



NDI REPORTS

SUMMER 1996

Democracy's Triumph in Russia

by Michael McFaul

Russian democracy achieved an important milestone in June. For the first time in a thousand years, Russian citizens—not royal families, politburos or mafia-cartels—decided who should rule their country. Despite calls by Russian bankers and some of President Boris Yeltsin's own advisers to postpone the vote, Russia's presidential election took place as scheduled. While many others predicted voter fraud or postponement in the weeks leading up to the final count, the election took place on time, under law, and without evidence of major falsification. Equally heartening was the fact that most Russians took advantage of the democratic process and exercised their right to vote. In both the first and second rounds, nearly 70 percent of eligible voters went to the polls.

The organization and campaign performance of Russia's reformist forces were 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. Over the last two years, most 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, Russians overwhelmingly opted to continue the present course of progress.

For the past six years, NDI has worked with Russia's nascent reform-oriented political parties and movements. Programs in Moscow and in dozens of cities throughout the Federation have focused on issues of internal organization and structure, constituent relations, volunteer recruitment and communication. Both in Moscow and throughout Russia's regions, 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 ensuring that this historic election was transparent.

That a significant victory was achieved does not call for complacency on the part of Russian democrats. On the contrary, recent events also have highlighted the flaws in Russia's emerg-

ing democracy. First and foremost, Russia lacks an effective multiparty system. Like previous elections during the past five years, the presidential vote served as a referendum on Communism. In the future, however, attempts to polarize voters into pro-Communist and anti-Communist camps will not be enough to stave off authoritarian forces. Interest-based parties must replace the Manichean divide of Russian society in order for democracy to consolidate effectively. Russia's super-presidential system also concentrates too much power in the hands of one individual. Under Yeltsin, this system generally has served the interests of reform. In the hands of a demagogue, however, the institution of the presidency quickly could become democracy's greatest enemy. In addition, the electoral campaign demonstrated that even Russia's lauded press is not as free and independent as once thought. Finally, and most important, Russia's leaders still have not fully embraced the principle of the rule of law.

These problems suggest that NDI and similar organizations must continue to assist the process of consolidating democratic institutions in Russia. Much still remains to be done. However, the shortcomings in Russia's nascent political system should not and do not negate the important victory for democracy and democrats during this year's electoral process.

Michael McFaul is an assistant professor at Stanford University. He has been a consultant to NDI since 1990.

NDI to Host More Than
600 International Visitors
at Democratic Convention
in Chicago

Walter Mondale and Aung San Suu Kyi
to Receive NDI Democracy Award

See page 2 for details.



International Visitors Forum

International Political Leaders to Attend NDI Program at Democratic National Convention

The National Democratic Institute will host more than 600 international guests at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago. Heads of government, parliamentarians, political party and civic leaders, and diplomats from more than 100 nations are confirmed to participate in NDI's International Visitors Forum (IVF) from August 24 to 29. The IVF program offers insights into the American political system and an opportunity to observe it in action.

Beginning Saturday, August 24, U.S. elected officials, political leaders from both parties, analysts and journalists will conduct daily seminars on *Politics and Policy: the 1996 U.S. Elections*. The week-long seminar series will explore such topics as running for elected office, foreign policy issues, presidential debates and the 1996 electoral campaign. In addition to the seminar series, the IVF includes daily coverage of convention events. Panelists include: former vice presidential candidate Geraldine Ferraro; Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt; former New Hampshire Governor and White House Chief of Staff to President Bush, John Sununu; former Texas Governor Ann Richards; White House Public Liaison Director Alexis Herman; former White House Counsel Abner Mikva; former Republican



At NDI's Visitors Forum in 1988, former Arizona Governor Bruce Babbitt joined then-Senator Al Gore and Ted Van Dyk, former chief of staff to Vice President Hubert Humphrey, in sharing thoughts on campaigning for president.



Former Vice Presidential nominee Geraldine Ferraro addresses international visitors during NDI's program at the 1992 convention.

Greetings to International Visitors

It is a pleasure to welcome you to witness our national political convention. The convention reflects the culmination of one of the most longstanding political processes in the world—the nomination of the Democratic Party's candidates for president and vice president of the United States. We look forward to sharing with you the best of America's democratic tradition, as you have shared your experiences with us in so many places.

Paul G. Kirk, Jr., Chairman, NDI

This week in Chicago you will be witnessing and participating in an extraordinary expression of our nation's democracy. Every four years, the Republican and Democratic national conventions nominate the presidential and vice presidential candidates of the two parties. More important, they serve to reaffirm the strength and vitality of a democratic system embodied in the world's oldest, continuously applied constitution. We are honored to be able to share this quadrennial reaffirmation with you.

**Senator Christopher J. Dodd, General Chairman,
Democratic National Committee**

The Democratic Party of the United States welcomes the distinguished international delegation to the 42nd Democratic National Convention. As the world's oldest political party, we have always taken pride in our commitment to the practice of democracy at home and throughout the world. During your stay in Chicago, you will have the opportunity to meet the committed men and women who are the Democratic Party. They join me in extending our party's hospitality and warm welcome to you.

**Donald Fowler, National Chairman,
Democratic National Committee**

NDI is honored to host the International Visitors Forum for the 1996 Democratic National Convention in Chicago. We are pleased that such a large and prestigious group of political and civic leaders from all over the world has assembled to witness the final stage in our presidential nominating process. We hope that each of our guests will bring home a keener understanding of the democratic process in the United States.

Kenneth D. Wollack, President, NDI

Party Chairman Frank Fahrenkopf; former White House Legislative Director Patrick Griffin, pollster Peter Hart; former White House Counselor David Gergen; and journalists Eleanor Clift, Christopher Matthews and Judy Woodruff.

During a luncheon at the Visitors Forum, NDI will present its 10th annual W. Averell Harriman Democracy Award to Aung San Suu Kyi, the Nobel prize-winning leader of Burma's democracy movement, and former Vice President

Walter F. Mondale. Suu Kyi will be honored for her extraordinary courage in the campaign to restore democracy in Burma. Mondale, currently serving as U.S. Ambassador to Japan, will be recognized for his commitment to public service and democratic government. U.N. Ambassador Madeleine Albright will present the Award to Aung San Suu Kyi's husband, Dr. Michael Aris. Suu Kyi will address the audience by video.

For the International Visitors Forum, NDI invited government offi-

cials, and political party and civic leaders from new and traditional democracies, as well as advocates of peaceful reform in nondemocratic countries. NDI hopes the visitors will gain an appreciation of the U.S. political system and will become part of the Institute's expanding network of friends.

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

Governance Resources

NDI's Legislative Research Series

NDI has recently published two papers as part of an ongoing series to assist lawmakers establishing or strengthening democratic legislative institutions. They were developed in response to requests from parliamentarians in new democracies for contemporary, comparative information about legislative practices.

Legislative Research Series Paper #1, *Presiding Officers: Speakers and Presidents of Legislatures* compares the characteristics and functions of the speaker in various legislative systems using three models—Westminster; U.S. Congress; and French Bureau. (1996, 17 pages)

Legislative Research Series Paper #2, *Committees in Legislatures: A Division of Labor* explores the structure and function of legislative committees. The study contains topical information collected from 20 legislatures around the world about the rules and practices of their committee systems. An appendix includes detailed information on specific issues such as: the manner in which committee members are appointed; whether committees have the authority to summon government officials to testify; how committee chairs are distributed among parties; whether committee meetings are public; and whether committee consideration is a prerequisite for adoption of legislation. (1996, 47 pages)

National Democratic Institute
For International Affairs



Legislative Research Series

Paper #2

Committees

A Division of Labor

National Democratic Institute
For International Affairs



Legislative Research Series

Paper #1

Presiding Officers

Speakers and Presidents of Legislatures

- ◆ Westminster Model
- ◆ U.S. Congress Model
- ◆ French Bureau Model

Latin America and the Caribbean

Dominican Election Process Gains Widespread Support

Within hours after the Election Commission issued the official results of the June 30 presidential election, Dominican Revolutionary Party (PRD) candidate José Francisco Peña Gómez publicly acknowledged the victory of Dominican Liberation Party candidate Leonel Fernández. Peña Gómez' concession speech represented a turning point in a country where election results have spawned political controversy and violence.

"The election process, while not without problems, represents an important step forward for the democratic process in the Dominican Republic," reported an international election observer delegation sponsored by NDI and the Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government.

"The sense of public service and guardianship of the democratic process that was demonstrated in this election...mark an



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

Observer Delegations to the Dominican Republic Elections May 16 and June 30, 1996

BELISARIO BETANCUR
Delegation Co-leader
Former President of Colombia

JIMMY CARTER
Delegation Co-leader
Former President of the United States

JOE CLARK
Delegation Co-leader
Former Prime Minister of Canada

RAMIRO DE LEÓN CARPIO
Delegation Co-leader
Former President of Guatemala

CLAUDINE SCHNEIDER
Delegation Co-leader
Former Member of Congress, U.S.

JOHN SUNUNU
Delegation Co-leader
Former Governor of New Hampshire; Former Chief of Staff to President George Bush, U.S.

