



NDI Reports

S U M M E R 1 9 9 8

ASIA



Martin Lee (center), leader of Hong Kong's Democratic Party, meets with a visiting NDI delegation, (l to r) Eric Bjornlund from the U.S., Somchai Hamlaor from Thailand, Dick Thornburgh from the U.S., Kamal Hossain from Bangladesh, and Sophie Richardson and Andrew Fuys from the U.S.

Hong Kong Elections Restrict Participation

On May 24, Hong Kong conducted its first elections since returning to Chinese sovereignty. Regrettably, Hong Kong's new constitution and election law establish an electoral framework that maximizes political power for economic and political elites, and minimizes public participation.

A record 53 percent of eligible voters turned out in a driving rainstorm for the polls and gave Hong Kong's democratic bloc, led by Martin Lee's Democratic Party, more than 60 percent of the popular vote. Despite this strong showing, the democrats won less than one-third of the seats in the newly elected Legislative Council. One observer, however, pointing to the unexpectedly high turnout and the results of the popular vote, predicted that democrats will have a "moral authority in the legislature that will allow them to exercise influence disproportionate to their number of seats."

Following a century and half of British colonial rule, Hong Kong once again became a part of China last July. This transition raised fears about potential challenges to Hong Kong's fledgling democratic reforms, its political and civil liberties, the independence of its judiciary and its promised autonomy from Beijing.

As a British colony, Hong Kong enjoyed a strong free-market economy, a demonstrated commitment to the rule of law and an independent media. Britain did not begin to introduce democratic reforms, however, until 1990 when political parties were legalized in the colony. The legislature did not include directly elected seats until 1991, and even in 1995 just one-third of lawmakers were elected through universal suffrage.

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CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

Challenges to Milosevic Regime

Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic faces growing pressure on several fronts. To the south-west, Montenegro, Serbia's junior partner in what remains of the Yugoslav federation, is strengthening its ties to Europe and the U.S. In the south, the province of Kosovo is stepping up its campaign for autonomy, if not sovereignty. Vojvodina and the Sandzak, other regions on the periphery of the country, are also pressing claims for increased independence.

Montenegro broke ranks with Serbia last October, when voters picked Milo Djukanovic, a young reformer, over Milosevic lieutenant Momir Bulatovic as the republic's new president. Since then, Montenegro has grown increasingly independent-minded, even suggesting that international arbiters mediate the Kosovo crisis rather than Serbian politicians. On May 31, Djukanovic's For a Better Life coalition defeated Bulatovic's Socialist People's Party in parliamentary elections. The emergence of an opposition in Podgorica threatens Milosevic's power since confederal arrangements accord Montenegro equal status to Serbia within the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

In Kosovo, ethnic Albanians, who comprise 90 percent of the region's inhabitants, have stepped up armed resistance to the Serbian regime. A series of attacks against Serbian policemen provoked a massive military response from Belgrade in March that took the lives of

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Ukrainian Parties Gain Foothold

With a population of more than 50 million, Ukraine has emerged from decades of Soviet domination as a pivotal country in Eurasia where it borders seven European countries. Working with a slim majority of reform and ruling party deputies, President Leonid Kuchma has successfully negotiated the landmines of relations with Russia and constitutional crises since mid-1994. Ukraine adopted its first post-Soviet constitution in 1996 and a new election law in 1997.

Four year ago, a flawed electoral system ultimately filled only 416 of 450 seats in the parliament because of a repetitive cycle of by-elections and rules that undermined the role of political parties. Those best positioned to take advantage of that system were the Communist Party and its allies, which won control of about 40 percent of the seats. As a result, the enactment of critical economic reforms and anti-corruption initiatives was stalled.

The March 29 elections for the national parliament (Verkhovna Rada) and local councils provided historic opportunities for Ukraine's fledgling political parties to assert themselves in the country's emerging democratic system. In 1994, a strictly majoritarian electoral system discouraged party affiliation by setting more stringent requirements for party sponsored candidates. This year, half the seats in the 450-member parliament were contested by candidates vying to represent single-member districts; the other half were distributed proportionately among those political parties receiving 4 percent of the vote.

Eight parties passed the 4 percent threshold to gain party list representation in the Rada. The Communist Party captured the most votes with 24.68 percent, followed by the centrist party Rukh with 9.4 percent, and the leftist Socialist/Peasant alliance with 8.54 percent. The remaining five parties that won parliamentary seats garnered between 4 and 6 percent of the ballots.



Volunteers for the Committee of Voters of Ukraine plot election-day site visits on a map of District 208, outside of Kiev.

The March 29 elections... provided historic opportunities for Ukraine's fledgling political parties to assert themselves in the country's emerging democratic system.

