

COOPERATIVE REPUBLIC OF GUYANA



THIRD REPORT

ON THE

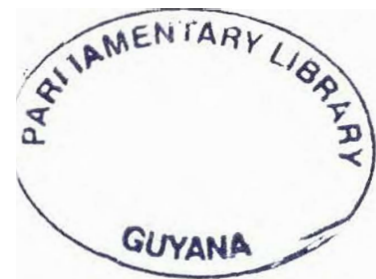
OVERSIGHT COMMITTEE

ON

CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM

(Resolution No. 33 of 1999)

March 3, 2000



THIRD REPORT
on
THE OVERSIGHT COMMITTEE on CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM

1. This is the third monthly report to the National Assembly on the status of work of the Oversight Committee on Constitutional Reform, pursuant to the instructions and requirements of Resolution No.33, passed by the Assembly on December 6, 1999.
2. The Oversight Committee held one Plenary meeting during the month of February, on Friday February 18, 2000. Appendix A to this report comprises the Minutes of that meeting and related documentation. At that meeting OSC members were apprised of the fact that by Resolution No.36 on 10 February, 2000 the National Assembly had formally approved the Oversight Committee's Time-Bound Plan for the drafting of Constitutional Revisions.
3. During February, overseer members of the Oversight Committee conducted Task Force Meetings in pursuit of the preparation of drafting briefs with the frequencies detailed below:


| | | | |
|---------------|--------------------------------------------------------|----|----------|
| Task Force A1 | Mr Manzoor Nadir as overseer | 6 | Meetings |
| Task Force A2 | Dr Rupert Roopnaraine as overseer | 5 | Meetings |
| Task Force B | Dr R. Luncheon & Mr V. Alexander as joint overseers | 6 | Meetings |
| Task Force C | Hon. M. V. Nagamootoo as overseer | 6 | Meetings |
| Task Force D | Dr Leslie Ramsammy as overseer | 12 | Meetings |

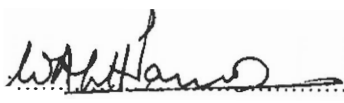
4. Initially, Task Force meetings proceeded without the benefit of the presence of members from the Legal Advisory Group; but this was corrected towards the end of the month, in accord with the decision of the OSC in plenary that a specific member of the Legal Advisory Group should be assigned to each Task Force, and should participate in the deliberations of the Task Force to which they have been assigned, while still collaborating among themselves as circumstances required.
5. The appointments, with effect from 1 February 2000, and the assignment of individual members of the Legal Advisory Group to Task Forces, with effect from 24 February 2000, were effectuated by the Hon. Minister of Agriculture and Parliamentary Affairs, and the assignments are as follows:

| | |
|---------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Task Force A1 | Mr Zehar Singh Negi, Legal Draftsman, Attorney General's Chambers |
| Task Force A2 | Ms Cavelle Lynch, Attorney-at Law |
| Task Force B | Mr Cecil Dhurjon, S.C., Chief Parliamentary Council |
| Task Force C | Mr Cecil Dhurjon, S.C., Chief Parliamentary Council |
| Task Force D | Ms Roxanne George, Assistant Director of Public Prosecutions |

6. The OSC in plenary has decided (see appended minutes) that as draft briefs of individual recommendations are completed by Task Forces, they will be examined by the OSC in plenary before being tendered to the draftspersons of Task Force E for conversion into drafts of revised clauses of the Constitution.
7. Sections 5.3 through 5.7 of the appended minutes in Appendix A comprise reports of the status, as at 18 February, 2000, of the work of the Task Forces. The next report on the status of this work will be considered at the OSC Plenary scheduled for Friday 3 March, 2000. There is so far no reason to apprehend that any Task Force will not complete its assignment in accord with the time-bound plan; although Task Force B is not yet in a position to benefit from the advice of the Expert on Electoral Systems whose engagement has not yet been concluded. Paragraph 10 of this report gives the status of this matter as at 29 February, 2000.
8. That time-bound plan has scheduled the task of drafting of the revisions to the clauses of the Constitution to start on 1 March, 2000, and has highlighted the task as “critical”, in the sense of its importance to meeting the final target date of 28 July, 2000. As at 29 February, the status of engagement of the five required draftspersons was as follows:
 - (a) Only four of the planned five draftspersons have been identified and have confirmed their willingness to serve. The search for the fifth is being pursued as an urgent matter. The four persons mentioned above are: Mr Keith Massiah OR; S.C.; Justice Oswald Legall; Mr Cecil Dhurjon, S.C.; and Mr Zehar Singh Negi.
 - (b) Formal contracting of the four persons so far identified, is being pursued with the UNDP under its commitment to fund this expenditure. It is anticipated that all arrangements should be completed no later than the second week of March.
9. At its plenary meeting of Friday 18 February 2000, the OSC considered and approved the budget for the project. Section 5.9 of the appended minutes in Appendix A contains the relevant summary of the budget, and the details are in the budget document in Appendix A. It should be noted that non-finalisation, as at 29 February, of the sums to be actually paid to the Expert on Electoral Systems; the Draftspersons; and the Coordinator, Planning and Monitoring, poses no problem of financing since the UNDP has undertaken to meet the expenses, will be the entity contracting the individuals to perform those tasks, and will determine what remuneration those posts attract in accord with its own established rules and procedures for tasks with those job descriptions.

10. As at 29 February 2000, no Expert on Electoral Systems had been engaged. The copy of the fax from the NDI in Appendix B contains the latest information, as of 29 February, on the CVs and timing of availability of the candidates so far identified. The only candidate that appears to be available with the urgency demanded by the time-bound plan is Mr Andrew Reynolds. The overseers of Task Force B concur with the view that Mr Reynolds is adequately qualified, and arrangements are in train to secure his services as quickly as possible.
11. This report of the OSC's work during February, 2000, together with its Appendices A and B, has been adopted and approved for transmittal to the National Assembly by the fifth plenary meeting of the OSC, which took place on Friday March 3, 2000.

Signed 
Hon. Moses V. Nagambete, J.P., M.P.,
Chairman, OSC on Constitution Reform
& Head - Project Implementation

Signed: 
H. Parris, C.C.H.,
Co-ordinator, Planning & Monitoring
OSC on Constitution Reform

Dated: March 3, 2000

LIST of DOCUMENTS in APPENDIX A

1. Minutes of Fourth Plenary Meeting of the Oversight Committee (Friday 18 Feb, 2000)
2. Budget for the Project

LIST of DOCUMENTS in APPENDIX B

1. Copy of Fax, dated Feb 24, 2000 from the NDI re Electoral System Experts

END

APPENDIX A

OVERSIGHT COMMITTEE ON CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM

**MINUTES OF THE 4th MEETING
OF THE OVERSIGHT COMMITTEE
HELD IN THE PARLIAMENT CHAMBER,
PUBLIC BUILDINGS, GEORGETOWN,
ON FRIDAY, 18th FEBRUARY, 2000
at 4.55 P.M.**

ATTENDANCE

MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE (7)

CHAIRMAN (1) - People's Progressive Party/Civje

The Hon. Moses V. Nagamootoo, J.P., M.P.,
Minister of Information - Head, Project Implementation

Other Members -

From the People's Progressive Party/Civic (2)

Dr. Roger F. Luncheon,
Head of the Presidential Secretariat

Dr. Leslie S. Ramsammy, M.P.

From the People's National Congress (2)

Mr. W. Haslyn Parris, C.C.H.,
Coordinator, Planning and Monitoring

Mr. Vincent Alexander (Excused)

From The United Force (1)

Mr. Manzoor Nadir, M.P.

From the Working People's Alliance (1)

Dr. Rupert Roopnaraine, M.P.

Officers (3)

Mr. Maurice B. Henry,
Executive Secretary

Mr. Oscar E. Moore,
Administrative Assistant

Ms Debra H. Cadogan
Administrative Assistant

ITEM 1 CALL TO ORDER

- 1.1 The Chairman called the meeting to order at 4.55 p.m.

ITEM 2 AGENDA

- 2.1 Members adopted the Agenda.

ITEM 3 ANNOUNCEMENTS

- 3.1 **Presentation of Second Report and Time-Bound Plan to the National Assembly.**

- 3.2 The Chairman reported for the purpose of the records that the Clerk of the National Assembly in a letter dated 11th February, 2000 informed the Executive Secretary that the Oversight Committee's Second Report and the requisite Time-bound Plan were presented by the Hon. Minister of Agriculture and Parliamentary Affairs to the National Assembly at its sitting held on Thursday, 10th February, 2000.

- 3.3 Further at that sitting the Assembly passed the following Resolution on a motion by the Minister of Agriculture and Parliamentary Affairs -

- 3.3.1 *SEVENTH PARLIAMENT OF GUYANA
FIRST SESSION (1998-2000)
NATIONAL ASSEMBLY*

RESOLUTION NO. 36

RESOLVED, That this National Assembly approve of the Time-Bound Plan for the drafting of Constitutional Revisions which has been prepared by the Oversight Committee.

3.3.2 The Clerk advised the Secretariat that copies of the Report and Time-bound Plan were made available to representatives of the Media who were present at the sitting.

3.3.3 The Chairman also reported that he had been advised by the Secretariat that Members of the Oversight Committee were given a copy of the Second Report and the Time-bound Plan, as presented to the National Assembly, and a copy of the Clerk's letter.

3.4 **Experts in Electoral System**

3.4.1 The Chairman drew Members' attention to copies of the following two letters on experts in the area of electoral systems sent to them by the Secretariat -

(a) a letter dated February 9, 2000 from Mr. John W. Heffernan, Director, NDI/Guyana, and addressed to the Coordinator, Planning and Monitoring;

(b) the Coordinator's reply dated February 9, 2000 to Mr. Heffernan's letter.

3.4.2 The Coordinator, Planning and Monitoring at the invitation of the Chairman, reported that the information that he had to date was only the Curriculum Vitae of the following three experts:

1. Dr. Theodor Hanf, Director of the Arnold-Bergstrasser Institute of Social Research, Freiburg, Germany;
2. Professor Aanund Hylland, University of Oslo, Norway; and
3. Mr. Andrew Stephen Reynolds, Assistant Professor, Department of Government and International Studies, University of Notre Dame.