EMILIO ALVAREZ MONTALVAN
The Catholic University,
Nicaragua

CHARLES N. ANDREAE III
Andreae and Associates, U.S.

CARLOS BASCUÑAN
Corporation of Justice and
Democracy, Chile

ZABDIEL BLACKMAN
Sydney B. Bowne and Son, U.S.

JOSÉ O. BORDON
Former Senator, Argentina

EDDIE CHARLES BROWN
NDI Senior Consultant, U.S.

SANTIAGO A. CANTON
Director of NDI Latin America
and Caribbean Programs, U.S.

DAVID CARROLL
The Carter Center, U.S.

PAMELA CARTER
Attorney General for the State of
Indiana, U.S.

FIDEL CHAVEZ MENA
Christian Democratic Party,
El Salvador

BRUCE CLARK
County Clerk for Kanakee
County, Illinois, U.S.

COL. JAY A. COPE (Ret.)
Institute for National Strategic
Studies, U.S.

ANDREW CRAWLEY
Institute for European-Latin
American Relations, Spain

CURTIS CUTTER
Interworld Consultants, U.S.

RODOLFO DE LA GARZA
University of Texas at Austin,
U.S.

MICHAEL G. DEGROOTE
Westbury Ltd., Bermuda

JUAN DEL AGUILA
Emory University, U.S.

RITA DI MARTINO
New York State Republican
Committee, U.S.

LOURDES A. ESPINO
University of Panama, Panama

JULIO FAESLER
Council for Democracy, Mexico

JONATHAN HARTLYN
University of North Carolina at
Chapel Hill, U.S.

GUILLERMO LINARES
Councilmember for the City of
New York, U.S.

ANA GUADALUPE MARTINEZ
Legislative Assembly,
El Salvador

MAUREEN MCTEER
University of Calgary, Canada

PATRICK MERLOE
NDI Senior Associate for
Election Processes, U.S.

CHRISTOPHER MITCHELL
New York University, U.S.

AZIE TAYLOR MORTON
NDI Board of Directors, U.S.

ROBERT PASTOR
Executive Secretary,
Council of Freely Elected Heads
of Government, U.S.

SENG RONN
FUNCINPEC Party, Cambodia

JULIO ISAAC ROVI FONG
University of Panama, Panama

MARVIN SABALLOS RAMÍREZ
Ethics and Transparency '96,
Nicaragua

MICHAEL SHIFTER
Inter-American Dialogue, U.S.

DOODNAUGHT SINGH
Guyana Elections Commission,
Guyana

KENNETH WOLLACK
NDI President, U.S.

YASUO YOSHIOKA
Executive Adviser, Itochu
Corporation, Carter Center, Japan

important juncture in the development of Dominican democracy."

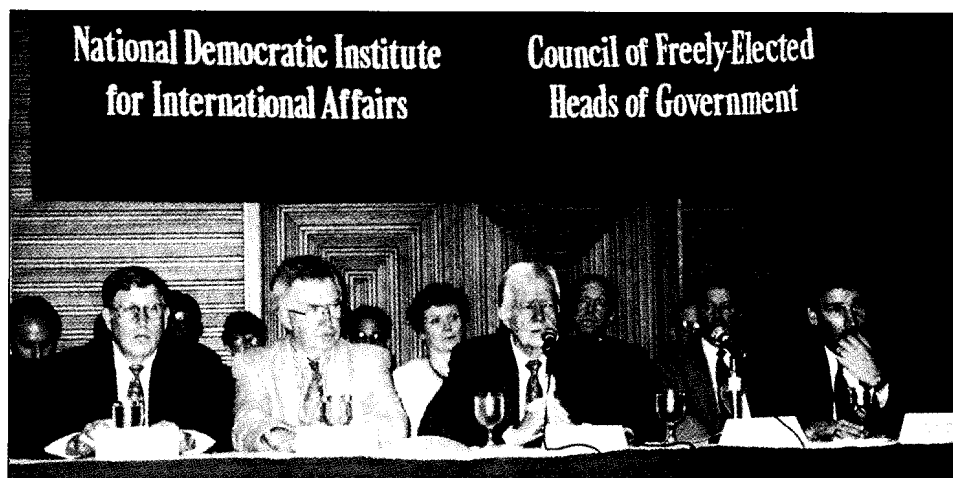
The delegation, which comprised observers from 13 countries, was led by former Presidents Jimmy Carter of the U.S., Belisario Betancur of Colombia and Ramiro de León Carpio of Guatemala; former Canadian Prime Minister Joe Clark; former U.S. Representative Claudine Schneider; and former New Hampshire Governor and U.S. Presidential Chief of Staff, John Sununu. The delegation also included parliamentarians and other elected officials, political party and civic leaders, election experts and regional specialists.

The 1996 elections took place under different circumstances than the country's two previous presidential contests. For the first time in years, the Dominican election commission garnered the respect of all political parties and promoted public confidence in the process and its results. A domestic civic organization, Participación Ciudadana, engaged civil society in the political process by carrying out a nationwide observation of the process.

Recent Dominican elections demonstrate the varying roles played by international election observers.

Following the 1990 presidential election, which was won narrowly by incumbent Joaquin Balaguer, the NDI/Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government delegation, led by former President Jimmy Carter, found that there was insufficient evidence to prove that the irregularities observed had affected disproportionately any of the candidates. That finding, along with delegation recommendations to help the parties verify the election results, helped reduce tensions during a highly contentious post-election environment.

In 1994, an NDI delegation came to a different conclusion, pointing to serious and widespread irregularities that could have affected the results of the presidential election. That assessment also helped reduce tensions. Peña Gómez, the losing candidate in the election, recounts how he canceled a nationwide strike, which could have led to violence, following the delegation's confirmation of his allegations of fraud.



Delegation co-leaders (l to r) John Sununu, Joe Clark, Jimmy Carter and Ramiro de León Carpio deliver delegation findings at post-election press conference in Santo Domingo. Additional co-leaders Belisario Betancur and Claudine Schneider are not pictured.

Subsequent negotiations between the government and opposition led to electoral reform and an early presidential election in 1996.

Guyana

In 1992, the Guyanese elected representatives to the National Assembly in competitive, multiparty elections that enhanced the legitimacy of the legislature to represent diverse viewpoints and forge national policies. Guyana's parliament does its work, however, with limited resources. Most critically, lawmakers lack access to

information and comparative reference sources on which to base informed political deliberations. Since identifying the establishment of a parliamentary library as a key priority, the National Assembly has worked with NDI to determine the material, staffing and structural needs for the creation of an information center. NDI also joined with the Guyanese ministry for local government to help train newly elected municipal councilors and assists the Election Commission with preparing civic education materials.

Trainers and Advisers for Programs in Latin America and the Caribbean

April 1 to July 31, 1996

SANTIAGO CREEL
Federal Electoral Institute, Mexico

FRANCISCO FONG
Director of Administration, Electoral Tribunal, Panama

GUILLERMO MARQUEZ
Electoral Tribunal, Panama

CHRISTIAN NADEAU
International Foundation for Election Systems, U.S.

NEIL NEVITTE
University of Toronto, Canada

MARTHA PÉREZ
Civic Alliance, Mexico

CIRA ROMERO BARBOZA
We Want to Choose, Venezuela

RENEE SAUCEDO
Advocacy Institute West, U.S.

MIROSLAV SEVLIEVSKI
Bulgarian Association for Fair Elections and Civil Rights, Bulgaria

JIM SHULTZ
Advocacy Institute West, U.S.

EDUARDO VALDES
Electoral Tribunal, Panama

RUDECINDO VEGA
Transparencia, Peru

Latin America and the Caribbean

Haiti

In July, NDI reopened its office in Port-au-Prince in preparation for local elections planned for later this year. Local assemblies, called ASECs, are central to the political development of Haiti because they help form the foundation of municipal and departmental governments. The elections will also lead to the selection of a permanent electoral commission as mandated by the 1987 Constitution. Nevertheless, many Haitians are unfamiliar with the first-time ASEC elections. NDI has reestablished its Electoral Information Center, which it had operated during last December's presidential contest. The Center distributes information about the elections and serves as a meeting place for journalists, electoral authorities and political parties. NDI also plans to develop materials and training for Haitian pollwatchers.

Mexico

In his 1994 inaugural address, Mexican President Ernesto Zedillo acknowledged the need for major reforms to address the serious political and economic problems plaguing the country. Political assassinations and allegations of electoral fraud have prompted the Mexican Congress to consider sweeping electoral reform proposals. Voters will closely watch municipal elections later this year and national polling in 1997 to determine if these reforms will be carried out. NDI is helping Alianza Civica, a nonpartisan civic coalition of more than 400 organizations, to increase citizen confidence and participation in several upcoming municipal elections. The coalition will conduct a comprehensive election observation and civic education campaign to ensure the integrity of the election process. NDI also collaborated with the Advocacy Institute to provide Alianza Civica with organizational strategies and nonpartisan techniques to promote government accountability.