Near-final single-mandate election results show that independent candidates who did not run under a party banner won 114 of the 225 slots, more than any of the parties. This number is considerably lower than the 193 independents in the previous Rada, indicating that parties are gaining a firmer foothold. While the Rada has only begun to form factions, most observers believe that the deputies of the center will control roughly half of the Rada seats and leftist groups will command more than a third.

Some critics have offered pessimistic assessments of the election results, based on the Communist Party's strong showing in party list balloting and on the high number of unaffiliated candidates who fared well in majoritarian voting. They

concluded that the new Rada will be a brake on further democratic and market reforms.

However, closer examination indicates that these elections could be a step forward for Ukrainian democracy. Parties and candidates were better organized than they were in 1994 and ran more sophisticated campaigns. The voter turnout of 70 percent was higher than expected, and no widespread irregularities marred voting as occurred four years ago. The introduction of party lists strengthened the role of parties in elections and is expected to promote greater party coherence within the Rada and consolidation of parties in general. In addition, the new election law allowed nonpartisan civic groups to place observers in polling sites on election day to monitor voting procedures and counting.

One of the most positive features of the elections was the effort by the nonpartisan Committee of Voters of Ukraine (CVU), which mobilized thousands of citizens to promote voter participation and protect the integrity of the process. On election day, CVU deployed more than 17,000 monitors (four times the number deployed in 1994) to 195 election districts in 24 of Ukraine's 25

provinces (*oblasts*). NDI worked closely with the Committee to organize its monitoring operation. In January, NDI trained 150 of CVU's top regional activists on recruitment and monitoring techniques and helped the Committee finalize plans for monitoring each region. In the months before the elections, NDI equipped CVU monitors with comprehensive reference materials and worked with CVU to conduct extensive training throughout the country on the election law, voting steps and monitoring procedures.

In its post-election press statements, CVU characterized the election-day procedures as generally "fair, open and free," but acknowledged that the conduct of the elections was far from perfect. CVU monitors reported many violations, some of them serious, but noted that most stemmed from inefficiencies and disorganization at polling stations rather than fraud.

Since 1993, NDI has also worked with reform-oriented parties in Ukraine to develop broad-based organizations that can effectively represent citizen interests. These efforts have focused on issues of internal structure, public outreach, volunteer recruitment, platform development and communication. In the process, NDI has helped hundreds of candidates and activists throughout the country develop the skills necessary to expand the organizational capacity of parties and promote political participation.

While the March 29 elections demonstrated that the political party landscape has matured since 1994, the forces committed to economic and political reform remain fragile. To succeed, these reformers must now work together in the parliament and consolidate their resources outside parliament to build strong, nationwide parties. These requirements are even more urgent given the presidential election scheduled for October 1999.

NDI is also conducting Eurasia programs in Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Kazakstan, Kyrgyzstan, Lithuania, Russia and Turkey.

Parliament Assumes Greater Role in Ghana

Speaking to the largest crowd of his presidency, President Bill Clinton underscored democracy and good governance in remarks delivered on March 23 to more than a half million cheering Ghanaians gathered in Accra's Independence Square. "Today Ghana again lights the way for Africa," said Clinton in praising the country's role as a regional leader in democratic and economic development. That Clinton chose to launch his unprecedented Sub-Saharan African tour in Ghana represented a moment of great pride for the West African nation that was the first on the continent to achieve independence from colonial rule in 1957.

Ghana's nascent democratic institutions, including parliament and civic organizations, now enjoy unprecedented public confidence as a result of the organizational success of national elections conducted in 1996 and the democratic transformation underway. The presidential and parliamentary elections marked the first time in the country's history that one civilian government transferred power to another. The polls also wit-

nessed the involvement of several thousand local observers and party pollwatchers who enhanced the integrity of the elections and promoted citizen participation in the process. 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 successful polls also allowed democratization resources previously devoted to elections to be shifted toward the newly elected legislature. Ghana and other countries in West Africa undergoing similar democratic transitions are in the process of drafting electoral and constitutional reforms that will have to be debated and approved by legislatures that were dormant during decades of autocratic rule. While Ghana's 200-member parliament is poised to play a significant part in the consolidation of the country's democracy, many new lawmakers have no previous experience in national politics or policymaking. In addition, most are unfamiliar with their representative function in a legislature that previously performed a rubber-stamp role.

NDI programs respond to needs

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Ghanaian parliamentarians analyze and amend a mock bill during a "drafting legislation" workshop at a conference on the role of committees in the legislative process.

WEST AFRICA

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expressed by the leadership and all four political parties represented in parliament to support the professional growth of the unicameral legislature and increase citizen involvement. Workshops have focused on strengthening the legislature's new committee system, enhancing parliamentary outreach and accessibility, and defining the role and responsibility of party caucuses. Committee chairs and ranking members of select committees have examined methods for reviewing legislation as well as using committee hearings to acquire public input into the lawmaking process. Several committee chairs plan to utilize the rules and procedures from other parliamentary systems provided by NDI international experts

"Here in Independence Square, Ghana blazed the path of [a] new Africa."

