



A n n u a l R e p o r t



**NATIONAL
DEMOCRATIC
INSTITUTE**
FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

“Democracy is never a final achievement.
It is a call to an untiring effort.”

—John F. Kennedy





1717 Massachusetts Avenue N.W.
Fifth Floor
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 328-3136 Fax: (202) 939-3166
E-Mail: demos@ndi.org
Home Page: <http://www.ndi.org>

Chairman
Paul G. Kirk, Jr.

Vice Chair
Rachelle Horowitz

Secretary
Kenneth F. Melley

Treasurer
Hartina Flournoy

Finance Chair
Eugene Eidenberg

President
Kenneth D. Wollack

Board of Directors
Morton I. Abramowitz
William V. Alexander
Bernard W. Aronson
Joan Baggett Calambokidis
Emanuel Cleaver, II
Barbara J. Easterling
Edward F. Feighan
Geraldine A. Ferraro
Patrick J. Griffin
Joan Anderson Growe
Shirley Robinson Hall
Maxine Isaacs
Peter G. Kelly
Peter Kovler
Elliott F. Kulick
Lewis Manilow
Azie Taylor Morton
Mark A. Siegel
Marva A. Smalls
Theodore C. Sorensen
Michael R. Steed
Maurice Tempelman
Arturo Valenzuela
Mark R. Warner
Marvin F. Weissberg
Raul Yzaguirre

Senior Advisory Committee
Michael D. Barnes
John Brademas
Bill Bradley
Richard F. Celeste
Mario M. Cuomo
Patricia M. Derian
Christopher J. Dodd
Michael S. Dukakis
Thomas F. Eagleton
Dante B. Fascell
Martin Frost
Richard A. Gephardt
John T. Joyce
John Lewis
Mike J. Mansfield
Donald F. McHenry
Abner J. Mikva
Daniel Patrick Moynihan
Charles S. Robb
Stephen J. Solarz
Esteban E. Torres
Cyrus R. Vance
Anne Wexler
Andrew J. Young

Chairmen Emeriti
Walter F. Mondale
Charles T. Manatt

August 29, 1997

Dear Friend,

We are pleased to provide you with the 1996 annual report of the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI).

The report chronicles the worldwide activities of democrats who are striving to end conflict, promote peaceful political reform and build pluralistic systems. NDI is proud to support their courageous work.

NDI's strength lies in its close relationship with its democratic partners—elected officials, political party leaders and civic activists—who recognize that social and economic development thrive best where citizens are able to participate in their nation's decisionmaking process. Whether in nondemocratic countries, societies emerging from strife, or in nations consolidating democratic institutions, NDI has been able to provide the type of practical assistance and political presence that contributes to the efforts of these advocates of democracy.

During 1996, there were both democratic breakthroughs and setbacks. And NDI responded to a growing number of requests. We are grateful to the National Endowment for Democracy, the U.S. Agency for International Development, private donors and the many volunteer participants in our programs. Their help enables the Institute to carry out its democratic development mission.

We appreciate your continuing interest and would welcome your views on our programs.

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Paul G. Kirk, Jr." with a stylized flourish at the end.

Paul G. Kirk, Jr.
Chairman

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Kenneth D. Wollack" with a stylized flourish at the end.

Kenneth D. Wollack
President

Enc.

This report
on NDI
program
work in
1996
highlights
a period
for global
democratic
trends
that has
been both
tumultuous
and
promising.

Events showed that the U.S. and other democracies now confront a new challenge: how to help new democracies sustain themselves, and how to help strife-torn nations emerge from conflict.

In 1996, from Zaire to Albania, political conflagration created tragedy and dislocation. In too many places, nondemocratic forces exploited weak and corrupt institutions. In countries such as Zambia, Niger and Cambodia, democratic hopes were dashed by *coups d'état* or by the authoritarian behavior of elected officials who once espoused democracy.

Elsewhere, longstanding autocracies continued to brutalize their own citizens and threaten their neighbors. Some of these governments permit small personal freedoms; others pursue self-interested, pragmatic economics. But all reject electoral competition, a free press, and transparent and accountable political processes.

In every one of these nations, advocates of democracy were sustained and strengthened by the support and attention they received from the outside. Despite threats and violence, political and civic leaders throughout the world worked to create institutions that would be responsive and unifying. These individuals are nation-builders in the purest sense. They look to the international community for assistance, advice and, at times, protection. Should they fail, the human and financial costs of renewed turmoil would be enormous. Events in 1996 demonstrated that the battle for democracy is not over, and that its outcome affects us all.

Yet the larger story of 1996 was the steady progress toward instituting democracy in diverse settings: South Africa strengthened the foundations of a post-apartheid legal system; Nicaragua created its first civilian-led defense ministry; Mexico enacted electoral reforms that could usher in a genuine multiparty system; Georgia moved to develop a professional and accountable parliament; political reformers in Romania and Russia enjoyed electoral successes; and Yemen, a traditional Arab society, stood poised to hold competitive elections.

With the support of the National Endowment for Democracy, the U.S. Agency for International Development and private contributors, NDI was proud to play a role in these accomplishments. Such occasions may not grab the daily headlines, but they are newsworthy indeed on the pages of history.

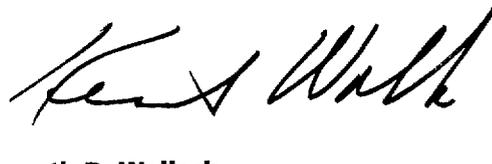
We believe that the expansion of democracy anywhere benefits freedom everywhere. As Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, who served as NDI's founding vice chair, has noted, the effort to invigorate economies and democratic societies "makes the United States stronger and creates the conditions in which our people will be safer and more prosperous."

Support for democratization is more than an American province; other nations, as well as international organizations and financial institutions are establishing or expanding democracy assistance programs. And increasingly, we are working together.

This publication is designed to enhance public understanding of political development worldwide, and NDI's programs and objectives. We hope that those who read it will gain a greater awareness of the global democracy movement and the hard work of those who build and consolidate democratic societies. Their commitment and courage, despite tremendous obstacles, are cause for optimism.



Paul G. Kirk, Jr.
Chairman



Kenneth D. Wollack
President

March 1997

“The work of the National Democratic Institute has... made a difference in so many nations that are seeking to build democratic societies.”

—President Bill Clinton

“The National Democratic Institute was one of the first supporting actors in the democratic revolution in our country.”

—President Vaclav Havel of the Czech Republic

Mission Statement

During the most profound grassroots democratic movement in history, a

movement that, at century's end, has taken root on every continent, half the world's people still remain victims of authoritarian rule. While the yearning for freedom is universal, the institutions and practices that nourish and sustain freedom have yet to be established throughout much of the world.

The promotion, consolidation and strengthening of democracy is a continuous process. Since the mid-1980s, the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) has supported democratic transformations and witnessed dramatic and positive changes in many countries. At the same time, prejudice, demagoguery and violence threaten to reverse new democratic gains. While the resurgence of national identity has been liberating in some contexts, there are too many reminders of the darker, violent dimension of nationalism. These setbacks, however, should not result in disengagement or withdrawal by the community of democratic nations, but rather lead to renewed efforts to assist democratization.

Clearly, efforts to support democracy reflect the highest moral values of the United States. But they also serve strategic interests. Our ultimate foreign policy objective is a world that is secure, stable, humane and safe, and where the risk of war is minimal. Yet, geostrategic “hot spots” most likely to erupt into violence are found, for the most part, in areas of the world that are nondemocratic or where governments are anti-democratic. Democracies remain viable at home by resolving conflicts within society nonviolently and through compromise. Thus, they carry a predisposition to seek solutions peacefully with their neighbors.

Democracies promote economic growth more consistently and equitably than nondemocratic political systems. It is no coincidence that most of the world's wealthiest and most peaceful nations are also the most democratic. Corrupt practices can exist in every society, but when officials cannot be held accountable for their actions, a culture of corruption takes root. With unchecked power, governments squander resources, resulting ultimately in economic decline and instability.

Democracies respect the rule of law, and therefore honor and enforce agreements. And democratic governments are more likely to respond to popular opinion so they act to alleviate human suffering and enhance the quality of life.



“[NDI] has correctly settled in for the long haul, realizing that where transitions to democracy are concerned, elections are the first step.”

—Deputy President Thabo Mbeki of South Africa

“Wherever I have traveled... it has seemed that NDI either had been there, was there, or was due on the next plane... they have a well-earned reputation for competence, honesty and pragmatism.”

—Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright

THE WORK OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE

The National Democratic Institute is a nonprofit organization working to strengthen and expand democracy worldwide. Calling on a global network of volunteer experts, NDI provides practical assistance to civic and political leaders advancing democratic values, practices and institutions.

The Institute works with courageous democrats who are struggling to promote peaceful political reform. It establishes partnerships with political leaders who have begun the difficult task of building stable pluralistic institutions and creating better lives for their citizens.

Democracy depends on: legislatures that represent citizens and oversee the executive; independent judiciaries that safeguard the rule of law; political parties that are open and accountable; and elections in which voters freely choose their representatives in government. Acting as a catalyst for democratic development, NDI bolsters the institutions and processes that allow democracy to flourish.

NDI programs provide citizens and their elected representatives with resource materials, consultations and training on the practical tools of participatory democracy. Strictly nonpartisan, the Institute supports the efforts of democrats in every region of the world to:

■ Build Political and Civic Organizations

NDI helps build stable, broad-based and well-organized institutions that form the foundation of a pluralistic society and a strong civil culture. Democracy depends on these mediating institutions—the voice of an informed citizenry, which link citizens to their government and to one another by providing avenues for participation in public policy.

Political parties must expand their organizational capacity to combat apathy and to inspire participation. Parties that effectively debate public policy issues and that are representative and accountable will contribute to democratic society. NDI exposes members of fledgling parties from across the democratic political spectrum to methods of organization, communication and constituent relations.

In many countries undergoing democratic transitions, large sections of the population are unfamiliar with their rights and responsibilities in an open political environment. NDI works with civic groups as a means to provide citizens greater access to the political process, and to enhance transparency and accountability in government.

■ Safeguard Elections

NDI promotes open and democratic elections. An election is a dynamic process in which members of political parties, civic organizations and other institutions must systematically acquire the skills necessary to participate in the political life of a country.

“As a former participant in NDI’s important work, I can personally testify to its value and effectiveness. The development of more democratic political systems is one of the most important tasks facing all democratic leaders.”

—Former Prime Minister John Bruton of Ireland

“Having worked closely with NDI... I have been impressed not only with the Institute’s dedication, but with its innovative and effective democratic development programs.”

—Former President Jimmy Carter

Political parties and governments have asked NDI to study electoral codes and to recommend improvements. The Institute also provides technical assistance for political parties and civic groups to conduct voter education campaigns and to organize election monitoring programs, such as pollwatching and independent vote counts, all of which inspire public confidence in the political system. NDI is a world leader in election monitoring, having organized international delegations to observe elections in dozens of countries, helping to ensure that poll results reflect the will of the people.

■ Promote Openness and Accountability

NDI has assisted leaders of government, parliament, political parties and civic groups seeking advice on matters from legislative procedures to constituent service to the balance of civil-military relations in a democracy.

NDI programs respond to: legislators who request information on how to make their parliamentary operations more professional, open and responsive to the citizens; grassroots civic organizations that need help promoting accountability by elected officials; city councils that seek advice on ways to solicit public input into decisionmaking; political parties that require guidance on mechanisms that ensure internal democratic practices and enhance communication with potential supporters; and election commissions that want to establish a more transparent electoral process.

STRATEGIC PARTNERS

International cooperation is key to promoting democracy effectively and efficiently. It also conveys a deeper message to new and emerging democracies that while autocracies are inherently isolated and fearful of the outside world, democracies can count on international allies and an active support system. Headquartered in Washington D.C., with offices in every region of the world, NDI compliments the skills of its staff by enlisting volunteer experts from around the world, many of whom are veterans of democratic struggles in their own countries and share valuable perspectives on democratic development. NDI’s international network of more than 1,000 trainers has included presidents, prime ministers, cabinet ministers and emerging leaders from countries as diverse as Canada, Chile, Hungary, India, Israel, Ireland, the Philippines, South Africa and the United Kingdom.

Anywhere in the world, each time a democratic institution takes root, each time a new democratic government addresses old problems with peaceful methods, the rationale for democratic solutions is strengthened, and democratic forces are encouraged and sustained. This in turn makes it harder for autocrats to operate in isolation and arrogate legitimacy to themselves.

But, the advance of democracy requires constant nurturing and support. Though not solely an American responsibility, it remains an indispensable American mission. At the dawn of democracy in the United States, Thomas Jefferson said, “We are pointing the way to struggling nations who wish, like us, to emerge from their tyrannies.”

“...efforts to support democracy reflect the highest moral values of the United States. But they also serve strategic interests. Our ultimate foreign policy objective is a world that is secure, stable, humane and safe, and where the risk of war is minimal.”

—NDI Mission Statement

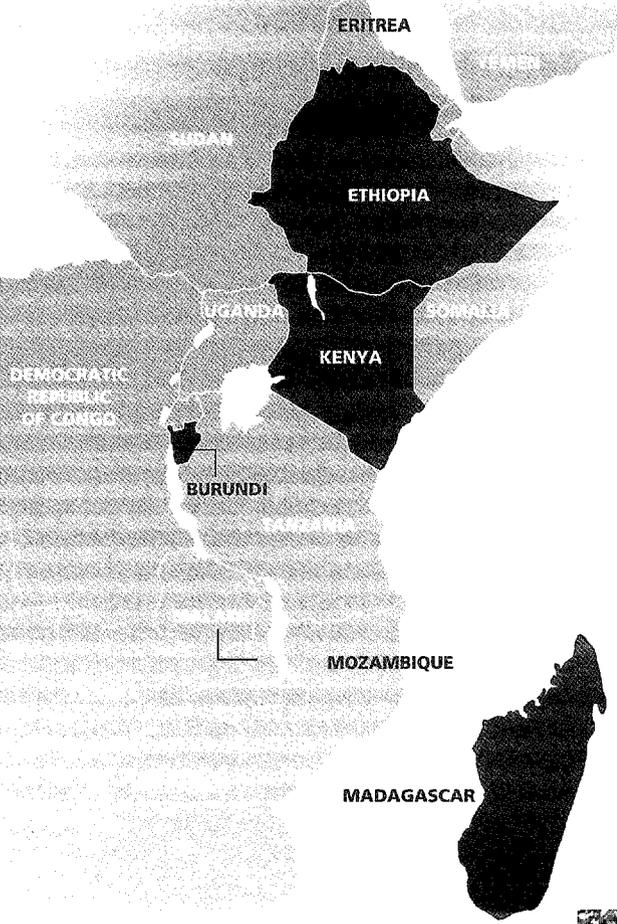
Central and East Africa

KENYAN WOMEN PREPARE FOR NEW POLITICAL ROLE

When the five-year term of President Daniel arap Moi draws to an end in 1997, the country will conduct its second national elections since the restoration of multiparty politics. These polls will be an important bellwether of the willingness of the ruling Kenyan African National Union party to permit the development of a credible democratic system.

In 1992, intimidation of opposition parties, voting irregularities and the partisanship of election authorities undermined the legitimacy of the process. Many serious challenges to democratic development remain—including an environment that is hostile to the mobilization of political expression. One key measurement of change will be the degree that previously disadvantaged sectors of society are able to participate in politics.

Considerable cultural and social barriers impede Kenyan women's involvement in the political process. These barriers are exacerbated by a political climate that restricts open contestation and participation. NDI's program encourages Kenyan women, who have been largely excluded from political party leadership posts and elected office, to become more actively involved in the political life of the country. Programming familiarizes women who aspire to elective office with their rights in a democratic society, and acquaints them with the skills and techniques needed to compete effectively. During NDI workshops, Kenyan female political activists are provided with practical assistance in running for office as well as a forum for exchanging information and experiences in preparation for national polls.



Participants welcome the U.S. Ambassador to Kenya, Prudence Bushnell (center), to ceremonial opening of NDI's office in Nairobi. Also pictured (left of Bushnell), NDI field representative Wanda Williams.

NDI's 1996 program built on training conducted during the previous year for prospective female candidates and women interested in managing political campaigns. In addition to working with a core group of Nairobi-based women who possessed the capacity to support political organizing activities, NDI programs extended to outlying provinces where hundreds of female political and civic activists attended regional workshops covering such topics as campaign planning, issue development, volunteer recruitment, political research and fundraising.

A sizeable group of qualified women candidates emerged—about 40 plan to run for parliament in 1997, none of whom had previously contemplated elective politics.

The program also attracted many other women, who do not intend to run for office themselves, but who have utilized political and public-speaking skills gained during the program to promote women's involvement in politics and create a broader general awareness of and support for women candidates.

The impact of the program was highlighted by the case of one participant who attended NDI's 1993 training seminar in Nanyuki. She had been encouraged to attend the seminar by a male party colleague and, based in part on the knowledge gained during the training, ran for and won a seat on a local council in 1994. She attended NDI's candidate training program in 1995, and, in 1996 she won the race for deputy mayor of her home town. She credits NDI with providing her the skills and confidence necessary to compete in the election, and recently announced her intentions to run for parliament. ■

Civic education booklet, *How to Live in Democracy in Burundi?* rolls off the presses at Bujumbura publishing house.

