



A REVIEW OF THE
ACTIVITIES OF THE
NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC
INSTITUTE FOR
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

NDI REPORTS

South Africans Vote in Local Elections

On November 1, South Africa voters took another important step toward completing the establishment of a multiracial, democratic government. With much of the same patience and perseverance witnessed during last year's historic national elections, voters cast their ballots to fill the councils of 661 local government bodies in eight of the country's nine provinces. NDI programming—in collaboration with Project Vote, a South African civic group—helped organize a nationwide voter education campaign. In addition, NDI conducted training for party pollwatchers and developed computer data bases to better communicate election information.

NDI's initial program focused on voter registration procedures. Unlike last year's poll, local election rules required that voters register and appear at specific polling stations in newly demarcated wards. As early as November 1994, focus groups sponsored by NDI and Project Vote revealed that South Africa's registration requirements could seriously impede the electoral process. The research study also uncovered a widespread resistance to the concept of voter registration—a revelation that was borne out when, at the end of the official registration period in April, a considerable portion of the eligible population remained unregistered. While a five-week extension of the registration period raised the number of registrants to nearly 70 percent, rates in some areas remained below 50 percent.

In June, NDI sponsored a further assessment of the registration process. A public opinion poll carried out in three provinces found that at least 40 percent of the estimated 6 million unregistered South Africans intended to vote—raising the prospect of tensions on election day if thousands of unregistered voters were turned away at polling stations. Also as part of this assessment, NDI asked an international election expert to prepare an options paper that made several recommendations to permit additional voter registration including a supplemental registration period. Based upon the opinion poll and these recommendations, the

(continued on page 12)

NDI to Host International Visitors at Democratic Convention

NDI will host the International Visitors Program at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago, Illinois from August 26-29, 1996. More than 600 political and government leaders from nearly 100 countries will participate in NDI's convention program that will analyze the U.S. election process and foreign policy issues. Our next newsletter will provide further details.



NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE
INTERNATIONAL VISITORS PROGRAM

CHICAGO '96
DEMOCRATIC
NATIONAL
CONVENTION

RUSSIA PREPARES FOR PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

On December 17, Russians will vote in their second post-Soviet, multiparty parliamentary elections. Since historic elections two years earlier, the Russian government has continued to enact economic and political reforms, if gradually and sometimes unevenly. The upcoming elections mark one of several important milestones in the consolidation of new democratic institutions in the Russian Federation, and are seen by many as a referendum on current government policies and a prelude to the June 1996 presidential election. They also represent an important opportunity for strengthening political parties and civic groups, and for promoting legislative accountability.

To support the development of a stable multiparty system in Russia, NDI has worked since 1992 to strengthen the capabilities of democratic political parties and to develop their regional structures. During the second half of 1995, NDI conducted seminars for candidates and organizers on issues relating to preparations

(continued on page 10)

The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, a nonprofit 501(c)(3) corporation, conducts nonpartisan international programs to help promote, maintain and strengthen democratic institutions. NDI programs are supported by the National Endowment for Democracy, the U.S. Agency for International Development and private donations.

Political Parties Convene in Yemen

More than 100 leaders from Yemen's major political parties gathered in Sanaa to develop strategies to further political development in their country's fledgling democracy, one of the few in the Middle East region. July's symposium, the first-ever all-parties event in Yemen, was part of an ongoing NDI effort to encourage peaceful political competition and democratic culture in Yemen.

When the states of North and South Yemen merged in 1990 their leaders committed themselves to political pluralism and open elections. The historic 1993 elections marked an important step forward in Yemen's political development, although the brief civil war in mid-1994 led to a retrenchment of civil liberties and loss of public confidence in the democratic nature of the political system. The state of development of political parties will be tested next during legislative elections in 1997 when multi-party polling will present another important opportunity for further democratic consolidation in the country. Before then, each of the parties hopes to further strengthen its program, internal organization and communication skills.

The symposium brought together the leaders of Yemen's principal parties to discuss international approaches to party organization as well as to examine specific issues raised by the parties in questionnaires distributed by NDI prior to the program. The three main political forces in Yemen—the People's General Congress (PGC), Islah and the Yemeni Socialist Party were joined by representatives of the two main opposition blocs—the National Opposition and the ADAM coalition.

Participants attended an opening plenary session and then divided into five workshops conducted by an international training team of political party experts from four continents. The trainers, with experience both in opposition and governing parties, addressed topics such as party planning and strategy, the relationship between the nation-

al party headquarters and local branch offices, and developing party platforms.

The participating parties noted that the event prompted greater interest by leaders and activists alike in further opportunities for professional party development. They requested that NDI return to work individually with them on a range of organizational topics. One participant noted that the issues raised during the symposium, which was well-covered in local press reports, were the topic of discussion in separate meetings throughout Sanaa. *YEMEN TIMES* publisher Al-Saqqaf commented on the well chosen timing of the symposium. National attention on democracy and political parties had waned, he said, and the symposium served to reactivate the public debate about Yemen's democratic future.

EGYPT

An NDI staff team visited Egypt in early October to assess preparations for legislative elections held on November 29. Previous elections in the Arab world's most populous and important country have been widely criticized, and in 1990 were boycotted by most opposition parties. The team provided training materials and advice to several Egyptian civic groups that later formed the Independent Commission for Electoral Review, a nonpartisan effort that hopes to establish an information base for electoral reform and enhanced public confidence in the political process. In cooperation with the National Endowment for Democracy, NDI also provided financial support to the effort that, despite government opposition, mobilized hundreds of volunteers to monitor the elections.

JORDAN

In July, NDI organized a nine-member delegation of Lebanese, Palestinians and Yemenis to study the municipal elections in Jordan. For the first time in Jordan's history, elections were held for mayor and parties were allowed to present candidates in the country's 260 municipalities. The NDI delegation comprised local and national officials considering local election reform issues in their respective countries. An elected mayor from Bulgaria and a former U.S. elected local government official also joined the study mission to assist with the analysis.

LEBANON

A prominent Yemeni civic organizer joined NDI staff on an inaugural survey to Lebanon in October. Since the end of Lebanon's civil wars, the country has held national elections once in 1992, and preparations are underway for parliamentary polling in summer 1996. A cross-section of parties and civic organizations encouraged NDI



Hungarian M.P. Balint Magyar reviews internal democratic practices by political parties during workshop in Sanaa, Yemen.