Nicaragua

After decades of authoritarian rule, Nicaragua now counts itself a member of the hemisphere's community of democracies. Despite a democratic transition in 1989, Nicaragua still suffers from a legacy of political divisiveness and public cynicism that could adversely affect national elections in October. Recently, community leaders, academics and citizens from across the political spectrum formed Ethics and Transparency (ET), a nationwide civic movement that seeks to boost public confidence in the electoral process and deter possible irregularities. With assistance from NDI, more than 140 ET-trained observers monitored the voter registration process last June in northern and central Nicaragua. In July, a national conference was held for local ET coordinators.

At the conference, coordinators representing the country's 17 departments heard from a group of international civic activists experienced in organizing election monitoring efforts. Also during this time, a team of NDI-sponsored election experts met with ET technical staff to design the statistical procedures needed to conduct an independent vote count on election day.



At a seminar conducted by Transparencia in Lima, 12 Peruvian civic organizations study efforts to promote public involvement in local government affairs.

Peru

The 1993 Peruvian Constitution establishes new mechanisms for public involvement in local government. Citizens can now present ideas to municipal officials and hold them accountable through measures such as referendums and recalls. Last January, newly elected mayors and city council members began serving their terms throughout the country's 194 provinces. However, few Peruvians are actively engaged in the municipal governance process or informed about the available avenues of participation. NDI supports the efforts of the Lima-based civic organization, Transparencia, to raise citizen awareness about the roles and responsibilities of the new local authorities and to increase public participation in local decisionmaking.



At a Managua press conference, Don Emilio Alvarez Montalván, president of Ethics and Transparency (ET), describes ET's plans to train election pollwatchers at a national conference in July.

Southern Africa

South Africa Transition Offers Model

Until 1993, the international community sought to isolate South Africa as a means to effect democratic change and end the apartheid system. Now, only three years later, other countries are seeking to learn from South Africa's successful political transition process, which includes a newly ratified constitution, a model parliamentary ethics code of conduct, initiatives to involve the public in legislative affairs, and an active civil society. Moreover, 9,500 newly elected municipal councilors have begun to establish democratic governance at the local level.

Constitutional Assembly Chairperson Cyril Ramaphosa underscored the international attention focused on South Africa's new constitution during an address to the Assembly in May:

Constitution-makers from all over the world will come to this country to study how we drafted our constitution and to study the constitution itself. We welcome them all. We invite them to South Africa to come and study how democracy really functions.

South Africa has emerged from one of the world's most debilitating racial struggles to a new era, marked by reconciliation and compromise. Many South Africans have expressed their belief that the transition to majority rule must also be accompanied by a connection to the rest of the continent after decades of isolation.

Father Michael Weeder, director of South Africa's Project Vote, said South Africans appreciate opportunities to learn from other African countries. Dur-

ing the past year, NDI has brought to South Africa government officials, politicians, civic activists and religious leaders from throughout the continent to exchange information on political processes and practices in their countries. Weeder said the missions have been revealing:

The delegations remind us that we are in Africa. We have to be aware of what works outside industrial society. How is democracy applied to places like the Transkei and KwaZulu/Natal? It's useful and important to be reminded of our African presence and issues that the rest of the continent is dealing with.

Through these study missions, participants observe processes undertaken in South Africa and take home relevant ideas and techniques to adopt to their own political environments. A delegation from the Malawi Broadcasting Corporation, for example, examined issues facing state-controlled broadcast outlets adjusting to new laws guaranteeing freedom of expression. In February, Namibian Parliament staff members studied South African initiatives to improve public participation in the legislative process. In May, Ethiopian civic activists met with their South African counterparts to learn about different approaches to grassroots mobilization in rural areas.

In June, political party and NGO representatives from the Zambia Committee for a Clean Campaign observed the deployment of local election monitors and studied governmental bodies responsible for administering potentially contentious elections in KwaZulu/Natal. One Zambian participant said the experience "made me understand that even in difficult times, reconciliation among different parties is paramount for free elections."

Also in June, Malagasy lawmakers examined South African parliamentary procedures; and in July, Angolan political party and government officials observed South Africa's local government structure.

Angola

The United Nations has extended the mandate of the U.N. Angola Verification Mission, which has been supervising

the demobilization of UNITA's estimated 60,000 troops. Successfully facilitating the demobilization is one of many challenges confronting Angola as it moves from civil war to peace and democracy. The country also faces the tasks of integrating opposition officials into all levels of government, decentralizing local and provincial authorities, and transforming into civilian institutions those structures formerly dominated by the military. NDI activities have broadened the exposure of Angolans to democratic practices as they work to consolidate the peace process and begin political reconstruction. Last July, NDI sponsored a bi-partisan study mission of Angolan officials to South Africa to examine the functions of local governments.

Malawi

The political landscape in Malawi changed dramatically in June when the coalition between the ruling United Front and the Alliance for Democracy disbanded, leading to splits in parliamentary factions and an early adjournment of the legislature. Anticipated court decisions will help resolve the contentious issues in parliament before its scheduled session this fall. NDI's activities continue to strengthen the nascent legislature. One program matches committee members in Malawi with counterparts in South Africa who share their expertise on procedural and oversight issues. In June, NDI published a handbook on constituent outreach techniques tailored for Malawian parliamentarians and helped draft legislative summaries for public distribution.

Mozambique

In May, officials announced that local elections would be postponed until 1997 as the FRELIMO-led government and the RENAMO opposition continue to debate decentralization issues. Findings from an NDI focus group study underscored the need for grassroots civic education to inform Mozambicans about the current political system and the role of local government. NDI's program concentrates on four provinces where municipal elections are anticipated to take



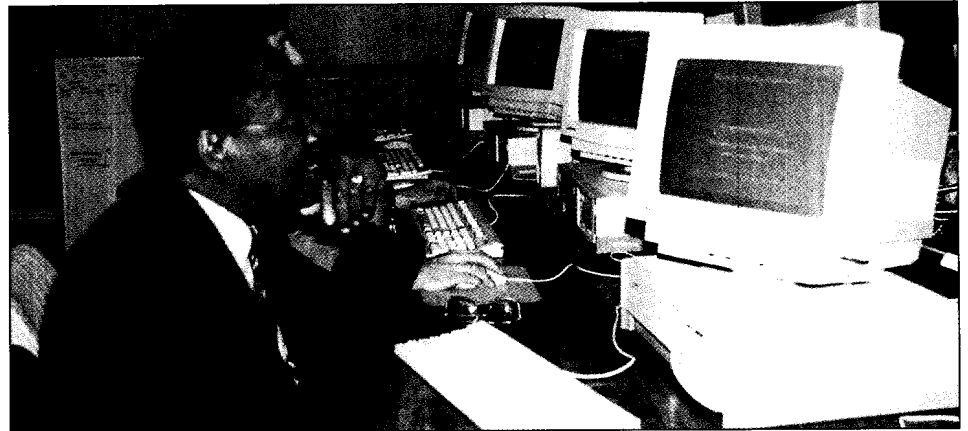
M. Valli Moosa, South Africa's Minister for Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development, briefs visiting Angolan officials on local government administration.

Southern Africa

place. Using a "train the trainers" approach, a core group of Mozambicans conducts training on the procedures of democratic elections and the workings of local government. The civic education effort also includes songs, skits and radio spots.

Namibia

Six years since its establishment, Namibia's nascent legislature is committed to developing as a co-equal branch of government as mandated by the country's constitution. NDI's program responds to needs expressed by Namibian lawmakers to support the professional growth of the two-house parliament and increase citizen involvement in the legislative process. In July, NDI sponsored a workshop at which female MPs examined strategies for promoting their legislative priorities. NDI continues to provide assistance on committee procedures as well as technical support for the legislature's research library and computer information services. The Institute also collaborated with the parliament to compile a directory of the 72-member National Assembly and 26-member National Council.



Speaker Mosé Tjitendero experiments with newly installed computers in the Namibian National Assembly's parliamentary library.

Zambia

The 1991 Zambia's elections and subsequent transition to multiparty democracy served as models for other states on the continent. Recent actions by the Zambian government, however, threaten to undermine these achievements. These actions include constitutional measures that prevent many opposition leaders from contesting the 1996 presidential election, postponement of local elections, and

arrests of journalists and opposition party activists. Under such circumstances, and absent genuine multiparty dialogue, NDI concluded that it could not conduct programs to help ensure an open and fair electoral process. NDI suspended its election-support program and withdrew its Lusaka-based staff in June. The Institute will continue to monitor the situation and hopes to resume its program activities should the integrity of the electoral process be restored.

Trainers and Advisers for Programs in Southern Africa

April 1 to July 31, 1996

MONICA BARNES
Former Member of Parliament, Ireland

FIROZ CACHALIA
Member of Parliament, Gauteng Provincial Legislature, South Africa

THOMAS CAROTHERS
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, U.S.

MATTHEW CHASKALSON
Center for Applied Legal Studies, South Africa

LEON ANDREW COHEN
Chair, Finance Committee, Gauteng Legislature, South Africa

FRAN FARMER
Community organizing specialist, U.S.

PATRICK E. FLAHAVEN
Secretary, Minnesota State Senate, U.S.