—President Bill Clinton

from Ireland, South Africa and the United States.

Civic groups are also moving out of the shadow of one-party rule and beginning to emerge as organizations that can monitor and participate in the government decisionmaking process. However, the contribution of Ghanaian civic organizations to the public policy debate is hampered by a lack of understanding

about parliament and the role citizen groups can play in influencing the legislative process. During a program with representatives from more than 80 nongovernmental organizations, NDI highlighted opportunities in Ghana for creating a dialogue between the public and elected officials. Following the program, the groups proposed to build coalitions along issues of common concern, form a liaison committee to direct issues to parliament and conduct workshops around the country to share advocacy techniques with members outside of the capital city.

NDI is also conducting West Africa programs in Côte d'Ivoire, Liberia and Mali.

CENTRAL AND EAST AFRICA

Ethiopian Groups Organize for Democracy Education

After 17 years of brutal Marxist rule, Ethiopia began a process to liberalize its political system and establish a new government following a protracted war and the overthrow of the regime of President Mengistu Haile Mariam in 1991. A transitional government was formed by Meles Zenawi, leader of the triumphant Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), who promised to oversee the establishment of the country's first multiparty democracy.

Critics later questioned the EPRDF's commitment to a pluralist system when the Front and its allies swept contentious elections in 1992 and 1995. Opposition parties charged the government with intimidation and impeding their efforts to fairly participate in the electoral process.

Since then, Prime Minister Zenawi's government has revived the country's economy with impressive growth rates and minimal inflation. However, human rights violations, including arrests of government opponents, have heightened concerns about prospects for genuine democratic reform.

Despite the creation of formal democratic structures, public debate and input on policy remains limited; and many Ethiopians lack understanding of how to use opportunities for participation when and where they exist. Focus group research conducted by NDI revealed a dearth of knowledge about basic democratic

concepts and a corresponding absence of efforts within the country to familiarize the public with citizenship, politics and government.

While civic groups offer an avenue through which to inform Ethiopians about democratic processes, all nongovernmental groups were outlawed until 1991 and few organizations developed since then possess the skills necessary to conduct a major civic education initiative. NDI programs focus on strengthening the internal organization of democratic groups so that they can successfully develop and sustain programs to encourage political participation and promote understanding of democratic processes.

NDI supports the work of civic organizations that have begun teaching fundamental democratic principles to all levels of Ethiopian society. NDI has provided these civic groups with practical skills on organizational development and management, including volunteer recruitment, fundraising and coalition building.

One civic group designed a program based on "civic education waves" where teams of trainers were trained in Addis Ababa and then dispatched to 80 towns throughout the country to conduct workshops around the theme of "What is Democracy?" The presentations, which took place in schools, markets and town halls, reached more than 60,000 Ethiopians. In addition, the group developed and distributed civic education instruction leaflets in English, Amharic and Oromifaa on political participation. Other groups educated citizens about democ-



A representative of HUNDEE (Oromo Grassroots Development Initiative) discusses the political rights of women under the country's new constitution at a workshop in Mojo, Ethiopia. NDI works closely with HUNDEE on developing programs to encourage greater participation of women in resolving problems within their communities.

racy and challenged them to identify issues around which they could petition local authorities, such as access to health care and water. Ethiopian civic education leaders also visited Botswana and South Africa to learn about efforts of nongovernmental organizations in southern Africa to encourage greater participation of women in resolving problems within their communities.

With NDI assistance, the groups have identified ways in which elements of the constitution, which officially provides for a wide range of political rights, can be most effectively promoted throughout Ethiopia. The Institute has worked closely with the organizations on publishing a comprehensive training manual that can be used as a "how to" resource for conducting their civic education initiatives. Written in Amharic, Ethiopia's main language, the manual represents a unique initiative to broaden public understanding of democratic practices. The groups plan to use the manual to train trainers who will in turn educate Ethiopians in urban and rural communities throughout the country about such topics as the new constitution, the rights and responsibilities of citizens, and the structure of national government.

NDI is also conducting East Africa programs in Kenya.

Moroccan Legislators Respond to New Democratic Opening

Morocco has recently taken important strides toward more political openness, raising hopes among advocates of democratic reform. Decades of French colonial rule followed by the 37-year-regime of reigning King Hassan seemed to offer little promise for democratic advancement in the North African kingdom.

In 1996, however, Moroccans voted for constitutional reforms that led to the creation of a new, directly elected lower house of parliament, the Chamber of Representatives, and to reasonably open local and parliamentary polls in 1997. Another constitutional change mandates the apportionment of cabinet posts to political parties that win a certain percentage of seats in the Chamber of Representatives. Previously, parties gained both legislative seats and government posts according to the king's favor.