BURUNDI

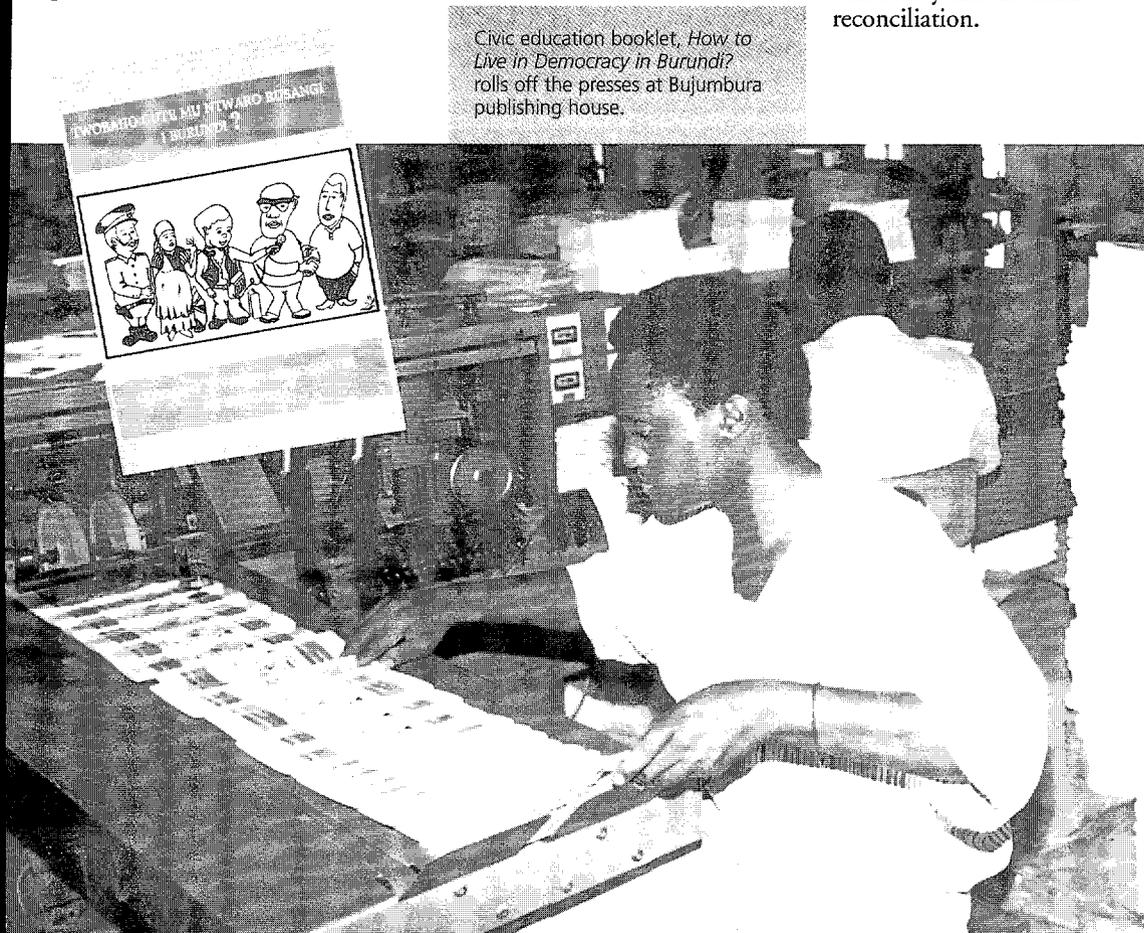
Ethnic violence once again extracted a tragic human toll in Burundi as the divided society experienced increased bloodshed, a breakdown of civilian authority and a military *coup* that reversed the country's fragile democratic transition. Amid this strife, NDI closed its office in Bujumbura. Before its departure, the Institute had published a booklet on democratic values and practices that sparked widespread interest among Burundians seeking ways to promote dialogue and tolerance. Printed in French and in the local language of Kirundi, *How to Live in Democracy in Burundi?* incorporated principles identified by Hutus and Tutsis as requirements for peaceful coexistence between ethnic groups. Observers believe that once stability and constitutional governance are restored, materials like this will form the basis of a nationwide civic education program on democracy and national reconciliation.

ETHIOPIA

After decades of imperial government, civil strife and Marxist dictatorship, the inauguration of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia in 1995 marked the formal end of autocratic rule. Despite the legal structure of a multiparty state, however, concepts integral to a democratic political culture such as tolerance of dissent, a loyal opposition, compromise and reconciliation are largely unknown to most Ethiopians. The electorate remains largely uninformed about how to exercise their political rights. Among other civic groups, NDI assisted the African Initiatives for a Democratic World Order and the Oromo Grassroots Development Initiative with conducting forums that educated citizens about democracy and challenged them to identify issues around which they could petition local authorities, such as access to health care and water.

MADAGASCAR

Years of one-party rule in Madagascar have prevented the emergence of a strong National Assembly, which is struggling to define its role in relation to a powerful executive branch. NDI's training program assisted the nascent legislature with its efforts to develop a more representative and independent institution. During NDI's orientation program in Antananarivo, Malagasy deputies and parliamentary staff examined mechanisms to enhance oversight techniques, and drafted recommendations for strengthening parliamentary organization. As a result of these proposals, a ministerial-level position for parliamentary relations was created the following week. The lawmakers also requested regular consultative meetings with the prime minister and cabinet ministers.



Southern Africa

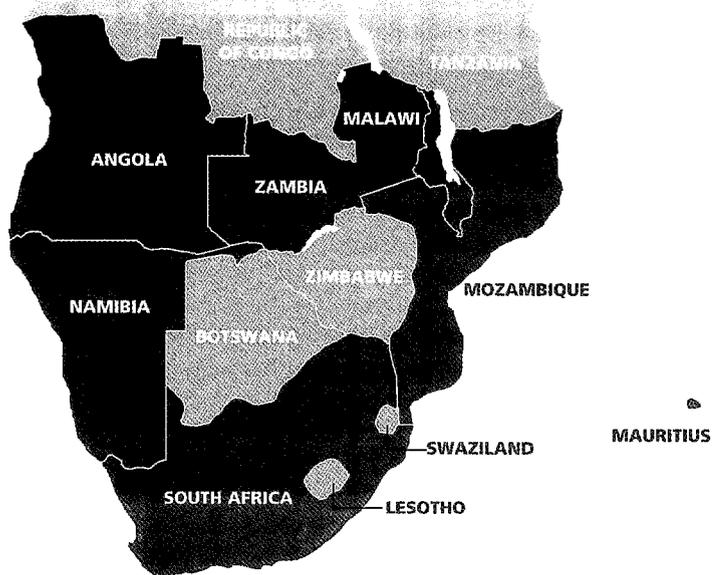
SOUTH AFRICA BUILDS POST-APARTHEID POLITICAL SYSTEM

South Africa emerged from one of history's most debilitating racial struggles to a new era of multi-racial democracy. As the world and South Africans celebrated historic elections in 1994 ending the apartheid regime, the country's new political leaders began the difficult task of transforming their political system. In 1996, the country held non-racial local elections and adopted a new, post-apartheid constitution.

Today, South Africa's nascent democracy faces a different set of demands as more than 9,000 newly elected municipal councilors prepare to establish democratic governance at the local level while national and provincial legislatures work to uphold what the constitution calls a "multiparty system of democratic government to ensure accountability, responsiveness and openness." National, provincial and local authorities, civic organizations and political parties also confront the challenge of determining the nature of their working relationships within the new governing structures.

NDI's South African program reinforces this democratic transition with activities to strengthen the national and provincial parliaments, develop stronger intergovernmental relations, and promote public participation and transparency in legislative decisionmaking.

The Institute's program to support the development of new parliamentary ethics regulations bore fruit in 1996 when the National Assembly passed a landmark code of conduct including the publication of a registry on each MP's outside financial interests. At the request of the speaker of the National Assembly, NDI carried out a program that enabled the country's seven political parties to reach consensus on sensitive ethics issues. The Institute had compiled comparative information on ethics laws from other countries, sponsored the visit of a delegation of South African parliamentarians to Dublin and London to study reforms recently adopted by the Irish and British parliaments, and established an ad hoc advisory committee of experts who responded to inquiries from South African lawmakers.



Senator Lawrence Mushwana (center), leader of the South African study mission to Dublin and London, discusses legislation to address ethics issues during a visit with Irish Finance Minister Ruairi Quinn. Pictured (l to r): South African MPs Sybil Seaton and Piet Matthee, Mushwana, Quinn and MP Louis Green from South Africa.

To compliment the work of the National Assembly, South Africa's new constitution replaces the country's Senate with a National Council of Provinces (NCOP), a new legislature that draws its membership from nine provincial assemblies. In preparation for NCOP's formation, NDI conducted a series of programs to familiarize legislators, political leaders and civic activists with the function of a "second chamber" and how it might be used to help broaden public participation in policy-making. NDI organized visits for South African policymakers to Argentina, India, Malaysia and Namibia where they examined the roles played by similar legislatures there. In addition, an NDI legislative specialist served as a technical adviser for a group of deputies, parliamentary staff and constitutional experts who were charged with drafting changes to the existing Senate rules to accommodate NCOP.

NDI also worked closely with the government's Department for Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development, which is writing legislation to implement constitutional provisions that call for government financing of political parties. NDI party experts from eight countries supplied information to government officials; and a comparative study of party finance systems in more than a dozen countries was compiled for use in the ministry's deliberations.

At the regional level, NDI continued to support efforts by provincial legislatures to strengthen their internal operations and ensure public participation in the legislative process. Parliamentary training workshops familiarized provincial lawmakers with constituent relations, committee organization, press relations and rules of procedure. NDI published a 300-page resource manual on the operations of parliamentary committees and a handbook on constituent relations that provides practical advice on developing methods for communicating with citizens and managing casework. In addition, NDI assists the University of Western Cape with its program to develop and sustain an ongoing training program for new legislators. ■

*"NDI has enabled
us to proceed...
with confidence
that we are writ-
ing our legislation
fully informed
about the experi-
ences of others
worldwide."*

—M. Valli Moosa, Minister
for Provincial Affairs and
Constitutional Development

ANGOLA

With the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol in 1994, Angola laid the foundation for a political process to end decades of civil war and begin a gradual transition to reconciliation and democracy. Angola confronts many challenges in resolving issues arising from the complicated process of demobilizing soldiers, integrating opposition UNITA officials into a government of national unity, and decentralizing local and provincial governments. NDI activities broaden the exposure of Angolans to democratic practices as they consolidate the peace process and begin political reconstruction. NDI brought UNITA and government officials to South Africa to examine the reconciliation process and the workings of newly elected local governments. NDI opened an office in Luanda in September to carry out a two-year program to train provincial and local officials about the decentralization process, and educate Angolans about their new governing structures.

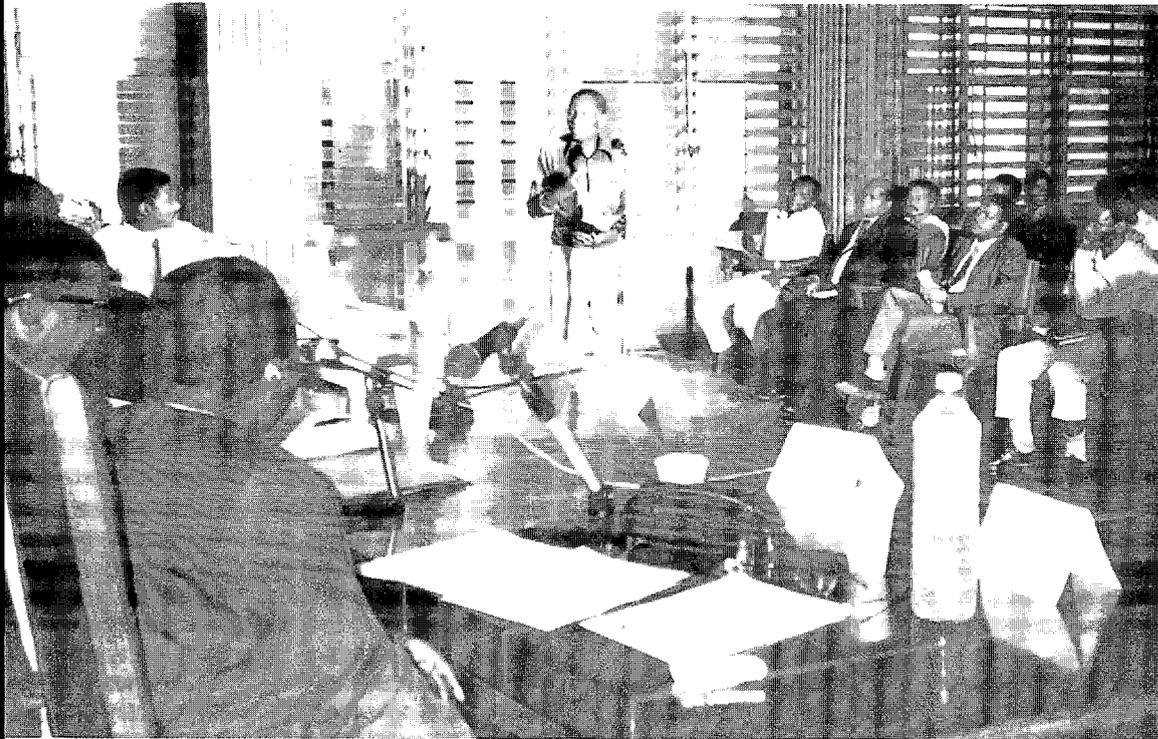
MALAWI

Public opinion research reveals that Malawians are enthusiastic about their country's new democracy, but demand a greater voice in government. By working with parliament to improve its internal organization and its relationship with key segments of civil society, including nongovernmental organizations, women's groups and the media, NDI programs increase the participation of Malawians in the political process. NDI pub-

lished a handbook on constituent outreach techniques tailored for Malawian parliamentarians and helped draft summaries of key legislation in English and the local language of Chichewa that were broadcast to 8 million listeners through Malawi's only national radio station. NDI helped form the Malawi Parliamentary Women's Caucus, which prepared landmark legislation to reform laws that discriminate against women. NDI also created a directory of more than 250 professional women to increase their opportunities for appointment to public office and assisted a Malawian journalist association with organizing and broadcasting candidate debates.

MAURITIUS

The current governing party in Mauritius ran successfully on a strong anti-corruption platform during national polls in 1995. Allegations that public officials were unduly influenced by private financial interests led to public cynicism and, ultimately, the defeat of the ruling party. Once in office, the new administration was faced with drafting new rules of conduct for government employees and restoring public confidence in the civil service. At the request of the prime minister, NDI experts provided key leaders with comparative information on ethics rules and regulations adopted in other countries. Subsequently, a senior civil service official asked the ethics specialists to provide recommendations on a draft code of conduct for civil servants.



ZAMBIA

The 1991 Zambian elections and the subsequent transition to multiparty democracy influenced positively democratic polls throughout southern Africa and served as models for other countries in the region. In advance of the 1996 presidential poll, however, hastily approved constitutional amendments that eliminated any real competition to the government undermined these achievements. In the absence of genuine multiparty competition and dialogue, NDI withdrew its Lusaka-based staff in June and suspended its election support program. Before its departure, NDI had helped develop the Lusaka-based Clean Campaign Committee, which was established to promote a credible electoral process. The Committee monitored the election, courageously chronicled electoral irregularities and declared that the poll failed to meet internationally accepted standards for free and fair elections.

Namibian National Assembly Speaker Mosé Tjitendero experiments with newly installed computers in the Parliamentary Research Service.

NAMIBIA

While Namibian lawmakers remain committed to the development of parliament as a co-equal branch of government, the nascent legislature has suffered from inadequate resources to fulfill its legislative and representative responsibilities. NDI programs respond to needs expressed by Namibian lawmakers to support the professional growth of the two-house parliament and increase citizen involvement in the legislative

process. During 1996, NDI's technical assistance helped the parliament draft its committee rules, and improved the capacity of lawmakers and staff to analyze legislative proposals. NDI worked closely with the parliament to design and equip the Parliamentary Research Service, an upgraded research facility that features a customized computer network and research center with access to the Internet and electronic resources from around the world.



At an NDI-sponsored forum in Beira, Mozambican citizens and elected officials exchange views on public policy issues.

MOZAMBIQUE

More than a two years after their country's first multiparty elections, which ended a brutal civil war, most Mozambicans remain unfamiliar with the role and function of new governmental institutions. A group of 100 Mozambican moderators, trained by NDI, conducted civic education forums throughout the country. In 1996, more than 150,000 Mozambicans attended 7,000 sessions to discuss such topics as the new constitution, the rights and responsibilities of citizens, the structure of national government and plans for upcoming local elections. NDI also sponsored Mozambique's first-ever public forums where Mozambicans discussed national issues and local initiatives with parliamentarians and municipal officials. The popularity of the forums, which were broadcast on Radio Mozambique, have prompted plans to include a call-in period for radio listeners.