Raqiya Humeidan (right), the only woman to serve on Yemen's Central Election Commission, speaks with Palestinian women following workshop in Hebron, West Bank on politics and democracy.

to assist the restoration of Lebanon's democratic tradition. NDI plans to support Lebanese groups committed to strengthening the electoral process and promoting democratic values through civic and voter education programs.

WEST BANK AND GAZA STRIP

Women in Politics NDI programming provides training for Palestinian women to enable them to participate more effectively in the emerging political process. In partnership with the Jerusalem Center for Women, NDI launched a program of regular discussions for young women on politics and democracy, with workshops in Nablus, Hebron, Gaza and Jerusalem.

Palestinian Elections In coopera-

tion with the Carter Center of Emory University, NDI organized its first international delegation to monitor preparations for the upcoming Palestinian elections that will consolidate the peace process in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The delegation met with representatives of the autonomous Palestinian Authority, election officials, political party representatives, civic leaders, journalists, diplomats, other international monitors and Israeli government officials. The group, which included election experts and political leaders from Hungary, South Africa and the U.S., assessed the pre-election environment and made recommendations to promote confidence and participation in the process. NDI and the Carter Center plan to organize additional missions in a

series of programs to monitor the 1996 Palestinian elections. The international effort will culminate in a multinational delegation led by former President Jimmy Carter to monitor final election preparations, as well as balloting and counting on election day.

Civic Forum In cooperation with a variety of local organizations, NDI has organized an ongoing series of informal meetings for the dissemination of information about principles of democratic governance, human rights, elections and civic action. For this program, dubbed the "Civic Forum," 11 Palestinian moderators lead monthly discussions throughout the West Bank and Gaza Strip on democratic citizenship with more than 3,500 men and women in 75 towns and villages.

TRAINERS AND DELEGATES FOR PROGRAMS IN THE MIDDLE EAST July-November 1995

YAHYA AL-AHDAL
M.P., Islah Party, Yemen

KHALED AL-ALI
Jenin Municipal Council, West Bank

AHMAD AL-MUGHANNI
Gaza Municipal Council, Gaza Strip

ISHAQ AL-NATSHEH
Hebron Municipal Council, West Bank

NABIL AL-SHERGABI
Yemeni Institute for Democratic Development, Yemen

THOMAS ANDREWS
Former Member of Congress, U.S.

AHMAD ARQOUB
El-Bireh Municipal Council, West Bank

MOMAR DIOP
Former Member of the Executive Committee, Senegalese Democratic Party, Senegal

MATYAS EORSI
M.P., Alliance of Free Democrats, Hungary

HAFED FADEL
Institute for Democracy, Yemen

CLAUDIO GROSSMAN
American University Law School, U.S.

RAQIYA HUMEIDAN
Central Election Commission, Yemen

MUHAMMED KAMARUZZAMAN
Jamaat-e-Islami Party, Bangladesh

GINKA KAPITANOVA
Mayor of Zlatograd, Bulgaria

AMAL KHREISHA
Palestinian Working Women's Union, West Bank

SAKI MACOZOMA
M.P., African National Congress, South Africa

BALINT MAGYAR
M.P., Alliance of Free Democrats, Hungary

KAREN SHEPHERD
Former Member of Congress, U.S.



NDI/Carter Center pre-election delegation discusses preparations for Palestinian polling at press conference in Jerusalem. (Pictured l to r): Susan Palmer from the Carter Center, U.S.; Matyas Eorsi from Hungary; Saki Mocoizoma from South Africa; Karen Shepherd from the U.S. and Claudio Grossman from the U.S.

The Evolution of BAFECR

During municipal polling in October, the Bulgarian Association for Fair Elections and Civil Rights (BAFECR) mounted a sophisticated election program that demonstrated its contribution to the development of the country's civil society. In 1990, when NDI organized an international delegation to Bulgaria's first competitive elections in 40 years, the Institute began a sustained relationship with the newly formed civic group. While international delegations come and go, the impact of NDI's partnership with BAFECR has been more profound and lasting.

BAFECR was the first of many election monitoring organizations supported by NDI in the region. The work of these groups provide an educational value far beyond their impact on election day—often enhancing prospects for greater political discourse and citizen involvement in democratic government.

For the October 29 local elections, BAFECR established a comprehensive, 10-month civic education program—much more ambitious than that attempted by the fledgling organization five years earlier.

In the spring, BAFECR organized a series of informal roundtable discussions with journalists and representatives of political parties, civic organizations, labor groups and the business community in 16 municipalities. These discussions reviewed local government developments since 1990 and examined qualifications for local elected officials. BAFECR later published responses as a voter education tool.

In September, BAFECR published *YOU AND YOUR MUNICIPALITY*, a citizen's guide to local government that the Association had begun to research eight months earlier. Distribution of the guide coincided with BAFECR's election reform advocacy program, which successfully produced nearly 30 changes to the local election law.

Next, BAFECR distributed more than 200,000 copies of a voters guide that described the new electoral law, the responsibilities of local officials, voting procedures and the importance of casting a ballot. This program was followed by training sessions for journalists and a popular series of candidate forums throughout the country. In Sofia alone, more than 500 voters turned out to question 10 mayoral candidates. On election day itself, BAFECR mobilized more than 9,000 observers and conducted a parallel vote tabulation that was able to verify the official results of the elections.

For these elections, NDI sponsored a special

delegation of international observers who visited Bulgaria to learn from the BAFECR experience. In anticipation of their own upcoming elections, representatives from civic groups in Albania, Egypt, the Gaza Strip, Lebanon, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Romania arrived at the BAFECR national office six days before the elections.

After observing BAFECR-sponsored candidate forums in four cities and meeting with political party representatives, local government officials and candidates, the observers were briefed on the Association's election-day plans and the conduct of the parallel vote tabulation. They monitored polling in different regions of the country on election day and participated in a post-election debriefing of the entire election program.

Meetings with a cross-section of BAFECR activists exposed the foreign delegates to new organizing strategies and techniques. Some were impressed with BAFECR's volunteer recruitment and want to emulate the Association's ability to interest people of all ages in the political process. Others voiced a desire to execute pre-election roundtables and candidate forums similar to those sponsored by BAFECR. "I really felt the people's will, their power," said Aneta Mihali, secretary of the Albanian Society for Democratic Culture. "I felt that all of us can do something concrete if we want to."

