous Republic of Crimea

54. Poluostrov (SIRFeropol)
55. Yaltinskiye Vvesti (Yalta)
56. Sevastopolskaya Gazyeta
57. Kafa (Feodosiya)

GENERAL INFORMATION ON THE INTERNATIONAL RENAISSANCE FOUNDATION

The International Renaissance Foundation (IRF) was founded in April 1990. IRF is an integral part of the International Soros network which incorporates national and regional foundations in more than thirty countries around the world, primarily in Central and Eastern Europe, as well as the former Soviet Union. These foundations share a common goal of supporting educational, social and legal initiatives that promote the development and establishment of an open society.

IRF is the Ukraine's largest charity organization. Its main objective is to provide financial and operational assistance to the development of an open and democratic society in Ukraine by supporting key civic initiatives in this area.

The International Renaissance Foundation finances projects and programs which foster the development of civil society, promote rule of law and independent mass media. Funds are also allocated for diversification of information resources for the third sector, democratization of education and public health, advancing of social capital and academic publications, as well as ensuring protection of national minorities rights and their integration into Ukrainian society.

IRF's Executive Board and Program Boards determine the program priorities. Composed of prominent public figures and experts, the Boards address IRF's key action areas: civil society, rule of law, education, mass media, health care etc. As the chief civic structure within IRF, it elaborates the general strategy for the entire organization.

IRF keeps public informed of its programs and their implementation through publications in print media, by holding news conferences and presentations, via the Internet etc. Foundation employees, as well as its regional information partners consult public on IRF-supported projects and grants.

IRF makes its grants only to non-governmental organizations. As a rule, the International Renaissance Foundation announces project competitions in advance. Grants are made to Ukrainian organizations whose projects meet the priorities of the competitions.

Apart from making grants to other organizations, IRF conducts its own operational activities by implementing projects in priority action areas.

IRF finances national programs from its budget upon the recommendations of the Executive Board and Program Boards. The Foundation's experience in Ukraine and its close cooperation with other donor organizations in Central and Eastern Europe make it possible to monitor changes in Ukrainian society. Moreover, IRF attempts to predict these changes.

Like the rest of Soros Network foundations, IRF administers regional or network programs initiated by the Open Society Institute (Budapest, New York). A number of foreign Soros foundations take part in them too. The Open Society Institute launched such network programs providing support in the form of expertise. This is a versatile approach to solving specific problems that encourages and promotes regional cooperation between experts participating in the programs. In Ukraine, they are adjusted to local conditions but fall into the programs' mandates.

In 2004, IRF implemented its program activities within the framework of 9 national and 4 network programs.

IRF has a headquarters in Kyiv and NGOs-information partners across Ukraine. Namely, in all 24 administrative centers, and in Republic of the Crimea. It enables IRF to rapidly disseminate information on its current programs and recently announced competitions along with spreading materials supplied by donors operating in Ukraine.

Over the period from 1990 to 2004 the International Renaissance Foundation supported numerous Ukrainian non-government organizations (NGOs), community groups, academic and cultural institutions, publishing houses etc. to the tune of over \$ 82 million.

In 2005, IRF will make grants for a grand total of \$ 7 million.

**LIST OF WEB-RESOURCES
COVERING PROJECT RESULTS AVAILABLE IN ENGLISH**

www.aup.com.ua/?new_lang=en	Academy of Ukrainian Press
www.civicua.org/conference/en_index.html	Electoral process on-line. Video conferences
www.cvu.org.ua/?lang=eng	All-Ukrainian NGO "Committee of Voters of Ukraine"
www.civicua.org/main/index.html?lang=en	Civic Space
www.khpg.org/index.php?l=3	Human rights in Ukraine
www.monitor.org.ua	"New Choice – 2004" Civic Coalition
www.polit.com.ua	Information project of the Committee of Voters of Ukraine "Political Ukraine"
www.profspilka.org.ua/cgi-bin/index.cgi?L=en	Independent Media Trade Union, Kyiv
prostir-monitor.org/index.php?language=eng	Ukrainian Monitor for a Free Choice
news.org.ua	Public Radio
www.telekritika.kiev.ua/english.html	"Telekrytyka"
www.tz.cvu.kiev.ua/?lang=eng	"Tochka Zoru" ("Point Of View")
www.internews.ua/eng/news/	Internews Ukraine
www.ucipr.kiev.ua/index.php?newlang=eng	Ukrainian Center for Independent Political Research

**ELECTION PUBLICATIONS
SUPPORTED BY THE IRF TRANSLATION PROJECT**

Cox, Gary W. *Making Votes Count: Strategic Coordination in the World's Electoral Systems.* – O.: Bakhva Publishers, 2004.

Local Self-Governance and Public Administration Democratization and Reform Project and Translation Project funded by the IRF supported publication of *Making Votes Count: Strategic Coordination in the World's Electoral Systems* by Gary W. Cox. The book translated into Ukrainian by G.Krasnokutskyi and edited by M.Baymuratov has been published by Bakhva Publishers, Odesa.

The book is about strategic coordination – both as strategic voting and strategic instruments of campaign regulation – in the world's election systems.

Bakhva Publishers: bahva@com.od.ua

* * *

Marquis de Condorcet. *Sur les Elections.* – L.: Litopys Publishers, 2004.

Local Self-Governance and Public Administration Democratization and Reform Project and Translation Project funded by the IRF supported publication of *About Elections* by Marquis de Condorcet translated into Ukrainian by Oleh Khoma. The book has been published by Litopys Publishers, Lviv.

Marquis de Condorcet is the only one among great French thinkers who managed to live to see the Great Revolution of 1789. Inspired by the example of the American Revolution, he tried to implement high ideas of those times into the political practice.

The main topics of the collection include the academic criticism of the mode of elections, which is, by the way, the most widespread today; and development of a new election method to limit essentially the impact of accidental factors on voting results, as well as secure them both from ochlocracy

and oligarch-stimulated democracy. In particular, M. de Condorcet focuses on efficient means of civil control of the governmental actions, and argues that the deprivation of women of their civic is incompatible with the very nature of the republic.

Litopys Publishers: www.litopys.lviv.ua

* * *

LeDuc, Lawrence. *Participatory Democracy: Referendums in Theory and Practice.* – Kh.: Education Initiatives Center, K.: IB Ltd, 2002.

Prof. LeDuc's monograph is dedicated to the role of referendums in modern democracies, theoretic principles, conceptual endeavors and world practices of the participatory democracy, the role of political parties, leaders and the public in the above context, as well as the future of referendums in the democratic politics.

Education Initiatives Center: (0572) 19-14-39, itl735@online.kharkov.ua

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The Internet version of IRF brochure "Promotion of the fair and open election of 2004" is accessible on [www.irf.kiev.ua/en/news?doc:int=298]

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