West Africa

GHANA'S ELECTIONS DRAW PRAISE AND PARTICIPATION

Ghana's pride as the first West African country to achieve independence in 1957 had been tempered by its tumultuous history of flawed elections and military *coups d'état*. Opposition parties alleged fraud in the presidential poll in 1992 and refused to participate in subsequent legislative elections, which left the former parliament bereft of any genuine opposition representation.

Following the disputed 1992 poll, Ghana's Independent Electoral Commission and political parties agreed on measures to enhance public confidence in the next round of parliamentary and presidential elections on December 7, 1996. An inter-party advisory committee was established to improve communication between political parties and the Commission, permitting both sides to address election-related problems at an early stage.

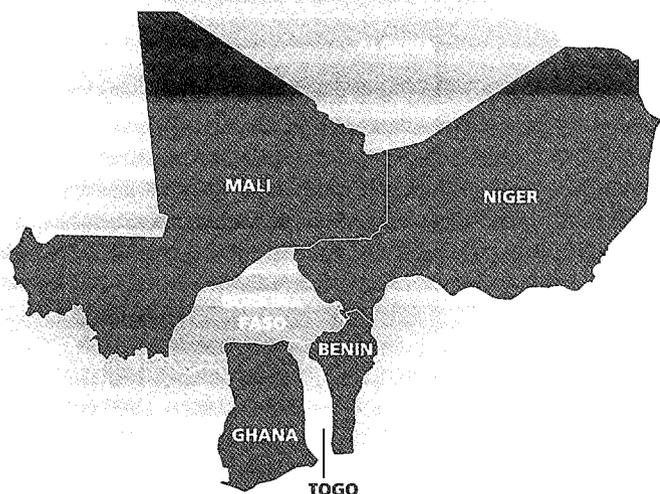
The 1996 elections marked the first time in the country's history that one civilian government transferred power to another. The elections were viewed not only as an important expression of Ghana's commitment to democracy, but a model for similar electoral efforts in the region.

The presidential election was closely contested by three candidates while more than 700 candidates vied for seats in Ghana's 200-member parliament. Incumbent President Jerry Rawlings, who was elected in 1992 and had previously led military *coups* in 1979 and 1981, was reelected; his party, the National Democratic Congress, won a majority of seats in parliament. Opposition parties, however, made significant gains in the legislative contests.

Even in the face of the country's more open political climate, however, the legacy of Ghana's controversial electoral history continued to fuel public skepticism about the fairness and transparency of election administration, especially during the campaign period. At the request of the Independent Electoral Commission, NDI designed a program to help overcome this cynicism and potential voter apathy.

Upon opening an office in Accra in October, NDI assisted Ghanaian nongovernmental organizations with forming a coalition of civic groups and professional associations known as the Network of Domestic Election Observers (NEDEO). By monitoring and reporting on the electoral process NEDEO sought to enhance the integrity of the elections and promote citizen participation in the process.

During national, regional and local training seminars, more than 5,000 Ghanaians studied the election law and procedures, the methodology of election observation and systems for reporting electoral irregularities. With technical advice and financial support, NDI also assisted NEDEO with establishing local volunteer chapters, drafting training materials, forming a



“The [Ghanaian election] monitoring movement reflects ‘the continued emergence of a civil society...independent of the institutions of the state,’ [political scientist E. Gyimah] Boadi said. ‘This is the greatest indicator of our democratic development.’”

—Washington Post

communication network, developing a media strategy and implementing a deployment plan for election day when more than 4,000 Network pollwatchers observed voting in all 10 regions of the country.

To supplement the work of NEDEO, NDI organized teams of international observers who monitored the pre-election campaign, and observed the voting and counting process at more than 300 polling sites throughout the country. The efforts of election authorities, political parties and civic groups created a process markedly different than 1992 when electoral controversies and boycotts characterized the political environment. The NDI observer delegation pointed to this dramatic change and noted that active citizen participation in the electoral process had "increased substantially the transparency of the elections and the likelihood Ghanaian voters would consider the outcome to be a genuine expression of their will and a confirmation of their commitment to democracy." ■



Dr. K. Afari-Gyan, chairman of the Independent Electoral Commission of Ghana, briefs NDI's international observer delegation on voting procedures for the December 7 national elections.

BENIN

Benin's second competitive presidential poll since the advent of a multiparty system in 1991 was viewed by many as an important benchmark in the country's transition to democratic rule as well as a potential bellwether for elections in the region. The 1996 election also marked a rematch between former military ruler Mathieu Kérékou and Nicéphore Soglo who defeated Kérékou in 1991. Soglo lost his bid for re-election and accepted defeat magnanimously. International observer delegations organized by NDI to both rounds of the 1996 presidential election were

impressed by the high voter turnout and the level of citizen participation. Beninese political leaders and the local media asserted that the presence of international observers contributed to the conduct of a transparent and peaceful election, and allowed for the outcome to be accepted by all contesting parties. Subsequently, NDI and two Beninese non-governmental organizations, sponsored a post-election roundtable at which political and civic activists explored ways of improving the conduct of future elections.

NDI election observer Parfait Moukoko from Congo-Brazzaville (holding folder) takes a boat to a polling station near Malanville, Benin.



MALI

Elections in 1997 will represent the first competitive polls to be organized by an incumbent, democratically elected government in Mali. At the invitation of President Alpha Oumar Konaré, an NDI delegation of international election experts evaluated existing election laws and issued a report that recommended ways to promote an open and transparent process. Reform measures proposed by the delegation appeared in new drafts of the law, later approved by parliament and the Constitutional Court. Since opening an office in Bamako in November, NDI has worked to increase the organizational capacity and membership of civic groups that plan to undertake activities to enhance confidence and participation in the 1997 legislative and presidential elections.

NIGER

A *coup d'état* in January undermined efforts by Nigerien democrats to sustain the country's turn toward multiparty democracy. In July, hopes for a prompt return to democratic, civilian government were thwarted by the military regime's "willful effort to subvert the [election] process" according to a statement issued by NDI. Following the *coup*, NDI suspended programs to strengthen the parliament and civic organizations, and closed its office in Niamey after the presidential poll, which was won by *coup* leader General Maïnassara Baré. Before the election, NDI provided technical and financial support to the Collectif, a coalition of civic groups and professional associations that deployed nearly 1,000 trained pollwatchers. Critical reports on the election issued by NDI and the Collectif stood in sharp contrast to certain international observer delegations and diplomatic missions that chose to minimize, if not ignore electoral fraud.

Asia

BURMA'S MILITARY REGIME STEPS UP REPRESSION AGAINST DEMOCRATS

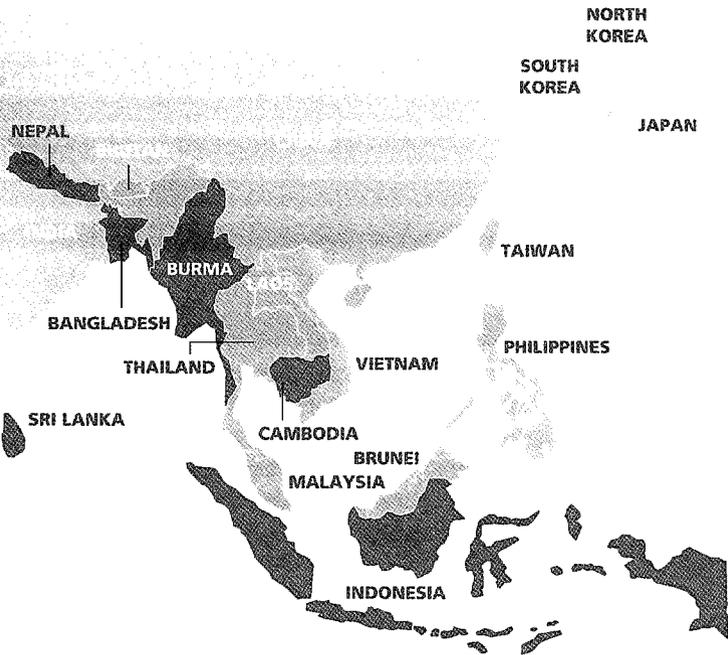
Burma is ruled by a military regime with an ominous name that George Orwell would have appreciated—the State Law and Order Restoration Council, known as SLORC. During national elections in 1990, the National League for Democracy (NLD), led by Aung San Suu Kyi, won a landslide victory. However, the SLORC refused to honor the results. Since then, the military has only tightened its grip on the Burmese people, including holding Suu Kyi under house arrest for nearly six years.

In the wake of Suu Kyi's release in 1995, NDI traveled to Rangoon to meet with her, assess political conditions in the country and gauge how NDI might help further the Burmese democratic cause. The NDI delegation concluded that while Burma offered a compelling call for democratic assistance, SLORC repression and restrictiveness prohibited any in-country program.

In a meeting with NDI, Suu Kyi discussed how democratic efforts inside Burma are enhanced by programs undertaken by Burmese exile groups, which are led by parliamentarians elected in 1990 but prevented from taking office. These groups operate primarily in Bangladesh, India and Thailand. Although the exile groups are involved in projects in support of a democratic Burma, they have experienced difficulties in systematically sharing information and coordinating their efforts.

Suu Kyi urged that the exile movement continue to promote unity among the various ethnic and political factions, and organize their activities in conjunction with the National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma (NCGUB), the government-in-exile recognized by Suu Kyi and the NLD. She also explained that the Burmese people have an acute

She also explained that the Burmese people have an acute



“Fear is the biggest thing about Burma these days. SLORC rules by fear. It lives by fear. I think it’s only people who are frightened who try to frighten other people.”

—Aung San Suu Kyi



NDI President Kenneth Wollack meets with Aung San Suu Kyi at her home in Rangoon.

sense of isolation, and that international attention toward Burma positively affects the morale of her democratic movement.

Since Suu Kyi's release from house arrest, new repressive measures have been directed against her and her supporters. The military has jailed more than 250 members of the NLD, including her close personal aides. Moreover, she has been blocked from making public speeches and her movements outside her home have been severely restricted.

Following its visit to Rangoon, NDI began providing exile groups with the tools and technical know-how to more effectively communicate information about the democracy movement among themselves, to the international community and to democracy proponents inside Burma. During NDI-sponsored workshops in the region, Burmese ethnic and political groups explored steps involved in developing an integrated communication effort, from presenting an effective message to publicizing important developments through interviews and press releases. Workshops also covered the uses and benefits of the Internet and electronic mail, and the potential benefits of this new technology in disseminating information.

In Thailand and India, NDI supported the establishment of communication centers led by parliamentarians from the NCGUB. NDI will help the centers with instituting an organizational structure to communicate among various components of the democracy movement, and will assist the movement with developing the capacity to reach consensus about and respond to events relating to Burma. ■

BANGLADESH

Prospects for a fair electoral process and an end to months of political turmoil inspired a record 73 percent voter turnout for national elections in Bangladesh. The country had been in crisis since opposition parties alleged fraud in 1994 by-elections, and called for the prime minister's resignation and new polls under a caretaker government. Bangladeshi analysts saw new elections as a precursor to economic and political stability. To promote confidence in the elections, NDI provided technical support to the Fair Election Monitoring Alliance (FEMA), a coalition of 180 civic groups, that overcame considerable odds to mobilize 25,000 volunteer pollwatchers on election day. NDI also organized a comprehensive observation program including a 30-member international delegation, whose post-election statement urged the winners to act in a spirit of reconciliation, and those who lost to accept the results and assume their role as a loyal opposition.

CAMBODIA

Harassment and intimidation of opposition figures and journalists continue to plague Cambodia's fragile political balance as the country prepares for its first self-managed elections in 1998. Despite the many challenges, civic organizations are conducting programs to prepare Cambodia for the new polls. NDI works with two Phnom Penh-based civic coalitions to organize a nationwide election monitoring movement and voter education program that will encourage fairer campaign practices, promote a more informed electorate and protect the integrity of the voting process. With NDI support, the two coalitions developed a *Manual for Civic and Voter Education Trainers* and have begun preparing trainers to conduct seminars in rural areas to educate Cambodians about their rights and responsibilities, and encourage participation in the upcoming elections.

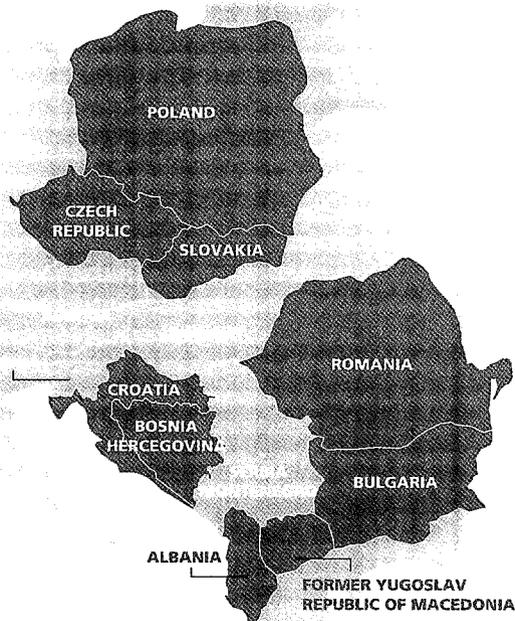
INDONESIA

In the world's fourth most populous country, the "New Order" government of President Suharto adheres to a 30-year-old political system that seeks to control virtually all aspects of political life: opposition candidates and policies are routinely screened by the government, assuring the ruling Golkar Party overwhelming victory at the polls. NDI is supporting a group of civic activists who plan to organize a nationwide



Women, who voted in record numbers during the June 12 national elections in Bangladesh, line up at a polling station in Narayanganj.

Central and Eastern Europe



BOSNIA'S MULTI-ETHNIC PARTIES COMPETE IN HOSTILE ENVIRONMENT

The war in Bosnia-Hercegovina (BiH) represented Europe's bloodiest conflict since World War II. BiH today faces the complex, and, at times, seemingly insurmountable task of rebuilding a state with institutions that protect and balance interests of three ethnic groups—Moslems, Croats and Serbs.

The signing of the December 1995 Dayton Accord created a political framework that enabled the country to move from a state of war that followed the splintering of Yugoslavia toward the start of representative government. Elections were to be the cornerstone of this blueprint for political reconciliation. At stake were: parliamentary and presidential seats in the Republika Srpska and in the Republic of BiH; parliamentary seats in the Muslim Croat Federation; and cantonal seats.

Despite progress, the political climate in early 1996 was characterized by Bosnian alienation from an electoral process in which they perceived little ownership and the risk that leading political parties would withdraw altogether. Both politically and financially, the three ethnically based, nationalist parties dominated a sectarian political environment in which indicted war criminals continued to exert considerable influence. The lack of equitable media access and freedom of association raised the possibility that parties favoring a unified, multi-ethnic country would have no voice in BiH's political process.

Before the elections, Western analysts linked hopes for the country's future with the success of opposition parties to gain a presence in the national and regional parliaments. "If they can become a check on the crazy nationalism that brought war to Bosnia, then the elections are a success," one senior Western diplomat told the *Washington Post*. "If they are smashed completely by the nationalists, then we really have failed."

The need to create political space in which democratic, opposition parties could present their messages to voters and to build meaningful Bosnian participation in the electoral process was, therefore, particularly critical. To redress existing inequities and provide genuine multi-ethnic parties with political skills with which to compete more effectively, NDI conducted an intensive political party development program in selected cantons in the Republic's two entities: the Muslim Croat Federation and the Republika Srpska. NDI's day-to-day political training program included: focus groups that assisted

"With the help of the Washington-based NDI, the [multi-ethnic] United List was able to organize and run an effective campaign."

—University of Virginia
Professor Paul Shoup in
Problems of Post-Communism



multi-ethnic political parties to better communicate with the electorate; more than 60 tailored skills-building sessions on political organization, communication, voter contact and message development; customized training manuals adapted for the Bosnian context; and pollwatching training.

While the results of BiH's first post-war nationwide elections confirmed the primacy of nationalist forces, leading multi-ethnic opposition parties made significant inroads that can affect the establishment of nascent democratic institutions and greater political pluralism in the country. "We contended all along that if we got more than 7 percent, we would be satisfied...we see 10 percent as almost a victory..." said one leader of the coalition of multi-ethnic parties.

Using its close contacts with party leaders of all affiliations, NDI also served as a bridge between parties and international election administrators in the months preceding elections. The Institute was publicly credited by members of the

Provisional Election Commission for having provided critical guidance to parties regarding electoral procedures and complaint mechanisms.

NDI also helped produce and distribute more than 10,000 guides on voting procedures and held 35 voter education sessions with Bosnian citizens throughout the Tuzla canton.

Following the elections, observers underscored the dire need for an informed and involved population, which has been traumatized by war and uncertain about the future of the new political system. In addition to continuing its political party work in advance of local elections in September 1997, NDI also launched a civic education program, called Civic Forum, to raise the political awareness of Bosnians and to encourage their participation in the country's democratic transition.

NDI sponsored the production of *Feel Your Power*, a guide that familiarized Bosnian citizens with the voting process and the new legislative bodies being elected.