ALBANIA

In Albania, NDI continues to assist with the organizational development of the Society for Democratic Culture (SDC), a nongovernmental organization that encourages greater public participation in the political process. In preparation for parliamentary elections scheduled for spring 1996, NDI sent a planning mission to Albania in July to assess the political environment and to begin working with the SDC to design its election-related programming. The team's findings helped lay the groundwork for SDC's subsequent long-range workplan that includes opinion polling, media monitoring, voter education, volunteer recruitment and training, and election observation. During the summer, NDI's field representative visited 26 SDC clubs throughout Albania to help with preparations for a coordinated election effort.

CROATIA

In August, NDI opened an office in Zagreb to expand its political party building program in Croatia. Initial work comprised individual consultations with 12 parties on organizing and communication issues. When early elections were called for October 29, NDI brought international trainers to work with the parties on monitoring

МЕСТНИ ИЗБОРИ '95 29 октомври

КОГО ШЕ ИЗБИРАМЕ
11 хиляди кметове и съветници — какво зависи от тях!

КОЙ ШЕ МОЖЕ ДА ГЛАСУВА
Проверете адресните си регистрации и избирателния списък!

ЗА КОГО Е ПРЕДИЗБОРНАТА КАМПАНИЯ
Как да научим повече за кандидатите

КАК ШЕ СЕ ГЛАСУВА
От дъве до пет бюлетини ще се сазат в два пачка и две урни

КОЙ ШЕ СПЕЧЕЛИ
Вторият тур в кметския избор ще се провежда с трима кандидати

КАК ДА РЕАГИРАМЕ ПРИ НАРУШЕНИЯ
Потърсете доброволците и консултантите на БСЧНП!

Българско сътрудничество за местни избори и граждански права
1414 София, Национален център за култура, изд. С
Тел.: 02/680 587-02/430 5,21 Факс: 02/401 038

Cover of LOCAL ELECTIONS '95, a BAFECR brochure that provides detailed information on the October 29 municipal elections.

the elections. NDI also organized an international delegation to assess the political environment two weeks before election day. The delegation expressed concern about several aspects of the election process: the hasty manner in which the election law was promulgated; the extension of voting rights to the Croatian diaspora residing in Bosnia; and shortcomings in election administration, such as the voter registration lists. The statement was widely quoted in the European and North American media and served to inform international observers who visited the country during the elections.

CZECH REPUBLIC

NDI's three-year civic and political participation program is designed to encourage Czech citizens to become involved in the political process at the grassroots level. Based in the city of Plzen, NDI's field representative, an experienced community organizer from Minnesota, has assisted in the formation of a Plzen coalition of nongovernmental organizations. In September, two teams, comprising NDI staff and NGO representatives from Plzen, visited four

cities to identify venues to replicate the Plzen model. NDI will work in two of these cities in early 1996 to assist NGOs to form coalitions and organize candidate forums before the June 1996 legislative elections.

HUNGARY

In September, NDI opened a field office in Budapest to continue its development program to strengthen the grassroots structure of Hungary's six parliamentary parties. In October, NDI worked with two opposition parties on enhancing internal communication processes. In November, two international and two Hungarian legislative experts conducted strategic development training sessions with the parties' local branches in three cities. NDI is organizing similar training programs with the coalition of ruling parties.

FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA

NDI works with the Association for Civic Initiative (ACI), a nationwide, nonpartisan civic organization that promotes citizen participation in political affairs in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia

(FYROM). NDI has recently focused on strengthening the organizational capacity of ACI's 14 local clubs, as well as its national board and staff. In September, ACI held its second annual meeting, at which delegates representing ACI's local chapters elected a new executive board and revised the organization's statutes. Delegates also voted on a program agenda for next year including a plan to educate citizens about new laws on local government and local elections, and an effort to establish effective communication between local government officials and their constituents.

ROMANIA

Since 1990, NDI has worked in partnership with the Pro Democracy Association (PDA), a nationwide Romanian civic group, to conduct activities that strengthen channels of communication between elected officials and their constituents, and provide citizens with strategies to participate in the country's political process. In September, PDA published and distributed a citizens guide to the parliament and conducted a nationwide petition campaign to reform the existing electoral law. NDI is also completing a handbook for parliamentarians that features examples of effective constituent outreach techniques. As part of the Institute's efforts to increase citizen participation at the local level, NDI has conducted local government "communications seminars" in cities across Romania at which local elected officials and civil servants develop action plans to solve municipal problems.

Also in Romania, in consortium with World Learning and Support Centers International, NDI has initiated a three-year program designed to provide management and advocacy training to Romania's nascent civic organizations. In July, NDI placed a grassroots community organizer in

TRAINERS AND ADVISERS FOR PROGRAMS IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE—July-November 1995

SHLOMO AVINERI
Hebrew University, Israel

BRIAN FEENEY
Executive Committee, Social Democratic and Labour Party, Northern Ireland

JUDITH NADLER
Mayor of Santa Clara, California, U.S.

JIM NATHANSON
Former Member of the Washington, D.C. City Council, U.S.

PAULA NEWBERG
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, U.S.

MICHAEL POTTER
Grassroots Organizer, U.S.

MICHAEL SHANNON
Political Media Specialist, U.S.

PAUL SIMPSON
M.P., Labour Party, U.K.

JAMES E. TIERNEY
Former Attorney General of Maine, U.S.

LESLIE TURNBULL
Pollster, Canada

ANDREW YOUNG
London Internship Program, U.K.

(continued on next page)

(continued from page 5)

Bucharest to serve as the NGO advocacy trainer for the project. Initial efforts will concentrate on identifying organizational candidates to receive the training, determining their level of development and identifying specific training needs.

SLOVAKIA

NDI programs in Slovakia encourage citizen participation in politics by enhancing the capabilities of civic groups to communicate with elected officials. Using community organizing techniques, NDI assembled

more than 30 issue- and constituent-based civic groups in the western city of Trenčín to work with citizens and city government officials in identifying and solving local issues. Since June, a civic coalition has initiated a dialogue with municipal officials and Trenčín-based members of parliament to find solutions to specific problems identified by citizens in a survey undertaken earlier by the coalition. Using the Trenčín pilot program as a model, NDI helped form a similar coalition in the nearby city of Nova Dubnica and plans to expand the community organizing project to several other cities in the coming months.