ALLAN GREEN
Office of Legislative Research, Connecticut State Legislature, U.S.

JOYCE HONAKER
Committee Administrator, Kentucky State Legislature, U.S.

LENA KLEVENAS
Member of Parliament, Sweden

MICHAEL KNOWLES
Former Member of Parliament, U.K.

CELINDA LAKE
Survey research analyst, U.S.

RICHARD MDAKANE
Chief Whip, African National Congress, Gauteng Legislature, South Africa

ROELOF MEYER
Member of Parliament, National Party, South Africa

TOBY MOFFETT
Former Member of Congress, U.S.

M. VALLI MOOSA
Minister of Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development, South Africa

BALDWIN SIPHO "BEN" NGUBANE
Minister of Culture, Science and Technology, South Africa

ROSS REID
Former Member of Parliament and Cabinet Minister, Canada

GREG STAROSKY
Political organizer, U.S.

JOSÉ MANUEL UGARTE
Senior Adviser, Defense Committee of the Argentine Congress, Argentina

FRED WERTHEIMER
Former President, Common Cause, U.S.

HOWARD WOLPE
Former Member of Congress, U.S.

Asia

Bangladesh Elections Hold Promise for Political Stability

Prospects for a fair electoral process and a peaceful election-day environment inspired a record 73 percent voter turnout for June national elections in Bangladesh. Politics in the country have been marked by military interventions, assassinations, violent strikes and allegations of election "rigging." Hoping that successful elections would end two years of political turmoil, many voters waited for hours to cast their ballots.

"The election process as we have observed it has been generally peaceful,

open and well-administered," despite certain "localized" problems, reported an NDI international observer delegation in its post-election statement. Noting in

particular the historic turnout of women, the delegation congratulated the people of Bangladesh "for their achievement in demonstrating once again and in over-



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

Pre-election and Observer Delegations to the Bangladesh Elections

June 1996

BILL RICHARDSON
Pre-election Delegation
Leader, Member of Congress, U.S.

ANDREW PEACOCK
Election Delegation Co-leader, Former
Foreign Minister, Australia

STEPHEN SOLARZ
Delegation Co-leader, Former Member of
Congress, U.S.

ABDULLAH AKAILEH
Member of Parliament, Jordan

VINCENT ALEXANDER
People's National Congress, Guyana

RICHARD BALASKO
Elections Manitoba, Canada

ERIC BJORN LUND
Director of NDI Asia Programs, U.S.

ANANIAS ELAGO
Deputy Director of Elections, Namibia

ANDREW ELLIS
Former Secretary General of the Liberal
Democratic Party, U.K.

PUNG CHHIV KEK GALABRU
Cambodia Movement for Free Elections,
Cambodia

UDAYA KALUPATHIRANA
INFORM, Sri Lanka

ANN KARIUKI
Public Law Institute, Kenya

CHRISTOPHER LEHMANN
Assistant U.S. Attorney, Department of
Justice, U.S.

TERRENCE LYONS
The Brookings Institution, U.S.

DAVID MALATSI
National Party, South Africa

PETER MANIKAS
NDI Bangladesh Field Director, U.S.

MOEN MCDOOM
Election Commissioner, Guyana

THOMAS O. MELIA
NDI Senior Associate, U.S.

CHRISTIAN MONSOD
Former Chairman of the Commission on
Elections, Philippines

NEIL NEVITTE
University of Toronto, Canada

LARRY NOBLE
General Counsel, Federal Election
Commission, U.S.

U THA NOE
National Coalition Government for the
Union of Burma, Burma

PHILIP OLDENBURG
Southern Asian Institute at Columbia
University, U.S.

ELISE PAYLAN SCHOUX
Innovative International Development, U.S.

SAHANA PRADHAN
Member of Parliament, Nepal

SAM RAINSY
Khmer Nation Party, Cambodia

KINGSLEY RODRIGO
People's Alliance for Fair and
Free Elections, Sri Lanka

RIDWAN SAIDI
Independent Election Monitoring Committee,
Former Member of Parliament, Indonesia

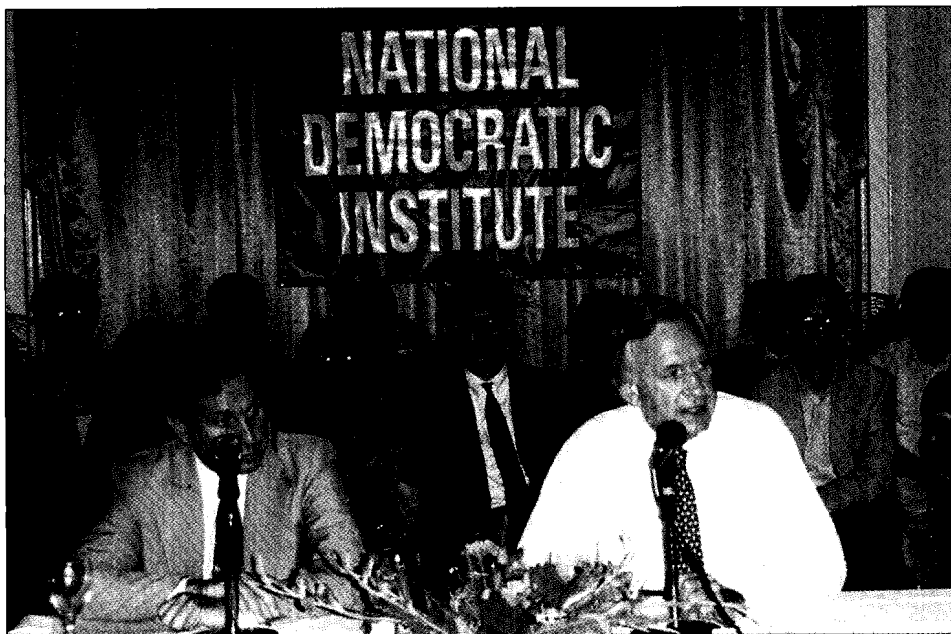
HOWARD SCHAFFER
Former U.S. Ambassador to Bangladesh,
U.S.

MUHAMMED OSMAN SIDDIQUE
Travelogue, Inc., U.S.

MARK SIEGEL
NDI Board of Directors, U.S.

POK THAN
Center for Social Development,
Cambodia

THOMAS THORNTON
Georgetown University, U.S.



Delegation co-leaders (l to r) Stephen Solarz and Andrew Peacock deliver post-election statement at press conference in Dhaka.

whelming numbers their commitment to democracy." Because of concerns about conflict in the aftermath of the polling, the delegation urged those who won the elections to act in a spirit of reconciliation and those who lost to accept the election results and assume their role as a loyal opposition.

Led by Sheikh Hasina, the Awami League, which had been out of power since 1975, won a near majority in the parliament and formed the new government with the support of the smaller Jatiyo Party of former president and military leader, H.M. Ershad. The Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) of former Prime Minister Khaleda Zia took up its role as the parliamentary opposition.

Bangladesh has been in crisis since opposition parties led by the Awami League alleged fraud in the March 1994 by-elections and called for the prime minister's resignation and new elections under a temporary, caretaker government. In addition to staging a walk-out and eventual boycott of parliament, opposition parties organized a series of *hartals*, or strikes, that virtually shut down commerce. Prime Minister Zia refused to accede to the demands, which she deemed unconstitutional, and attempts to break the impasse failed. Opposition parties boycotted national elections conducted in February, which

were characterized by allegations of governing party "rigging" and opposition intimidation. When the crisis escalated and a five-week opposition-led *hartal* paralyzed the country, Zia resigned in favor of a caretaker government. New elections were set for June. Bangladeshi analysts asserted that free and fair elections were a precondition to economic and political stability in the country.

To promote confidence in the elections, NDI organized a comprehensive observation program for the June polls. In addition to the election-day delegation led by former U.S. Representative Stephen Solarz and former Australian Foreign Minister Andrew Peacock, NDI conducted two pre-election missions, led respectively by Solarz and U.S. Representative Bill Richardson. The pre-election teams urged the election commission to approve domestic monitors and a broader role for international observers. They also called on political parties to respect the election code of conduct. After the June 12 elections, a small NDI team remained in Bangladesh to observe repolling on June 19 and 22 and post-election developments.

The observer delegations complemented an 18-month NDI program that provided technical support for the Fair Election Monitoring Alliance (FEMA), a coalition of Bangladeshi civic groups. In

spite of significant obstacles, including a lack of credentials in many parts of the country, FEMA mobilized more than 17,000 volunteer pollwatchers on election day. FEMA's observers throughout the country carried out a professional, nonpartisan observation effort that contributed to the credibility of the electoral process.

Burma

Burmese democratic forces led by Aung San Suu Kyi are under constant threat as repression by the ruling military regime increases. Recently, hundreds of party activists from the National League for Democracy, which had won the 1990 parliamentary elections, were arrested. As a country with one of the world's most autocratic regimes and a legitimately elected party prohibited from taking office, Burma offers a compelling but challenging call for democratic assistance. An NDI survey mission to Burma in November, while emphasizing the need to be engaged, underscored the difficulty of working inside the country. As a result, NDI is planning to join with the Burmese democratic movement in exile to help foster a common bond of trust and cooperation among various ethnic factions, develop a united political strategy, and promote linkages with other Asian democrats.

