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MEMORANDUM

To: Interested Parties

From: Rasa Alisauskiene, Director The Gallup Organization / Baltic Surveys

Date: September 6, 2004

Re: Majority of Belarusians Consistently Oppose Changing Constitution

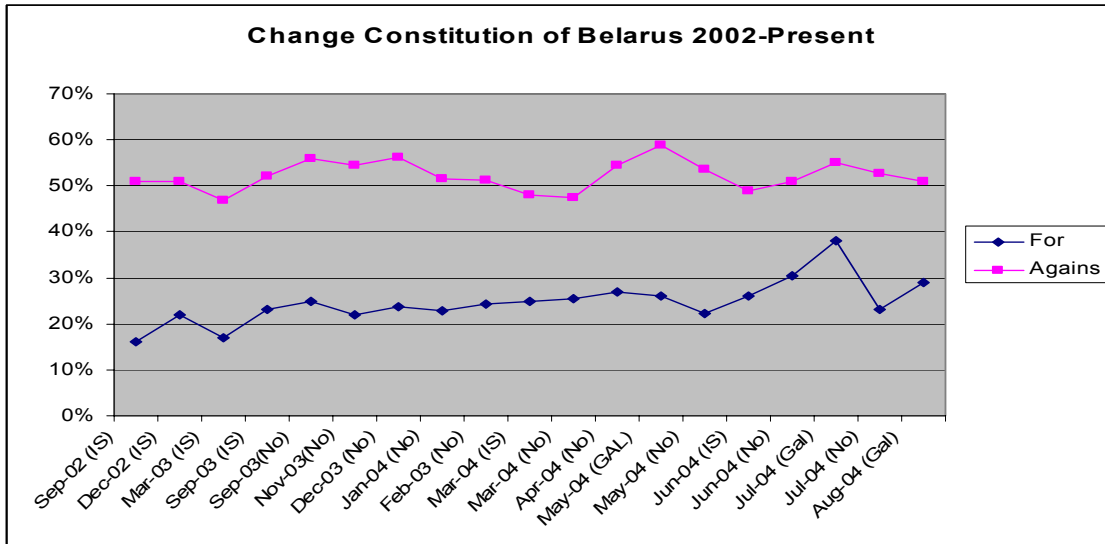
Lukashenko to have difficult time getting a majority to support changing constitution.

- Since September 2002 there have been twenty-five credible public opinion polls released to the public and conducted by either The Gallup Organization/ Baltic Surveys or the Belarusian based Novak Market Research and the Independent Institute of Socio-Economic and Political Studies (IISEPS) All twenty-five of these polls show at least 47% of Belarusians opposing changing the constitution and only one shows more than 30% supporting changing the constitution
- The average of all seventeen polls taken by these three credible organizations in the past year has fifty-two percent of people opposing the referendum and only twenty-six percent supporting the referendum
- Since May of 2004 The Gallup Organization / Baltic Surveys has conducted two national public opinion polls and has been doing tracking polling since August 1st. In that period never has less than a majority of Belarusians opposed changing the constitution of Belarus.
- As of the end of August in Belarus, according to tracking polling being conducted by The Gallup Organization/ Baltic Surveys fifty-one percent of Belarusian say they will vote to oppose changing the constitution of Belarus and only twenty-nine percent say they would support the referendum.
- In order to get a majority to vote in favor of the referendum Alexander Lukashenko is going to have to do one of two things:
 1. Convince all of the people who are currently undecided to support him and also convince a number of people who have been opposed to changing the constitution for an extended period of time that they do in fact want the constitution changed. OR
 2. Commit massive fraud and vote rigging to ensure that the actual tally on his behalf is above fifty-percent regardless of the intent of the people.
- Unless there is a dramatic shift in public opinion in a very short period of time the likelihood of Alexander Lukashenko receiving a majority vote in a truly free and fair election is extremely low.

Results of Credible Public Opinion Polls in Belarus over Time

Since September 2002 there have been a total of twenty-five credible public opinion polls conducted in Belarus either by The Gallup Organization / Baltic surveys Lithuania or by the two most reputable and independent Belarusian polling organizations, Novak Market Research and the Independent