Unutar glasanja

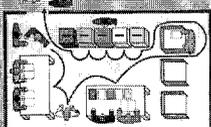
6 koraka do glasanja

Kada uđete na glasačko mjesto da biste glasali prvi korak je da budete sigurni da niste već jednom glasali. Bićete zamoljeni da promotrite svoju desnu ruku upadajući u ruku glasača da bi se ustanovilo da li se na njoj nalaze osjeci nesudivih tinte. Ponom čete biti zamoljeni da potvrdite ispravne kopije dokazati vaš identitet. Možete koristiti bilo koji od 10 važećih dokumenata prikazanih ovdje. Službenik za identifikaciju mora biti siguran da imate pravo glasati. Vaše ime mora biti na glasačkom spisku ili mu morate predložiti svoj primjerak prijavnih obrazaca broj 1, II ili III.

Ako je sve u redu vaš desni kažiprst će biti označen nevidljivom tintom i dobijete svojih pet glasačkih listića da biste glasali. Službenik za glasačke listiće će vas uputiti do glasačkog stola koji je zaklonjen paravanom. Budite sigurni da ste glasačke listiće označili jednim brojem. Glasački listić možete ostaviti neoznačenim ukoliko ne želite glasati za nekog od pet nivoa vlasti.

Ovi izbori se vrše tajnim glasačkim listićima pa ih trebate preneti na pola prije nego napustite glasačko mjesto. Nakon toga utisnite svaki glasački listić u glasačku kantu označenu odgovarajućim brojem.

Ako glasate u oštiru: to morate uraditi na posebnom glasačkom mjestu odredbenim zahtjevima. Lokalne izborne komisije u općini u kojoj trenutno živite, Tele-der, ne zabore, da da morate pokazati vaši listići - prijavnih obrazaca (prijavni obrazac broj 1) prije nego dobijete glasačke listiće.

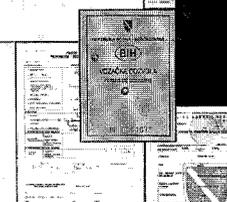


Ako imate problema ili pitanja na glasačkom mjestu, zahvaljujući da vam predsjedavajući glasačkog mjesto pomogne u rješavanju problema. On ili ona će zadržati da zabilježe sve probleme, uzimajući u obzir posebne okolnosti i nepravilnosti u glasačkoj kanti koja je zvanični zapisnik glasačkog odbora na dan glasanja. Zvanični posmatrači i kontrolori će biti tamo da bi posvjedočili o svim aktivnostima koje se budu dešavale u toku dana. Vi imate apsolutno pravo na privatnost dok glasate, osim u slučaju kada trebate pomoć zbog fizičke nesposobnosti ili drugih nedostataka, u tom slučaju možete zatražiti pomoć prijatelja, člana porodice ili drugog glasača, da

Dokumenti za identifikaciju

Da biste mogli glasati na dan izbora, morate doći sa svojim identitetom. Budite spremni da pokažete važeće identifikativne na birališnom mjestu. Najbolji dokument za ovo je lična karta, zbog toga što posjeduje sve neophodne informacije koje službenik za predsjedanje birališnim dokumentima može koristiti pri potvrđivanju vaše kvalifikovanosti da dobijete glasačke listiće: ime, datum rođenja i matični broj. Ali pravila vam dozvoljavaju da umjesto lične karte predložite neke od slijedećih dokumenata: uvjerenje o državljanstvu, pasos, rodni list, potvrda o mjestu prebivališta, vozača dozvola, vojna knjižica, zdravstvena knjižica, uvjerenje o registraciji promjene imena.

Ako nemate nijedan od ovih dokumenata možete sa sobom iznijeti. Napišite svoje ime, trenutnu adresu boravišta, jedinstveni matični broj, ako ga znate, datum rođenja i ako je moguće adresu stanovanja iz 1991. godine. Da biste dobili glasačke listiće vaše ime se mora nalaziti na glasačkom listu ili morate priložiti prijavni obrazac broj 1, II ili III.

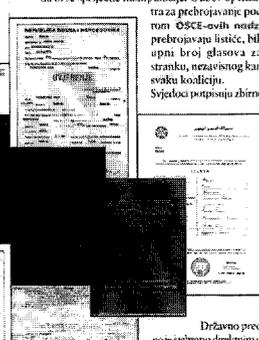


vam pomognu u obilježavanju glasačkog listića. Bilo ko, ko vam namjerno nudi kakve predizborne aktivnosti u toku od 50m van glasačkog mjesto. Svako građanin ima pravo da ulazi žubiri kod izborne žubane poskupljenja PKC-a, koja može dovesti do nove baze ili disvaljkaske hok i njegovoj imca ili političkog kandidata koji krše zakon.

Brojanje glasova

Vrsta glasačkog mjesto se ustanovila u 1990. i bilo nekoličeta u redu ispred vrata biće mu dozvoljeno da glas.

Kada svi glasači odu, kontrolori, posmatrači i predsjednici stranke gledaju kako predstavljujući glasačkog mjesto pečati glasačku kantu, unosi broj glasača i broj upropštenih, nevažećih i nekorisćenih listića. Predsjedavajući i svjedoci potpisuju zbirne listove i druge obrazce u zatim oprate svi materijal u općinske centre za prebrojavanje, gdje se glasačke kante i sav drugi materijal registruje i stavlja pod nadzor OSCE-ovih izbornih nadzornika i akreditovanih posmatrača da bi se spriječila manipulacija. Odbor općinskog centra za prebrojavanje pod nadzorom OSCE-ovih nadzornika, prebrojavaju listiće, bilježe ukupni broj glasova za svaku stranku, nezavisnog kandidata i svaku koaliciju. Svjedoci potpisuju zbirne listove.



Državno predsjedništvo je izabrano direktnim glasanjem u jesu Bošnjak, Hrvat i Srbin koji dobiju najviše glasova će biti proglašeni za političke. Poljudnici zakonodavnih izbora - za državni zastupnički dom, federalni zastupnički dom, kantonalni i općinski vijeća - će biti određeni sistemom

proporcionalnog zastupanja; to jeste, stranke i nezavisni kandidati će dobiti mjesta u ovim zakonodavnim tijelima zasnovanih na broju glasova koje su dobili u odnosu na teralni broj glasova priloženih na izboru. Privremena izborna komisija je odgovorna za samiranje za vršnih rezultata iz svih općina i oni će biti u koji će objasniti konačne rezultate. (pogledaj Kanfonda)

5 Nivoa vlasti za koje glasate

Svaki glasački listić je različite boje i sadržava imena kandidata, političkih stranka i koalicija među kojima ćete se vi odlučiti za predstavnika na svakom nivou vlasti. Raspodjela vlasti izgleda ovako:

Općinske vijeće: biraju lokalne zvaničnike, biraju gradonačelnika, vrše lokalno obrazovanje, kulturu, turizam, trgovinu, radio i TV uključujući i vlast koju dijele s kantonom na tim područjima • nadzire dio policijskih snaga. Kantonalno vijeće: nadgleda policiju, strambenu politiku, socijalna pitanja, javne usluge, urbanizam u sastavu ovlasti koje dijele s općinskim vijećem • bira kantonalne zvaničnike, bira predsjednike za Vijeće naroda Federacije, dijeli tekuća ovlaštenja sa federalnim Zastupničkim domom na područja zaštite okoline, imigracije, ljudskih prava, itd. Zastupnički dom Federacije: Federalno zakonodavno tijelo zaduženo je za: državljansva, ekonomsku politiku, trgovinu i carine, finansije, energetiku • sa federalnim Narodnim vijećem bira predsjednika Federacije.

Državni zastupnički dom: 42 člana doma narodnog zakonodavnog tijela sa 15 članova Narodnog vijeća za spolnu politiku, trgovanje, pravne, propise o izbjegličkim učenicima i migracionom pitanjima, krivični zakon, transport, komunikacije među entitetima, finansiranje vladinih operacija i obaveza Predsjedništvo BiH: tročlano nacionalno izvršno tijelo sadržano od jednog Bošnjaka, jednog Hrvata, jednog Srbina, koji dijele odgovornost za postavljanje Ministarskog vijeća i donošenja državne politike i državnih odluka.



Ne postoji precizna definicija "lokalnih izborova", ali zato znamo da su to izbori za lokalne vijeće, općinske vijeće, glasača i da glasate glasačkim listićima. Glasački listići se glasačkim materijalom ili suprotnostima koji nisu nađeni na bilo koji drugi način. Zbog toga su PKC, OSCE razvili glasački listićima, to mnogo sigurnosti procedura usmjereni na zaštitu vašeg prava na glasanje. Međim vas glasajte u subotu 14. septembra.

Prava i obaveze

ALBANIA

Disaffection with Albania's government in the aftermath of the flawed May 16, 1996 elections was heightened in January 1997 by the collapse of popular pyramid investment schemes that wiped out the life savings of more than a third of the population. Citizen anger with the country's leaders for not preventing the financial losses prompted an armed uprising that led to chaos and anarchy. Seriously weakened, President Sali Berisha promised early parliamentary elections and replaced his Democratic Party administration with a coalition government of reconciliation that sought to restore order. Along with other Americans, NDI's Tirana-based field representative was evacuated but the Institute continued to advise the Society for Democratic Culture (SDC), its partner organization in Albania. The Society conducted a media campaign appealing for peace and organized public meetings in communities around the country to discuss ways of reestablishing order and resolving the crisis. With early parliamentary polls on the horizon, SDC also began making preparations to organize civic education programs in advance of elections in June 1997.



Logo of the Tirana-based Society for Democratic Culture.

BULGARIA

Growing discontent with Bulgaria's deteriorating economy fueled a contentious political environment in advance of November's election for president, a largely ceremonial post that was won by opposition forces. By early 1997, demonstrations prompted a political crisis and forced the ruling, former communist party to accept early parliamentary polls. NDI worked with the Bulgarian Association of Fair Elections and Civil Rights (BAFECR) to safeguard an electoral process that was seen as a stabilizing force and a cause for hope among a disaffected electorate. BAFECR quickly mobilized its organizational resources to conduct nationwide voter education and get-out-the-vote programs that informed millions of citizens. In addition, more than 8,000 BAFECR pollwatchers fanned out across the country to protect the integrity of balloting on election day.

CROATIA

President Franjo Tudjman's Croatian Democratic Union has dominated politics in the country since independence in 1992. NDI supports efforts to promote a more pluralistic political environment through stronger and more competitive political parties. With three sets of elections scheduled in 1997, NDI's program provides democratic parties with information on political organizing to strengthen their internal organization and enhance their participation in the electoral process. Training sessions have covered the

practical aspects of running a local campaign including voter outreach, volunteer recruitment and budget planning.

In November 1995, Croatia and Serbia signed an agreement to reintegrate Serb-held territory in eastern Slavonia into Croatia proper. The transition process includes local elections in April 1997. Slavonian observers express concern that the local population does not understand the evolution of this process, especially the significance of municipal polls. NDI helped local civic groups produce voter education brochures and posters that describe registration and voting procedures, offer unbiased information on political issues and encourage citizens to vote. The Institute also sponsored election-related public meetings and radio programs.

CZECH REPUBLIC

The weakness of local community groups in the Czech Republic severely limits the ability of citizens to address common social, economic and political issues through the democratic political process. While the basic foundations and institutions of democracy and rule of law are firmly in place, many leaders have criticized the country's political system for being too centralized, thus limiting the ability of citizens to influence local and national politics. NDI's civic education program works with nongovernmental organizations in selected communities to build a link between citizens and local officials, and foster civic activism at the grassroots level. Civic coalitions formed with NDI support have lobbied local officials on the budgetmaking process, conducted candidate forums and organized an NGO "expo" to inform citizens about their activities and recruit new volunteers.

FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA (FYROM)

Due to the centralized nature of governance in FYROM, citizen groups rarely have an opportunity to comment on or influence public policy issues. Political transformation in FYROM depends on creating an environment in which the public can actively participate in public affairs and hold elected officials accountable. NDI provides civic groups with practical strategies on working with government to resolve pressing national and municipal issues. The Institute's nationally televised hearing on electoral reforms brought together for the first time civic groups, and ruling and opposition parties to discuss an agreement on a new election law. During the open forum, characterized by the justice minister as "a bright moment in Macedonia's path to democracy," the government announced it had accepted "80 percent" of the recommendations made by an NDI delegation that had assessed the legal framework for municipal elections.





For the first time in the country's history, citizens question mayoral candidates in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia during a public debate arranged by NDI's civic partner in the city of Gostivar.

POLAND

Polish democracy has been hampered by a fractionalized system of political parties, many of which lack the means to meet the threshold necessary to win seats in parliament. Supporters of these nonparliamentary parties, which comprise nearly 40 percent of the electorate, feel removed from the political process. A dearth of experience hinders the development of Poland's parties into well-

organized bodies. NDI programs emphasize strong local networks that can effectively represent citizen interests and long-term political party organization, including membership development, fundraising and communication. Party activists have used skills acquired during training programs to hold successful fundraising events, publish newsletters and devise strategies to recruit new members.

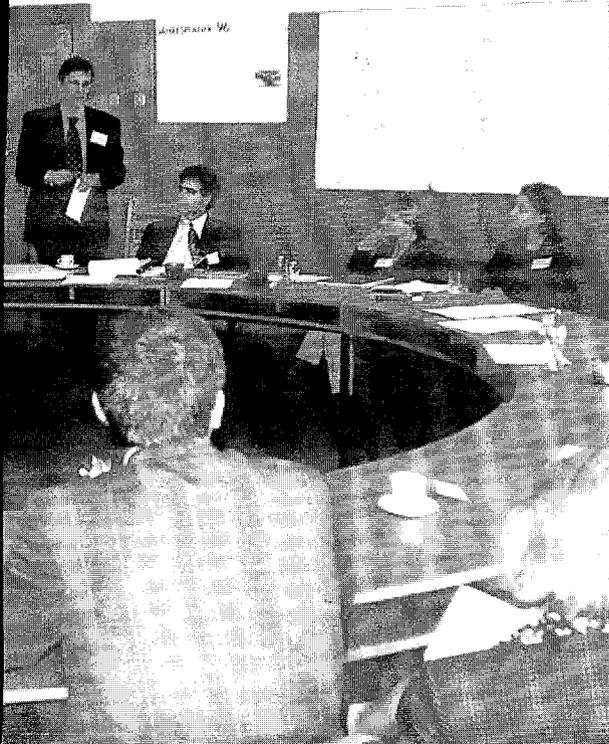
ROMANIA

Long-reigning dictator Nicolae Ceausescu nearly destroyed Romania's civic culture, leaving a legacy of inertia and suspicion that has hindered efforts to encourage free choice and citizen activism. NDI has worked with the Pro Democracy Association (PDA), which, since 1990, has promoted accountable government and participatory democracy through its civic education and political advocacy campaigns in 38 local clubs throughout the country. Before national elections in November, PDA launched an ambitious voter outreach program, during which a "civic road show" traveled throughout Romania distributing voter education materials and conducting more than 40 candidate debates. PDA and other civic groups were credited with creating a new political environment in which Romanians overcame their lingering fear of authority to defeat the post-communist government and usher in the country's most dramatic political change since the fall of Ceausescu.

SLOVAKIA

Freedom of speech, rule of law and other democratic principles in Slovakia have been curtailed by authoritarian government policies. Many citizens believe that little can be done to counter government transgressions. Others are fearful of challenging official views. NDI programs support local citizen initiatives that have helped overcome this fear and apathy. In three Slovak cities, NGOs and neighborhood groups with which NDI works have launched organized efforts to solve local problems by promoting their interests to national and municipal authorities. Plans are also underway to form a national network of NGOs that can influence public policy through community organizing.

Imre Baranyi from Hungary discusses membership recruitment with local political party activists from northern Poland.



The organization and campaign performance of Russia's reformist forces was also encouraging. In contrast to the parliamentary elections held six months earlier, most of Russia's democrats united behind one candidate, Boris Yeltsin. As a united force, the Yeltsin supporters then waged an aggressive campaign for electoral support, deepening expectations that future elections will be competitive. Most important, however, was how the Russian people responded to that campaign. During the last two years, many analysts had warned that Russian voters longed for either the communist past or an imperialist future. When given the choice between these options and reform, however, the electorate overwhelmingly chose the latter.

Some observers, fearing a split in the reform vote, were critical of the decision by Yabloko's Grigory Yavlinski to compete against Yeltsin. However, Yavlinski's run in the first round can be viewed as a positive development, representing the emergence of a genuine democratic opposition.

For the past six years, NDI has worked with Russia's nascent reform-oriented political parties and movements; more than 4,000 activists have participated in NDI training programs. These programs in Moscow and in dozens of cities throughout the Federation have focused on issues of internal organization and structure, public outreach, and volunteer recruitment and communication. NDI's Russian partners assumed major roles in the re-election effort, employing many of the basic organizing skills some outsiders believed had no relevance in Russia. Thousands of Russian election monitors also used NDI materials in helping to enhance the transparency of the electoral process.

That a significant victory was achieved does not call for complacency on the part of Russian democrats. Recent events also have highlighted flaws in Russia's emerging democracy. Russia still lacks an effective multiparty system and its super-presidential structure concentrates power in the hands of one individual. In addition, the electoral campaign demonstrated that even Russia's lauded press is not as free and independent as once thought.



West Virginia Republican gubernatorial candidate David McKinley (standing left) takes questions from a group of Russian political and civic leaders studying the political process in the United States.