3.4.3 In his reply to Mr. Heffernan's letter, the Coordinator he had requested that the Committee be advised on the availability of the experts. He had made available to Mr. Heffernan a copy of the current draft of the Terms of Reference of an expert in the area of electoral systems and had indicated the need for the expert identified to begin to work as early as possible. Up to the previous day he had not received a reply to his letter.

3.4.4 The Coordinator said that according to the Time-bound Plan the expert should have been with the Oversight Committee from mid-February to work for one month. Although his presence was not a critical one, in that it would not adversely affect the Time-bound Plan, however, his early presence was important since the work of Task Force "B" was dependent on expert's advice on the electoral system.

- 3.4.5 The Coordinator also reported that assurance was given by Mr. Richard Olver, Resident Representative, UNDP to both the Head of the Presidential Secretariat and himself that the payment in respect of expenditure for the engagement of experts would be met by a donor agency.

3.5 **Excuses**

- 3.5.1 The Chairman informed Members that Mr. Alexander had asked to be excused from that meeting.

ITEM 4 CONFIRMATION OF MINUTES

- 4.1 The Minutes of the Third Meeting of the Oversight Committee held on Monday, 31st January, 2000 were confirmed on a motion moved by Dr. Ramsammy and seconded by Dr. Luncheon.

- 4.1.1 There were no matters arising out of the Minutes.

ITEM 5 BUSINESS

5.1 **Discussion on Format on Reporting of Briefing Drafts**

- 5.1.1 The Chairman referred to the Memorandum submitted by the Coordinator, Planning and Monitoring dated February 14, 2000 on the **Proposed Format for each Task Force's Drafting Brief** and in which the Coordinator acknowledged his indebtedness to the ingenuity of Dr. Ramsammy for the format appended to the memorandum.

- 5.1.2 Dr. Ramsammy on the invitation of the Chairman explained that his format was derived from the Terms of Reference and Guidelines for Task Forces. He found that it had made discussions easier and had worked well for Task Force "D". While it was not his original intention to create an "across-the-board" format, he felt that if the format was used by other Task Forces the draftspersons would be working with a standard format.

- 5.1.3 Members discussed the format and agreed that it would be useful to adopt it subject to modification as members thought fit.

- 5.1.4 Arising from the discussion on the format on drafting briefs was the relationship between the Task Forces and the Legal Advisory Group. From that discussion it was clearly established that the Legal Advisory Group was a part of the Task Forces and a member of the Group would be attached to a specific Task Force to assist in

preparing drafting briefs for Task Force “E”. It was also clearly established that members of the Group would meet from time to time to consult among themselves on issues pertaining to their work and that of the Task Forces.

5.1.2 Members then agreed to proceed with Item 3 of Business instead of Item 2.

5.2 Status of Legal Advisory Group

5.2.1 The Chairman reported that the Hon. Minister of Agriculture and Parliamentary Affairs had informed him that he had approached the following persons who had agreed to be members of the Legal Advisory Group:

- (a) Mr. Cecil Dhurjon, S.C.,
Chief Parliamentary Counsel,
Attorney General’s Chambers;
- (b) Ms Roxane George,
Assistant Director of Public Prosecutions,
Chambers of the Director of Public Prosecutions;
- (c) Mr. Zehar Singh Negi,
Legal Draftsman,
Attorney General’s Chambers;
- (d) Ms Cavelle Lynch,
Attorney-at-Law in private practice.

5.2.2 The Chairman asked members of the Media not to publish the names as those persons had not been officially appointed. He advised them that the Secretariat would issue a Press Release upon their appointments.

5.2.3 The Chairman also reported that the Hon. Minister of Agriculture and Parliamentary Affairs would contact Overseers of the Task Forces A1, A2 and D, to discuss who from the Legal Advisory Group would be assigned to his Task Force. It was decided that Mr. Dhurjon would be assigned to Task Force “B” but would be available to Task Force C as required.

5.2.4 He explained that members of the Legal Advisory Group could not have been available earlier because their appointments were dependent on the successful conclusion of the budgetary proposals for the Oversight Committee.

5.3 Report on Work Programmes of Task Forces

5.3.1 Task Force "A1"

5.3.1.1 Mr. Nadir reported that Task Force "A1" which had a relatively slow start due to a number of reasons, had agreed to a Work Programme that would take it up to 17th March, 2000. To date that Task Force had dealt with ten (10) of the fifty-four (54) recommendations assigned to it. Mr. Nadir assured Members that a copy of his Task Force's Work Programme would be made available to them.

5.3.1.2 Mr. Nadir said that Members of his Task Force felt that since Guyana had subscribed to and had ratified the "Charter of Civil Society for the Caribbean Community", it was prudent for the relevant Articles of that Charter to be adopted for the Constitution.

5.3.1.3 It was pointed out by the Coordinator that that Charter was considered by the Constitution Reform Commission in their deliberations, however, any part extracted from it should be indicated in the Objective or Intention of Change Column of the drafting brief to alert the draftspersons. He reminded Members that amendments to recommendations were not permissible.

5.4 Task Force "A2"

5.4.1 Dr. Roopnaraine reported that Task Force "A2" had made a reasonable start since the language of most of the recommendations were already drafted by the Special Select Committee. He said that they urgently needed the assistance of the Legal Advisory Group.

5.4.2 There were, however, two main areas for Task Force "A2" to draft:

- (a) a new draft of the Preamble; and
- (b) the Public Tender Commission under Recommendation 9.17.3(7) Finance. The Task Force was awaiting a copy of the draft Procurement Act to continue consideration of Recommendation 9.17.3(7).

5.4.3 In response to what should be done by the Task Forces with respect to recommendations which the Constitution Reform Commission specifically referred to Parliament for a decision and on which neither Parliament nor the Special Select Committee made a decision, Dr. Roopnaraine was advised to either:

- (a) propose that the recommendations be referred at a future date to the Parliamentary Standing Committees for Constitution Reform; or

- (b) refer the recommendations to the Minister of Agriculture and Parliamentary Affairs for consideration by the National Assembly.

5.5 **Task Force “B”**

- 5.5.1 Dr. Luncheon reported that Task Force “B” had held three separate meetings and that the frequency of meetings was affected by his absence from the country for a week.
- 5.5.2 He said that his Task Force dealt with the six recommendations under 9.10 - Elections Commission. It also dealt with two consequential recommendations with respect to Leader of the Opposition that affected the Electoral System. The drafting briefs would be submitted shortly.
- 5.5.3 He also reported that the meeting that dealt with Recommendation 9.11 - Electoral System led to the adoption of the draft Terms of Reference for an expert on electoral systems which had been circulated. It would enable the donor agency to recruit the expert on Electoral Systems to deal with the recommendations of the Special Select Committee.
- 5.5.4 He said that the next meeting of Task Force “B” was scheduled for Tuesday, 22nd February, 2000 at which Recommendations 9.8 - Local Government - would be examined.
- 5.5.5 The Chairman advised Dr. Luncheon to indicate to the Oversight Committee when he would wish to report definitively on the fast-tracking of the Recommendations on the Elections Commission.

5.6 **Task Force “C”**

- 5.6.1 The Chairman reported that out of the twenty (20) recommendations considered by Task Force “C”, seventeen (17) were concluded and three (3) deferred. He said that by the end of February the Task Force would be ready to work along with the Legal Advisory Group.
- 5.6.2 The Chairman also reported that Task Force “C” encountered similar problems as those of Task Force “A2”.

5.7 **Task Force “D”**

- 5.7.1 Dr. Ramsanmy reported that Task Force “D” met on seven (7) occasions and would continue to work up to the 28th March, 2000. They had considered Recommendation 9.9 - The Judicature which consisted of thirteen (13) Recommendations and had submitted a Report on this category of Recommendations.

- 5.7.2 He noted that of the thirteen (13) Recommendations the Task Force had suggested drafts for four (4) of them, forwarded six (6) to be drafted by the Legal Advisory Group and needed advice on three (3) of them - two of which could be drafted by the Legal Advisory Group and one which might necessitate the discussion of the Oversight Committee. A letter was sent to the Chairman on this matter.
- 5.7.3 Dr. Ramsammy also reported that the Task Force had commenced discussions on Commissions and suggested that since all other Task Forces had a Commission or more to deal with, then there would be need for collaboration on the respective Commission or Commissions.
- 5.7.4 The Chairman asked Members to submit completed recommendations as they become available. This would facilitate the compilation for transmission to Task Force "E".

5.8 Status of Engagement of Task Force Draftspersons

- 5.8.1 The Chairman informed Members that the following names were under consideration by the Hon. Minister of Agriculture and Parliamentary Affairs:

- (a) Professor Keith Massiah, S.C., O.R.
- (b) Mr. Cecil Dhurjon, S.C.,
Chief Parliamentary Counsel
- (c) Ms Jamela Ali,
Principal Legal Adviser
- (d) Mr. Dean Sharma,
Legal Consultant to the Minister of Legal Affairs

- 5.9.2 Once again, the Media was asked not to publish the names of the above persons.

5.9 Status of the Oversight Committee's Budget

- 5.9.1 The Coordinator presented the Draft (No. 3) Budget of the Oversight Committee amounting to G\$27,860,806 or US\$154,782 as summarised below:

| A | STIPENDS, WAGES, SALARIES | TOTALS |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| | | \$24,880,296 |
| A1 | OSC Members | \$ 1,904,127 |
| A2 | Non-Drafting Task Forces | \$ 1,528,362 |
| A3 | Electoral System Expert* | \$ 1,800,000 |
| A4 | Legal Advisory Group | \$ 509,454 |
| A5 | Drafting Task Force** | \$12,150,000 |
| A6a | OSC Secretariat Normal Payments | \$ 3,856,349 |
| A6b | OSC Secretariat Honoraria | \$ 1,667,438 |
| A6c | OSC Secretariat Consultants*** | \$ 1,159,500 |
| A7 | Parliament Staff Honoraria | \$ 295,066 |
| | | |
| B | STATIONERY, MEALS, SNACKS, TRANSPORT | \$ 2,980,510 |
| | | |
| TOTAL FINANCING [A & B] | | G\$27,860,806 US\$ 154,782 |

5.9.2 The Coordinator explained that the budget was derived from the Time-bound Plan and other policy decisions with regard to the organisation structure and its activities. The figures were not final as they excluded the remunerations of the Coordinator, Planning and Monitoring and other expenses in respect of the engagement of an electoral system expert.