These reforms continued in February when Hassan appointed Abderrahmane Youssoufi as prime minister. The selection of Youssoufi, the leader of the Socialist Union of Popular Forces (Union Socialiste des Forces Populaires—USFP), the country's largest opposition party, was widely hailed as a bold move toward pluralism. On March 15, after 40 days of internal and often fractious debate, the king named the remainder of his cabinet, comprising a mix of ministers from both reform and conservative camps. The compromises that produced the current government characterize the moderate but steady pace of reform in Morocco.

Observers of the Moroccan political scene believe that the motivating factors behind the new democratic initiatives include King Hassan's desire to leave a legacy of viable political institutions and the broader effort by Morocco to gain partnership with the European Union. Although crucial questions of policy remain firmly in the hands of the king, these liberal influences, in addition to the gradual maturation of Morocco's multiparty system and civil society, herald future progress in democratic development.

For the first time in history, the Moroccan electorate enjoys a genuine political voice. Political parties traditionally competed for power in a system where the monarchy controlled all debate, leaving parties with little opportunity for developing distinct policies to attract voters. In a new, more competitive environment, parties must respond to public opinion and acquire a legitimate following to gain and maintain political power.

NDI has begun working with political parties within the new parliament to help develop their capacity to influence public policy and to represent their constituencies.

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MIDDLE EAST

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NDI organized a program in February during which leaders of every political party in the legislature examined the responsibilities of the *groupe parlementaire*, or "party caucus." The caucuses represent an opportunity for each party to pursue its agenda within parliament and attract a public following within the electorate.

Legislators from Canada, Ireland and Portugal provided comparative perspectives on topics such as party discipline, public outreach, the role of government and opposition parties, and legislative strategy. Separate workshops were held, one for each coalition bloc in the new Chamber of Representatives—

For the first time in history, the Moroccan electorate enjoys a genuine political voice.

the pro-government Wifaq bloc; the centrist bloc with monarchist leanings; and the opposition Koutla bloc.

Participants welcomed the timely examination of party organization before the Chamber of Representatives convened in April, noting that the topics prompted them to think ahead about enforcing party discipline and creating a schedule to accommodate more frequent party caucus meetings.

NDI is also conducting Middle East programs in Algeria, Egypt, Jordan, and the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

Promoting Ethics and Transparency in the Americas

New democratic practices, greater press freedom and an increasingly active civil society have helped expose corruption in the Americas and elevated public awareness of the issue. Transparency International, a Berlin-based nongovernmental organization, now cites seven Latin American countries among the most corrupt in the world and the Organization of American States has labeled corruption as one of the greatest threats to democratic governance in the hemisphere. Highly publicized corruption cases involving political leaders in Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, Mexico and Venezuela, among others, not only hamper economic development, but undermine public confidence in nascent political systems.

Focus groups conducted in seven Latin American countries by NDI and the Argentine polling group, Römer and Associates, identified corruption as the major factor behind public disaffection with political parties. This estrangement has prompted some political and civic leaders to advocate reforms that would enhance public integrity.



Hernando Gutierrez, director of the Center of Judicial Investigations at Javeriana University in Colombia, describes how the Center polled the attitudes of college students toward corruption.

■ EL PÚBLICO
DEBE PRESIONAR
ANTE CADA HECHO
IRREGULAR

La sociedad civil es capaz de doblegar la corrupción

La sociedad civil es el único cuerpo capaz de producir un cambio y doblegar la enquistada cultura de la corrupción que afecta a la mayoría de los países latinoamericanos, afirmó ayer el presidente del grupo "Pro-Calidad de Vida" de Venezuela, Gustavo Coronel, al exponer en la segunda y última jornada del simposio internacional sobre "Ética y Transparencia". Además, detalló parte de una estrategia para luchar contra el citado flagelo.

En la jornada de clausura del simposio internacional que analizó a fondo el problema de la corrupción, expusieron también el periodista norteamericano Robert Balkin, columnista del Miami Herald, y el presidente de la Junta Municipal de Asunción e intendente interino, doctor Francisco Alcaraz. Como moderador ofició el empresario José Antonio Berguez.

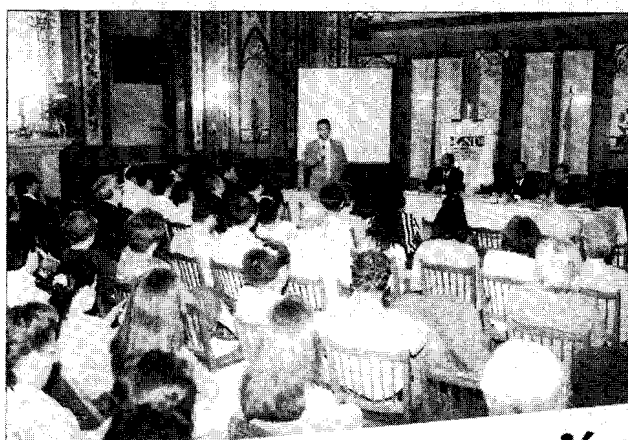
Ante la pregunta formulada desde el auditorio instalado en el Gran Hotel del Paraguay, si desde fuera del Gobierno es posible presionar

brado a utilizar un sistema como es el caso de los países latinoamericanos, nunca van a generar suficiente ímpetu interno como para autolimpiarse", explicó.