Also, civic organizations, whose concerns political parties must eventually articulate, are weak and as yet reluctant to interact with the country's political institutions. NDI has invested in the capacity of civic groups to engage in the democratic process, including their ability to organize, advocate public issues and participate in elections. At the same time, NDI has worked with local elected officials on constituency relations and has encouraged political parties to forge relationships with these groups. In St. Petersburg, NDI programs prompted the formation of the Third-Sector Coalition, which provides services to nongovernmental organizations, and organizes public meetings with city and regional officials. As a result of NDI activities in Ekaterinburg, the municipal government and civic leaders created a council on local self-government to discuss policy issues, such as refugees and housing.



Former Canadian Cabinet Minister Ross Reid (standing) delivers keynote address on responsibilities of members of parliament to new members of the Georgian legislature. Also pictured (l to r): Laszlo Rajk from Hungary, James Shannon and Robert O'Donnell from the U.S., and NDI field representative Ted Jonas.

GEORGIA

Five years after civil and separatist conflicts left the country virtually ungovernable, the Republic of Georgia today offers one of the most promising examples of democratic development among the states of the former Soviet Union. While obstacles to sustained political and economic reform are formidable, a written constitution grounded in democratic principles is in place, and peaceful polls in 1995 yielded a popularly elected president and parliament.

The new parliament faced many challenges within its own institution including an unfamiliarity with its enhanced role under the new constitution and the inexperience of its membership—more than 70 percent of the 234 lawmakers hold their legislative seats for the first time. However, throughout 1996 the new parliament demonstrated extraordinary leadership and substantial political will to continue the process of reform.

One of the parliament's first targets for improvement was the conduct of its own operations. NDI contributed to efforts to change the parliament's structures and procedures. Early orientation programs provided lawmakers with practical information on parliamentary organization, including the role of committees. Today committees are functioning more efficiently than in the previous legislature, and key legislation is being passed with greater frequency than in past years.

NDI's Tbilisi office later worked with the legislature to improve parliamentary outreach and accessibility including one program that quite literally brings the public into the legislature. NDI helped the parliament design and implement a regular program of public visits and tours that has introduced thousands of students to a working democratic institution.

The concept of soliciting public input and opening up the legislature was itself unfamiliar territory to many lawmakers used to a less transparent operating environment. By year's end, a new parliamentary public information office, begun with NDI advice and encouragement, had succeeded in establishing open channels to the public through a series of programs designed to improve citizen confidence in the institution.

NDI consultations and seminars conducted throughout 1996 also informed legislative debates on issues ranging from local government reform to access to information. NDI's ongoing work with the parliamentary committee overseeing decentralization efforts enabled Georgian legislators and local officials to examine several models of municipal government to determine which services should be delivered at the local level, and how local authorities can develop and manage resources. An NDI conference on freedom of information helped the parliament draft legislation on media freedoms and government secrecy that will replace autocratic Soviet-style laws. ■

"NDI has been at the center of every major political reform issue in our country. From the development of a new constitution to government transparency, NDI has been a valued partner in our efforts to sustain democratic government."

—Zurab Zhvania, Chairman of Georgia's Parliament

ARMENIA

One year after flawed parliamentary elections diminished popular confidence in the electoral process. Armenia conducted a presidential poll. To help create a more credible electoral environment, NDI worked with political parties to train pollwatchers and helped establish It's Your Choice, a coalition of 16 civic organizations that produced voter education materials and fielded 1,400 pollwatchers. Optimism that the election would advance Armenian democracy was dashed by documented irregularities in the counting process, which led to mass demonstrations and a polarized political environment. Because of the highly contentious political situation inside Armenia, NDI will provide opportunities for the next generation of Armenian political leaders to study the workings of democratic parties in other countries.

AZERBAIJAN

Controversial parliamentary elections in 1995 resulted in an electoral sweep for the New Azerbaijan party affiliated with President Heydar Aliyev, a former Communist Party leader who had gained power through a *coup* 13 months earlier. The 1995 polls prompted the formation of groups seeking to reform the highly centralized political system. NDI supports the Azerbaijan Civic Initiative (ACI), a nongovernmental organization established to educate and train political party leaders, candidates and voters to participate in local elections expected in 1997. The local elections represent a test of the government's willingness to allow genuine competition and political choice. ACI's training sessions prepare candidates and political party leaders with information and techniques to effectively compete, while its handouts, brochures and neighborhood meetings inform voters of their electoral rights and responsibilities.

BALTICS

While nongovernmental organizations played a key role in the independence movements of the Baltic States of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, these groups today are lacking skills to build sustainable organizations and initiate programs to influence public policy. Together with the U.S.-Baltic Foundation and the Christian Children's Fund, NDI programs strengthen the capacity of civic groups to encourage public participation in local and national political affairs. A series of training seminars for civic groups in each of three Baltic capitals provided practical assistance on organizational development, advocacy, media relations and grassroots fundraising.

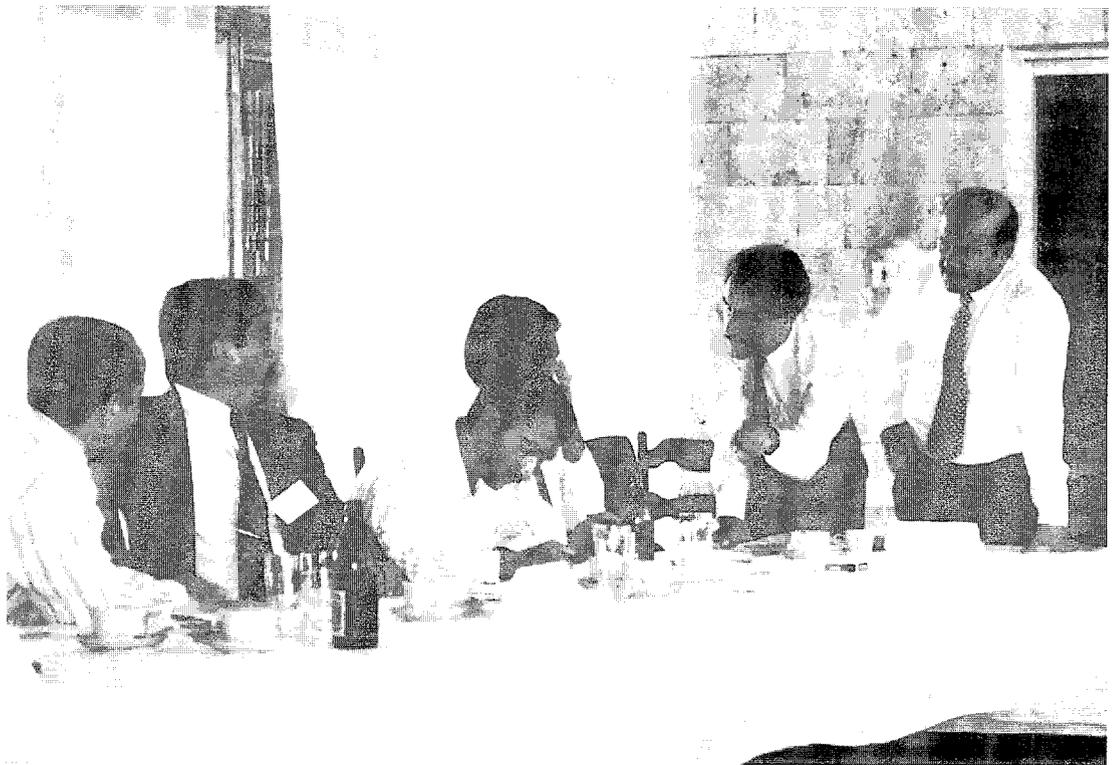
ESTONIA

A 1993 law transferred significant powers to local governments in Estonia. However few Estonians believe that municipal authorities are responsive to the needs of citizens. NDI worked with officials in five Estonian cities to build formal structures that involve citizens in municipal policy decisions. With NDI support, officials in Tartu sponsored legislation to establish a municipal planning commission that offers residents a voice in local decisionmaking. In Voru, NDI helped a task force of local officials and community leaders to create a development plan for the city. Citizens of Narva can now learn about their municipal government from an NDI-spon-

sored brochure that describes the government structure and budget, and provides a directory of local officials.

KYRGYZSTAN

Despite a recent constitutional referendum that significantly strengthened presidential powers, leadership in both houses of Kyrgyzstan's first democratically elected parliament have sought to establish the legislature as an independent and effective institution. NDI has been working closely with a group of reform-minded deputies on ways to clarify the legislature's internal procedures and enhance its relationship with the citizenry. NDI has focused on helping the



At a role-playing workshop in Azerbaijan, opposition and ruling party participants switch allegiances to examine the types of laws that should govern political parties.

Legislative Assembly restructure its nascent committee system to make it more efficient and accessible to the public. After attending a series of committee meetings, NDI offered recommendations on ways to improve committee hearings and organization.

LATVIA

Since 1993, when a newly independent Latvia held its first competitive national elections, the country's parliament, or Saeima, has made great strides in its evolution as a democratic, representative institution. Despite its successes, the Saeima's deputies and decision-making processes remain isolated from most Latvians. At the same time, opportunities exist for creating a dialogue between elected officials and their constituents, and making the legislature more accessible and responsive to the public. At an NDI program in Riga, Latvian civic groups identified strategies for involving themselves in the work of the parliament. Another NDI program encouraged members of parliament and their staff to incorporate citizen concerns into legislative deliberations. The Institute also plans to publish a handbook that will serve as a practical guide for individuals and civic organizations interested in participating in the policy-making process.

LITHUANIA

Lithuania's first multiparty local governments have ushered in a new generation of municipal leaders committed to rebuilding their communities after 50 years of communism. Many of these local leaders, who were elected in 1995, are actively seeking to strengthen their relations with constituents and involve them in municipal decisionmaking. NDI is working with officials in four cities to introduce procedures that provide citizens with opportunities to participate in

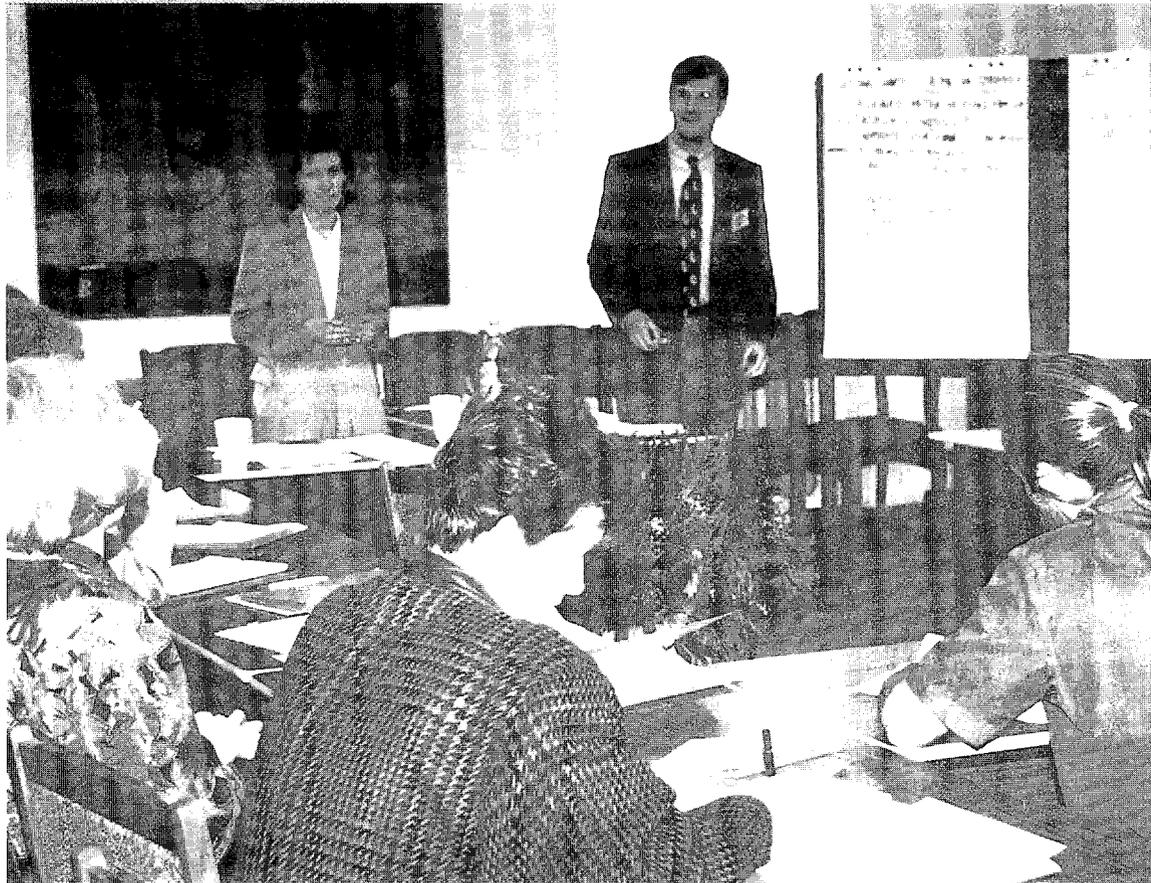
local affairs. NDI helped officials in Kaunas establish a citizen advisory committee. The panel comprises appointed volunteers who represent the mayor in different neighborhoods, providing residents with information about the city's programs and soliciting public comment about community concerns. Similar initiatives are planned for the cities of Alytus, Ukmerge and Utena.

UKRAINE

Ukraine was the among the last countries in the former Soviet Union to adopt a new, post-Soviet constitution. After a year-long process of developing and ratifying a democratic constitution, its adoption on June 28 was a boost to democratic forces

in the country. Opposition by communists had threatened to defeat or stall approval of this historic document. Throughout this period, NDI sponsored nationwide seminars with coalitions of democratic political parties that mobilized support for the constitution, which was not widely understood outside the capital. NDI also worked with the nonpartisan Committee of Voters of Ukraine, which developed and distributed written materials educating voters on the main provisions of the draft constitution, organized public hearings featuring parliamentarians and legal experts, and reached out to professional organizations to build support for passage of the constitution.

NDI field representative Mike Brogioli (standing, right) reviews advocacy techniques with representatives of Lithuanian non-governmental organizations during a seminar in Vilnius. The program is part of an effort to strengthen civic participation in the Baltic States.



Latin America and the Caribbean

NICARAGUAN CIVILIANS ASSERT AUTHORITY OVER MILITARY

After decades of authoritarian rule, Nicaragua

has become a full member of the hemisphere's community of democracies. Following historic transition elections in 1990, however, formidable challenges remained, including establishing civilian control of the Sandinista Army and overcoming a legacy of political divisiveness that threatened the democratic process. During this period, NDI helped bridge the divide between the military and civilian sectors of society, and promote public confidence in the electoral process.

After the 1990 elections, the political environment was tense and debate over the role of the military contentious. Civilian politicians and military leaders refused to meet to discuss reform, and military commander General Humberto Ortega declared that he would prohibit any government intrusion into military affairs.

Nicaraguan political leaders asked NDI to assist their efforts to depoliticize the military and ensure civilian oversight of the armed forces. "I have asked the National Democratic Institute to sponsor a civic education program," announced President Violetta Chamorro at the annual Army Day speech, "to achieve, on the one hand, the people's respect for the army; and, on the other hand, the army's respect for the people's decisions... and to bring the military closer to civilians in government posts or with legislative duties."

In response, NDI initiated programs to strengthen civilian oversight of the armed forces and to promote communication and consensus among the government, political parties and the army. Forced to initially hold separate meetings with feuding elected officials and army officers in 1993, NDI convened an unprecedented public forum with Nicaragua's key civilian and military leaders. The forum and subsequent meetings led to groundbreaking agreements on changing the politically charged name of the Sandinista Army, reforming the country's undemocratic military legislation and creating a civilian-led ministry of defense.

During several years, NDI brought experts from other countries to share their experiences on integrating the military into a democratic society. NDI volunteers included former Latin American civilian defense ministers, senior staff members from legislatures throughout the region, and retired Argentine, Portuguese, Spanish and U.S. army officers. As political leaders



"NDI created a climate... that permitted us to reach a consensus among the civilian and military sectors during the process of discussion and approval of the new military legislation."

—Senior legal adviser to the National Assembly of Nicaragua

CEEN



NICARAGUA

NDI supported the formation of the Center for Strategic Studies (CEEN), Nicaragua's first citizen group dedicated to strengthening civil-military relations.

struggled to establish new laws and institutions to control the army, these exchanges helped develop defense expertise among Nicaraguan civilians. They also exposed Nicaraguan army officers—many of whom had received their only formal training in countries such as Cuba, East Germany and the former Soviet Union—to principles of democratic civil-military relations.

Much has changed in the tense years immediately following the political transition. The National Assembly has passed groundbreaking military legislation and constitutional reforms, the army appears to be on a path toward professionalization, and political and military leaders now consult regularly with each other. In 1996, the country took another step toward consolidating civilian control of the armed forces when President-elect Arnaldo Alemán announced the appointment of Nicaragua's first civilian minister of defense. In 1995, the Institute supported the formation of the Center for Strategic Studies (CEEN), Nicaragua's first citizen group dedicated to strengthening civil-military relations. The Center's first president was selected to be the country's first civilian vice minister of defense. ■



A polling station president in San Pedro de Macoris counts ballots under the watchful eyes of political party pollwatchers during June 30 elections in the Dominican Republic.