5.9.3 Members were informed that Dr. Roger Luncheon, Head of the Presidential Secretariat, Mr. Rudy Collins of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Coordinator met the Resident Representative, UNDP, and discussed with him the five options as presented on page 6 of the budgetary proposals, for financing the project.

¹ * Mid February to Mid March @US\$10,000

² ** Working Calendar period @US\$5,000/mth

³*** Financial Administrator, Coordinator (not yet determined, but to be determined by UNDP in accord with its practices)

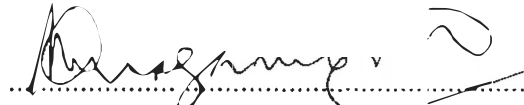
5.9.4 After considering the size of the budget, its contents and the financing options, the Resident Representative informed them that the rules governing the funding of projects would permit him to provide assistance for the total funding of the Oversight Committee's project.

5.10.5 The Committee adopted the budget as presented.

5.10.6 The Chairman thanked Dr. Luncheon, Mr. Parris and Mr. Collins for obtaining the funding for the project.

ADJOURNMENT

The meeting was adjourned at 6.50 p.m. sine die.


.....
Hon. Moses V. Nagamooto, M.P.,
Minister of Information, CHAIRMAN
Oversight Committee on Constitutional Reform.

SUMMARY

| | | JAN | FEB | MAR | APR | MAY | JUN | JUL | TOTALS | |
|----------|----------------------------------|---------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| A | STIPENDS, WAGES, SALARIES | TOTALS | \$1,061,734 | \$3,203,623 | \$7,703,623 | \$3,603,364 | \$3,969,015 | \$3,519,015 | \$1,269,015 | \$24,880,296 |
| A 1 | OSC Members | \$265,161 | \$273,161 | \$273,161 | \$273,161 | \$273,161 | \$273,161 | \$273,161 | \$1,904,127 | |
| A 2 | Non-Drafting Task Forces | \$0 | \$694,710 | \$694,710 | \$138,942 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$1,528,362 | |
| A 3 | Electoral System Expert* | \$0 | \$900,000 | \$900,000 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$1,800,000 | |
| A 4 | Legal Advisory Group | \$0 | \$231,570 | \$231,570 | \$46,314 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$509,454 | |
| A 5 | Drafting Task Force** | \$0 | \$0 | \$4,500,000 | \$2,700,000 | \$2,700,000 | \$2,250,000 | \$0 | \$12,150,000 | |
| A 6a | OSC Secretariat Normal Payments | \$550,907 | \$550,907 | \$550,907 | \$0 | \$550,907 | \$550,907 | \$550,907 | \$3,856,349 | |
| A 6b | OSC Secretariat Honoraria | \$239,634 | \$239,634 | \$239,634 | \$239,634 | \$239,634 | \$239,634 | \$239,634 | \$1,677,438 | |
| A 6c | OSC Secretariat Consultants*** | \$0 | \$193,250 | \$193,250 | \$193,250 | \$193,250 | \$193,250 | \$193,250 | \$1,159,500 | |
| A 7 | Parliament Staff - Honoraria | \$6,032 | \$120,391 | \$120,391 | \$12,063 | \$12,063 | \$12,063 | \$12,063 | \$295,066 | |

- * Mid Feb to Mid March @ US\$10,000
- ** Working Calendar Period @ US\$5,000 / mth
- *** Financial Administrator, Coordinator (not yet determined, but to be determined by UNDP in accord with its practices)

| | | JAN | FEB | MAR | APR | MAY | JUN | JUL | TOTALS |
|----------|---------------------------------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| B | STATIONERY, MEALS, SNACKS, TRANSPORT | \$101,510 | \$584,000 | \$624,000 | \$424,000 | \$401,000 | \$442,000 | \$404,000 | \$2,980,510 |

| | | JAN | FEB | MAR | APR | MAY | JUN | JUL | TOTALS |
|--------------------------------|-------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| TOTAL FINANCING [A + B] | GS | \$1,163,244 | \$3,787,623 | \$8,327,623 | \$4,027,364 | \$4,370,015 | \$3,961,015 | \$1,673,015 | \$27,860,806 |
| | US\$ | \$6,462 | \$21,042 | \$46,265 | \$22,374 | \$24,278 | \$22,006 | \$9,295 | \$154,782 |

| | | # | JAN | FEB | MAR | APR | MAY | JUN | JUL | TOTALS |
|-------|--------------------|-------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------|
| A.1 | OSC Members | 7 | \$265,161 | \$273,161 | \$273,161 | \$273,161 | \$273,161 | \$273,161 | \$273,161 | \$1,904,127 |
| | | # Plenaries | 3 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 27 |
| | | RATES | | | | | | | | |
| A.1.1 | Monthly Stipend | \$35,023 | \$245,161 | \$245,161 | \$245,161 | \$245,161 | \$245,161 | \$245,161 | \$245,161 | \$1,716,127 |
| A.1.2 | Plenary Allowances | \$1,000 | \$20,000 | \$28,000 | \$28,000 | \$28,000 | \$28,000 | \$28,000 | \$28,000 | \$188,000 |

Note: In Jan, 1 OSC Member missed 1 meeting

| A.2 Non-Drafting Task Forces | | Sub-Tot | \$0 | \$694,710 | \$694,710 | \$138,942 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$1,528,362 |
|------------------------------|--------------------|-------------|-------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----|-----|-----|-------------|
| | | # | JAN | FEB | MAR | APR | MAY | JUN | JUL | TOTALS |
| A.2.1 | Task Force - A1 | 3 | Cat Sub-Tot | \$138,942 | \$138,942 | | | | | \$277,884 |
| | | # Plenaries | 0 | 20 | 20 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 40 |
| | | RATES | | | | | | | | |
| A.2.1.1 | Monthly Stipend | \$26,314 | | \$78,942 | \$78,942 | | | | | \$157,884 |
| A.2.1.2 | Plenary Allowances | \$1,000 | | \$60,000 | \$60,000 | | | | | \$120,000 |
| A.2.2 | Task Force - A2 | 3 | Cat Sub-Tot | \$138,942 | \$138,942 | | | | | \$277,884 |
| | | # Plenaries | 0 | 20 | 20 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 40 |
| | | RATES | | | | | | | | |
| A.2.2.1 | Monthly Stipend | \$26,314 | | \$78,942 | \$78,942 | | | | | \$157,884 |
| A.2.2.2 | Plenary Allowances | \$1,000 | | \$60,000 | \$60,000 | | | | | \$120,000 |
| A.2.3 | Task Force - B | 3 | Cat Sub-Tot | \$138,942 | \$138,942 | \$138,942 | | | | \$416,826 |
| | | # Plenaries | 0 | 20 | 20 | 20 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 60 |
| | | RATES | | | | | | | | |
| A.2.3.1 | Monthly Stipend | \$26,314 | | \$78,942 | \$78,942 | \$78,942 | | | | \$236,826 |
| A.2.3.2 | Plenary Allowances | \$1,000 | | \$60,000 | \$60,000 | \$60,000 | | | | \$180,000 |
| A.2.4 | Task Force - C | 3 | Cat Sub-Tot | \$138,942 | \$138,942 | | | | | \$277,884 |
| | | # Plenaries | 0 | 20 | 20 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 40 |
| | | RATES | | | | | | | | |
| A.2.4.1 | Monthly Stipend | \$26,314 | | \$78,942 | \$78,942 | | | | | \$157,884 |
| A.2.4.2 | Plenary Allowances | \$1,000 | | \$60,000 | \$60,000 | | | | | \$120,000 |
| A.2.5 | Task Force - D | 3 | Cat Sub-Tot | \$138,942 | \$138,942 | | | | | \$277,884 |
| | | # Plenaries | 0 | 20 | 20 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 40 |
| | | RATES | | | | | | | | |
| A.2.5.1 | Monthly Stipend | \$26,314 | | \$78,942 | \$78,942 | | | | | \$157,884 |
| A.2.5.2 | Plenary Allowances | \$1,000 | | \$60,000 | \$60,000 | | | | | \$120,000 |

| | | | JAN | FEB | MAR | APR | MAY | JUN | JUL | TOTALS |
|------------|-----------------------------|--------------------|------------|------------------|------------------|-----------------|------------|------------|------------|------------------|
| A.4 | Legal Advisory Group | Cat Sub-Tot | \$0 | \$231,570 | \$231,570 | \$46,314 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$509,454 |
| A.4.1 | Legal Advisor to TF - A1 | # Plenaries | 0 | 20 | 20 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 40 |
| | | RATES | | \$46,314 | \$46,314 | | | | | \$92,628 |
| | Monthly Stipend | \$26,314 | | \$26,314 | \$26,314 | | | | | \$52,628 |
| | Plenary Allowances | \$1,000 | | \$20,000 | \$20,000 | | | | | \$40,000 |
| A.4.2 | Legal Advisor to TF - A2 | # Plenaries | 0 | 20 | 20 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 40 |
| | | RATES | | \$46,314 | \$46,314 | | | | | \$92,628 |
| | Monthly Stipend | \$26,314 | | \$26,314 | \$26,314 | | | | | \$52,628 |
| | Plenary Allowances | \$1,000 | | \$20,000 | \$20,000 | | | | | \$40,000 |
| A.4.3 | Legal Advisor to TF - B | # Plenaries | 0 | 20 | 20 | 20 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 60 |
| | | RATES | | \$46,314 | \$46,314 | \$46,314 | | | | \$138,942 |
| | Monthly Stipend | \$26,314 | | \$26,314 | \$26,314 | \$26,314 | | | | \$78,942 |
| | Plenary Allowances | \$1,000 | | \$20,000 | \$20,000 | \$20,000 | | | | \$60,000 |
| A.4.4 | Legal Advisor to TF - C | # Plenaries | 0 | 20 | 20 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 40 |
| | | RATES | | \$46,314 | \$46,314 | | | | | \$92,628 |
| | Monthly Stipend | \$26,314 | | \$26,314 | \$26,314 | | | | | \$52,628 |
| | Plenary Allowances | \$1,000 | | \$20,000 | \$20,000 | | | | | \$40,000 |
| A.4.5 | Legal Advisor to TF - D | # Plenaries | 0 | 20 | 20 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 40 |
| | | RATES | | \$46,314 | \$46,314 | | | | | \$92,628 |
| | Monthly Stipend | \$26,314 | | \$26,314 | \$26,314 | | | | | \$52,628 |
| | Plenary Allowances | \$1,000 | | \$20,000 | \$20,000 | | | | | \$40,000 |

| | | | JAN | FEB | MAR | APR | MAY | JUN | JUL | TOTALS |
|------------|----------------------------|----------|-----|-----|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-----|---------------------|
| A.5 | Drafting Task Force | | | | \$4,500,000 | \$2,700,000 | \$2,700,000 | \$2,250,000 | | \$12,150,000 |
| | | US\$/Min | | | | | | | | |
| A.5.1 | Draughtsman TF - A1 | \$5,000 | | | \$900,000 | \$450,000 | \$450,000 | \$450,000 | | \$2,250,000 |
| A.5.2 | Draughtsman TF - A2 | \$5,000 | | | \$900,000 | \$450,000 | \$450,000 | \$450,000 | | \$2,250,000 |
| A.5.3 | Draughtsman TF - B | \$5,000 | | | \$900,000 | \$900,000 | \$900,000 | \$450,000 | | \$3,150,000 |
| A.5.4 | Draughtsman TF - C | \$5,000 | | | \$900,000 | \$450,000 | \$450,000 | \$450,000 | | \$2,250,000 |
| A.5.5 | Draughtsman TF - D | \$5,000 | | | \$900,000 | \$450,000 | \$450,000 | \$450,000 | | \$2,250,000 |