Añadió que "los sistemas corruptos latinoamericanos no se van a autosucidar; nosotros los civiles tenemos que ayudarlos", enfatizó.

Al respecto indicó que la lucha contra la corrupción debe constituirse en una cuestión de conciencia ciudadana.

"Hay que presionar y reaccionar contra la corrupción",



El presidente de la ADEC, Pedro N. Fadul (parado), en el momento de abrir la segunda y última jornada del simposio internacional sobre la corrupción. Al fondo, la mesa de los expositores.

El público tiene derecho a la información

El concepto de que un gobierno democrático tiene el deber de ser transparente para con sus conciudadanos proviene de Thomas Jefferson, el creador de la Declaración de la Independencia y tercer presidente de los Estados Unidos, refirió ayer el periodista norteamericano Robert Balkin, del Miami Herald, al moderar el simposio internacional

person: "Una ciudadanía vigilante e informada es la primera piedra de la democracia".

Desde este punto de vista, sugirió al auditorio paraguayo "en primer lugar que recordemos que el público tiene derecho a estar informado, y, en segundo lugar, luchar por el derecho de tener acceso a esa información."

de Libertad de Información (Freedom of Information Act), conocido como FOIA, vigente en los Estados Unidos.

"A los 30 años del FOIA, Robert Gellman, abogado de profesión, quien trabajó en el Congreso observando la polémica y el avance del FOIA, dijo que más del 90% de las peticiones recibieron respuesta de la materia solicitada. No siempre llega a tiempo y no siempre son exentos de costos como debería ser, por intervalos muy

Departamento de Defensa, Comercio, Estado y la CIA, la agencia central de inteligencia; las agencias federales como la de Protección del Medio Ambiente, el fisco, la Comisión Federal de Comercio e Industria, al igual que entidades gubernamentales como el correo".

Agregó que está fuera del alcance de esta ley otras áreas del Gobierno como el Congreso, las cortes federales, la Presidencia de la República y otros segmentos como el Consejo Nacional de Seguridad y el personal de la Casa Blanca.

"Civil society is capable of swaying corruption," and "The public has the right to information," read headlines of two articles about the March ethics forum that appeared in the leading Paraguayan newspaper, ABC.

The mayor of Asunción, for example, adapted the "Sunshine" laws used in Dade County, Miami, to promote transparency in government records and proceedings in Paraguay's capital city. In Argentina, the civic group Citizen Power (Poder Ciudadano), initiated "watchdog" programs and public anti-corruption campaigns to help citizens hold their public officials more accountable. In Venezuela, the Pro-Quality of Life Group (Agrupación Pro-Calidad de Vida), conducts innovative workshops in primary schools and with civic activists to change attitudes about corruption. And in a number of countries, political parties are encouraging their members to disclose assets.

To help identify and publicize concrete programs undertaken to promote public integrity in the region, NDI is sponsoring a series of forums and publications showcasing a range of efforts from monitoring the outside financial interests

"[Education] is the best weapon for combatting corruption."

—Gustavo Coronel,
Director of the Venezuelan
anti-corruption group,
Pro-Quality of Life

of government officials to designing educational courses inside classrooms. Last August, NDI cosponsored the first such forum in Buenos Aires on "Transparency and Governability." The program—organized by the World Bank, and the Argentine civic groups Citizen Power and Conscience (Conciencia)—highlighted initiatives in Argentina, Colombia and United States to promote accountability and transparency in campaign finance and public administration.

In March, NDI and the Paraguayan Association of Christian Business Leaders (ADEC) organized the second forum in Asunción. More than 350 political party leaders, government officials, academics, civic and business leaders, and journalists explored attitudes toward corruption and established the importance of complementing structural and legal reforms with educational initiatives.

This sharing of ideas and techniques has attracted attention. The Paraguayan Ministry of Education and representatives of ADEC asked the Pro-Quality of Life Group to train their representatives to reproduce the Group's workshops in primary schools, political parties and local

governments. The Latin American Association of Radio-Based Education also invited the Group to create and broadcast its public service announcements on more than 90 affiliate stations in the region. The civic group Citizen Participation (Participación Ciudadana) in the Dominican Republic has requested training from Citizen Power about the anti-corruption database presented at the Buenos Aires forum. And a Buenos Aires-based pollster who attended the Asunción meeting plans to teach Argentine university students the survey techniques used by the Center of Judicial Investigations at Javeriana University in Colombia to canvass college students about ethics issues.