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

In 1994, an international observer delegation organized by NDI denounced widespread fraud during presidential elections in the Dominican Republic. That finding was credited with averting street demonstrations threatened by losing opposition forces and prompting negotiations that led to electoral reforms and early polls in 1996. Following the 1994 balloting, NDI introduced a newly created grassroots civic group, the Santo Domingo-based Participacion Ciudadana, to the workings of similar organizations that had mobilized successful election monitoring programs in other countries in the region. Participacion Ciudadana's subsequent poll-watching program demonstrated widespread citizen interest in promoting a free and fair process. A different picture awaited NDI's observer delegation in 1996 when a new, credible election commission and a more assertive electorate combined to ensure an open electoral process and a peaceful transfer of power.

NICARAGUANS EMBRACE DOMESTIC ELECTION OBSERVERS

"[...] the] real winner [of the Nicaraguan elections] may turn out to be... Ethics and Transparency... that brought 4,200 Nicaraguans of all stripes together to make sure the proceedings were reasonably fair and to provide a rare Nicaraguan model of civil society at work."

—Washington Post



In a country where political adversaries were waging civil war less than a decade ago, the 1996 national elections in Nicaragua represented an important opportunity to consolidate democratic advances made since historic transition polls in 1990. The elections also marked the birth of Ethics and Transparency (ET), a nonpartisan domestic monitoring group that boosted public confidence in the electoral process and set an important example of multipartisan cooperation for the country's polarized society. NDI established an office in Managua to provide ET with organizational assistance, including guidance on administrative structure, volunteer recruitment and training materials. On election day, ET energized a national grassroots network of 4,200 volunteers to monitor nearly 90 percent of Nicaragua's 9,005 polling sites.

GUYANA

Competitive elections in 1992 ushered in a new democratic era in Guyana where years of controversial polls and undemocratic rule had led to public cynicism and disenchantment. NDI's long-term program assists Guyanese efforts to promote confidence in the country's governing institutions. The Institute works with the National Assembly to upgrade the legislature's outdated library facilities with new equipment

and procedures. With the Local Government Ministry, NDI sponsored more than 50 training workshops for 250 municipal government officials on a range of management issues including budget planning, economic development and public hearings. In preparation for national elections in 1997, NDI helped the Guyana Elections Commission develop plans for creating the electoral list, distributing voter I.D. cards and designing a civic education campaign.

Registrars with the Guyana Elections Commission conduct door-to-door voter registration in the West Bank Demerara region. Problems with the accuracy of the electoral list had plagued previous polls.



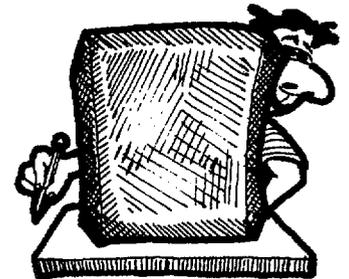
HAITI

Haiti today is governed by a democratically elected president and national legislature. However, the 1995 polls that brought them to power were plagued with irregularities, many of which were attributed to an electoral commission that did not gain public confidence or support. While steps have been taken to improve election administration, political parties and the public remain skeptical about the process. NDI reopened its Electoral Information Center to increase public understanding about Senate and local elections in 1997. The Center, which was originally established for the 1995 presidential poll, is a focal point for information about the elections and serves as a nonpartisan meeting place for election authorities, political party members, journalists and the international community. NDI also used the Center to conduct candidate debates and training workshops for journalists. More than 50 radio stations connected to the Center through telephone "hotlines" broadcast these events nationwide.

MEXICO

Longstanding allegations of electoral fraud prompted the Mexican Congress to consider electoral reforms to bolster public confidence in the 1997 elections and promote political stability in the country. Regrettably, the resulting reform legislation was weakened by the removal of provisions establishing reasonable campaign spending limits and providing political parties with greater access to the media. The legislation, however, did provide more independence to the election commission, which

had previously operated under the Interior Ministry. NDI supported the activities of the Alianza Civica, a coalition of 400 civic organizations, that had reported evidence of irregularities when it monitored state and local elections in 1995 and 1996. With NDI support, the Alianza Civica sponsored seminars to encourage public participation in the electoral reform debate and develop a package of reform proposals for presentation to the Mexican Congress. For the 1997 polls, the Alianza is monitoring the fairness of media coverage of the electoral campaign, conducting civic education to counter attempts at voter coercion and training its volunteers to conduct a nationwide pollwatching effort.



Con las boletas nos retiramos a un módulo cerrado, donde nadie puede ver por quién votamos. Ahí votamos en secreto.

Detail from Alianza Civica voter education materials describes the importance of ballot secrecy.



At a workshop conducted by Transparencia in Lima, 12 Peruvian civic organizations discuss efforts to strengthen public involvement in local affairs.

PERU

While Peru's 1993 constitution and 1996 municipal elections increased opportunities for public participation in local government, few citizens are knowledgeable about the functions of municipal authorities or how they might advocate their needs to local officials. NDI supports the efforts of the Lima-based civic organization, Transparencia, to raise citizen awareness about the responsibilities of elected officials and to increase public involvement in local government decisionmaking. Transparencia conducted more than 30 civic education workshops throughout the country informing thousands of citizens about their rights under the constitution, the role of local government and how to use new avenues of citizen participation, such as referendums. Using materials acquired from the forums, participants began organizing projects in their own communities. In one town, a local organization brought together more than 600 people to discuss crime prevention issues with local government officials.

VENEZUELA

Economic crises, *coup* attempts, the ouster of a president on corruption charges and electoral irregularities have undermined the faith of Venezuelans in the country's once-stable democratic institutions. NDI helped the Caracas-based School of Neighbors (EVV), a grassroots civic organization, increase public confidence in elections scheduled for 1998. When the Venezuelan Congress considered amending the election law, NDI and EVV organized programs on electoral reform, including a nationwide, informal poll on pending reform legislation, the results of which were presented to congressional leaders. NDI also conducted an international program in which Venezuelans studied successful electoral reform initiatives in Argentina, Colombia and Mexico.

CIVIC NETWORK

Where civic groups once played key roles in peaceful democratic transitions in the hemisphere, they are working today to consolidate democratic gains by serving as a link between citizens and traditionally weak institutions such as legislatures, political parties and local governments. NDI's "Civic Network," fosters an exchange of expertise among more than 35 Latin American civic groups by providing access to a clearinghouse of thousands of "how to" documents ranging from get-out-the-vote posters to guides on organizing "town meetings" to manuals on fundraising for non-profit organizations. NDI also created a Civic Network "homepage" on the Internet to help speed the distribution of information among the Civic Group's members. Many participants have welcomed this transfer of information, which provides them with new ideas, and helps save time and money in designing their own programs to promote citizen participation in the political process.

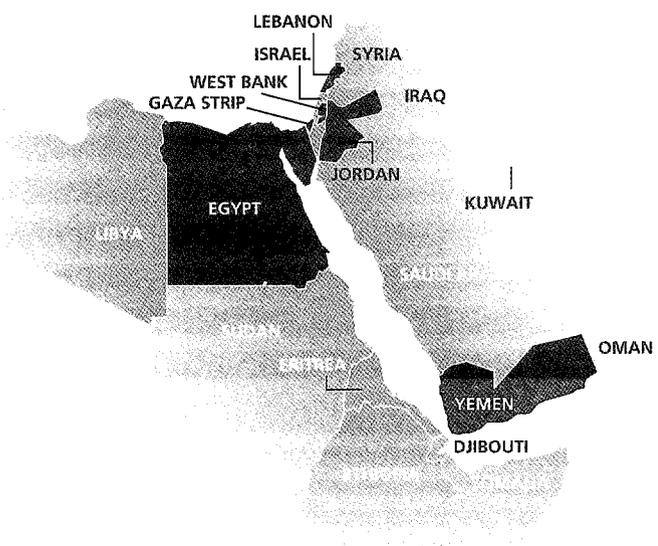
"The Civic Network is great! We just received materials from Transparencia [Peru], information about elections in Nicaragua and the list of the newest Network members."

—Argentine Civic Network Member

"this [the Civic Network] is a brilliant initiative..."

—Bolivian Civic Network Member

Middle East



PALESTINIANS PRACTICE DEMOCRACY

Elected in January 1996, the Palestinian Legislative Council (PLC) is an institutional linchpin in the fragile but promising democratic culture emerging in the West Bank and Gaza. If the Council can grow into a competent, responsive and accountable institution, it will become a vehicle for constructive citizen participation and democratic governance. However, the challenges of building a democratic legislature are daunting and should the PLC fail to fulfill its mandate, Palestinians may lose faith in a political system that is an integral part of the peace process.

Utilizing an international network of parliamentary experts, comparisons of relevant legislative models and a resident expert who has served as a speaker of a parliament, NDI provides practical assistance to Palestinian legislators. The Council has utilized NDI assistance to develop more effective and open plenary and committee sessions, and to establish professional procedures.

Following an NDI workshop on the role of committees in a legislature, the PLC's Economic Committee voted to open its meetings to the public, and at the request of the Committee chairman, the Institute has begun to attend the panel's meetings and provide its members with comparative information on committee procedures. And through NDI's Civic Forum program (see below) legislators have begun participating in public meetings with their constituents.

When the speaker of the Council requested advice on the PLC's rules for adopting draft legislation, NDI furnished recommendations that allow for more clear and consistent procedures. Also, a pocket-sized book on the PLC's rules of procedures has become a valued reference guide for PLC members, minimizing acrimonious debate that had virtually paralyzed plenary sessions.

CIVIC FORUM

In a poll conducted on the West Bank and Gaza Strip by the Center for Palestinian Research and Studies, Palestinians rated their democracy a 4.4 on a scale from one to 10; Israel and the United States were rated 7.8 and 6.6 respectively.

With a faltering peace process and greater political control being exerted by the Palestinian Authority, there have been few vehicles by which Palestinians have been able to gather information about democratic practices and engage constructively

"...the [Palestinian Legislative] Council's role is one that anyone who has a stake in peace in the Middle East cannot afford to ignore."

—Former U.S. Representative James M. Shannon, a participant in NDI's Legislative Council program



in political dialogue and civic action. NDI's civic education initiative, dubbed Civic Forum, has helped fill this void. The Forum provides Palestinians with democratic settings in which trained Palestinian moderators lead discussions on topics ranging from the relationship between citizens and elected representatives to the role of political parties in a democracy.

More than 300 Civic Forum groups, which meet every six weeks throughout the West Bank and Gaza Strip, have grown to include more than 6,000 Palestinians. Participants not only learn about democratic principles, they also have become active participants in political life in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Civic Forum topics, such as the role of local government and citizens in a democracy, have inspired participants to organize civic activities in their communities. Following discussions in Deir Al Balah, participants in two localities approached local government authorities about concerns with municipal water and street lighting; in both cases, authorities have taken steps to solve the problems. In Huwara, the local Civic Forum coordinator and participants arranged a meeting with a PLC member to discuss the declining wages of kindergarten teachers, and how to improve their financial and professional conditions. After reviewing the role of municipal government, at least three female Civic Forum participants decided to compete in upcoming local elections. Two of these prospective candidates cited the Civic Forum sessions as an important factor in their decision. Similar discussions on volunteerism and community involvement motivated young participants to build a playground in Maythalam. ■

PALESTINIANS VOTE IN HISTORIC ELECTIONS

"... the work done by the PDMC [Palestinian Domestic Monitoring Committee] and other NGOs... is absolutely crucial to the long-term success of Palestinian democracy."

—NDI/Carter Center Election Observation Delegation

In January, more than 800,000 Palestinians in the West Bank, Gaza Strip and East Jerusalem voted for the first time to choose their political leaders in general elections. Yasser Arafat was elected to head the Palestinian Interim Self-Government, or cabinet. Also elected was an 88-member Palestinian Legislative Council. Despite a boycott by some parties and an abbreviated election process, the unexpectedly high turnout in most districts strengthened the movement toward Palestinian democracy. With The Carter Center, NDI sponsored two delegations that monitored the pre-election campaign period, and a 40-member observer group visited polling stations in all 16 electoral districts. Two years before the elections, NDI supported the creation of the Palestinian Domestic Monitoring Committee, which recruited and trained 2,000 volunteers to monitor the voter registration and balloting. The Institute also developed a program in cooperation with the Jerusalem Center for Women that encouraged young Palestinian women to participate in politics.

At a "Civic Forum" workshop, participants question local government officials in Gaza City.



EGYPT

In 1995, controversial parliamentary elections, which were characterized by low voter turnout, led to the organization of independent election monitors to promote greater public confidence in Egypt's electoral process. Energized by their experiences in observing legislative contests, Egyptian civic activists established the Group for Democratic Development (GDD) and the Egyptian Center

for Women's Rights. NDI works with these groups to educate citizens on their electoral rights and to promote informed voter participation in the 1997 local elections. Through GDD's "Friends of Democracy" program, moderators conduct discussions throughout the country that transmit information and engage citizens on issues such as voter registration, balloting and the role of local councils.

JORDAN

As attitudes toward women's involvement in political affairs gradually liberalize in Jordan, new efforts are underway to encourage female political participation. While increased media attention accompanied the election of the country's first woman parliamentarian in 1994, most Jordanian women have had little exposure to the techniques and practices needed to seek elective office. In cooperation with

Jordanian women's groups, NDI programs provided prospective female candidates with management and leadership skills in preparation for parliamentary elections in 1997. NDI also invited six Jordanian women who are likely to run in 1997 to observe the campaigns of female candidates in the U.S. Information learned during the program helped prospective candidates develop campaign plans and begin their organizing efforts.

An election official in Augusta, Maine describes voting procedures to Salfa Abu Tayeh (left) and Raida Hamarneh who participated in a program to familiarize prospective Jordanian women candidates with U.S. political campaigns.



LEBANON

Lebanon conducted parliamentary elections August 18 through September 15, the second set of legislative polls since the civil war ended in 1989. Despite Syrian domination of Lebanese politics and public cynicism about the credibility of the election process, 713 candidates and roughly 48 percent of registered voters participated. While significant irregularities plagued the elections, there appears to have been genuine competition for some seats. NDI supported the efforts of the newly formed Lebanese Association for Democratic Elections (LADE), the only nongovernmental organization to scrutinize the process. Overcoming government opposition to its work, LADE observed the elections in 20 percent of the constituencies and documented serious problems at the polling stations. Its post-election report was distributed widely to local and international media.

YEMEN

The poorest country on the Arabian Peninsula, and steeped in traditional culture and values, Yemen is an unlikely candidate to become the vanguard for democratic reform in the region. Yet, the country has begun a process to establish a multiparty political system that includes the active participation of women. In April 1997, Yemen will conduct its first parliamentary elections since a civil war three years ago. NDI opened an office in Sanaa in June 1996 to help develop political parties that could participate effectively in the political process. NDI also advised the Arab Democratic Institute (ADI), a civic organization that conducted nationally televised voter education activities and succeeded in promoting election law reforms, including the use of ballot symbols to assist illiterate voters. As part of its program to increase women's political participation, ADI dispatched Yemeni coordinators trained by NDI to conduct voter education programs in the 83 voting districts where women's participation in the 1993 national elections was particularly low. As a result of ADI's efforts, registration of women voters has tripled. ADI has also trained more than 10,000 observers for election-day pollwatching.



Former U.S. Representative Tom Andrews (center) discusses the importance of developing a message with Yemeni political party leaders in Sanaa.

ARAB ELECTION MONITORS

As elections grow more frequent in the Arab world, independent, domestic election monitoring has emerged as an avenue to encourage public participation and to safeguard the integrity of the election process. Throughout the region, civic groups have increasingly assumed the challenge and responsibility of

involving citizens in protecting their own election processes. NDI and the New Jordan Research Center co-hosted a regional summit of election monitors to support a network of Arab democrats and to develop strategies to promote genuine elections. Participants represented 16 organizations from Algeria, Egypt, Lebanon,

Tunisia, the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and Yemen. Since the summit, participating organizations have announced plans to formalize their ties and begin preparations to establish an information-sharing network.

Participants review methods to enhance the institutional credibility of observer monitoring groups during a workshop for Arab election monitors.



“Anywhere in the world, each time a democratic institution takes root, each time a new democratic government addresses old problems with peaceful methods, the rationale for democratic solutions is strengthened, and democratic forces are encouraged and sustained.”

—NDI Mission Statement

NDI Democracy Award

NDI HONORS AUNG SAN SUU KYI AND WALTER F. MONDALE

NDI presented its 10th annual democracy award to Burmese democracy leader Aung San Suu Kyi and former Vice President and then-Ambassador to Japan, Walter F. Mondale, at a luncheon on August 26 at Chicago's Navy Pier. The 1,200 guests included cabinet secretaries, members of Congress, business and labor leaders, and international visitors to the Democratic National Convention.

"Today, Aung San Suu Kyi is on the front lines. It is up to us to remember that solidarity is a beautiful word not only in Polish, but in any language."