Note: (1) Costs are calculated on basis of calendar months (to nearest half month) during which draughtsmen are scheduled to work. (2) Exchange rate used is G\$180=US\$1

| | | | JAN | FEB | MAR | APR | MAY | JUN | JUL | TOTALS |
|------------|-----------------------------------------|--------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| A.6 | OSC Secretariat Honoraria et al. | Cat Sub-Tot | \$790,541 | \$983,791 | \$983,791 | \$983,791 | \$983,791 | \$983,791 | \$983,791 | \$6,693,287 |
| A.6.1 | Executive Secretary (1) | Normal | \$182,606 | \$182,606 | \$182,606 | \$182,606 | \$182,606 | \$182,606 | \$182,606 | \$1,278,242 |
| A.6.1.1 | | 50% Honorarium | \$91,303 | \$91,303 | \$91,303 | \$91,303 | \$91,303 | \$91,303 | \$91,303 | \$639,121 |
| A.6.2 | Administrative Assistant (2) | Normal | \$228,562 | \$228,562 | \$228,562 | \$228,562 | \$228,562 | \$228,562 | \$228,562 | \$1,599,934 |
| A.6.2.1 | | 33% Honoraria | \$76,187 | \$76,187 | \$76,187 | \$76,187 | \$76,187 | \$76,187 | \$76,187 | \$533,311 |
| A.6.3 | Accounts Clerk (1) | Normal | \$38,346 | \$38,346 | \$38,346 | \$38,346 | \$38,346 | \$38,346 | \$38,346 | \$268,422 |
| A.6.3.1 | | 33% Honorarium | \$12,782 | \$12,782 | \$12,782 | \$12,782 | \$12,782 | \$12,782 | \$12,782 | \$89,474 |
| A.6.4 | Word Processors (2) | Normal | \$76,692 | \$76,692 | \$76,692 | \$76,692 | \$76,692 | \$76,692 | \$76,692 | \$536,844 |
| A.6.4.1 | | 33% Honoraria | \$51,128 | \$51,128 | \$51,128 | \$51,128 | \$51,128 | \$51,128 | \$51,128 | \$357,896 |
| A.6.5 | Office Assistant (1) | Normal | \$24,701 | \$24,701 | \$24,701 | \$24,701 | \$24,701 | \$24,701 | \$24,701 | \$172,907 |
| A.6.5.1 | | 33% Honorarium | \$8,234 | \$8,234 | \$8,234 | \$8,234 | \$8,234 | \$8,234 | \$8,234 | \$57,636 |
| A.6.6 | Financial Administrator (1) | | \$0 | \$193,250 | \$193,250 | \$193,250 | \$193,250 | \$193,250 | \$193,250 | \$1,159,500 |
| A.6.7 | Coordinator, Planning & Monitoring (1) | | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? |

Note: (1) "Normal" Wages/Salaries are the levels (Salary+Gratuity+Travel Allowance) which obtained with effect from 1 January, 2000.

(2) Financial Administrator: Salary \$150,000 / mth; Gratuity 22.5% = \$33,750; Travel Allowance \$9,500

(3) Coordinator's Emoluments to be determined by UNDP in accord with standard consultants' payments for such a job.

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|------|--------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------|
| A.6a | Secretariat's Normal Payments | \$550,907 | \$550,907 | \$550,907 | \$550,907 | \$550,907 | \$550,907 | \$550,907 | \$550,907 | \$3,856,349 |
| A.6b | Secretariat Honoraria | \$239,634 | \$239,634 | \$239,634 | \$239,634 | \$239,634 | \$239,634 | \$239,634 | \$239,634 | \$1,677,438 |
| A.6c | Other Consulting type Payments | \$0 | \$193,250 | \$193,250 | \$193,250 | \$193,250 | \$193,250 | \$193,250 | \$193,250 | \$1,159,500 |

| | | | JAN | FEB | MAR | APR | MAY | JUN | JUL | TOTALS |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|------------|----------------|------------------|------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|------------------|
| A.7 | Parlmt Support Staff - Honoraria | G\$ | \$6,032 | \$120,391 | \$120,391 | \$12,063 | \$12,063 | \$12,063 | \$12,063 | \$295,066 |
| | [@ Time x hrly rate] | Hrly Rate | | | | | | | | |
| A.7.1 | Maid Service (1) | \$135.00 | \$810.00 | \$25,920.00 | \$25,920.00 | \$1,620.00 | \$1,620.00 | \$1,620.00 | \$1,620.00 | \$59,130 |
| A.7.2 | Telephone Operator (1) | \$144.27 | \$865.62 | \$27,699.84 | \$27,699.84 | \$1,731.24 | \$1,731.24 | \$1,731.24 | \$1,731.24 | \$63,190 |
| A.7.3 | Security Officer (1) | \$187.55 | \$1,125.30 | \$36,009.60 | \$36,009.60 | \$2,250.60 | \$2,250.60 | \$2,250.60 | \$2,250.60 | \$82,147 |
| A.7.4 | Office Assistant (1) | \$135.00 | \$810.00 | \$25,920.00 | \$25,920.00 | \$1,620.00 | \$1,620.00 | \$1,620.00 | \$1,620.00 | \$59,130 |
| A.7.5 | Technician, Electrical (1) | \$215.90 | \$1,295.40 | \$2,590.80 | \$2,590.80 | \$2,590.80 | \$2,590.80 | \$2,590.80 | \$2,590.80 | \$16,840 |
| A.7.6 | Technician, Electrical (1) | \$187.55 | \$1,125.30 | \$2,250.60 | \$2,250.60 | \$2,250.60 | \$2,250.60 | \$2,250.60 | \$2,250.60 | \$14,629 |
| Hours/ Month (Max) | TOT | | 6 | 192 | 192 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 438 |
| Average duration of Meetings - 3 Hrs | Plenary | | 6 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 78 |
| | TFs(3) | | 0 | 180 | 180 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 360 |

Note: (1) These are Maximum estimates of Overtime Payments based on the assumption that no meetings take place simultaneously.

(2) It is assumed that the Electrical Technicians are required for only OSC Plenary sessions.

(3) The honoraria are calculated as "Overtime Hours x Hourly Rates"

| | | | JAN | FEB | MAR | APR | MAY | JUN | JUL | TOTALS |
|----------|---------------------------------------------|------------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| B | Stationery, Meals, Snacks, Transport | GS | \$101,510 | \$584,000 | \$624,000 | \$424,000 | \$401,000 | \$442,000 | \$404,000 | \$2,980,510 |
| B.1 | Stationery & Printing | | \$45,000 | \$150,000 | \$150,000 | \$150,000 | \$167,000 | \$168,000 | \$170,000 | \$1,000,000 |
| B.2 | Janitorial Supplies | | \$10,000 | \$10,000 | \$10,000 | \$10,000 | \$10,000 | \$10,000 | \$10,000 | \$70,000 |
| B.3 | Meals, Snacks, Coffee etc. for Staff | | \$10,000 | \$40,000 | \$40,000 | \$40,000 | \$40,000 | \$40,000 | \$40,000 | \$250,000 |
| B.4 | Refreshments: OSC Plenaries | <i>Per Mtg \$6 000</i> | \$13,620 | \$24,000 | \$24,000 | \$24,000 | \$24,000 | \$24,000 | \$24,000 | \$157,620 |
| B.5 | Refreshments: Task Forces | <i>Per Mtg \$2 000</i> | \$0 | \$200,000 | \$200,000 | \$40,000 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0 | \$440,000 |
| B.6 | Transp for Document Delivery etc. | <i>Per Wk \$40 000</i> | \$22,890 | \$160,000 | \$200,000 | \$160,000 | \$160,000 | \$200,000 | \$160,000 | \$1,062,890 |

FINANCING OPTIONS

| EXPENDITURE CATEGORIES | | FINANCING OPTIONS | | | | | | | |
|------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------|------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| | | TOTALS (G\$) | TOTALS(US\$) | F1 | F2 | F3 | F4 | F5 | |
| A.1 | OSC Members | \$1,904,127 | \$10,578 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | |
| A.2 | Non-Drafting Task Forces | \$1,528,362 | \$8,491 | 1 | 1 | | | | |
| A.3 | Electoral System Expert | \$1,800,000 | \$10,000 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | |
| A.4 | Legal Advisory Group | \$509,454 | \$2,830 | 1 | 1 | | | | |
| A.5 | Drafting Task Force | \$12,150,000 | \$67,500 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | |
| A.6a | OSC Secretariat Normal Payments | \$3,856,349 | \$21,424 | 1 | | | 1 | 1 | |
| A.6b | OSC Secretariat Honoraria | \$1,677,438 | \$9,319 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | |
| A.7 | Parliament Staff - Honoraria | \$295,066 | \$1,639 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | |
| A.6.6 | Financial Administrator | \$1,159,500 | \$6,442 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | |
| A.6.7 | Coordinator, Planning & Monitoring | ? | ? | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | |
| B.1 | Stationery & Printing | \$1,000,000 | \$5,556 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | |
| B.6 | Transp for Document Delivery etc. | \$1,062,890 | \$5,905 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | |
| B(other) | Janitorial Supplies, Refrehments etc. | \$917,620 | \$5,098 | 1 | | | | | |
| GRAND TOTAL | | \$27,860,806 | \$154,782 | | | | | | |
| | | | | GOG(G\$) | \$0 | \$4,773,969 | \$6,811,785 | \$5,922,453 | \$7,894,957 |
| | | | | DONORS(G\$) | \$27,860,806 | \$23,086,837 | \$21,049,021 | \$21,938,353 | \$19,965,849 |
| | | | | DONORS(US\$) | \$154,782 | \$128,260 | \$116,939 | \$121,880 | \$110,921 |