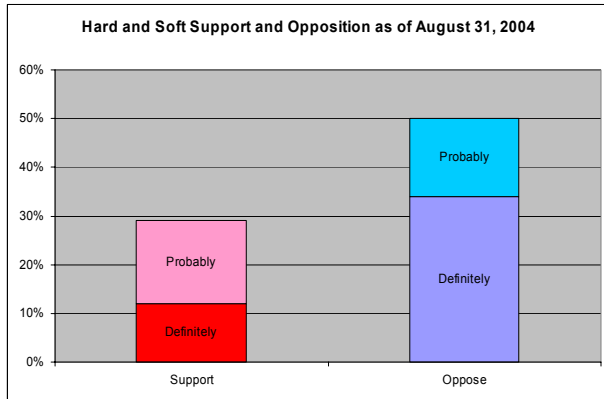
Institute of Socio-Economic and Political Studies (IISEPS). As the chart above clearly shows opposition to changing the constitution of Belarus has remained relatively stable as has opposition with the exception of one The Gallup Organization / Baltic Surveys Poll conducted in July of 2004. It is worth noting that there were a number of indications that this July poll had an over sampling of pro-Lukshenko people which sometimes occurs during the process of polling. With this exception of this poll support for changing the constitution in Belarus has never risen above thirty percent during the course of the past year.



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Where Things Stand Today Based on The Gallup Organization / Baltic Surveys Tracking Polling

In The Gallup Organization / Baltic Surveys August tracking polling on the referendum question there



is an effort to break out hard support and opposition verse soft support on opposition to the question of changing the constitution in Belarus. When asked if people would definitely support or oppose changing the constitution of Belarus only 12% of people said they would definitely support compared to 34% who said they would definitely oppose changing the constitution of Belarus. Thus, among those who have definitely decided how they will vote on the referendum opposition to the change is leading support for the change by a three-to-one margin. Moreover, the levels of hard

support and opposition have remained relatively constant since the tracking polling began on August 1st. During that period hard support for changing the constitution has ranged from low of 8% to a high of 14%. Also during that period hard opposition has ranged from a low of 29% to a high of 36%.

Even among Lukashenko's most loyal supporters – pensioners – support for changing the constitution is soft. Among people over the age of sixty 27% say they would definitely support changing the constitution and 31% say they probably would support changing the constitution for a total of 58% support. By comparison 72% of these same people over sixty say they would support Alexander Lukashenko on the generic ballot question. Clearly, this is bad news for Alexander Lukashenko's

¹ Polls conducted by Novak Market Research are marked by date with (NO), polling done by Independent Institute of Socio-Economic and Political Studies or IISEPS are marked by date with (IS) and polls conducted by The Gallup Organization/ Baltic Surveys are marked by date with (GA).

desire to change the constitution to allow him to seek a third term. At present Mr. Lukashenko isn't even getting the support he needs from the people whom he has been doing the most to court over the course of the summer.

Conclusions

- The vast majority of Belarusians seem to have made up their mind a long time ago about their position on changing the constitution and the majority consensus is against such a change. If you take out those who say they are undecided on the issue the opposed leads the in favor by better than a two-to-one margin. Moreover, once public opinion has coalesced on an issue like changing the constitution it is difficult to get massive shifts over short period of time (for example between now and October 17th).
- Unless something happens that dramatically changes the political environment in Belarus it is unlikely that public opinion on the issue will change dramatically thereby causing a shift which would make passage of such a referendum possible under free and fair election conditions.
- Finally, in light of current public opinion in Belarus and the depth and breadth of the opposition to changing the constitution which has been demonstrated over time any referendum which passes by more than the slimmest of margins would have to be viewed as highly suspect at best.

About The Gallup Organization / Baltic Surveys , IRI, and the Belarus Polling Project

The Gallup Organization /Baltic Surveys is the Vilnius, Lithuania based office of U.S. based The Gallup Organization. In addition to being considered the preeminent polling and market research company in Lithuania, The Gallup Organization /Baltic Surveys conducts public opinion polling projects throughout Central and Eastern Europe and the CIS countries. The Gallup Organization / Baltic Surveys does market research work in several of the European Union Accession Countries for the European Commission in Brussels, has worked on political polling issues in Georgia, Belarus, Moldova, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, and conducts polling projects in several countries for the International Republican Institute.

The Gallup Organization /Baltic Surveys conducts polling in Belarus for the International Republican Institute as part of IRI's Belarus Polling Project. This project is an effort to provide Belarusian pro-democratic forces and interested outside parties with objective, non-partisan, western quality public opinion research on Belarus. Together The Gallup Organization / Baltic Surveys and IRI have conducted eight national public opinion polls in Belarus over the past three years and is currently conducting tracking polling prior to the October 17th parliamentary elections in Belarus. IRI, in conjunction with Wirthlin Worldwide of Alexandria Virginia, also conducted tracking polling during the 2001 Belarusian Presidential Campaign that many independent sources identified as "the most accurate indication of the true intentions of the Belarusian population" during that election.