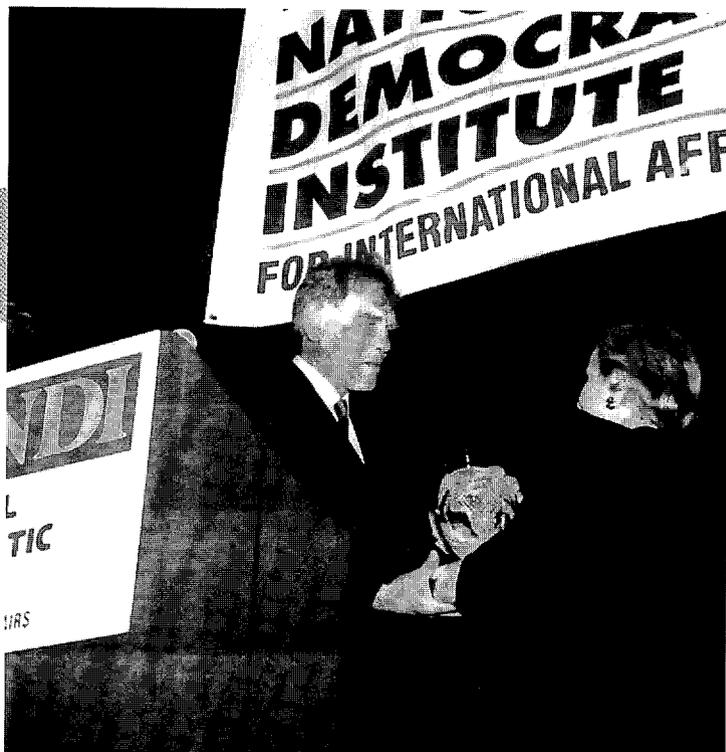
—Then-U.N. Ambassador
Madeleine K. Albright

"This honor conferred on the friend I hold dearest in this world means a great deal to me," remarked Dr. Michael Aris in accepting NDI's W. Averell Harriman Democracy Award on behalf of his wife, Aung San Suu Kyi. "It shows that it is not only I who stand by her... others who share the same values throughout the world, and principally those in her own country, stand by her side."

NDI Chairman Paul G. Kirk, Jr. paid tribute to Suu Kyi and Mondale by recognizing the bravery of those fighting for democracy. "NDI bears constant witness to the courage... of a valiant people engaged somewhere in the world in the early stages of an uncertain struggle toward a democratic life," Kirk said. "By the selection of our 1996 honorees... we reveal the timeless truth that those who contribute constantly and heroically to the values of democracy must never be taken for granted, but be suitably honored."

NDI President Kenneth Wollack read a letter from President Bill Clinton who described Suu Kyi as someone "... perhaps more than anyone today, who epitomizes the

Dr. Michael Aris accepts the NDI Democracy Award from then-U.N. Ambassador Madeleine K. Albright on behalf of his wife, Aung San Suu Kyi.



“The peoples of the countries of Asia, they generally believe in democracy because democracy is a system which values the people.”

—Aung San Suu Kyi

Then-U.N. Ambassador Madeleine K. Albright presented the award to Aung San Suu Kyi who could not attend the ceremony in person because she would be barred from returning to her country by the ruling military regime. In commenting on her recent visit with Suu Kyi, Albright described her impressions of the woman whose name has become synonymous with democracy in Burma. “[O]utwardly fragile, she is clearly very strong; outwardly serene, she harbors a deep passion for truth; outwardly determined, she searches not for confrontation, but for reconciliation,” Albright said. Albright concluded with an appeal to the international community to support the democracy movement in Burma. “It is up to us to remember that solidarity is a beautiful word not only in Polish, but in any language,” she said.

The luncheon featured a special video on Aung San Suu Kyi and the Burmese democracy movement. NDI traveled to Rangoon earlier in the year to notify Suu Kyi of her selection for the award and to film her remarks for inclusion in a video presentation at the ceremony. Suu Kyi’s own words eloquently summarized the fight for democracy in her country that is ruled by the military run State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC). “Fear is the biggest thing about Burma these days,” she said. “SLORC rules by fear. It lives by fear. I think it’s only people who are frightened who try to frighten other people.”

Suu Kyi addressed those who challenge the suitability of democracy in Asia. “Those who argue that democracy is not applicable in the Asian context, these people generally belong to Asian governments,” she said. “The peoples of the countries of Asia, they generally believe in democracy because democracy is a system which values the people.”

In his remarks, Mondale also spoke to the universal appeal of democracy. “In Asia, too, we can hear many of the familiar arguments against democracy,” he asserted. “They are the tired, self-serving excuses of dictators and autocrats threatened by democratic power.” ■

quiet endurance of democratic ideals in the face of violent repression ...” Clinton said that Mondale “has made it his life’s mission to strengthen democracy—both here and abroad.”

In presenting the award to Mondale, former U.S. Senator Thomas Eagleton called his longtime friend and colleague “a man of unequalled candor and political guts.” Eagleton remarked that Mondale “knows his political values and he will never stray from them—his values are in his mind, heart and soul.”



Former Senator Thomas Eagleton (right) introduces NDI Democracy Award recipient, Walter F. Mondale, and Joan Mondale.

“In Asia, too, we can hear many of the familiar arguments against democracy. They are the tired, self-serving excuses of dictators and autocrats threatened by democratic power.”

—Walter F. Mondale

International Visitors Forum

"In seeking to build a better world, we share a common vision. With a sense of hope and conviction, we are engaged in that quest together—all members of a global family, knowing that this is the only time we have been given to fulfill our responsibilities to those who follow us."

—NDI Chairman Paul G. Kirk, Jr. in opening remarks at International Visitors Forum

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION HOSTS INTERNATIONAL VISITORS

From August 26 to 29, NDI's International Visitors Forum (IVF) at the Democratic National Convention provided 700 foreign guests from more than 100 countries a view of America's political process and its brand of pluralistic politics. Attendees from democratic countries large and small included heads of government, cabinet ministers, members of parliament, political party leaders, Washington, D.C.-based ambassadors and civic activists.

"This is such a diverse group, I feel as if I'd just walked into the General Assembly," quipped then-U.N. Ambassador Madeleine K. Albright in her opening remarks at NDI's program in Chicago.

During the program, the international visitors were able to observe one of America's oldest political traditions: the designation of the party's nominee for president. Guests heard journalists, policy analysts, and political practitioners from the Democratic and Republican parties address such topics as running for elected office, foreign policy decisionmaking, presidential campaigns and the workings of the White House.

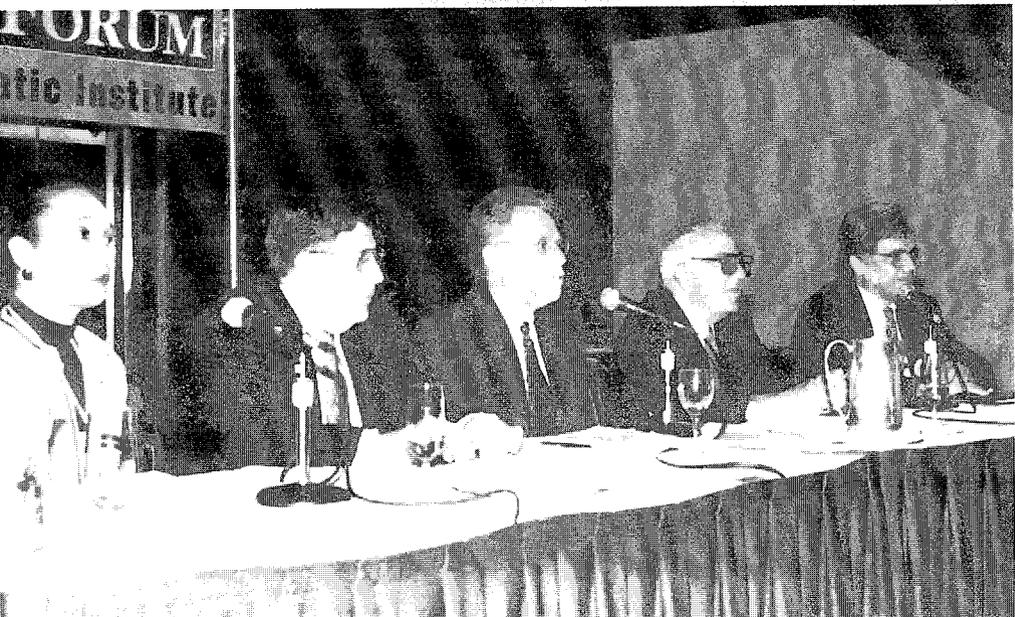
In addition to a full schedule of seminars and speakers, visitors watched the convention proceedings each evening from inside the United Center, the site of the convention, and from NDI's "International Visitors Lounge" located in downtown Chicago.

In delivering opening remarks at the IVF program, NDI Chairman Paul G. Kirk, Jr. described the dynamic relationship between democratic activists around the world and NDI. "For 12 exciting years under NDI's auspices, we have gathered together political leaders from your countries with those from other lands. We have exchanged ideas with one another—about our respective cultures and our national character; about our ethnic heritage and our histories; about our political processes and about our people; about our hardships of the past and our hopes for the future. Throughout, you have taught us patiently, befriended us heartily, and inspired us greatly," Kirk said.

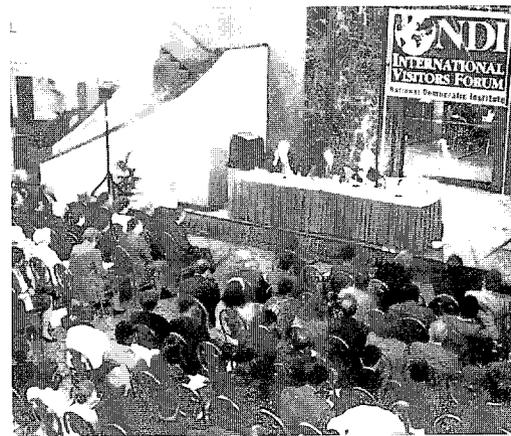
During the week-long Forum, the international visitors had opportunities, both formally and informally, to share perspectives on democratic development issues throughout the world. NDI President Kenneth Wollack said that the IVF was designed not only to "promote a better understanding of the U.S. political process, but also to develop international partnerships able to further the global trend toward democracy."

The IVF was funded by private contributions and was organized in cooperation with the Democratic National Committee and the Chicago '96 Host Committee. ■

International Visitors Forum panel examines "An Insider's View of the White House." Pictured (l to r): Then-White House Director for Public Liaison, Alexis Herman; former White House Chief of Staff, John Sununu; Senior White House Correspondent for CNN, Wolf Blitzer; former White House Counsel Abner J. Mikva; and former White House Director for Legislative Affairs, Patrick J. Griffin.



Audience listens to panel on "Running for Office" featuring: *San Francisco Examiner* Bureau Chief, Christopher Matthews; Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt; former Texas Governor Ann Richards; and former vice presidential candidate, Geraldine Ferraro.



Then-Democratic National Committee General Chairman, Senator Christopher Dodd, welcomes international visitors to the Democratic Convention.

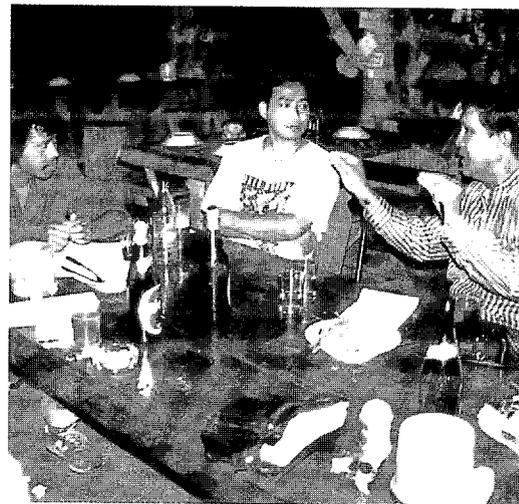


Former Republican National Committee Chairman Frank Fahrenkopf, Jr. (left), and NDI Chairman Paul G. Kirk, Jr., a former chairman of the Democratic National Committee, discuss party conventions and presidential debates.

Acknowledgments

NDI is grateful to more than 350 individuals from 66 countries who volunteered their time to assist the Institute's program work in 1996. Their experiences and expertise were central to NDI's efforts, and we wish to acknowledge their important contribution.

Anecita Abion, Philippines ■ Miguel Acosta, Mexico ■ Joanne Adams, U.S. ■ K. Afari-Gyan, Ghana ■ Luc Ajene, Central African Republic ■ Abdullah Akaileh, Jordan ■ Hafed Al-Fadhel, Yemen ■ Faris Al-Sanabani, Yemen ■ Madeleine K. Albright, U.S. ■ Vincent Alexander, Guyana ■ Tadjouline Ali-Diabacte, Togo ■ Cathy Allen, U.S. ■ Emilio Alvarez Montalvan, Nicaragua ■ J. Michael Anderson, U.S. ■ Charles N. Andreae III, U.S. ■ Gothom Arya, Thailand ■ Gordon Ashworth, Canada ■ Carlos Miguez Atencio, Venezuela ■ Chester Atkins, U.S. ■ Nils Aurelius, Sweden ■ Bruce Babbitt, U.S. ■ Devinder Singh Bagga, India ■ N'diaye Bah, Mali ■ Douglas Bailey, U.S. ■ Charlie Baker, U.S. ■ Richard Balasko, Canada ■ Hannah Baldwin, U.S. ■ Graeme Bannerman, U.S. ■ Imre Baranyi, Hungary ■ Natalia Barbaro, Poland ■ Carlos Bascuñan, Chile ■ Mohammad Basyouni, Egypt ■ Paul Begala, U.S. ■ Henry Berger, U.S. ■ Belisario Betancur, Colombia ■ Guy Bethell, Canada ■ Scott Billy, U.S. ■ Sergio Bitar, Chile ■ Zabdriel Blackman, U.S. ■ Wolf Blitzer, U.S. ■ Nadine Bloch, U.S. ■ Ken Bode, U.S. ■ José O. Bordon, Argentina ■ Lise Bourgault, Canada ■ Lydia Brashear, U.S. ■ Bob Brown, Australia ■ Ken Brown, U.K. ■ Daniel Brumberg, U.S. ■ Barbara Busch, U.S. ■ Annah Buthelezi, South Africa ■ Derek Butler, Canada ■ Stella Cacace, Paraguay ■ Firoz Cachalia, South Africa ■ Bernard Campbell, U.S. ■ Michael Campbell-Belagus, Canada ■ Amy Carter, U.S. ■ Jason Carter, U.S. ■ Jimmy Carter, U.S. ■ Pamela Carter, U.S. ■ Rosalynn Carter, U.S. ■ Susan Casey, U.S. ■ Dorothy Cecelski, U.S. ■ William Chace, U.S. ■ Lynda Chapin, Canada ■ Fidel Chavez Mena, El Salvador ■ Louis Joseph Chimango, Malawi ■ Bruce Clark, U.S. ■ Joe Clark, Canada ■ Eleanor Clift, U.S. ■ Sanford Cloud, U.S. ■ Leon Andrew Cohen, South Africa ■ Edith Coliver, U.S. ■ Lauren Coletta, U.S. ■ Amy Conroy, U.S. ■ Eleanor Conway, U.S. ■ Charles Cook, U.S. ■ Jay A. Cope, U.S. ■ Tim Cottrell, U.S. ■ Janelle Cousino, U.S. ■ Andrew Crawley, Spain ■ Santiago Creel, Mexico ■ Curtis Cutter, U.S. ■ Almami Cyllah, Sierra Leone ■ Helen Darbshire, U.K. ■ Christian Dästner, Germany ■ Rodolfo De La Garza, U.S. ■ Ramiro De Leon Carpio, Guatemala ■ Joao De Menezes Ferreira, Portugal ■ Michael G. Degroote, Bermuda ■ Juan Del Aguila, U.S. ■ Vivian Lowery Derryck, U.S. ■ Paula Desmond, Ireland ■ Bob Dewar, Canada ■ Anne-Emmanuelle Deysine, France ■ Rita Di Martino, U.S. ■ Christopher Dodd, U.S. ■ Ivan Doherty, Ireland ■ Thomas Donahue, U.S. ■ Bernard Donoghue, U.K. ■ Jim Doumas, U.S. ■ Linda Price Drucker, U.S. ■ Polly Duke, U.S. ■ Fredrick Duval, U.S. ■ Brad Edgman, Australia ■ Ananias Elago, Namibia ■ Andrew Ellis, U.K. ■ Karan English, U.S. ■ Matyas Eorsi, Hungary ■ Bernardt M. Esau, Namibia ■ Lourdes A. Espino, Panama ■ Julio Faesler, Mexico ■ Frank Fahrenkopf, Jr., U.S. ■ Fran Farmer, Kenya ■ Brian Feeney, Northern Ireland ■ Peter Feld, U.S. ■ James Field, U.S. ■ Patrick E. Flahaven, U.S. ■ Carlos Flores Juberias, Spain ■ Francisco Fong, Panama ■ Rachel Fowler, U.S. ■ Trevor G. Fowler, South Africa ■ Leslie Francis, U.S. ■ François Froment-Meurice, France ■ Elizabeth Furse, U.S. ■ Hilary Fyfe, Zambia ■ James Galloway, U.S. ■ Martine Galloy, Congo ■ Joaquin Garcia Morillo, Spain ■ David Gergen, U.S. ■ Kathryn Gest, U.S. ■ Tarikul Ghani, Bangladesh ■ Stuart Gilman, U.S. ■ Ty Goddard, U.K. ■ Andrew Gordon, U.S. ■ Steven Gorris, Belgium ■ Jonathan Gould, U.S. ■ Allan Green, U.S. ■ Patrick Joseph Griffin, U.S. ■ Maxine Griffith, U.S. ■ Alex Grigorievs, Latvia ■ Anne Grimsrud, Norway ■ Leif Grina, U.S. ■ Ruud Grondel, The Netherlands ■ Russell Grove, Australia ■ Honore Guie, Côte d'Ivoire ■ Peter Hack, Hungary ■ Amadou Beidy Haidara, Mali ■ Pol Ham, Cambodia ■ Martin Hamburger, U.S. ■ Staffan Hansson, Sweden ■ Peter Hart, U.S. ■ Jonathan Hartlyn, U.S. ■ Feroz Hassan, Bangladesh ■ Nagah Hassan, Egypt ■ Raufa Hassan, Yemen ■ Sigurd Hauff, Germany ■ Kari Helliesen, Norway ■ Alexis Herman, U.S. ■ Hege Hero, Norway ■ Prince Moulay Hicham Benabdallah, Morocco ■ Michael Hishikushitja, Namibia ■ Menachem Hofnung, Israel ■ Joyce Honaker, U.S. ■ Maribel Houben, The Netherlands ■ Amo Houghton, U.S. ■ Raqiya Humeidan, Yemen ■ Ellen Mari Hurley, Ireland ■ Nagah Ismail, Egypt ■ J. Horacio Jaunarena, Argentina ■ Ajit Jogi, India ■ Anthony Johnson, U.K. ■ Harry Johnston, U.S. ■ Kelley Jones, U.S. ■ Omar Kader, U.S. ■ Udaya Kalupathirana, Sri Lanka ■ Ginka Kapitanova, Bulgaria ■ Ann Kariuki, Kenya ■ Toomas Katushin, Estonia ■ Thomas Kelly, Northern Ireland ■ Andras Keszthelyi, Hungary ■ Brian Kidney, U.S. ■ Mary King, U.S. ■ Lena Klevenas, Sweden ■ J. Anthony Kline, U.S. ■ Michael Knowles,



For a decade, NDI programs have benefitted from the talents of Mariano Quesada, a founding member of the National Citizens Movement for Free Elections in the Philippines. At a meeting with members of the National Council of the Union of Burma, Quesada (far right) examines communication strategies that can support unity among Burmese democrats.