APPENDIX B

FAX TRANSMISSION

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE

1717 Massachusetts Ave. N.W.

Washington D.C. 20036

202-797-4964

Fax: 202-939-3166

To: Mr. Maurice Henry **Date:** February 24, 2000
Fax #: 011 592 2 54956 **Pages:** 19, including this cover sheet.
From: Nicole Mlade
Subject: Electoral Experts

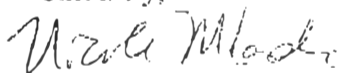
COMMENTS

Dear Mr. Henry,

John Heffernan, who is currently en route from Washington to Georgetown, asked that I get in touch with you regarding electoral experts who may be of assistance to the Oversight Committee. I have attached a summary of the names and availability of experts, as well as their biographical information. Please note that we are currently determining the availability of other experts as well.

I hope this information is useful to the Committee. Please feel free to contact me with questions at (202) 797-4964 (U.S.) or nicolem@ndi.org.

Sincerely,



Nicole Mlade
Program Officer

ELECTORAL EXPERTS FOR THE OVERSIGHT COMMITTEE

(Last Updated: Thursday, February 24, 2000, at 1:00 p.m.)

| Name | Nationality | Availability |
|------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Nohlen, Dieter* | German | June or later. |
| Lopez Pintor, Rafael** | Spanish | Available for four days at a time (includes travel time). Can continue work from abroad. |
| Reynolds, Andrew | British | Could travel for a few days, as early as February 2000. Would complete the rest of the work from Indiana. |
| Fleischer, David | Brazilian | First week of April for about two weeks, or after Easter. |
| Montero, Alfredo | Cuban-American | Maybe in June, but really not until August. |

* Biographical information not yet available.

RAFAEL LOPEZ PINTOR

CURRICULUM VITAE

NAME: RAFAEL LOPEZ PINTOR

NATIONALITY: Spanish

BORN in Córdoba, Spain (Jan. 26, 1942)

FAMILY STATUS: Separated. Two children: José

(27) and Carolina (23, still dependent).

OFFICE ADDRESS: C/ Recoletos 7

28001 Madrid (Spain)

Phone Nº 34-1- 435 5732

Fax Nº 34-1- 576 0460

HOME ADDRESS: Same as above

Phone Nº 34-1- 576 0418

(Summer) 34-1- 850 2118

RAFAEL LOPEZ PINTOR

M.A. in Political Science by the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill, N.C. (USA), 1972.

- Doctor of Law by the Universidad Complutense of Madrid (Spain), 1974.

M.A. in Political Science by FIACSO, Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales (a UN sponsored program) in Santiago de Chile, 1967.

- Bachelor of Law by the Universidad Complutense in Madrid, 1965.

LANGUAGES

- Mother language, Spanish.

- Fluent in English and French

- Can manage in Italian and Portuguese.

Some basics of German, Greek, Russian and

Arabic.

RAPHAEL LOPEZ PINTOR

3

MAJOR FIELDS OF ACTIVITY

- Democratization processes and elections.

Public opinion and communications.

- Development.

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE:

POLITICAL ANALYSIS AND COMMUNICATION STRATEGIES

Since 1983, run own research and consulting firm in Madrid (OYCOS Consultores de Opinión y Comunicación S.A.). Among main clients: The Government of Spain (1984-1993: Ministries of Relationships with Parliament, Justice, Social Services, Environment, and Employment); Spanish regional governments of Baleares, Canary Islands, Castilla-León, Andalucía, Cantabria, and Murcia; city government of Madrid; the Spanish Judiciary; the Spanish Association of Notaries; the Spanish Association of Registrars of Civil and Industrial Property; Partido Popular; the Spanish Telephone Company; Bank of Bilbao-Vizcaya (largest of Spain); Arthur Andersen; the Spanish Conference of Bishops; Caritas International; main daily of Spain 'El PAIS, and main radio broadcastings SER and COPE; Axel Springer Verlag; the Commission of the European Community; and the Government of the United States.

Director General within the Spanish Government, 1979-1983 (in charge of CIS, an agency for public opinion research and political analysis, which was attached to the Prime Minister's Office).

MAY-24-1995 15:43

EARL J. R.

HAYAELO LOPEZ PINTOR

- Political and electoral consultant to the party UOB Unión de Centro Democrático in Spain, 1976-1979.

Deputy Director of the Fundación Humanismo y Democracia (Spanish partner of the German Konrad Adenauer Stiftung), 1975-1979.

- Other free-lance consulting activities in Spain, Chile, Venezuela, Colombia, Argentina and Brazil from 1973 to the present.

POLITICAL ELECTORAL CONSULTANT TO THE UN

- Nicaragua: Advance UN Mission in April 1989. From December 1989 to February 1990, political consultant to ONJVEN including the organization of a "quick count" of the vote (sampling parallel counting) on election night. In fact, the project anticipated the results of the election three hours after the closing of the polling stations.

El Salvador (May 1991): Fact finding mission for the reform of the electoral system.

Albania (February-March 1992): Advice to Donors' Missions on the budgeting of the elections, and to the Government and National Electoral Commission on organization of the elections.

- Liberia (June 1992): Advice to a Joint National Electoral Commission for the establishment of an electoral system suitable to the political conditions of the country.

(September 1992): Organization and execution of "quick count" of the vote. The

RAFAEL LOPEZ PINTOR

MAIN PUBLICATIONS

(Books)

- Algunos Aspectos de la Participación Política en Chile (Political participation in Chile). Santiago de Chile: INSOMA, 1969.

Los Españoles de los Años 70: Una Versión Sociológica (A sociological survey of the Spaniards of the 70's). Madrid: Tecnos 1975.

- La Opinión Pública Española del Franquismo a la Democracia (Spanish public opinion from franquism to democracy). Madrid: CIS, 1987.

Sociología Industrial (Industrial Sociology). Madrid: Alianza, 1986.

(In books with other authors)

Electoral Systems and Party Systems in Twenty-Seven Democracies, 1945-1990 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993)

Descentralización Política y Consolidación Democrática Europa-América del Sur (Political Decentralization and Democratic Consolidation, Europe and South-America) (Caracas: Síntesis-Nueva Sociedad, 1991).

- Comparing New Democracies. Transition and Consolidation in Mediterranean Europe and the Southern Cone (Boulder and London: Westview Press, 1987)

ANDREW STEPHEN REYNOLDS

Department of Government and International Studies
University of Notre Dame
217 O'Shaughnessy Hall
Notre Dame IN 46556, USA
+1 219 631 3853 (tel-office)
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Andrew.S.Reynolds.24@nd.edu (e-mail)

CURRENT POSITION

Assistant Professor, Department of Government and International Studies, University of Notre Dame

Fellow of the Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies

Fellow of the Joan B. Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies

PUBLICATIONS**Books**

Electoral Systems and Democratization in Southern Africa (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1999).

(ed.) *Election '99: South Africa – The Second Act* (New York, St. Martin's Press; Cape Town, David Philip; London, James Currey, forthcoming).

(co-editor with Timothy Sisk) *Elections and Conflict Management in Africa* (Washington DC, US Institute of Peace Press, 1998).

(co-author with Ben Reilly) *The International IDEA Handbook of Electoral System Design* (Stockholm, International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, First published 1997, second edition 1997, published in French and Spanish 1998)

(ed.) *Election '94: South Africa - An Analysis of the Results, Campaigns and Future Prospects* (New York, St. Martin's Press; Cape Town, David Philip; London, James Currey, 1994, second edition 1994)

Voting for a New South Africa (Cape Town, Maskew Miller Longman, 1993)

Andrew Reynolds

Articles, Chapters, and Monographs

- Electoral Systems and Conflict Management in Divided Societies* (with Ben Reilly) (Washington DC, National Research Council, forthcoming).
- "Majoritarian or Power-Sharing Government," in *Democracy and Institutions*, eds. Markus Crepaz and Thomas Koelble (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, forthcoming).
- "Sierra Leone," in *Elections in Africa*, eds. Michael Krenmerich, Dieter Nohlen, and Bernhard Thibaut (Oxford, Oxford University Press, forthcoming).
- "Electoral System Reform in the United Kingdom." *Inroads: A Journal of Opinion*, No.7, (May 1998), pp.109-114 and in *A New Electoral System for Canada*, ed. Henry Milner (Toronto, Broadview Press, forthcoming).
- "Designing Electoral Systems," in *The International Encyclopedia of Elections*, ed. Richard Rose (Washington DC, Congressional Quarterly Press, forthcoming).
- "Electoral Systems for Divided Societies" (with Ben Reilly), in *Democracy and Deep Rooted Conflict: Options for Negotiators* (Stockholm, International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 1998), pp.191-204.
- "Voter Turnout: Is Democracy in the Numbers?" in *Report of the 1997 International IDEA Democracy Forum* (Stockholm, International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 1998), pp.74-79
- "Elections, Electoral Systems, and Conflict Management" (with Timothy Sisk), in *Elections and Conflict Management in Africa* (Washington DC, US Institute of Peace Press, 1998).
- Voter Turnout in Democratic Elections: A Worldwide Comparison* (Stockholm, International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 1997)
- "The Case for Democratic Hope in Africa." in *Designing Electoral Systems for Emerging Democracies*, ed. Jørgen Elklit. (Copenhagen, DANIDA, 1997)
- "Power-Sharing Democracy in the New South Africa" (with Thomas Koelble), *Politics and Society*, Vol 24, No 3 (September 1996), pp 221-236
- "Modeling the Drop-off Between Minority Population Share and the Size of the Minority Electorate in Situations of Differential Voter Eligibility Across Groups" (with Bernard Grofman), *Electoral Studies*, Vol 15, No 2 (May 1996), pp 255-261
- "Debate: PR in Southern Africa -- The Case for Proportionality." *Journal of Democracy*, Vol 6, No. 4 (October 1995), pp 117-124, and (updated) in *Elections and Conflict Management in Africa* (Washington DC, US Institute of Peace Press, 1998)

Andrew Reynolds

"Constitutional Engineering in Southern Africa," *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (April 1995), pp. 86-99.