Cambodia

The growing rift between the powerful coalition government and opposition parties and the independent press threatens to undermine recent democratic gains in Cambodia as the country prepares for its

Trainers for Programs in Asia April 1 to July 31, 1996

LAWRENCE LACHMANSINGH
Civic organizing specialist, Guyana

TELIBERT LAOC
National Citizens Movement for Free Elections, Philippines

ALAN J. QUINLAN
Survey research analyst, U.S.

Middle East

Arab Election Monitors Plan to Form Regional Network

As elections grow more frequent in the Arab world—and, in some cases more meaningful— independent, domestic election monitoring has emerged in the region as an avenue to encourage public participation in the political process. During the last three years, election monitoring programs, aided to varying degrees by the international community, have arisen to help safeguard the integrity of the election process in several Arab countries.

In contentious or first-time elections throughout the world, monitors play a critical role in promoting voter participation and a more free and fair electoral process. In addition, domestic election monitoring has developed and strengthened institutions essential to the sustainability of democratic political systems. Monitoring efforts have helped citizens learn organization skills necessary to participate actively and effectively in the political life of a country between elections. These groups have often evolved into broad-based civic organizations that enhance the prospects for greater political discourse and heightened public confidence in government.

Throughout the region, civic groups have increasingly assumed the challenge and responsibility of involving citizens in protecting their own election processes. In April 1993, the National Committee for Fair Elections organized more than 2,200 volunteers to observe the first parliamentary elections in unified Yemen. In March 1994, 500 volunteers mobilized by the Tunisian Human Rights League observed their parliamentary and presidential elections. The Algerian Human Rights League led an effort to monitor balloting for the November 1995 presidential contest. In the same month, a coalition of Egyptian civic groups organized more than 600 volunteers to monitor the Egyptian parliamentary polls. Several months later, the Palestinian Domestic Monitoring Committee mobilized nearly 2,000

first self-managed local elections in 1997 and national polling in 1998. While civil society has grown and developed since the conduct of internationally supervised parliamentary elections in 1993, most non-governmental organizations are struggling to expand their public participation and outreach, often facing hostile political forces and lacking experience and resources. NDI is working with two Phnom Penh-based civic coalitions that are seeking to involve more Cambodians in democratic politics and government. The coalitions plan to monitor current government activities, including election law development, and to observe the upcoming elections.

Indonesia

Although independent political activity in Indonesia is circumscribed, pressure for greater political openness is increasing. Forces favoring liberalization are emerging in the military as well as in President Suharto's Golkar party, and many observers predict a more democratic movement in 1998 when Suharto's sixth, five-year term expires. Parliamentary elections in 1997 and the subsequent presidential contest may create new opportunities for political reform. The Independent Election Monitoring Committee (Komite Independen Pemantau Pemilihan Umum—KIPP), a newly formed civic coalition, seeks to monitor an election process that suffers from charges of vote-rigging and intimidation. In response to KIPP's request for training and technical assistance, NDI will help support the group's efforts to encourage an open and transparent electoral process.

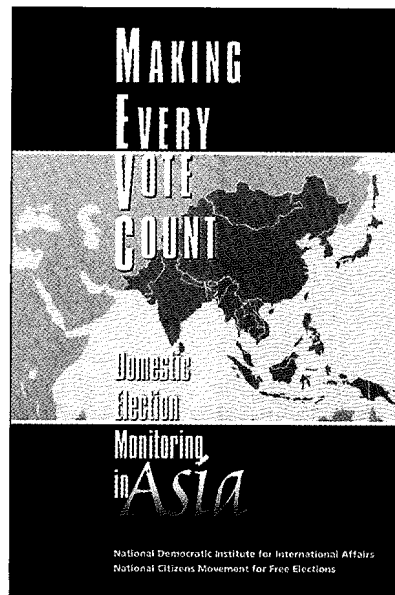
Sri Lanka

Sri Lanka's democratic traditions and institutions have been severely tested by a brutal 13-year communal conflict that pits the minority Tamils against the majority Sinhalese. Since assuming power in 1994, the current government has worked on drafting a new constitution that ensures the political rights and cultural identity of the Tamil minority, and dramatically devolves political and administrative powers. The controver-

sial devolution issue, which is at the center of an anticipated constitutional referendum, risks exacerbating tensions and prolonging the country's civil war. NDI is assisting two Sri Lankan civic coalitions to organize and train a national network of monitors to observe the referendum and help ensure the legitimacy and acceptance of the results.

MAKING EVERY VOTE COUNT *Domestic Election Monitoring in Asia*

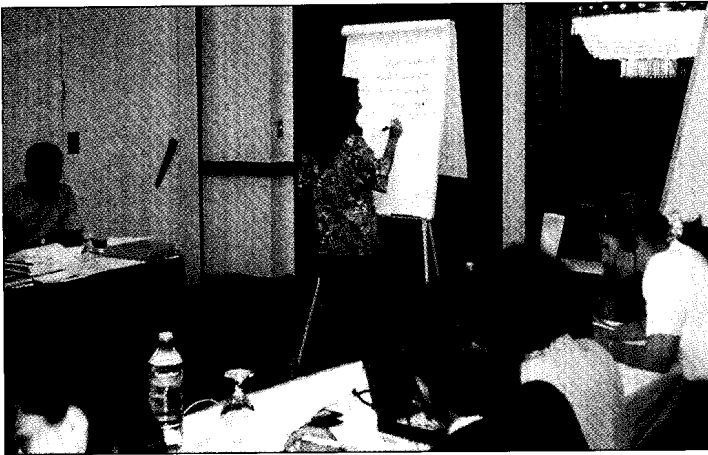
In recent years, nonpartisan civic organizations have mobilized to monitor controversial or first-time elections in a number of Asian countries. These organizations are contributing to more open,



democratic political systems on the continent by helping to improve the quality and transparency of electoral processes, and motivating citizen involvement in public affairs.

In conjunction with the Philippine-based National Citizens Movement for Free Elections, NDI recently published *Making Every Vote Count: Domestic Election Monitoring in Asia*. The report, which provides an overview of the recent experiences and strategies of election monitoring organizations in Asia, grew out of the findings of a conference held in Manila in February 1995 and attended by leaders of election monitoring groups from 12 Asian nations.

Middle East



Lebanese civic organizer Samar Sahyoun (left) reviews methods to enhance credibility of observer monitoring groups during workshop for Arab election monitors.

domestic observers in the West Bank during the historic January 1996 elections for the Palestinian Legislative Council. Al-Haq and the Palestinian Center for Human Rights organized complementary efforts. The recently formed Lebanese Association for Democratic Elections is actively recruiting and training volunteers to monitor Lebanon's August parliamentary elections.

Following the Palestinian elections and in advance of polling in Lebanon, Jordan and Yemen, several of these groups called for greater regional linkages and cooperation. In response, NDI and the New Jordan Research Center co-hosted a summit of Arab regional election monitors in June. During the program held in Amman, 25 participants representing 16 groups from seven Arab countries shared their successes and challenges, and examined strategies to enhance collaboration and support the organization of future domestic monitoring efforts.

At the meeting's conclusion, the participants adopted a communiqué affirming their intention to form a regional network to strengthen the work of local monitors.

Jordan

In 1993, Toujan Faisal was the first woman elected to the Jordanian parliament. In 1995, 10 women followed when they were elected to local councils for the first time. Despite this progress, women often face informal obstacles such as the lack of organizational structures to mobilize voter registration efforts

and the failure of election officials to contact women, particularly in rural areas. Moreover, there are few government proposals to address these and other impediments. At the request of Jordanian women's organizations, NDI programs help provide women with the practical skills to participate in the political process and to contest the 1997 parliamentary elections.

West Bank and Gaza Strip

In the months since the historic Palestinian elections, the newly formed Palestinian Legislative Council has begun deliberation on a Basic Law that would establish the fundamental governing structures and civil liberties for the self-governing authority and the people of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. As the Palestinian transition process proceeds, governing officials as well as the general public are seeking information on the practical application of democratic principles. In May, NDI provided the Council with specific information about constitutional issues, particularly those related to executive-legislative relations. In addition, NDI's continuing civic education project, called "Civic Forum," helped organize the first "town hall" meetings between the public and their elected members of the Council.



Election monitors from Arab countries listen to Mariano Quesada (center left), a founder of the Manila-based National Citizens Movement for Free Elections, which has mobilized 500,000 volunteers to observe Philippine elections.

Trainers and Advisers for Programs in the Middle East

April 1 to July 31, 1996

FRANCOIS FROMENT-MEURICE
Former Member of the National Assembly,
France

PETER HACK
M.P., Committee on Constitutional and
Judicial Affairs, Hungary

MARIANO QUESADA
National Citizens Movement for Free
Elections, Philippines

MARTINE GALLOY
GERDDES-Congo, Congo

NAGAH ISMAIL
Independent Commission for Electoral
Review, Egypt

ROSS REID
Former Member of Parliament and Cabinet
Minister, Canada

West Africa

Mali Prepares for Elections

Mali stands apart from some countries in the region in which democratization efforts have been stymied by polarized political environments, flawed elections and military coups. Instead, Mali appears ready to consolidate political gains achieved since the 1992 transition to democratic, civilian rule. It is preparing for local, legislative and presidential elections later this year and early 1997.