NDI is also conducting Latin America and Caribbean programs in Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, Mexico, Nicaragua and Paraguay.

SOUTHERN AFRICA

Angolan Local Government Officials and Public Begin Dialogue on Transition

Anation endowed with abundant natural and human resources, Angola was ravaged by almost two decades of civil war following independence from Portugal in 1975. The conflict between the governing MPLA (Movement for the Popular Liberation of Angola) and rebel UNITA (Union for the Total Independence of Angola) resulted in the deaths of an estimated half million people, and left the country socially and economically impoverished.

The Lusaka Protocol, signed by the warring parties in November 1994, led to a ceasefire and laid the foundation for a political process to end decades of civil war and begin a 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. Efforts, which began in May 1997, to extend government into key UNITA-occupied areas are proceeding slowly.

Political integration and decentralization of government authority unfolds in an atmosphere of profound distrust amid a legacy of heavily centralized, one-party government. As power devolves from a central authority, newly appointed municipal and provincial administrators are taking their posts in areas where local government has virtu-

ally never existed and, in some cases, where tensions remain high between UNITA and MPLA forces.

While those officials face a daunting array of problems—most of which are related to rehabilitating essential services—many are unfamiliar with municipal administration. Likewise, citizens are unaccustomed to taking part in government affairs. And yet, political transformation and economic recovery in Angola depend on creating an environment in which government officials at all levels can promote a genuine reconciliation process.

NDI activities broaden the exposure of Angolans to the principles of public participation and accountability as they consolidate the peace process and begin political reconstruction. The program focuses on promoting dialogue between government officials and the public, and helping local authorities determine their relationships within new governing structures. Training familiarizes newly appointed provincial and local officials with the role of public participation in local decisionmaking, intergovernmental relations and the decentralization process. NDI also educates Angolan citizens about the function of their new governmental institutions and the role they can play in public policy deliberations.

NDI works with the Luanda-based National Institute of Public Administration, a government-sponsored organization, to support its training program to build the technical capacity of local government officials nationwide. NDI also conducts workshops directly for provincial and local leaders to encourage accountability and transparency in government practices. To provide a broader view of local government development during a transition, NDI is planning to bring together Angolan officials with their counterparts in South Africa through a series of visits that focus on local economic development and decentralization.

The local government program is complemented by NDI's efforts to inform citizens about their rights and responsibilities in a democracy. The Institute has developed specially designed radio programs and visual materials that



Angolan local government administrators discuss community participation during NDI's field visit to Sambizanga, a municipality of Luanda.

inform citizens about the reconciliation process. NDI continues to work with local Angolan civic groups interested in conducting civic education in the provinces, providing them with training and materials to strengthen grassroots efforts to promote understanding of democratic processes.

NDI is also conducting Southern Africa programs in Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa and Swaziland.



Local administrators listen to Adelina Tchisva, a community coordinator from Casilhas, Angola, describe how the town organized itself to advance municipal development.

SOUTH AFRICA'S NATIONAL COUNCIL OF PROVINCES BRINGS GOVERNMENT CLOSER TO THE PEOPLE

South Africa's post-apartheid constitution introduces an innovative concept of intergovernmental relations known as "cooperative governance," which envisions a partnership among governments at the national, provincial and local levels.

In South Africa's system of shared responsibilities, the National Council of Provinces (NCOP), which draws its membership from the country's nine provincial assemblies as well as local councils, is designed to bring government closer to the people and give voice to citizens at the national level. The new legislature allows the country's provinces to participate in the national legislative process alongside the National Assembly, the other half of the national parliament. A recent European Union report on NCOP asserted that the success of South Africa's new democracy "will depend greatly on how, and how well, these two legislative bodies perform their assigned roles."

Working with NCOP, NDI has organized workshops in the provinces to introduce lawmakers to NCOP's responsibilities and functions. The Institute has also assisted the Council's efforts to streamline legislative procedures and improve communication with the provincial legislatures in order for bills to be passed on

schedule. During its first year, NCOP amended more than 20 percent of the legislation that was enacted by parliament and produced a threefold increase in the legislative agendas of provincial legislatures.

In May, NDI and NCOP cosponsored a national conference in Cape Town to examine the challenges of integrating the provinces into national policymaking, raising NCOP's profile and broadening public participation in government. "Today marks the culmination of the first phase of conceptualizing and setting up the NCOP," said NCOP Chairperson Patrick Lekota, in his opening address to 300 delegates. "We believe this conference will launch us on the second phase of the process."