"The Consequences of South Africa's PR Electoral System," *Representation - Journal of the Electoral Reform Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. 32, No. 119 (Autumn 1994), pp. 57-60.

"The Results," in *Election '94: South Africa* (Cape Town, David Philip; London, James Currey; New York, St. Martin's Press, 1994), pp. 182-220

Electoral Systems - An Introductory Guide (London, Charter 88 Trust, 1992).

Articles Under Review or in Progress

"The Comparative Study of Electoral Systems: Is it Time for a Mid-Life Crisis?" *World Politics*.

"Women in the Legislatures and Executives of the World: Knocking at the Highest Glass Ceiling," *Comparative Politics*

"The Northern Irish Good Friday Agreement: A Transitional Document?" *Political Science Quarterly*

"Indonesia's Constitutional Conundrum.

"Patterns of Democratization and Institutional Design in Southern and West Africa."

"The Use of Political Institutions in the Management of Conflict in Religiously Plural Societies," (with Katharine Belmont)

"The Political Consequences of Electoral Systems in the Middle East," (with Tove Norlen)

"Explaining Disproportionality and the Effective Number of Political Parties: Broadening the Data Set Beyond Established Democracies," (with Tom Lundberg).

Book Reviews

"Colin Baker, *Seeds of Trouble. Government Policy and Land Rights in Nyasaland, 1946-1964.*" *African Studies Review*, Vol. 38, No. 3 (December 1995), pp.114-116.

"David Butler and Denis Kavanagh (eds). *The British General Election of 1997.*" *The Review of Politics*, Vol. 60, No. 4 (Fall 1998), pp 17-20.

Opinion Editorials

Christian Science Monitor (4-17-93 6-10-93 and 9-14-94)

Chicago Tribune (3-23-94)

Andrew Reynolds

San Diego Union Tribune (10-26-93).

PAPERS PRESENTED

Between 1991-98 various papers presented at over thirty conferences and seminars in Boston, Chicago, Irvine, New York, Notre Dame, Princeton, San Diego, San Francisco, Stanford, Washington DC (USA), London (UK), Toronto (Canada), Freetown (Sierra Leone), Cape Town, Johannesburg, and Pretoria (South Africa), Jakarta (Indonesia), Amman (Jordan), Jerusalem (Israel), Brasilia (Brazil), Stockholm (Sweden), Locarno (Switzerland), The Hague (Netherlands), and Aarhus (Denmark).

EDUCATION

| | | |
|------------|------|----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Ph.D. | 1996 | Political Science, <i>University of California, San Diego, USA</i> |
| MA (Dist.) | 1992 | South African Politics, <i>University of Cape Town, South Africa</i> |
| BA (Hons) | 1988 | Political Science, <i>University of East Anglia, United Kingdom</i> |

TEACHING AND RESEARCH INTERESTS

- * The comparative study of constitutional engineering in plural societies.
- * The political consequences of electoral systems.
- * Democratization and electoral politics in Southern and West Africa
- * The politics of the United Kingdom, Ireland and Western Europe.
- * The political theory of representation
- * Issues of minority voting rights and representation in the United States.

Awarded a University of California, San Diego 'Excellence in Teaching Award' for 1994-1995.

FELLOWSHIPS, GRANTS, AND AWARDS

Keough Centre for Irish Studies, University of Notre Dame (1998)
Grant for field research in the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland.

Institute for Scholarship in the Liberal Arts, University of Notre Dame (1998)
Summer research assistance support for book project on institutions and democratization.

Nominated for the Harold D. Lasswell Award (1996/97)
An American Political Science Association award recognising the best doctoral dissertation in the field of policy studies.

Nominated by the Department of Political Science at the University of California, San Diego

Jennings Randolph Program for International Peace (1995/96)
Peace Scholar Fellow Administered by the United States Institute of Peace, Washington DC

Andrew Reynolds

Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation (1995/96)
Dissertation Fellow. Administered by IGCC, University of California

Centre for the Study of Democracy/Global Peace and Conflict Studies Institute, UC Irvine (1995)
Grant for August 1995 follow up case study research in South Africa

National Science Foundation Grant - SBR-9321864 (1994)
Awarded for the study of the impact of electoral laws on party behavior in the first non-racial South African elections of April 1994 (with Arend Lijphart and Bernard Grofman)

J.W. Jagger International Scholarship (1991)
Administered by the University of Cape Town

PROFESSIONAL RESPONSIBILITIES

Ph.D. Committees

David Altman Olin, Department of Government, University of Notre Dame

Regina Castillo, Department of Government, University of Notre Dame

Keely Lange, Department of Government, University of Notre Dame

Jessica Piombo, Department of Political Science, Massachusetts of Technology

Reviewer for the Journals:

American Political Science Review (since 1998)

Party Politics (since 1998)

Scandinavian Political Studies (since 1997)

NeXus (since 1997)

Political Geography (since 1996)

Electoral Studies (since 1995)

African Studies Review (since 1994)

Electoral Systems Research Committee

Associate Editor of the International Newsletter of the ESRC (1994-1995)

Andrew Reynolds

CONSULTANCIES (CONSTITUTIONAL DESIGN)**Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (1999)**

Expert consultation for the OSCE High Commissioner for Minorities on issues of governance drafting the 'Lund Principles'.

South Africa (1991-1998)

Advisor to political parties and members of the Constitutional Assembly on issues of electoral system design.

Advisor to the South African Gender Commission on the representation of women.

Indonesia (August 1998)

Sponsored by the Ford Foundation to advise on constitutional issues in Jakarta.

Jordan (1996-1997)

International member of the Independent Electoral Review Commission.

Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (1997)

Expert consultation for the OSCE High Commissioner for Minorities on issues of power-sharing in Central and Eastern Europe.

Sierra Leone (September-October 1995)

United Nations (UNDP) advisor to the Interim National Election Commission of Sierra Leone.

NON-ACADEMIC EMPLOYMENT

1996-97 International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance. Stockholm, Sweden
Program and Research Officer.

Responsible for programs relating to electoral system design, voter turnout, conflict management, issues of democratic consolidation, gender and democracy, and the meanings and values of democracy.

1992, **Charter 88 - Constitutional Reform Campaign**, London, U.K.
Democracy Day General Election Organizer

1990, **Boston Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights**, Boston, USA.
Media Officer

1988-1990, **UK 2000 Environmental Organization**, London, U.K.
Press Officer

DAVID VERGE FLEISCHER
CURRICULUM VITAE
(Abbreviated)

1 - Personal Data

Born: Washington, DC, April 30, 1941

Married: two children

US Citizen: SS # 055-34-1837 - Passport # Z7825959

Brazilian Citizen: CPF: 090.487.231-91, RG: 274.258. Passport # CH087436

2 - Addresses:

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 71510-255 Brasilia, DF BRASIL
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 70832-970 Brasília, DF BRAZIL
 Phone: 55-61-321-8085/321-0625
 FAX: 321-6333 Cell: 918-2771

3 - Formal Education:

- 3.1 - BA, Political Science, Antioch College, 1966.
- 3.2 - MA, Latin American Studies, University of Florida, 1968.
- 3.3 - NSF Training Program in Research Methodology, ICPR, Univ. Michigan, Summer 1968.
- 3.4 - Ph.D., Political Science, University of Florida, 1972.
- 3.5 - Post-Doctoral Program, Comparative Development Studies Center, State University of New York at Albany, 1980-1982.

4 - Academic Activities:

- 4.01 - Coordinator, Brazilian Studies, Peace Corps Training Program Westinghouse Learning Corp., Cedar Key, Florida, 1967
- 4.02 - Instructor, Political Science Dept., University of Florida, Summer, 1969 & Fall, 1971
- 4.03 - Visiting Professor, Political Science Dept., Univ. Fed. de Minas Gerais, 1969-1971.
- 4.04 - Visiting Professor, School of Economics, Univ. Fed. de Minas Gerais, 1971.
- 4.05 - Associate Professor, Social Science Dept., University of Brasília, 1972-1982.
- 4.06 - Coordinator, MA Program in Sociology, University of Brasília, 1974-1975.
- 4.07 - Visiting Professor, Political Science Dept., University of Florida, 1976.
- 4.08 - Senior Research Fellow, State University of New York at Albany, 1980-1982.
- 4.09 - Associate Professor, Dept. of Political Science & International Relations, University of Brasília, 1982-1988.
- 4.10 - Acting Dean of Extension, University of Brasília, October, 1982.
- 4.11 - Chair, Dept. of Political Science & International Relations, Univ. of Brasília, 1985-1989.

- 4.12 - Coordinator, Ford Foundation grant for Research and Training in International Relations, University of Brasilia, 1986-1991.
- 4.13 - Coordinator, Training Program in "Legislative Liaison", University of Brasília, 1986, 1988, 1991, 1996 & 1997 (graduate certificate program)
- 4.14 - Visiting Adjunct Professor, SUNY-Albany, Winter 1988 & Winter 1989.
- 4.15 - Visiting Lecturer, Legislative Administration, Centro de Estudios & Asesoría Legislativa (CEAL), Catholic University of Valparaiso (UCV), Chile, July, 1989.
- 4.16 - Professor of Political Science, University of Brasilia, since 1988.
- 4.17 - Coordinator, MA Program in Political Science, University of Brasília, 1991-1994.
- 4.18 - Member, University Council, University of Brasilia, 1985-1994.
- 4.19 - Coordinator, Nucleus of Institutional Studies & Public Policy (NEIPOL), Center for Advanced Multidisciplinary Studies (CEAM), Univ. of Brasília, since 1995.
- 4.20 - Visiting Professor, George Washington University, Washington, DC, Fall, 1997.