The upcoming polls are the country's first-ever competitive elections to be organized by an incumbent, democratically elected government. The Malian government has pledged publicly to administer the polling in a fair and transparent manner. Government officials, political party representatives and civic activists have reached consensus on the need to establish an independent election commission and have worked to make this concept a reality.

At the request of the Malian government, an NDI delegation of international election experts visited the country last February to assess the existing electoral law. The delegation subsequently issued a report that recommended reform measures that could enhance confidence in future elections. Following the release of the report, NDI

Excerpt from letter to NDI President Kenneth Wollack from Malian President Alpha Oumar Konaré commenting on the Institute's evaluation of Mali's electoral framework and proposed recommendations for reform. (English translation)

During its stay in Mali, the NDI delegation met with members of the government, representatives of political parties and members of different state institutions as well as certain representatives of the civil society. The relationship established between the [NDI] delegation and its interlocutors permitted the delegation not only to succinctly outline the legal contours of the electoral framework, but also to create the basis for a national consensus concerning the upcoming elections.

I would also like to take this opportunity to convey to you my sincere thanks for this contribution of exceptional quality. Please be assured that we will work to maintain and extend the results of this fruitful collaboration that I hope will serve as the first of many such efforts. I am convinced that your organization will, according to its objectives, spare no effort to foster and bolster democracy, of which the organization of free and transparent elections is a fundamental tenet.

convened a forum in Bamako with Malian political party and civic leaders, jurists and government representatives to review the recommendations, which included the establishment of an independent election commission.

The Malian National Assembly met in extraordinary session to review some of the recommendations detailed in NDI's report and to draft amendments to the electoral code. Elections under the new framework are scheduled to begin in December at the municipal level, proceed to legislative elections in February 1997 and conclude with a presidential election in April.

Benin

Last March, Benin conducted its second competitive presidential election since the advent of a multiparty system in 1991. This election was viewed by many as an important benchmark in the country's transition to democratic rule as it pitted a democratically elected incumbent, Nicéphore Soglo, against his predecessor, Mathieu Kérékou, who had assumed power through a military coup. Also for the first time, an independent election commission oversaw the administration of a presidential election. The election was closely watched in the sub-region because of the leading role that Benin has traditionally played in setting political trends in West Africa. Despite problems, observers generally commended the overall process, which resulted in a narrow victory by Kérékou. In June, NDI co-sponsored with two Beninese NGOs (ACCRER and GERDDDES) a post-election roundtable at which political and civic activists explored ways of improving the conduct of future elections. It also allowed representatives from other emerging democracies in the region to learn more about the newly established Beninese independent electoral commission.



At a pre-election training seminar for Nigerian monitors in June, a participant simulates a voter raising questions about irregularities at polling station.

West Africa

Trainers and Advisers for Programs in West Africa

April 1 to July 31, 1996

K. AFARI-GYAN
Electoral Commission, Ghana

HONORE GUIE
GERDDES-Côte d'Ivoire, Côte d'Ivoire

MARYVONNE N'TSAME NDONG
GERDDES-Gabon, Gabon

HANNAH BALDWIN
African Area Studies Program, Foreign
Service Institute, U.S.

FELIX LOUBAKI
Political Counselor to Minister of State,
Minister of Administrative and Economic
Decentralization, Congo

AGNES ZANOVI
Former Vice President, Independent Election
Commission, Benin

ANNE-EMMANUELLE DEYSINE
Université de Paris X-Nanterre, France

Niger

Hopes for a prompt return to democratic, civilian government in Niger were thwarted by the ruling military regime's "willful effort to subvert the [election] process" according to an NDI statement on the flawed presidential election conducted July 7 and 8. "By any standards," the statement continued, "the Nigerien people were denied an opportunity to express fully their will, and nascent democratic institutions have been undermined."

Five years ago, the country made a historic turn toward multiparty democracy, but the efforts of Nigerien democrats were interrupted by a *coup d'état* last January. General Ibrahim Mainassara Bare, who staged the coup, reformulated Niger's constitution and electoral law and ran as one of five candidates

for president. Midway through the voting on July 7, however, the military government dismissed the independent election commission and established a government-controlled commission that subsequently declared Bare the winner with 52 percent of the vote.

NDI, which had maintained a permanent presence in Niger since opening an office in Niamey last October, suspended its program to strengthen the Nigerien parliament and civic organizations following the coup and closed its office after the July election. For the election, NDI had provided technical and financial support to the Collectif, a coalition of civic groups that trained and deployed nearly 1,000 pollwatchers. Despite arrests and intimidation of its members, the Collectif issued a statement critical of the election process.

East and Central Africa

Madagascar Parliament Asserts Authority

Madagascar's picturesque capital city of Antananarivo still displays winding cobblestone streets and stunning architecture. But years of economic and political deterioration, rapid population growth, environmental degradation, and massive rural-to-urban migration have turned "Tana" (the local nickname) into a teeming city whose once-extensive infrastructure is taxed far beyond its means. As the country emerges from nearly two decades of dictatorship, it faces daunting political and economic challenges.

Madagascar initiated its democratic transition in 1991 when pro-democracy protests led to a constitutional referendum and the country's first multiparty elections in 1992. A new constitution limiting the powers of the president was adopted and the first popularly elected, multiparty legislature took office in 1993. Last September, the public overwhelmingly approved a new law granting the president increased influence over the operations of the judiciary and the selection of the prime minister; the power to choose the prime minister had been previously vested in the National Assembly. The sitting prime minister resigned in protest amid growing political acrimony. Despite strong opposition from a spectrum of political parties, the presi-

dent appointed a close friend and ally as prime minister. In May, the National Assembly voted to censure the prime minister and his cabinet. Within days, the president appointed a new prime minister and cabinet of ministers, which in turn provoked impeachment proceedings against the president.

Against this backdrop and at the invitation of the National Assembly, NDI began legislative training programs to assist the nascent legislature in its efforts to make the institution more effective, representative and independent. Decades of one-party rule have mitigated a strong National Assembly. The deputies, most of whom are holding elected office for the first time, are struggling to define their role in relation to the executive. The legislators are also exploring avenues to strengthen their capacity to propose legislation and increase their responsiveness to constituent concerns.

NDI's program grew out of findings from an Institute-sponsored survey mission in December that assessed the structures and processes of the parliament. In addition to proposing efforts to address organizational weaknesses, the survey mission recommended working with parliamentary staff members in order to enhance their research skills and management of scarce resources.

In May, more than 150 Malagasy deputies and parliamentary staff participated in NDI's first seminar that focused on institutional mechanisms essential to an effective and respon-

East and Central Africa

sive national legislature. Topics examined at the seminar and subsequent workshops and consultations included: legislative oversight; internal rules and procedures; committee functions; and public outreach. Parliamentary experts from Canada, Hungary, Niger and the U.S. led these sessions. Also, in June, a delegation of Malagasy MPs and staff participated in a study tour of national and provincial legislatures in South Africa. That visit offered a comparative view of legislatures in transition.

During the May seminar, the parliamentarians drafted recommendations for enhancing the effectiveness of the

Assembly including improved legislative-executive relations. As a direct result of these recommendations, a Bureau for Institutional Relations was established the following week within the government's Ministry of Communication and Culture. The lawmakers also requested regular consultative meetings with the prime minister and cabinet ministers.

Kenya

Considerable cultural and social barriers still impede Kenyan women's participation in the political process. While women comprise a majority of the coun-

try's registered voters and consistently turn out to vote in greater numbers than men, representation in government and parliament is limited. However, despite an oppressive political environment following seriously flawed multiparty elections in 1992, women have been able to operate more freely than previously and have the potential to serve as a stabilizing political force. With national elections likely to be conducted next year, NDI's program focuses on developing the organizing skills of prospective female candidates.

Trainers and Advisers for Programs in East and Central Africa

April 1 to July 31, 1996

LISE BOURGAULT
Former Member of Parliament, Canada

LYNDA CHAPIN
Former Parliamentary Liaison for the Privy Council, Canada

KARAN ENGLISH
Former Member of Congress, U.S.

ADAMOU KOMBO
Former President of Supervisory Election Commission, Niger

FREDERICK MACDONALD
Former Liberal Party Aide, Canada

PATRICK RAHARIMANANA
National Committee for Election Observation and Citizen Education, Madagascar

LASZLO RAJK
Member of Parliament., SZDSZ, Hungary

Central and Eastern Europe

Recent Elections Are a Step Backward for Albanian Democracy

In another test of the democratization process in the Balkans, Albanians went to the polls on May 26 to elect a new parliament. At stake was control of the People's Assembly and the authority to guide the country through its continuing transformation from financial hardship and totalitarianism to a free market democracy and integration with Europe. Observers who had hoped to witness Albania's startling economic turnaround matched by further progress in political development were, however, disappointed.