ASIA

Fair Election Monitoring Alliance Promotes Fair Election Process in Bangladesh

NDI is continuing its work with Bangladeshi civic groups to build public confidence in the country's controversial election process. In August, the Institute established a field presence in Dhaka and expanded its work with the Fair Election Monitoring Alliance (FEMA), a coalition of more than 130 nongovernmental organizations created with NDI support. FEMA is organizing a nationwide monitoring effort for the next general elections, now scheduled for January 18.

The current political crisis is the most serious one since 1990 when opposition protest forced the resignation of then-president Hussein Mohammed Ershad who took power in a 1982 coup. Following Ershad's resignation in 1991, Bangladesh held multiparty elections, the first in its history whose outcome was accepted by all major parties. The upcoming elections will be held in a highly charged political environment, resulting in part from controversy over the administration of the 1994 local elections during which opposition political parties alleged government misconduct. These parties, led by the Awami League, demand the resignation of Prime Minister Khaleda Zia and the creation of a neutral "caretaker government" to oversee the upcoming polling. The ruling Bangladesh National Party

asserts that such an arrangement is unconstitutional. The ensuing debate about the elections has led to violent strikes. In November, the government dissolved parliament, which

had been boycotted by the Awami League since 1994.

Since January, FEMA's program has focused on encouraging broad-based public participation, deterring intimidation at the polls and creating a climate in which the political will of the electorate is respected. This effort is now complicated by opposition threats not to participate in the elections. Moreover, the Bangladeshi government has yet to release funds contributed to FEMA by donor countries.

NDI has worked with FEMA to organize regional training workshops for volunteer monitors, who will serve as pollwatchers on election day. NDI has advised FEMA on developing the Alliance's organizational capacity, proposing election law reforms, and drafting a code of conduct for political parties and election monitors.

NDI sponsored two representatives from FEMA to observe the activities of PollWatch, Thailand's national election monitoring network during the Thai parliamentary elections on July 2. The program exposed the Bangladeshis to a wide range of issues that they face in establishing their own election monitoring operation.

In October, FEMA organized a national conference for more than 200 volunteers from throughout Bangladesh to assess the status of the coalition's grassroots organizing effort and to plan upcoming programs. "Our proposed activities are ambitious," said FEMA Chairman Fakhruddin Ahmed during his opening remarks, "but FEMA's members are enthusiastic and committed to ensuring that elections are free of



FEMA representative Shamsunnabar from Bangladesh and NDI Program Officer Lynn Heller observe voting during Thailand's national elections in July.

NDI President Kenneth Wollack (left) and Edgardo Boeninger from Chile meet with Aung San Suu Kyi at her home in Rangoon.



irregularities and that all citizens can participate effectively and actively."

Members of FEMA's regional committees present at the conference also approved proposed revisions to the National Election Commission's code of conduct for political parties and to the Bangladesh election law. FEMA proposals include accreditation for domestic and international election monitors, which are not expressly contemplated in the current electoral statute.

CAMBODIA

In September, NDI reopened its office in Phnom Penh to initiate an election support program in preparation for local and national polling tentatively scheduled for 1997 and 1998, respectively. NDI's program promotes public participation in developing an election law and encourages the involvement of nongovernmental organizations in the electoral process. Unlike the historic 1993 elections, which were managed by the United Nations, the upcoming multiparty contests will be organized by Cambodians. Serious challenges to an open process are already emerging, including political party fractionalization, arrests of journalists and an increasingly intolerant and violent political environment.

TRAINERS AND ADVISERS FOR PROGRAMS IN ASIA

July-November 1995

EDGARDO BOENINGER
Former Minister of the Presidency, Chile

THOMAS McDONALD
Attorney, U.S.

PETER NAGLE
M.P., Australian Labour Party, Australia

NEIL NEVITTE
University of Toronto, Canada

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

Supporting Burmese Democrats

Aung San Suu Kyi, the Nobel prize-winning leader of Burma's pro-democracy movement, emerged last July from six years of house arrest preaching not retribution but peaceful democratic change and dialogue with her military captors, the ruling State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC). It was the SLORC that violently put down a democratic uprising seven years ago and nullified the results of the 1990 elections in which the Burmese people voted overwhelmingly for Suu Kyi's National League for Democracy (NLD).

Her release engendered cautious optimism of a break in the political deadlock that has paralyzed Burmese society. However, the regime has thus far refused to respond to Suu Kyi's appeal. Instead, it has reconvened the National Convention that is charged with framing a new constitution. The Convention, stage-managed by the SLORC, is clearly designed to establish a legal basis for military power over a yet-to-be-elected civilian government.

In November, an NDI delegation visited Rangoon to examine political developments and to discuss how the international community might best support a genuine democratic transition. NDI President Kenneth Wollack led the group, which included Edgardo Boeninger, Chile's former Minister of the Presidency, and NDI Program Officer Derek Mitchell. Through meetings with the leadership of three of Burma's legal political parties, U.N. development agencies and the foreign diplomatic corps, the delegation received a range of perspectives on the complex issues facing the process of reconciliation in Burma. The three parties represented the interests of the main elements of Burmese society to be reconciled—the military government, ethnic minorities and the democratic opposition. In each meeting, Boeninger was able to discuss how Chile managed civil-military relations during its

successful transition to democracy.

The highlight of NDI's mission was the meeting with Aung San Suu Kyi in the home in which she was imprisoned. Suu Kyi, the daughter of Burmese independence leader Aung San, reiterated her determination to pursue a dialogue with the SLORC over restoring democracy to her country, and urged the international community not to engage in economic and political activities that would confer legitimacy on the military regime.

The delegation was struck not only by her calm determination to continue her courageous campaign for democracy, human rights and national reconciliation, but also by her extraordinary personal qualities—a rare combination of strength, moral principle, grace and humor.

The NDI delegation found severe constraints placed on freedom of expression and political activity in Burma. On weekend afternoons, however, thousands of citizens defy the government ban on assembly of more than four people in order to listen to Suu Kyi outside her home. Next to loudspeakers, dozens of Burmese hold cassette recorders—one of the few mediums through which her message can be heard.