5 - Other Professional Activities:

- 5.01 - Peace Corps Volunteer, ACAR (Rural Extension), Minas Gerais, Brazil, 1962-1964.
- 5.02 - Assistant Development Officer, Office of Brazilian Affairs, US Agency for International Development, Washington, DC, 1965.
- 5.03 - Instructor, In-Service Training, EMBRAPA/Brasilia, 1974-1975.
- 5.04 - Consultant, CAPES, Ministry of Education, 1975-1978.
- 5.05 - Accreditation evaluations, Brazilian Federal Education Council (CFE), graduate & under-graduate programs, 1975-1984
- 5.06 - Project Evaluator, Tinker Foundation, New York, 1981-1982.
- 5.07 - Project Evaluation Consultant, Brazilian National Research Council (CNPq), 1982-1983.
- 5.08 - Member, Special Commission at Ministry of Justice to draft new election legislation, Brasília, 1982-1983.
- 5.09 - Consultant & Contributing Editor, *Brazil Watch*, 1985-1986.
- 5.10 - Staff Assistant to Senator Eneas Faria, PMDB-Paraná, 1985-1986.
- 5.11 - Editor, *Revista Brasileira de Ciência Política*, since 1989.
- 5.12 - Evaluation Consultant to AID, Legislative Development Project, Central America, November/December, 1989
- 5.13 - Election Consultant, GLOBO TV Network, November, 1989.
- 5.14 - Consultant, AID African Bureau, Pre-Election Assessment, São Tomé & Príncipe (West Africa), May/June, 1990.
- 5.15 - Program Manager, Brasília Office, SUNY-Brazil Advanced Developing Country Training Program, 1990-1995 [via AID Contract].
- 5.16 - Program Development Consultant, CEAL-UCV, Chile, June, 1990.
- 5.17 - Consultant to AID Mozambique, Pre-Election Assessment, International Foundation for Election Systems, June/July, 1992.
- 5.18 - Political Risk Consultant, Salomon Brothers (1992-96); RTZ (1991-94); Merrill Lynch (since 1996); Stephen Rose (1996-99); Medley Global Advisors (since 1999); Trans National Research Corp. (since 1999); & Control Risks Group (since 1999).
- 5.19 - Integrated Research Project, "Comparative Political Corruption: Brazil, Argentina, Italy & USA," CNPq & North-South Center, 1994-1996.
- 5.20 - Member, Election Observation Missions of IIDH/CAPEL: Brazil (October, 1994), Uruguay (November, 1994) & Argentina (May, 1995).
- 5.21 - Consultant, Minerva Training Program for Mid-Career Brazilian Public Servants, Inst. for

- Brazilian Issues, George Washington University, Washington, DC, since 1994.
- 5.22 - Member, Advisory Council, Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, São Paulo, since 1994.
- 5.23 - Member, Special Commission to draft new election legislation, Superior Election Court (TSE), Brasília, May/June, 1995
- 5.24 - Member, Project Implementation Team, to draft the SUNY/USAID Legislative Development Program, Maputo, Mozambique, July/August, 1995.
- 5.25 - Consultant, Projecto SUNY with AID, Legislative Development Program for Mozambique, since 1995.
- 5.26 - President, Transparency, Consciousness & Citizenship (TCC-Brazil), an anti-corruption NGO, since February, 1996
- 5.27 - Member, Council of Governance, Transparency International, Berlin, since 1996.
- 5.28 - Integrated Research Project, "Modes of Corruption and Democratic Controls in Brazil," CNPq, 1996-2000.
- 5.29 - Editor, Brazil Focus, a weekly political risk newsletter on Brazil, since 1996.

6 - Publications:

A total of 19 books and monographs, 35 book chapters, 53 journal articles, and 137 conference papers. A selection of principal publications follows:

6.1 - Books:

- 6.1.1 - Os Partidos Políticos no Brasil. Brasília: University of Brasilia Press, 1981. 2 Vols., 325 p. & 307 p. Editor & Contributor.
- 6.1.2 - Brazil in Transition. New York: Praeger Press, 1983. 197 p. Co-author.
- 6.1.3 - Da Distensão à Abertura: as eleições de novembro de 1982. Brasília: University of Brasilia Press, 1988. 252 p. Editor & Contributor.
- 6.1.4 - Brazil's Economic and Political Future. Boulder: Westview Press, 1988. 287 p. Co-Editor & Contributor.
- 6.1.5 - O Brasil vai às urnas: retrato da campanha presidencial. Brasília: Thesaurus Editora, 1990. Co-Author.
- 6.1.6 - Perfil Parlamentar Brasileiro. São Paulo: Editora Três, 1991. 146 p. Co-Author.
- 6.1.7 - Las Consecuencias Políticas del Sistema Electoral Brasileño: Partidos Políticos, Poder Legislativo y Gobernabilidad. San José: IIDH/CAPEL, 1995. 219 p. Author.
- 6.1.8 - Brazilian Political Parties and Party System, 1945-1997. Washington, DC: Inst. of Brazilian Issues, The George Washington University, 1998, 162 p. Author.
- 6.1.9 - De Fação a Partido: A Formação e Trajetória do PSDB (Partido da Social Democracia Brasileira), 1987-1998. Brasília: Inst. Teotônio Vilela, 1999 321 p. Co-Author.

6.2 - Book Chapters:

- 6.2.1 - "Parties, Elections & 'Abertura' in Brazil," in WESSON, The New Political Militarism in Latin America. New York: Praeger Press, 1982, pp. 79-96
- 6.2.2 - "Constitutional & Electoral Engineering in Brazil," in NOHLEN, Wahlen und Wahlpolitik in Latinamerika. Heidelberg: Esprint-Verlag, 1984, pp. 189-214
- 6.2.3 - "Brazil at the Crossroads: The Elections of 1982 and 1985," in DRAKE & SILVA, Elections & Democratization in Latin America. La Jolla: University of California at San Diego Press, 1986, pp. 299-238.

- 6.2.4 - "The Constituent Assembly and the Transformation Strategy: Attempts to Shift Power from the Presidency to the Congress." in GRAHAM & WILSON, The Political Economy of Brazil. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990. pp. 210-258.
- 6.2.5 - "Reforma do Sistema Eleitoral Brasileiro: Análise das alternativas frente as experiências e casuismos recentes," in TRINDADE. Reforma Eleitoral & Representação Política, Brasil 1990. Porto Alegre: Univ. Fed. de RGS Press, 1992, pp.186-197.
- 6.2.6 - "Manipulações Casuísticas do Sistema Eleitoral durante o Período Militar, ou Como Usualmente o Feitiço Voltava contra o Feiticeiro," in SOARES & D'ARAUJO. 21 Anos de Regime Militar: Balanços e Perspectivas. Rio: Fundação Getulio Vargas, 1994, pp. 154-197.
- 6.2.7 - "The Brazilian Congress." in KURIAN. World Encyclopedia of Parliaments and Legislatures. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly, 1997, pp. 90-97.
- 6.2.8 - "Government & Politics," in HUDSON, Brazil: A Country Study. Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1998, pp. 253-332.

6.3 - Journal Articles:

- 6.3.01 - "Concentração e dispersão eleitoral." Revista de Ciência Política [Rio] , 19(3):15-36, 1976.
- 6.3.02 - "De la distensión a la apertura político-electoral en Brasil." Revista Mexicana de Sociología, 44:961-988, 1982
- 6.3.03 - "Simulações de divisões distritais dos estados brasileiros para as eleições de 1978," Revista de Informação Legislativa [Brasília], 78:205-232, 1982.
- 6.3.04 - "Ingeniería política en Sudamérica: Brasil en perspectiva comparada," Revista de Estudios Políticos [Madrid], 36:61-105. 1983.
- 6.3.05 - "Constitutional and Electoral Engineering in Brazil: A Double Edged Sword (1964-1982)," Inter-American Economic Affairs, 37(4):3-36, 1984.
- 6.3.06 - "Relações Brasil-Cuba: Uma Reaproximação Delicada," Política e Estratégia [São Paulo], 3:513-521, 1985.
- 6.3.07 - "Le Pays Partis Passoires," Le Journal des Elections [Paris], 1(10):24-25, 1989.
- 6.3.08 - "Financiamento das Campanhas Eleitorais," 12 de outubro: Revista de Ciência Política [Brasília], 1(2):163-182, 1994
- 6.3.09 - "Political Corruption in Brazil: The Delicate Connection with Campaign Finance." Crime, Law and Social Change. 25:297-321, 1997.
- 6.3.10 - "The Cardoso Government's Reform Agenda: A view from the National Congress, 1995-1998," Journal of Inter-American Studies and World Affairs. 40(4):119-136. 1998.
- 6.3.11 - "Reelección a la brasileña: elecciones generales de 1998." Contribuciones [B. Aires], 15(4):175-195. 1998.

Brasília, October 1999

CURRICULUM VITAE

Alfred P. Montero

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Northfield, Minnesota 55057

(507) 646-5407 (Home); 646-4085 (Office)

Email: Amontero@carleton.edu

WWW: <http://celeste.acns.carleton.edu/curricular/POSC/faculty/montero/index.htm>

PERSONAL HISTORY

Born March 24, 1969, Miami, Florida.

Hispanic - American

Married January 18, 1997 - Maria del Mar García-Valdecantos.

Wife is a Spanish sociologist.

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Carleton College, Assistant Professor, Political Science (Tenure-track), Fall 1998-

Courses: Comparative Political Regimes (Winter & Spring 1998/99 & 1999/00); Latin American Politics (Fall 1998 & 1999); Political Economy of Latin America (Spring 1999); Global Resurgence of Democracy (Winter 1998 & Spring 2000); European Political Economy (Winter 1999/00); Comparative Democratic Systems (Senior Seminar, Fall 1999).

Florida International University, Visiting Assistant Professor, Political Science and International Relations, Fall 1996-Spring 1998.

Courses: International Political Economy (Fall 1996; Spring/Summer/Fall 1997; Spring 1998); Seminar: Trade and Investment in Brazil, Mexico, and the Southern Cone (Fall 1996); Seminar: The Political Economy of Latin America (graduate-level, Spring 1997); Introduction to Latin American Politics (in Spanish, Summer 1997); Critical Perspectives of Globalization (Fall 1997); Comparative Politics of South America (Fall 1997); South American Politics (Spring 1998); International Relations of Latin America (Spring 1998); Comparative Authoritarianism (Spring 1998)

Columbia University/Barnard College, Teaching Assistant, Political Science, Fall 1992-95

Courses: Human Rights in International Politics (Fall 1992), Introduction to International Relations (Fall 1993), Introduction to Comparative Politics (Spring 1994), and The Theory of International Political Economy (graduate level, Fall

1995).