Deputy President Thabo Mbeki delivered the keynote speech. Deputy NCOP chairperson Bulelani Ngcuka, Constitutional Development and Provincial Affairs Minister Valli Moosa, and NDI President Kenneth Wollack also addressed conference delegates who included provincial premiers, members of NCOP and the National Assembly, provincial legislators, local government councilors, journalists and civic activists. During two days of workshop sessions, participants focused on translating NCOP's constitutional role into day-to-day practices such as defining oversight responsibilities, promoting citizen

involvement in the public policy debate, drawing lines of accountability and meeting the needs of local government.

"NDI was one of the first institutions to offer assistance to the NCOP after its launch. It has remained a faithful and generous partner over the past 18 months.... Our country, and the NCOP in particular, look forward to a continued good working relationship with NDI."

—South African Deputy President Thabo Mbeki

"There is no one model of democracy but rather many models and many experiences. We know too that as the community of democracies has grown, democratic practices have become inseparable from democratic cooperation."

—NDI President Kenneth Wollack

Hong Kong Chief Hints at Delay in Democracy

Thursday, March 19, 1998
 Incoming-appointed leader says group may not meet 10-year target for 1st legislative elections.

Observers threaten autonomy, says chief

LINDA CHOY



有公信力和代表性的立法會
 5月24日產生

1997年11月13日 星期四

美國組織抨擊九八選舉安排
 處處封殺民主

US group set to monitor May polls

LINDA CHOY

A leading US-based monitoring body is set to send a delegation to Hong Kong to observe May 29 elections, the first direct elections for the Legislative Council. But the National Democratic Institute for International Development (NDI) has been rejected by the Hong Kong government. Eric Bjornlund, the director of Asia programs at NDI, said the group would not interfere with the electoral process. The team would be part of the institute's development of democracy in the region.

US watchdog pushes for right to polls visits

CHRIS YEUNG

A US election watchdog will again raise the issue of access to polling stations on May 29, the day Hong Kong's first direct elections for the Legislative Council are held. The group will be led by NDI's Asia director, Eric Bjornlund.

U.S. and Hong Kong newspapers report on NDI delegation visits.

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The Basic Law, Hong Kong's new constitution, establishes a complex and cumbersome process for elections. It nonetheless promises gradual progress toward the "ultimate aim" of electing a legislature and chief executive through "universal suffrage." The May polls for members of the Legislative Council opened only 20 of the 60 seats to election by all Hong Kong voters. Moreover, changes to the already undemocratic system inherited from the British reduced the number of seats that could be won by the most popular party—in this case the Democrats—and dramatically decreased the number of voters qualified to indirectly elect the other two-thirds of the Council. Thirty seats would be elected indirectly by so-called "functional constituencies." The remaining 10 seats would be chosen by an 800-member Election Committee.

NDI is the only international organization that has systematically tracked the election process and regularly published comprehensive assessments of the evolving political system and prospects for democracy. In the last year, the Institute has sent five multinational teams to Hong Kong to support a genuine democratization process and provide the

"Departing from the government's previous assurances that Hong Kong aims to hold direct elections in 10 years, Chief Executive Tung Chee-hwa surprised visiting [NDI] American democracy monitors by saying the timetable, including the territory's Basic Law, might not apply to legislative elections."

—Los Angeles Times

international community and Hong Kong residents with an objective appraisal of the electoral law, and its compliance with international standards. Delegations comprised legal and election experts, including former U.S. attorney general Dick Thornburgh, former Bangladesh foreign minister Kamal Hosain, Thai election monitoring leader

Somchai Homlaor, British election law authority Simon Osborn, former New Zealand political party leader Susanne Wood, former U.S. Representative Tom Andrews and NDI Board member Eugene Eidenberg. The delegations met with political, civic and governmental leaders representing all significant points of view, including Chief Executive Tung Chee-hwa, and leading democracy activists Martin Lee, Emily Lau and Christine Loh.

When NDI's delegation met with Chief Executive Tung in March, he indicated that the timeline for a fully elected legislature may be longer than the 10-year period outlined in the Basic Law. After the meeting, delegation leader Thornburgh told reporters that the group was "puzzled" by Tung's comments that the timetable "may be stretched out to 12, or maybe even 15 years."

Based on its visits, NDI issued four reports in a series, *The Promise of Democratization in Hong Kong*. In these analyses, NDI assessed complex issues such as the legitimacy of the current provisional legislature, the judiciary's new responsibility for interpreting the Basic Law, the consequences of the new electoral framework and the selection process for Hong Kong's delegates to China's national legislature. These reports cite some encouraging developments, such as the genuine and meaningful autonomy established by Hong Kong's government, and troubling ones, such as the constraints on democratic elections. A fifth report by NDI's election-day delegation will be released in June.

In a letter to NDI, Kin-ming Liu, vice president of the Hong Kong Journalists Association, underscored the importance of sustained outside interest in Hong Kong. "For Hong Kong to survive," he said, "my hometown needs as much international support and attention as possible."