Aung San Suu Kyi's popularity among the Burmese people undermines government efforts to marginalize her. Two weeks after the NDI group departed Rangoon, she announced that the NLD would not take part in the National Convention in the absence of dialogue between the military and the democratic forces.

The SLORC is now faced with critical choices about which direction it will take the country. The community of democratic nations can contribute to the process by demonstrating its steadfast and vocal support for the Burmese people and for the democrats who have been entrusted to represent them.

LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN



Latin American Leaders Discuss Political Party Reform

Political party leaders from 14 countries throughout the Western Hemisphere gathered in Marbella, Chile to discuss the future of political parties and to examine approaches to strengthening and modernizing the political party system in the Americas. The August meeting, which was sponsored by NDI and the Ministry of the Presidency of Chile, convened in response to suggestions from political leaders who expressed concerns about new challenges facing political parties in the region.

Eugene Eidenberg, a member of NDI's Board of Directors, and former executive director of the Democratic Party of the U.S., represented the Institute at the conference. The Minister of the Presidency of Chile, Genaro Arriagada, served as host of the program.

The conference began with a discussion of a study conducted by NDI and Argentine public opinion firm Römer & Associates that analyzed popular attitudes toward political parties in the hemisphere. The study, which draws on the findings of focus groups organized in Argentina, Chile, Colombia, El Salvador, Mexico and Peru, concludes that Latin Americans are increasingly losing faith in political institutions, that political parties are no longer viewed as effective vehicles for achieving societal change, and that parties are generally viewed as exclusive institutions.

The participants agreed that political leaders, and civil society in general, face new trends that affect the development of political parties. They pointed to: the globalization of political and economic systems; the end of the Cold War; the information and communication revolution; and the appearance of new social actors, such as civic organizations.

At the conclusion of the meeting, the party leaders approved 10 recommendations for party reform. These recommendations included: encouraging greater openness and democracy within political parties (including developing processes for selecting candidates that facilitate citizen participation and finding mechanisms that increase the role of women, youth and minorities); implementing campaign financial controls; and educating citizens about the political process and the unique role played by political parties.

EL SALVADOR

NDI completed its year-long program to encourage citizen participation in local government decisionmaking. The program promoted interaction between local government officials and their constituencies in the municipal-

ities of Tecoluca, Texistepeque and Santa Elena. During seminars in July, 150 community activists from the three towns studied provisions for citizen participation in the Salvadoran Municipal Code. At workshops in November, 50 municipal officials and community activists representing these and four additional municipalities agreed to implement a plan to increase citizen participation within six months.

GUATEMALA

In July, NDI initiated a program to increase citizen confidence and participation in the November 12 national elections. Recent polling in Guatemala has been plagued by growing public apathy and low voter turnout. NDI worked with two Guatemalan civic groups—the Institute for Democracy and Development (IDE) and the Institute for Investigation and Political Formation (INIAP)—to coordinate a grassroots voter education and pollwatcher training program. NDI and IDE

Luis Humberto Guzmán (second from left), president of the National Assembly, discusses changing role of Nicaraguan army during civil-military relations seminar in Managua. Also pictured: (l to r) Prudencio Garcia from Spain, and Nicaraguans Joaquín Cuadra, Commander of the Army; Sergio Narváez, Minister of Interior; Emilio Alvarez Montalván; and Oscar René Vargas.



TRAINERS AND ADVISERS FOR PROGRAMS IN LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN—July-November 1995

ESTEBAN CABALLERO,
Center for Democratic Studies, Paraguay

HORACIO JAUNARENA
Defense Commission, Chamber of Deputies, Argentina

RICARDO CENTURION
Decidamos, Paraguay

L. ERIK KJONNEROD
War Gaming and Simulation Center, National Defense University, U.S.

LUIS COSTA RIBAS
Sociedade Independente de Comunicação (SIC-TV), Portugal

JUDI LONGFIELD
City Councillor of Whitby, Ontario, Canada

IRMA FLORES GOZALES
National Council of La Raza, U.S.

NEIL NEVITTE
University of Toronto, Canada

CARLOS FLORIA
San Andres University, Argentina

ROSANGELA NUÑEZ
School of Neighbors, Venezuela

HENRI FRANCISQUE
Voice of America, U.S.

PEPI PATRON COSTA
Transparencia, Peru

ALEJANDRO FRIGERIO
Community Activist, U.S.

MARTHA PEREZ
Civic Alliance, Mexico

PRUDENCIO GARCIA
Army Colonel (ret.), Spain

IRENE PERURENA
Former Director, Commission for Peace and Justice, Panama

ANDREW GREENBLATT
Common Cause, U.S.

KAREN HUMPHREY
Former Mayor of Fresno, California, U.S.

BISHNU RAGOONATH
University of the West Indies, Trinidad and Tobago



Jaimé Estevez (far right), president of Chile's Chamber of Deputies, analyzes global changes in politics at regional seminar for Latin American parties. Also pictured: (l to r) B.A. Graham from Canada, Eugene Eidenberg from the U.S. and Andres Allamand from Chile.



After attending a training program, representatives of Guatemalan NGOs practice making a mock voter education presentation to their colleagues.

trained more than 700 pollwatcher instructors and voter education "promoters" who subsequently trained several thousand additional pollwatchers and helped motivate citizens to vote from across the country. Voter education materials produced by INIAP included posters and instructional materials for trainers.

GUYANA

NDI continued its program to develop effective local governance in Guyana. In August, more than 100 newly elected councilors attended the country's first local government conference to examine the principles and practical applications of democratic municipal administration. Local government experts from four countries led discussions on such issues as citizen participation in decisionmaking, ethics, community development and communication. NDI prepared and distributed 1,450 copies of a handbook on local democracy tailored for the local councillor in Guyana. Prime Minister Samuel Hinds addressed the assembled councilors and invited them to help create a national consensus on the future development of local government. Following the seminar, a multi-partisan group of local elected officials initiated planning for an association of local government leaders.



AMERICA

JUAN RIAL
Political Analyst, Uruguay

GRACIELA RÖMER
Pollster, Argentina

FERNANDO ROMERO BOLANOS
Specialist in Rural Civic Education,
CEAPAZ-SER, Peru

NINA SERAFINO
Congressional Research Service, U.S.

MICHAEL SHIFTER
Inter-American Dialogue, U.S.