U.K. ■ Adamou Kombo, Niger ■ Kafui Kpegba-Dzotsi, Togo ■ Peter Kramer, The Netherlands ■ Karl Kurtz, U.S. ■ Telibert Laoc, Philippines ■ Sheila Jackson Lee, U.S. ■ Young Lee, U.S. ■ Yaovi Crespin Leguede, Togo ■ Christopher Lehmann, U.S. ■ Ors Levay, Hungary ■ Flora Lewis, U.S. ■ Guillermo Linares, U.S. ■ Tineke Lidders, The Netherlands ■ Lothar Loewe, Germany ■ Greg "G.T." Long, U.S. ■ Judy Longfield, Canada ■ Carlos Lopez Nuila, El Salvador ■ Felix Loubaki, Congo ■ Frank Luntz, U.S. ■ Terrence Lyons, U.S. ■ M. Frederick MacDonald, Canada ■ Saki Macozoma, South Africa ■ David Malatsi, South Africa ■ Miriam Maluwa, Malawi ■ James Mangan, U.S. ■ Sergei Markov, Russia ■ Guillermo Marquez, Panama ■ Ana Guadalupe Martinez, El Salvador ■ Christopher Matthews, U.S. ■ Vusi Mavuso, South Africa ■ Steve McBride, U.K. ■ Frank McCloskey, U.S. ■ Moen McDoon, Guyana ■ Gay McDougall, U.S. ■ Roisin McGlone, Ireland ■ Audrey McLaughlin, Canada ■ Richard McLearn, U.S. ■ Susan McLearn, U.S. ■ Michael McShane, U.S. ■ Maureen McTeer, Canada ■ Richard Mdakane, South Africa ■ Percy Medine, Peru ■ Andreas Mehler, Germany ■ Oscar Mena, El Salvador ■ Roelof Meyer, South Africa ■ Abner Mikva, U.S.



NDI's international network of more than 1,000 trainers has included presidents, prime ministers, cabinet ministers and emerging leaders from around the world. Here, pictured at a post-election press conference, former Polish Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka introduces the NDI/Carter Center Palestinian election delegation, which she co-led.

■ Peter Milliken, Canada ■ Richard Millett, U.S. ■ Andras Mink, Hungary ■ Christopher Mitchell, U.S. ■ Toby Moffett, U.S. ■ Aubery Dundubela Mokoena, South Africa ■ Christian Monsod, Philippines ■ Toby Moore, U.S. ■ Mohammed Valli Moosa, South Africa ■ Gerald Morrison, U.S. ■ Parfait Moukoko, Congo ■ Kate Moynihan, U.S. ■ Rose Mulumo, Zambia ■ Gerald Murphy, U.S. ■ Maryvonne N'Tsame Ndong, Gabon ■ Lucien Nedzi, U.S. ■ Dan Neville, Ireland ■ Velma Newton, Barbados ■ Baldwin Siphon "Ben" Ngubane, South Africa ■ Larry Noble, U.S. ■ U Tha Noe, Burma ■ Matembo S. Nzunda, Malawi ■ Robert O'Donnell, U.S. ■ Julie O'Neal, Ireland ■ Philip Oldenburg, U.S. ■ Norman Ornstein, U.S. ■ Luis Camilo Osorio, Colombia ■ Lisbet Palme, Sweden ■ Malcolm Parris, Guyana ■ Juan Garcia-Passalacqua, U.S. ■ Andrew Peacock, Australia ■ Deborah Pellow, U.S. ■ Martha Pérez, Mexico ■ Peter Pernthaler, Austria ■ Tessa Piper, U.K. ■ Lana Pollack, U.S. ■ Sahana Pradhan, Nepal ■ Robert Pulver, U.S. ■ William Quandt, U.S. ■ Mariano Quesada, Philippines ■ V. Daniel Radford, U.S. ■ Patrick Raharimanana, Madagascar ■ Bernard Raimo, U.S. ■ Sam Rainsy, Cambodia ■ Chaayan Rajchagool, Thailand ■ Laszlo Rajk, Hungary ■ Gretchen Regehr, U.S. ■ Joanna Regulska, U.S. ■ Sherry Ricchiardi, U.S. ■ Craig Rice, U.S. ■ Ann W. Richards, U.S. ■ Bill Richardson, U.S. ■ Nina Robbins, U.S. ■ Kingsley Rodrigo, Sri Lanka ■ Jorge Rolon Luna, Paraguay ■ Cira Romero Barboza, Venezuela ■ Seng Ronn, Cambodia ■ Jeremy Rosner, U.S. ■ Julio Isaac Rovi Fong, Panama ■ Marvin Saballos Ramirez, Nicaragua ■

Carolyn Sahley, U.S. ■ Ridwan Saidi, Indonesia ■ Ganiyou Salami, Togo ■ Harold Saunders, U.S. ■ Howard Schaffer, U.S. ■ Frederick Schauer, U.S. ■ Bob Schiff, U.S. ■ Ulrich Schiller, Germany ■ Vivian Schmidt, U.S. ■ Claudine Schneider, U.S. ■ Hans-Peter Schneider, Germany ■ Stephen Schneider, U.S. ■ Elise Paylan Schoux, U.S. ■ Deborah Seiler, U.S. ■ Djoussou Faustin Semodji, Togo ■ Marija Sever, Slovenia ■ Miroslav Sevlievski, Bulgaria ■ James Shannon, U.S. ■ Karen Shepherd, U.S. ■ Michael Shifter, U.S. ■ Mikhail Shneider, Russia ■ Eduard Shurna, U.S. ■ Muhammed Osman Siddique, U.S. ■ Doodnaught Singh, Guyana ■ Anca Socolvschi, Romania ■ Robert Squier, U.S. ■ Greg Starosky, U.S. ■ Kenneth Stein, U.S. ■ Richard Stephenson, Canada ■ Martin Stone, U.S. ■ Hanna Suchocka, Poland ■ Paul Sum, U.S. ■ John Sununu, U.S. ■ Mohammed Enver Surty, South Africa ■ Mamadou Sylla, Mali ■ Michael Terris, U.S. ■ Pok Than, Cambodia ■ Dennis Thompson, U.S. ■ Cedric Thornberry, Northern Ireland ■ Thomas Thornton, U.S. ■ Dominique Tremblay, Canada ■ José Manuel Ugarte, Argentina ■ Sanford Unger, U.S. ■ Eduardo Valdes, Panama ■ Leonardo Valdes, Mexico ■ Patricia Valdez, Argentina ■ Walter Van Der Poel, The Netherlands ■ Walter Van Wolputte, Belgium ■ Beatrice Vansen, U.S. ■ Ana Vasilache, Romania ■ Andresia Vaz, Senegal ■ Rudecindo Vega, Peru ■ Tibor Vidos, Hungary ■ Rafael Villegas, Costa Rica ■ Thomas Volgy, U.S. ■ Gisela Von Muhlenbrock, Chile ■ Lilya Wagner, U.S. ■ Martin Walker, U.S. ■ Udsanee Wannitikul, Thailand ■ Mark Webster, U.S. ■ Jerry Weller, U.S. ■ Fred Wertheimer, U.S. ■ William White, U.S. ■ Cathy Wollard, U.S. ■ Howard Wolpe, U.S. ■ Susanne M. Wood, New Zealand ■ Judy Woodruff, U.S. ■ Nicholas Wurf, U.S. ■ Edith Wynne, Ireland ■ Zev Yaroslavsky, U.S. ■ Yasuo Yoshioka, Japan ■ Haydee Yorac, Philippines ■ Agnes Zanouvi, Benin ■ James Zogby, U.S.

Supporters

NDI EXPRESSES ITS APPRECIATION TO THE FOLLOWING FOR THEIR GENEROUS SUPPORT.

- | | | |
|---|--|--|
| National Endowment for Democracy | Federal Express Corporation | National Education Association |
| U.S. Agency for International Development | Edward F. Feighan | Occidental International Corporation |
| Morton I. Abramowitz | Geraldine A. Ferraro | Open Society Institute |
| Africare | Ford Motor Company | Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe |
| American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations | Leslie C. Francis | Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison |
| American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees | Fruit of the Loom | Philip Morris Companies, Inc. |
| American Federation of Teachers | Graham Hamilton Dwyer, Inc. | Philip W. Pillsbury, Jr. |
| AMI Capital, Inc. | Graphic Communications International Union | The Pillsbury Company |
| Morris J. Amitay | Greenberg Research, Inc. | Raani Corporation |
| Archer Daniels Midland | Greenberg Traurig | Riggs National Corporation |
| Arnold & Porter | Greer, Margolis, Mitchell, Burns & Associates, Inc. | Jack Ringer |
| The Art Institute of Chicago | Harbor Capital Management Company, Inc. | Nina Tanner Robbins |
| Arter & Hadden | Peter D. Hart | Jacob and May Rubin Foundation |
| Atlantic Richfield Company | ICI Americas | Saks Fifth Avenue |
| AT&T | Institute for Asian Democracy | SallieMae |
| Elizabeth Frawley Bagley | International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers | Sara Lee Corporation |
| Bailey & Wechsler, P.C. | International Cellular | Service Employees International Union |
| Bechtel Group, Inc. | International Union of Bricklayers and Allied Craftworkers | Sutherland, Asbill & Brennan |
| Bell Atlantic Corporation | Invista Capital Management, Inc. | Swidler & Berlin |
| BellSouth Corporation | Maxine Isaacs and Jim Johnson | Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative's Office |
| Michael S. Berman | ITT Corporation | Leon Tempelman & Son |
| Annie L. Burns | E.L. Johnson | Tenneco, Inc. |
| Carlson Companies, Inc. | Charles E. Kim | Texaco, Inc. |
| Ceridian Corporation | Paul G. Kirk, Jr. | Union Labor Life Insurance Company |
| Charls E. Walker Associates, Inc. | Kline Hawkes Carlton & Co., Ltd. | United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry |
| The Chevron Companies | Marjorie Kovler Fund | United Nations Development Programme |
| The Coca-Cola Company | Elliott F. Kulick | United Technologies Corporation |
| Communications Workers of America | Lockheed Martin Corporation | US West, Inc. |
| The Connell Company | Lucent Technologies, Inc. | Jack Watson, Jr. |
| Consolidated Natural Gas Company | Lewis Manilow | Marvin F. Weissberg |
| Direct Selling Association | Michael McAdams | Westminster Foundation for Democracy |
| Discovery Communications, Inc. | McDermott, Will & Emery | Wilmorite, Inc. |
| The Dow Chemical Company | Tom McDonald | Winner/Wagner & Associates |
| Eugene Eidenberg | MCI Communications Corporation | Winstar Communications |
| The Episcopal Church | Merck & Company, Inc. | Winthrop, Stimson, Putman & Roberts |
| Ernst & Young LLP | The Mid America Committee | World Trade Center Chicago Association |
| Gerald J. Eskin | Monsanto Company | |
| Fannie Mae Foundation | Christine Morgan | |
| | Jennifer Moser | |
| | National Association for Home Care | |

NDI is a nonprofit 501(c)(3) corporation. Contributions to the Institute are tax deductible.

“The will of the people shall be the basis of
the authority of the government...”

—Universal Declaration of Human Rights



BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Paul G. Kirk, Jr.
Chairman

Rachelle Horowitz
Vice Chair

Kenneth F. Melley
Secretary

Hartina Flournoy
Treasurer

Eugene Eidenberg
Finance Chair

Kenneth D. Wollack
President

Morton I. Abramowitz
William V. Alexander
Bernard W. Aronson
Joan Baggett Calambokidis
Emanuel Cleaver II
Barbara J. Easterling
Edward F. Feighan
Geraldine A. Ferraro
Joan Anderson Growe
Shirley Robinson Hall
Maxine Isaacs
Peter G. Kelly
Peter Kovler
Elliott F. Kulick
Lewis Manilow
Azie Taylor Morton
Mark A. Siegel
Marva A. Smalls
Theodore C. Sorensen
Michael R. Steed
Maurice Tempelsman
Arturo Valenzuela
Mark R. Warner
Marvin F. Weissberg
Raul Yzaguirre

Walter F. Mondale
Charles T. Manatt
Chairmen Emeriti

**SENIOR ADVISORY
COMMITTEE TO THE BOARD**

Michael F. Barnes
John Brademas
Bill Bradley
Richard F. Celeste
Mario M. Cuomo
Patricia M. Derian
Christopher J. Dodd
Michael S. Dukakis
Thomas F. Eagleton
Dante B. Fascell
Martin Frost
Richard A. Gephardt
John T. Joyce
John Lewis
Mike J. Mansfield
Donald F. McHenry
Abner J. Mikva
Daniel Patrick Moynihan
Charles S. Robb
Stephen J. Solarz
Esterban E. Torres
Cyrus R. Vance
Anne Wexler
Andrew J. Young

**NDI SENIOR
MANAGEMENT STAFF**

Kenneth D. Wollack, *President*

Jean B. Dunn, *Vice President for
Administration and Development*

Patricia J. Keefer, *Senior
Associate/Regional Director
for Southern Africa*

Nelson C. Ledsky, *Senior
Associate/Regional Director
for Eurasia*

Susan J. Atwood, *Regional
Director for Central and
Eastern Europe*

Eric C. Bjornlund, *Regional
Director for Asia*

Leslie L. Campbell, *Regional
Director for the Middle East*

Santiago A. Canton, *Regional
Director for Latin America and
the Caribbean*

Christopher Fomunyoh, *Regional
Director for West Africa*

Edward R. McMahon, *Regional
Director for Central and East
Africa*

Karen J. Clark, *Deputy Regional
Director for Eurasia*

Carl Larkins, *Regional
Coordinator for Southern Africa*

Thomas O. Melia, *Senior
Associate/Director of the Office
of Program Strategy and
Evaluation*

Patrick Merloe, *Senior Associate
for Election Processes*

Susan R. Benda, *Senior Program
Officer for Democratic
Governance*

Lisa McLean, *Senior Program
Officer for Political and Civic
Organization*

Sander I. Schultz, *Director
of Finance*

Christine C. Ryland, *Director
of Program Coordination*

Sue Grabowski, *Director of
Publications*

Daniel Ebert, *Executive Officer*

Mary C. Hill, *Director of
Development*

Jennifer M. Cohan, *Director
of Personnel*

Hernani P. Snyder, *Director
of Office Administration*

Nathan D. Tibbits, *Director of
Logistics and Field Support*

Geraldine Thompson, *Executive
Assistant*

SENIOR ADVISERS

Tom Andrews
E. Charles Brown
Glenn Cowan
Keith Jennings
Ross Reid



**NATIONAL
DEMOCRATIC
INSTITUTE**
FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

1717 Massachusetts Avenue, NW Fifth Floor
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 328-3136 Fax: (202) 939-3166
e-mail: demos@ndi.org
<http://www.ndi.org>



420