EDUCATION

Columbia University - Ph. D., September 1997; M. Phil, May 1994 with a major in Comparative Politics and a minor in International Relations. Comprehensive examination in Comparative Politics passed with the honor of distinction. M.A., May 1992.

Dissertation: *Shifting States in Uneven Markets: Political Decentralization and Subnational Industrial Policy in Contemporary Brazil and Spain*.

University of Miami - B. A. with a dual major in Political Science and Latin American Studies, December 1990. Cumulative G. P. A.: 3.85 (*Magna cum laude*). Fall 1986 to Fall 1990.

PUBLICATIONS

Shifting States in Global Markets: Subnational Industrial Policy in Contemporary Brazil and Spain. Book manuscript currently under review at Penn State University Press.

"Decentralizing Democracy. Spain and Brazil in Comparative Perspective." *Comparative Politics* (forthcoming)

"State Interests and the New Industrial Policy in Brazil: The Case of the Privatization of Steel, 1990-1994." *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 40:3 (Fall 1998).

"Devolving Democracy? Political Decentralization and the New Brazilian Federalism." In *Democratic Brazil: Actors, Institutions, and Processes*, eds Peter R. Kingstone and Timothy J. Power. Pittsburgh. University of Pittsburgh Press, 2000

"Brazil." In *Introduction to Comparative Politics: Political Challenges and Changing Agendas*, eds. Mark Kesselman, Joel Krieger, and William Joseph. New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2000

"Sobrevivendo à globalização pela via de um novo desenvolvimentismo. a experiência de Minas Gerais". In *Governando a Economia: Competitividade e Equidade em Nivel Local e Regional*, ed Nadya Castro. São Paulo. Cebrap/Senac, 2000. Currently under review at the *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* as "Surviving Globalization by Remaking Developmentalism in Minas Gerais. Brazil

BOOK REVIEWS AND REVIEW ESSAYS

"Assessing the Third Wave Democracies." *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 40 2 (Summer 1998)

Review of *Ideas and Economic Policy in Latin America: Regional, National, and Organizational Case Studies* by Anil Hira. In *Political Science Quarterly* 114:4 (Winter 1999-00).

Review of *The State and Capital in Chile: Business Elites, Technocrats, and Market Economics* by Eduardo Silva. In *Hispanic American Historical Review* 77:4 (November 1997).

Review of *State Under Siege: Development and Policy Making in Peru* by Philip Mauceri. In *Hispanic American Historical Review* 77:4 (November 1997).

OTHER PUBLICATIONS

"A Delicate Game: The Politics of Reform in Brazil." *Current History* 98:626 (March 1999).

"Risking Development and Democracy in Brazil." *Connection to the Americas* 15:7 (September 1998).

"Getting Real About the Brazilian Real Plan." *Hemisphere* (February 1997).

CONFERENCE PAPERS

"The Patchwork Pattern of Subnational Economic Policy-Making in Brazil." Paper presented at the Brazil in the 21st Century Meeting at the CPDOC/Fundação Getúlio Vargas in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, September 2-3, 1999.

"Surviving Globalization by Remaking Developmentalism in Minas Gerais (Brazil)." Paper presented at the Second Meeting of the International Working Group on Subnational Economic Governance in Latin America and Southern Europe, São Paulo, Brazil, June 23-29, 1999.

"Devolving Democracy? Political Decentralization and the New Brazilian Federalism." Paper presented at the Columbia University conference, Decentralization, Equity, and Local Development, New York, NY, April 2-3, 1999.

"State Interests and Business Coalitions for the Privatization of Brazilian Steel, 1990-1994." Paper presented at the 93rd Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D. C., August 30, 1997.

"Shifting States in Uneven Markets: Political Decentralization and Subnational Industrial Policy in Contemporary Brazil and Spain." Paper presented at the 93rd Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D. C., August 30, 1997. An earlier draft was presented at the 26th Meeting of the Latin American Studies Association, Guadalajara, Mexico, April 20, 1997. A revised version was presented as a working paper in the "Rights versus Efficiency in a Globalized Era Project," a three-year international conference and book project of the Institute of Latin American and Iberian Studies, Institute on Western Europe and the Camões Center for the

Study of the Portuguese-Speaking World, Columbia University. The first meeting was held in New York on September 12-13, 1997

"Building Embeddedness by Shifting the State: Industrial Policy in Contemporary Brazil and Spain." Paper presented at the 20th Meeting of the Latin American Studies Association, Washington, D. C., September 30, 1995.

"The State of the Autonomies and Industrial Policy in Spain." Paper presented at the 1995 meeting of the New York State Political Science Association, New York City, April 28, 1995.

FELLOWSHIP APPOINTMENTS AND RESEARCH

Keith Clark Memorial Fund for Faculty Development, Carleton College, Winter 2000. These monies support field research in Argentina on state reform and privatization

Curricular Computing Grant, Carleton College. Summer 2000. This grant supports the design and application of quantitative and on-line components for a European Political Economy course.

Hildebrandt/Higinbotham Fund for Faculty Development in the Social Sciences, Carleton College, Summer 1999. These monies supported field research in Brazil on privatization, state reform, and decentralization

USIA U.S. Speaker and Specialist Grant, Villahermosa, Tabasco (Mexico), July, 1998. Presented a week-long series of lectures on globalization, democratization, and political economy at the Universidad Juárez Autónoma de Tabasco (UJAT).

Research, Brazil, June-July, 1996. Conducted interviews, collected government documents and other materials for dissertation.

Visiting Scholar, Centro de Estudios Avanzados en Ciencias Sociales, Fundación Juan March, Madrid (Spain), Summer 1994, Summer 1995, and Spring 1996. Conducted interviews, collected government documents, and researched secondary sources for dissertation. Funded in part by grants from the Institute on Western Europe and the Institute of Latin American and Iberian Studies of Columbia University

Dorothy Compton Minority Fellow, Brazil, Winter and Spring 1994-95. Dissertation field work funded in part by a grant from the Institute for the Study of World Politics. Conducted interviews, collected government documents, and secondary sources for dissertation.

Research Assistant to Professor William C. Smith, University of Miami, March-May 1995. Conducted interviews and collected secondary and government materials on the restructuring of the Brazilian military during the 1980's and 1990's. Primary research was completed in Brazil.

Research Assistant to Professor Maria do Carmo Campello de Souza, Universidade de São

Paulo, January-February 1995. Researched and drafted sections of her textbook article on Brazil in Mark Kesselman, Joel Krieger, and William Joseph, eds. *Comparative Politics at the Crossroads* (D. C. Heath, 1997). Conducted research in São Paulo, Brazil.

Research Assistant to Professor Arvid Lukauskas, Columbia University, Spring 1994. Provided assistance on study of financial regulation in Mexico. Sponsored by the Hewlett Foundation and the Institution of Latin American and Iberian Studies of Columbia University. Research was conducted in New York.

Tinker Summer Fellow, Brazil, Summer 1993. Preliminary dissertation field work. Conducted interviews with Brazilian labor leaders in São Paulo and collected secondary source materials at the Library of the Senate and Chamber of Deputies in Brasília and the Getúlio Vargas Foundation in Rio de Janeiro. Funded in part by the Tinker Foundation.

President's Fellow, Fall 1992-1996. Columbia University.

OTHER PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

Book Review Editor, *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs*, Summer 1998 - . Responsible for soliciting, organizing, editing, and submitting reviews of books on Latin American politics and international relations

Manuscript reviewer, *Comparative Politics*, *Publius* and the *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs*.

Member, American Political Science Association, Latin American Studies Association, the North Central Council of Latin Americanists, and the Academy of Political Science.

Co-organizer (w/ David Samuels) and discussant, Conference on "Decentralization and Democracy in Latin America." University of Minnesota, February 11-13, 2000.

Discussant, Conference on "Federalism, Democracy, and Public Policy," Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas, Mexico City, Mexico, June 14-15, 1999.

Panelist, "U.S. - Cuban Relations in the 21st Century," Humphrey Institute, University of Minnesota, April 30, 1999.

CONSULTING ACTIVITIES

Open Society Institute, December-January 1998-99, updated "Europe" article in Russian Collier's Encyclopedia

Legal researcher and trial assistant for David M. Lipman, Esq., Miami, May 1991-September

1997 (at least three months each year). Duties included analyzing and preparing documents for complex product liability litigation (plaintiffs in asbestos cases).

Consultant for Pro-Chile (Government of Chile), Miami, May - August, 1997. Researched and wrote-up findings for a study of Chilean trade with the State of the Florida.

Consultant for the Latin American and Caribbean Center at Florida International University, Miami, January-February, 1997. Aided in the draft of a policy position paper for the State of Florida on the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) process. Paper was presented at the May 1997 meeting of regional trade ministers in Belo Horizonte, Brazil.

LANGUAGES

Spanish: Native speaker (bilingual). Fluent in conversation, reading comprehension, and composition. Teaching experience in Spanish (Summer 1997) and brief USIA lectureship in Spanish (Summer 1998)

Portuguese: Training in Beginning, Intermediate, and Advanced Portuguese at the University of Miami, 1987-1990. Immersion training in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, July 1 - November 15, 1990 (University of Maryland Exchange Program with the Pontificia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro). Fluent in conversation, reading comprehension, and composition. Papers presented in Portuguese (Summer 1999).

Translation work: From Portuguese to English, January and February 1996, Roberto Mangabeira Unger and Ciro Gomes. 1996. *O Próximo Passo: Uma Alternativa Prática ao Neoliberalismo*. Rio de Janeiro: Topbooks. Funded by the University of Wisconsin-Madison

SPECIAL SKILLS AND EXPERIENCES

Public Speaking: Championship intercollegiate debater and public orator, University of Miami Speech and Debate. Fall 1986 - Spring 1990. Three-time regional (Southeast) champion.

Debate coach, Columbia University. Fall 1991 - Spring 1993

REFERENCES

Douglas Chalmers,¹
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