JOSÉ MANUEL UGARTE
Senior Advisor, Defense Commission,
Chamber of Deputies, Argentina

THOMAS VOLGY
Former Mayor of Tucson, Arizona, U.S.

CARL WRIGHT
Commonwealth Local Government
Forum, U.K.

HAITI

NDI programs assist political party officials, civic group representatives, election authorities and journalists with preparations for the December 17 presidential election. NDI activities are designed to help overcome the serious problems associated with the June 25 legislative and local elections, and to promote confidence in the electoral process. NDI is helping train pollwatchers as part of a comprehensive monitoring plan undertaken by the

political parties and the country's election commission. NDI also operates an information center that distributes material about the election and serves as a neutral meeting place for journalists, election officials, political party representatives and members of the international community. NDI plans to organize three presidential debates at the center that will be broadcast on television and radio. In addition, NDI is conducting training programs for journalists on election reporting.

NICARAGUA

NDI continues to support the development of democratic civil-military relations in Nicaragua. In September, more than 45 Nicaraguan political and nongovernmental leaders attended an intensive civil-military relations course organized by NDI, the National Assembly's Defense Commission and the Nicaraguan Center for Strategic Studies (CEEN), a recently formed civic organization dedicated to strengthening civil-military relations in the country. The eight-day course examined the mechanisms and practices necessary for civilian leaders to oversee the armed forces and develop expertise in security policy.

PERU

NDI works with Transparencia, a Lima-based civic group that organized Peru's first domestic monitoring program during last April's national elections. For the municipal elections in November, the organization conducted seminars on election observation and sponsored training programs on citizen rights and public interaction with the local officials they were about to elect. NDI also helped Transparencia mobilize 9,000 pollwatchers for the municipal elections and conduct a parallel vote count of the election results.

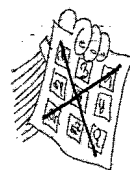
VENEZUELA

NDI assisted the School of Neighbors (EVV), a grassroots civic organization to promote citizen participation and confidence in the December 3 state and local elections. Since the 1980s, Venezuela's voter abstention rate has climbed with each election. Recent surveys predicted that abstentionism could reach a record 60 percent in the polling. In order to counter this trend, the EVV organized pilot election monitoring and parallel vote counting programs in four cities. In September, NDI-sponsored international experts helped the EVV prepare for their monitoring effort.

QUE HACER DURANTE EL RECuento

En todas las boletines figura un lema muestreado lo importante: DEBE MARCARSE UN SOLO CUADRO CON UNA "X". UN CÍRCULO O OTRO SIGNO, CUALQUIER SIGNO QUE ABARQUE OTROS CUADROS O CUALQUIER APUNTE O MODIFICACIÓN ANULARÁ EL VOTO.

Si X o cualquier otro signo con que se ha marcado un voto se sale del cuadro que aparece al ambiente del partido que, con razonable claridad, se ha querido marcar, el voto es válido.



Se puede considerar nulo un voto, si la X en su veniente central, abarca varios cuadros o si dicho marca presentantamente coincide con otro de la intención que tuvo el votante al emitir su voto.

El voto es válido cuando se elige la intención del votante.

Se considera nulo un voto que en cualquier forma altere la identidad.

Page from a pollwatcher training manual in Guatemala that describes the vote counting process including invalidating incorrectly marked ballots.

FORMER SOVIET UNION AND THE BALTIC STATES

(continued from page 1)

for the December elections, including planning, targeting, research, message development, press relations, voter contact, direct mail, fundraising and advertising. Since September, NDI has focused its attention outside of Moscow, responding to requests from parties for specialized consultations in St. Petersburg, Ekaterinburg, Chelyabinsk, Nizhnii Novgorod, Vladivostok, Samara and Krasnodar. The parties requesting assistance from NDI included: Democratic Choice of Russia, headed by Yegor Gaidar; Yabloko, chaired by Grigory Yavlinsky; Forward Russia, headed by Boris Fyodorov; Women of Russia; Our Home is Russia, chaired by Viktor Chernomyrdin; the Republican Party; the Democratic Russia Movement; the Congress of Russian Communities; the Party of Economic Freedom; and Transformation of the Urals, among others.

In the six week-period before the elections, NDI is supporting domestic pollwatching efforts to increase public confidence in the electoral process, encourage voter education and participation, and strengthen civic and party organizations. NDI is establishing temporary support and training centers for aspiring monitoring efforts based in three of Russia's largest cities: Ekaterinburg, Krasnodar and Nizhnii Novgorod. From these centers, NDI will distribute materials, present briefings, and provide advice on pollwatching to parties and civic groups. In late October, NDI produced two-minute public service announcements for a radio station targeted to young listeners throughout Russia. The nonpartisan voter education announcements, which ran six times daily for a week, explained the importance of signing petitions to help candidates and parties qualify for a place on parliamentary election ballots.

NDI has also continued its work with Russian civic groups that provide vehicles through which citizens can articulate their concerns in the political process. NDI conducted seminars in Moscow, Nizhnii Novgorod, St. Petersburg, Ekaterinburg and Samara. The seminars addressed such issues as endorsing candidates, advocating the adoption of issues in party platforms, and voter education.

In other outreach and voter education efforts, NDI developed, translated and distributed throughout Russia written training materials and comparative literature on topics relevant to civic and political organizing. Between June and October, NDI sent these documents to more than 6,000 participants in NDI programs. NDI also contributed articles to the monthly political science journal *Polls* and helped to produce a weekly radio show on democratization. Finally, NDI is publishing a report that examines the parties competing in the State Duma (lower house of parliament) elections. The English-language report is designed to inform members of international delegations observing the Russian elections.

ARMENIA

Following the establishment of an office in Yerevan in May, NDI conducted a range of programs to support political party development, independent election monitoring and voter education for the July 5 parliamentary elections. Since that time, NDI has continued to work with political parties and nongovernmental organizations in their efforts to play stronger roles in the country's democratic transition. NDI is helping to develop post-election activities for "Vote Armenia," a newly formed coalition of civic groups that organized 2,000 monitors for the July polling. The NDI office is also conducting programs with political parties focused on building their organizational capabilities and operating as effective parliamentary factions inside the new legislature.

AZERBAIJAN

In advance of parliamentary elections and a referendum on the constitution on November 12, NDI established a field office in Baku to coordinate programs with political parties and civic groups. The NDI office conducted training sessions with ruling and opposition parties focused on communications with the electorate and election monitoring. Having gathered information throughout the contentious campaign period, NDI also produced a report that assessed the pre-election environment and recommended measures to improve the electoral process.