International and domestic election monitors reported significant irregularities in the electoral process, including manipulation of ballots, government control of election commissions and an election-day walkout by opposition parties. Official results show the governing Democratic Party of President Sali Berisha winning 122 out of 140 seats. The largest opposition group, the Socialist Party, has refused to accept its 10 seats, leading to fears that Albania is drifting in the direction of one-party rule.

In the aftermath of the disputed vote, the Council of Europe and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) have called for new elections. This recommen-

dation has, however, been rejected by President Berisha, who accused international OSCE monitors of favoritism toward opposition forces.

NDI began preparing for the elections a year in advance, sending an assessment mission to Albania last July to assess the political environment and offer recommendations to election administrators. The Institute also collaborated with its local civic partner, the Society for Democratic Culture (SDC), on conducting an extensive election program that included media monitoring, public opinion polling and voter education. On election day, the SDC deployed 2,100 observers in polling sites around the country.

"We consider that the election administration by the competent organs did not give equal treatment under the law to all persons," reported SDC Executive Director Miranda Gace in the Society's post-election assessment. "As an independent, nonpartisan civic organization, SDC believes that the Albanian people deserve a more correct electoral process."

SDC first monitored the 1992 parliamentary elections that brought the Democratic Party to power. Since then, the organization has worked to educate Albanians about democratic principles and practices through its 36 branch clubs throughout the country. In promoting dialogue and encouraging citizen participation, SDC has consistently focused on democratic processes and not on any particular issue. Nevertheless, political forces

Central and Eastern Europe

from both the government and opposition have sought to politicize its work.

"In [1992], when we published our first poll that showed the Democratic Party ahead, the Socialists said we were not independent," said Gace. "Now when we are criticizing the election process, the government says we belong to the 'Red Front.' It is very hard to be in the middle position, but I think when we are attacked from both sides it shows we are doing something right."

Bosnia-Herzegovina

After four years of war, Bosnia-Herzegovina faces the complex task of rebuilding a state with institutions that protect and balance the interests of three ethnic groups—Moslems, Croats and Serbs. During this difficult transition, new political parties are seeking to strengthen their organizational structures and develop policy alternatives that address citizen concerns and build public confidence in a united, democratic country. Elections, mandated by the Dayton Accords to take place by September, will be the first test. NDI is helping build the capacity of multi-ethnic parties to participate more effectively in the forthcoming polling and establish a credible electoral environment. NDI also assists Bosnian civic groups with civic and voter education programs.

Bulgaria

Bulgaria's democratic transition has fundamentally altered the relationship between the country's citizens and its political decisionmakers. The difficult task of institutionalizing representative politics, however, has been aggravated by a polarized political environment and the lack of a democratic tradition. Since 1990, NDI has worked with the Bulgarian Association for Fair Elections and Civil Rights (BAFECR), a nationwide civic education organization that monitors elections and promotes understanding of democratic processes. Local BAFECR clubs have undertaken a range of initiatives around the country from organizing a public forum on the role of municipal government to convening a

meeting with media representatives to discuss the rights and responsibilities of journalists. BAFECR will undertake a comprehensive program of voter education, get-out-the-vote and election monitoring activities in advance of presidential elections this fall. In June, the Association announced its recommendations for electoral reform.

Croatia

In the five years since Croatia declared its independence, President Franjo Tudjman's Croatian Democratic Union has dominated the country's political life. Conflict in the region has curtailed the normal democratization process with opposition parties fearful that their criticism of government policies would be seen as unpatriotic. Last year's troubled parliamentary elections, however, combined with recent government actions against independent media, have caused segments of the electorate to give opposition parties a fresh look. This has raised the prospect of a more pluralistic political environment. With local elections on the horizon, NDI is working with parties to strengthen their internal organization and enhance their participation in the political process. NDI has also produced a regular bulletin on party development and will work with the parties to establish a nationwide election monitoring program.

Czech Republic

While the Czech Republic has carried out relatively rapid economic reform since the Velvet Revolution, the country continues to confront public apathy and distrust toward government and politics. Growing separation between citizens and the political process hampers the efforts of many nongovernmental organizations, especially those at the local level, that actively promote public involvement and the development of a broad-based civil society. NDI's program helps civic groups build coalitions in their communities and promote grassroots participation in the political process. With the Institute's assistance, NDI's partner orga-

nizations in Plzen, Ceske Budejovice and Jinchihuv Hradec organized candidate forums in their communities in advance of parliamentary elections in June.

Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM)

FYROM's road to democracy has been beset by such issues as the lack of government decentralization, an underdeveloped political party system and disputed ethnic minority rights. The country's political transformation will depend on its capacity to create an environment in which citizens can actively participate in public affairs and hold elected officials accountable. NDI provides civic groups with practical strategies on how to work with government to resolve pressing national and municipal issues. With local elections planned for November, NDI is helping civic groups in Stip and Gostivar to conduct opinion surveys to identify local issues of concern and assisting efforts to bolster public participation in the electoral process. At the request of FYROM's justice minister, NDI also assessed draft local election laws. The assessment has become a resource for parliamentarians debating the proposed laws.

Poland

Polish democracy has been hampered by a fractionalized political party system and the inability of parties to represent grassroots interests. Strong local networks would allow parties to understand the sentiments of their membership and help ensure that policy decisions reflect the interests of the rank and file. Many Polish parties have few local party structures, thereby hindering their ability to effectively represent citizen interests. NDI's program helps build the operational capacity and communication skills of political parties at the local level. Local activists representing six political parties have examined regional organizational activities including membership recruitment, fundraising, communicating with the electorate and building efficient structures.

Trainers, Advisers and Delegates for Programs in Central and Eastern Europe

April 1 to July 31, 1996

IMRE BARANYI
Ministry for Culture and Education,
Hungary

LYDIA BRASHEAR
Central and Eastern Europe Law Initiative,
American Bar Association, U.S.

LAUREN COLETTA
Citizen's Information Services of Illinois, U.S.

AMY CONROY
Former Executive Director, Women's
Campaign Fund, U.S.

ELEANOR CONWAY
Educational specialist, U.S.

NATALIA DE BARBARO
Political party strategist and media
specialist, Poland

ROBERT DEWAR
Political organization specialist, Canada

JIM DOUMAS
Community organizer, U.S.

BRIAN FEENEY
Social Democratic and Labour Party,
Northern Ireland

TY GODDARD
National Society for the Prevention of
Cruelty to Children, U.K.

MARIBEL HOUBEN
PHARE, The Netherlands

ANTHONY JOHNSON
Conservative Party, U.K.

ANDRAS KESZTHELYI
Office of the Mayor of Budapest, Hungary

YOUNG LEE
Catholic Relief Services, U.S.

TOBY MOORE
University of Iowa, U.S.

KATE MOYNIHAN
Catholic Relief Services, U.S.

BRANISLAV ORGONIK
Trencin NGO coalition, Slovakia

V. DANIEL RADFORD
Cincinnati AFL-CIO Labor Council, U.S.

STEPHEN SCHNEIDER
Oregon Department of Justice, U.S.

MARTIN STONE
Fundraising specialist, U.S.

PAUL SUM
Political organizer, U.S.

MICHAEL TERRIS
Political organizer, U.S.

ANA VASILACHE
Foundation for Local Development and
Public Services, Romania

TIBOR VIDOS
Alliance for Free Democrats (SZDSZ),
Hungary

MARK WEBSTER
Aide, Wisconsin State Senate, U.S.



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

Romania

In June, Romania held its second set of local elections since the fall of the Ceausescu dictatorship in 1989. Despite a more open political environment, most citizens do not understand their role in the new system and are hesitant to advocate on their own behalf. NDI works

with the Pro Democracy Association, a Bucharest-based civic group, to promote accountable government and public involvement in politics. PDA's recent voter education effort increased citizen awareness of the importance of voting in a democracy and galvanized thousands of volunteers into civic action. One of NDI's representatives in Romania visited eight municipalities where he observed

electoral preparations for upcoming parliamentary elections. In separate programs, NDI, in cooperation with World Learning, trains civic groups in advocacy skills, and has prepared a manual for parliamentarians to expand their constituent outreach efforts.

Slovakia

Government-sponsored legislation in Slovakia has placed restrictions on civic organizations, the media and ethnic minorities. Stimulating citizen participation in public affairs at the local level is seen by Slovak democrats as an important way to safeguard the country's civil society and open the political process. NDI works to build coalitions of local civic groups to stimulate organized citizen participation in municipal affairs. The program, which began in Trencin, has expanded to Nova Dubnica, Presov and other Slovak cities. As a result of this effort, civic groups are developing skills needed to redress local problems in consultation with their elected representatives.