NDI is also conducting Asia programs in Burma, Cambodia, Indonesia, Nepal, Pakistan, the Philippines, Sri Lanka and Thailand.

Continued from page 1

dozens of ethnic Albanian villagers. International condemnation of the action has left Serbia further isolated.

As large segments of the population grow increasingly restive, Serbia's political space has narrowed. Last December, voters registered their opposition to the Milosevic regime by nearly electing ultra-nationalist presidential candidate Vojislav Seselj, a reputed war criminal. Meanwhile, the democratic opposition has splintered, having squandered the political power it displayed during large-scale street demonstrations in 1996. Despite their recent failures, opposition parties remain Serbia's best hope for political resurrection. Their development has become critical to the republic's transition process.

During the last year, NDI has worked to strengthen Serbia's democratically oriented political parties. Drawing on its network of political party experts from Canada, Chile, Ireland, the United Kingdom and the U.S., the Institute assists party leaders and activists in Belgrade and eight other cities develop the organizational skills needed to compete for public support. The pro-reform Civic Alliance of Serbia (GSS) has utilized NDI training by greatly expanding its efforts to communicate with voters, dispatching party leaders door-to-door to survey citizen concerns and interests.

NDI has also worked with the Center for Free Elections and Democracy (CESID), a Belgrade-based election monitoring organization founded with Institute support. The Center fielded hundreds of volunteers to monitor Serbia's parliamentary and presidential elections in September, and subsequently recruited nearly 1,000 observers for the second round of the presidential poll two months later. The Center's reporting provided Serbian citizens with a rare, independent assessment of the quality of the electoral process. As a result, CESID has established a reputation as a public "watchdog," guarding against electoral manipulation.

Alongside its program in Serbia, NDI has worked with Montenegro's



A political party activist describes a mock newsletter prepared during a training program in Belgrade, Serbia. NDI's program emphasizes the creation of strong party organizations that can effectively represent citizen interests, including techniques to better communicate with the public.

political parties to help them prepare for May's parliamentary polls. Following an initial training program in February, one party launched a series of meetings with its party branches to share the information presented by NDI. Another party used the seminars to identify party strengths and weaknesses, and has since begun to identify likely supporters and canvass door-to-door.

NDI is also advising newly elected President Djukanovic on making the transition from running an effective electoral campaign to establishing a transparent and effective governmental system. The Institute is already working with the president's advisers to set up the executive office and develop mechanisms to communicate with the public.

GLIMMERS OF HOPE IN BOSNIA

"...in preparation for the pivotal Bosnian national elections next September, we should greatly increase our support for the non-nationalist, multi-ethnic parties in the Federation and the Republika Srpska. Until now, this task in the field has been handled principally by the U.S. National Democratic Institute, which has done superb work."

—Senator Joseph Biden

Once a lonely democratic voice among hardline Bosnian Serbs, Milorad Dodik is now prime minister of Republika Srpska, one of the Bosnia's two political entities. His election in January represents a power shift from ultranationalists to more moderate political leaders.

Dodik's short record in office is

encouraging. In fewer than five months, his government has helped bring war criminals to justice and appointed a nonpartisan director of Bosnian Serb television, once the notorious mouthpiece of former president Radovan Karadzic. On another encouraging note, the new prime minister won election to office with the support of the region's Muslims.

The shift away from ultranationalist parties has encouraged cautious hopes in Bosnia and abroad. Dodik's Independent Social Democratic Party was one of the first political organizations with which NDI worked. By assisting democratic opposition parties, NDI has helped them articulate an alternative to extreme nationalism. Since NDI began its program in 1996, these parties doubled their vote total from 15 percent to 30 percent of the electorate in Bosnia-Herzegovina. With another round of parliamentary elections scheduled for September, their ability to compete for public support will grow only more important.

NDI is also conducting Central and Eastern Europe programs in Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Poland, Romania and Slovakia.

NDI Names Thomas O. Melia Vice President for Programs

In April, NDI named Thomas O. Melia as vice president for programs. Melia has served in a variety of senior positions at NDI since he joined the Institute in 1988. As program director from 1988 to 1993, he played a major role in the development of NDI's assistance to political parties and civic groups in Eastern and Central Europe, during the initial stages of the democratic transitions there. He has also managed the Institute's parliamentary reform efforts, and directed NDI's programs in the Middle East.

"For more than a decade, Tom Melia has played a significant role in giving concrete expression to America's commitment to the worldwide democracy movement," said NDI President Kenneth Wollack. "The Institute will be fortunate to benefit from his experience in his new position."

From 1986 to 1988, Melia was associate director of the Free Trade Union Institute of the AFL-CIO. For six years before that, he served as a legislative assistant for foreign and defense policy to U.S. Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan of New York.

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1717 Massachusetts Avenue NW,
Fifth Floor
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(202) 328-3136
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