CENTRAL ASIA

Through its office in Almaty, NDI is assisting non-governmental groups in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan to organize monitoring and voter education programs for December elections in both countries. Following the December 24 presidential election in Kyrgyzstan, NDI will resume plans to organize programs to assist the development of the parliament, possibly from a new office in Bishkek.

ESTONIA

NDI continued its program to assist local officials in the cities of Tartu, Narva and Voru with their efforts to involve the citizenry in municipal policy decisions. In Voru, NDI worked with a 12-member task force comprising elected officials and representatives from civic organizations and the business community on developing a first draft of the development plan for the city. Since August, NDI has worked closely with the Tartu city government to prepare and distribute a brochure describing the operations of the city government, the roles of various elected officials, and the names of departments that citizens could contact to help resolve municipal problems. In Narva, NDI has

assisted local officials to organize neighborhood meetings in order to increase public awareness of and participation in local government activities. Similar initiatives are underway in several other Estonian municipalities.

GEORGIA

Building on a year-long development program with Georgia's leading political parties, NDI continued to organize consultations, seminars and workshops both in Tbilisi and in regional cities. During the run-up to the November 5 presidential and parliamentary elections, NDI also assisted the development of a voluntary, community based monitoring effort, the Fair Elections Society (FES), which conducted voter education programs, and trained and fielded more than 1,200 election monitors. In December, NDI plans to organize an orientation program for new members of the Georgian parliament and establish

the foundations for continued programming in the parliament.

LATVIA

By working concurrently with members of parliament and civic groups, NDI programs in Latvia are helping to close the communication gap between governing institutions and civil society. In September, NDI convened a program to familiarize Latvian non-governmental organizations with civic advocacy techniques and practices. The program led to the formation of a coalition that plans to express its views on pending legislation in the next parliament. Following parliamentary elections in September, NDI co-hosted an orientation program for newly elected members of parliament. The program emphasized legislative responsiveness and transparency, and introduced more than half of the new members to the services and structures of parliament.

UKRAINE

For the December 10 by-elections, NDI, in conjunction with the International Republican Institute, is supporting a get-out-the-vote effort for 17 vacant parliamentary seats in the Kiev area. A coalition of political parties, and civic and journalist groups are coordinating paid advertisements, candidate debates, student leafleting and an information "hotline" to motivate public interest in the polling. In addition, NDI continues to support the Committee of Voters of Ukraine, a nonpartisan civic group that will field independent pollwatchers for the December elections. In a separate program, NDI has organized a training program in four cities to encourage citizen involvement with democratic institutions at the local level. The program supports interaction among political parties, government authorities and civic groups, and provides training in management and advocacy skills.

TRAINERS AND ADVISERS FOR THE FORMER SOVIET UNION AND THE BALTICS July-November 1995

ERIC ANDERSON
City Manager, Evanston, Illinois, U.S.

FRANCESCA BINDA
Canadian Endangered Species Coalition, Canada

RANDI BJØRGEN
Norwegian Confederation of Municipal Employees, Norway

PATRICK BROGAN
THE GLASGOW HERALD, U.S.

BERNARD CAMPBELL
Political Party Organizer, U.S.

GLENN COWAN
NDI Senior Advisor, U.S.

JEFF ELLER
Media Relations Specialist, U.S.

DERMOT ENGLEFIELD
Former Director of Information Services, House of Commons, U.K.

PETER FENN
Media Relations Expert, U.S.

TY GODDARD
Legislative Aide, House of Commons, U.K.

MARTIN HAMBURGER
Campaign Management Specialist, U.S.

JOHN KRAUSS
Indiana University School of Public and Environmental Affairs, U.S.

EDWARD LAZARUS
Pollster, U.S.

TOM LINDENFELD
Voter Contact Expert, U.S.

CLAIRMONT LYE
Beacon Foundation, Guyana

MICHAEL MATTHEWS
Political Organization Specialist, U.S.

ROSS MIRKARIMI
Office of San Francisco Supervisor Terence Hallinan, U.S.

LAURIE MOSKOWITZ
Director of Training and Education, Democratic National Committee, U.S.

COLLETTE RHONEY
Meet the Press, NBC, U.S.

MARIJA SEVER
Libra Institute, Slovenia

CEVDET SEYHAN
Voice of America, U.S.

SARAH SILVER
Natural Resources Defense Council, U.S.

(continued from page 1)

South African cabinet decided to reopen the voter registration for an additional two weeks in September. During this period an estimated 400,000 names were added to the voter rolls.

To promote the flow of voter education information, NDI created a series of computer databases with contact information for government agencies, civic groups and others involved in the local elections. The National Directory of Transitional Local Authorities is the first national database containing local government contact information. The Directory was published and distributed to national and regional election administrators, political parties, voter education groups, election monitors and the South African Broadcasting Corporation. The Institute used the database to distribute *NEWSFLASH*, an NDI publication that provided updates on late-breaking amendments to election regulations and examples of successful voter education projects. For many local authorities and branch offices of political parties and civic organizations, *NEWSFLASH*, which was distributed by facsimile and available on the Internet, became their only source of election news.

NDI also continued its efforts to enhance the participation of political parties in the electoral process. Responding to a request from the political parties, NDI assembled a training kit for pollwatchers monitoring election-day activities. The kit—comprising a summary of election rules, guidelines for monitoring, the code of conduct and monitoring forms—proved so popular that it was reproduced and express-mailed to more than 1,200 political party and election administration branch offices.

On election day, millions of South Africans voted in a peaceful and orderly process. However, in some areas of the country NDI observed as many as one in five voters being turned away—some because they had never registered,

others because they were in the wrong location. In the province of Eastern Cape, as many as 35,000 names had been inexplicably deleted from the rolls.

Voter turnout was slightly more than 50 percent. Of the seats available, the ANC won approximately 63 percent and the National Party 16 percent, while independents and various ratepayer associations combined to garner 13 percent of the municipal seats.