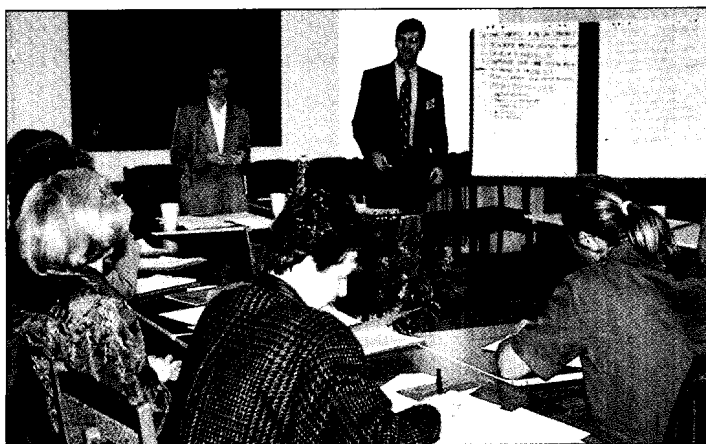
Former Soviet Union and the Baltic States

Armenia

Armenia's parliamentary elections last year resulted in the ruling Republic bloc, led by the Armenian National Movement, securing a large majority of the National Assembly seats. While opposition parties protested the conduct of the elections, they have rejoined the political arena and taken their parliamentary seats in advance of presidential and municipal elections this fall. NDI works with the newly elected lawmakers to strengthen the Assembly's effectiveness and assists political parties with developing political platforms and long-term organizational strategies to strengthen their participation in future elections.

Azerbaijan

Despite the existence of multiple political factions, opposition parties face formidable obstacles in participating actively and freely in the Azerbaijani political process. Censorship is practiced regularly and the electronic media, with few exceptions, are dominated by the state. Against this background, NDI is conducting programs for Azerbaijani political party activists that examine the functions of parties, approaches for enhancing their effectiveness and mechanisms to increase citizen involvement in the political process. In July, NDI and a Baku-based journalist association co-sponsored a program that explored avenues for strengthening the relationship between the public and the press.



NDI field representative Mike Brogioli (standing, right) reviews advocacy techniques with representatives of Lithuanian nongovernmental organizations during a seminar in Vilnius.

Baltics

During the late 1980s, the Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania witnessed the growth of nongovernmental organizations, many of which played critical roles in each country's struggle for sovereignty. Since independence in 1991, this civic spirit abated, as many citizens were forced to cope with economic challenges in the immediate post-communist envi-

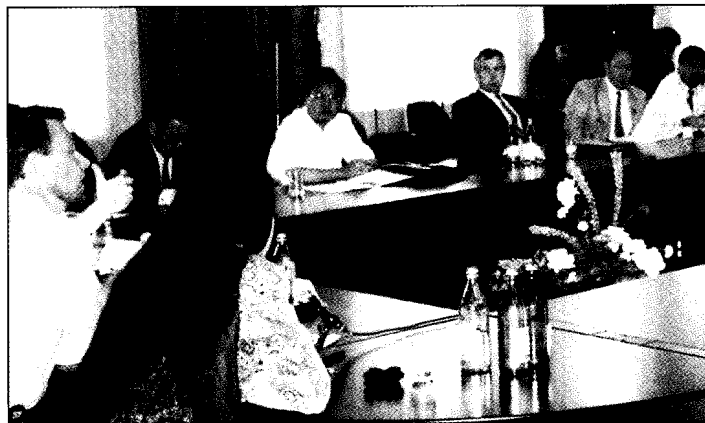
ronment. Together with the U.S.-Baltic Foundation and the Christian Children's Fund, NDI recently began a project to strengthen the NGO sector in the Baltics and to increase civic participation in local and national affairs. In May and June, NDI conducted introductory training seminars in each of the three Baltic capitals, providing practical information to more than 250 NGO participants in such areas as organizational development, strategic planning, advocacy, media relations and fundraising.

Georgia

Under the leadership of its new chairman, the Georgian parliament elected last November has established a functioning committee structure and attracted professional staff. Responding to these developments, NDI organized programs to examine policy matters currently before the parliament. In April, national lawmakers, municipal officials and civic organizers studied local government and territorial restructuring. In conjunction with two Tbilisi-based associations of lawyers and journalists, NDI convened a forum in July on freedom of information issues and the development of a democratic media. Also in July, NDI continued its work to strengthen the organizational capacity of political parties.

Kyrgyzstan

Members of Kyrgyzstan's first democratically elected parliament took their seats in 1995. Despite a recent constitutional referendum that significantly strengthened the powers of the president, leadership in both houses have expressed a desire to make the legislature a more legitimate and effective democratic institution. NDI's program assists the parliament to clarify and strengthen the legislature's internal procedures and enhance its relationship with the citizenry. At an NDI seminar in June, lawmakers and staff examined issues central to a representative parliament including accountability and mechanisms to elicit public input, such as committee hearings.



During a seminar in Bishkek, former Canadian Cabinet Minister Ross Reid (far left) discusses the functions of a democratic parliament with deputies and staff from Kyrgyzstan's national legislature.

Latvia

Since 1993, when Latvia held its first competitive national elections since independence, the country's parliament, or Saeima, has made great strides in its development as a democratic, representative institution. Despite its successes, the Saeima's deputies and decisionmaking processes remain isolated from most Latvians. Real opportunities exist for creating a dialogue between elected officials and their constituents, and making the parliament more accessible and responsive to the public. At an NDI program in April, Latvian NGO representatives identified strategies to promote greater citizen involvement in the work of the parliament. Another NDI program encouraged members of parliament and their staff to seek the views of constituents during legislative deliberations.

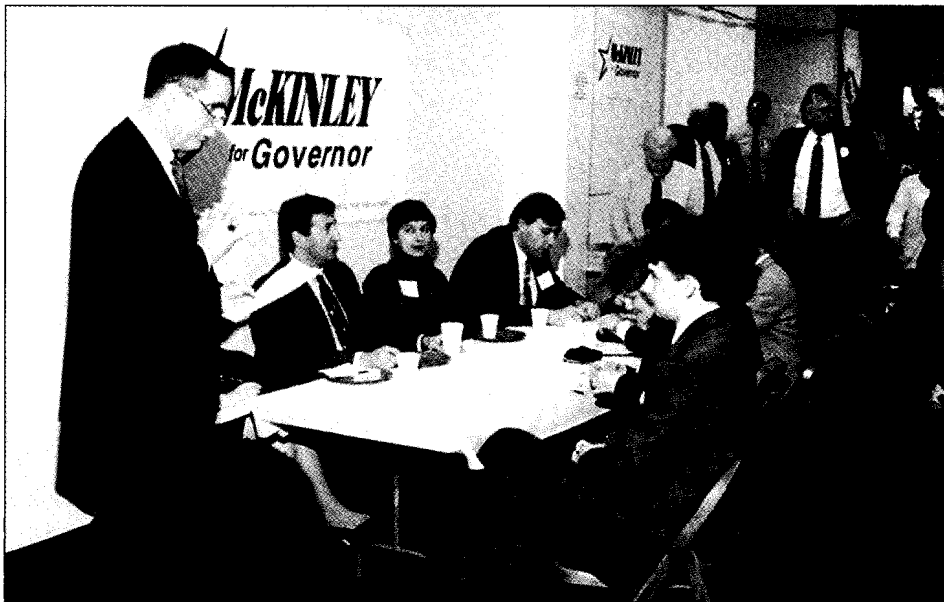
Lithuania

In the last two years, Lithuania has moved to decentralize its political and administrative system through the establishment of local governing authorities. Elections in March 1995 brought in a new generation of municipal leaders committed to rebuilding their communities in the wake of 50 years of Soviet

domination. Hampering their efforts is a lack of cooperation between local governments and residents, fueled by public distrust of politics and politicians. Local leaders are seeking assistance to strengthen their relations with constituents and involve them more directly in community decisionmaking. NDI works with municipal officials in four cities to develop programs that promote the participation of citizens in solving local problems.

Russia

Since 1994, NDI has familiarized civic and political activists, as well as local government officials, from countries in the former Soviet Union with the American political process, advocacy techniques and city management practices. The program prepares participants to adapt the skills acquired during their stay in the U.S. to their own environ-



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.

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Former Soviet Union and the Baltic States

ment. During the course of their visits, Russian political leaders have observed the role parties play in the electoral process, and methods of organizing and managing political parties at national, state and local levels. Civic organizers have studied the role of issue-based advocacy campaigns and municipal officials have examined how U.S. cities incorporate public participation into their decisionmaking process. Groups of Russians recently met with their counterparts in Minnesota, New Jersey, Virginia and West Virginia.

Ukraine

The Ukrainian government has spent the past year drafting a new constitution to replace an outdated Soviet legal framework. Parliament approved the presidential draft in June by a 315 to 36 majority, obviating the need for President Leonid Kuchma to carry out a planned constitutional referendum. NDI worked with political party leaders, civic activists and local government officials to help them inform citizens about the constitution, prepare for a possible referendum and help build consensus on certain provisions that would underscore democratic principles such as basic human rights and separation of powers. The Committee of Voters of Ukraine, a nonpartisan group that formed with NDI's assistance in 1994, organized seminars in 30 cities to educate citizens on the new constitution. Coordinated with other Ukrainian groups, these public education efforts helped increase public pressure for compromises necessary to end the country's constitutional stalemate.

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