ANGOLA

In July, an NDI survey mission visited Angola to assess the political climate and determine whether the Institute could assist current efforts toward reconciliation and the establishment of multiparty democracy. While the country has been devastated by decades of civil war, the delegation found a renewed commitment to peace and a move toward long-term political and economic reconstruction. The delegation recommended that NDI initiate a program to expose selected Angolan leaders to peaceful democratic

transitions in neighboring southern Africa countries, including Mozambique, Namibia and South Africa. Angolan participants would meet with parliamentarians, local government officials and representatives from nongovernmental organizations in order to study democratic practices and institutions initiated in these countries.

MALAWI

NDI conducted the second in a series of three focus groups in Malawi to collect information for the Institute's ongoing program to improve communication between citizens and the government, and help civic groups and political parties prepare for local elections in 1996. NDI also assisted with the development of legislation regulating nongovernmental organizations and sponsored a program to train these groups in advocacy skills. In November, NDI brought the board of directors of the Malawi Broadcasting Corporation to South Africa to examine the legal and management procedures

TRAINERS AND ADVISERS FOR PROGRAMS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA July-November 1995

DOROTHY CECELSKI
Common Cause, U.S.

R. NANCY CLACK
Political Organization Specialist, U.S.

FERNANDO MARQUES DA COSTA
M.P., Socialist Party, Portugal

PHYLLIS CROCKETT
Journalist, U.S.

V. DIOVA
Constitutional Professor, South Africa

STUART GILMAN
Office of Government Ethics, U.S.

PHYLLIS JONES
Staff Member, Washington, D.C. City Council, U.S.

JOYCE KAZEMBE
Southern Regional Institute for Policy Studies, Zimbabwe

MICHAEL KNOWLES
Former M.P., Conservative Party, U.K.

CELINDA LAKE
Pollster, U.S.

LINDIWE MASEKO
Whip, Provincial Legislature, African National Congress, South Africa

BENIGNA MUKHIBI
M.P., Uganda

HARRY NEUFELD
Former Director of Information Technology, Elections Canada, Canada

DAN NEVILLE
Senator, Fine Gael Party, Ireland

KATINI OMBAKA
Nongovernmental Council, Kenya

BERNARD RAIMO
Ethics Committee Staff, House of Representatives, U.S.

necessary to establish an independent and politically neutral broadcasting system.

MOZAMBIQUE

NDI's programming in Mozambique focuses on consolidating democratic gains made since the country held its first multiparty elections in October 1994. The program, which builds on NDI's successful voter education campaign for those elections, is designed to increase public understanding of voting procedures and encourage participation in local polling anticipated for October 1996. NDI's 1994 effort generated a committed network of democratic activists whose training throughout the country ensured an informed electorate. NDI plans to reactivate this corps of trainers to raise civic awareness of the new political system and promote public involvement. NDI also plans to use findings from focus group research to gauge attitudes about last year's political transition and to design and develop future civic education materials.

NAMIBIA

NDI's program with the Namibian parliament encourages greater public participation in the legislative process, and promotes the principles of transparency and accountability in national policy-making. In August, NDI, in cooperation with the Namibia-based Legal Assistance Center, organized a

program for nongovernmental organizations on public policy advocacy. The conference brought together for the first time parliamentarians and nongovernmental organizations to examine grassroots advocacy issues including citizen access to the legislative process. Experts from Namibia, joined by civic specialists from South Africa, Uganda and the U.S., helped reinforce the role that NGOs can play in making the legislative process more accessible and responsive to the public.

SOUTH AFRICA

NDI is providing technical assistance to the country's nine provincial

parliaments. The training focuses on strengthening the internal organizational procedures of the parliaments and fostering public participation. A workshop in the Northern Province addressed the needs of women legislators, while a program in the Free State concentrated on training committee chairs. Another workshop in Eastern Cape assisted parliamentarians in developing effective communication with their communities. NDI also responded to a request from the Speaker of the national parliament for assistance in developing ethics legislation. In November, NDI sent a delegation of members of the parliament's Ethics Committee to Ireland and the United Kingdom to examine ethics codes and mechanisms for enforcement. NDI is working with the University of the Western Cape to develop and sustain an ongoing training program for new legislators.

ZAMBIA

NDI completed the final phase of its year-long program to strengthen the organizational capacity of Zambia's political parties. Throughout the summer and fall, training workshops were held in the provinces and Lusaka for parliamentary parties as well as the non-elected political opposition. A media expert sponsored by NDI also worked with the parties on techniques of modern political communication. In September, NDI and the youth wings of the three principal political parties sponsored a conference to encourage young Zambians to participate in the democratic process as voters and candidates. Since youth are most affected by outdated voter registration rolls, the symposium focused on voter registration procedures for 1996 local and national elections, and increased involvement in the electoral process. For the municipal elections, NDI plans to support political parties and civic groups in their efforts to promote a peaceful and transparent process.



NDI Senior Consultant Ed Brown (seated right) and Irish Senator Dan Neville (center) discuss organizational issues with political parties in Lusaka, Zambia.

AFRICA

GRAEME SIMPSON
Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, South Africa

NICHOLAS SMITH
Senior Development Officer, Labour Party, U.K.

DENNIS THOMPSON
Howard University, U.S.

CEDRIC THORNBERRY
Former U.N. Assistant Secretary General, Ireland

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

HOWARD WOLPE
Former Member of Congress, U.S.

CLAIRE WRIGHT
Attorney, South Africa

**Cover of How
TO LIVE IN
DEMOCRACY
IN BURUNDI?, a
civic education
booklet that
outlines demo-
cratic principles
and institutions.**



Promoting Women's Political Participation in Kenya

NDI programming in Kenya helps familiarize women who aspire to elective office with their rights in a democratic society and acquaints them with the skills needed to compete effectively in the political process. Through a series of workshops, NDI provides female political activists with practical assistance in running for office and managing campaigns, as well as a forum for the exchange of information and experiences in preparation for nationwide elections by 1997. The NDI project, conducted in collaboration with Kenyan-based nongovernmental organizations, is the only program in the country that draws together political activists from the ruling party, the opposition and civil society.

Following seriously flawed multiparty elections in 1992, many challenges to democratic development remain in the country, including an environment that is openly hostile to the mobilization of political expression. Despite this polarized setting, Kenyan women have been able to organize and have the potential to act as a stabilizing political force. However, some sectors of the women's movement suffer from a lack of unity that is aggravated by a political climate that fosters suspicion, and discourages openness and coordination among organizations. Unlike their male counterparts, many women leaders often stand alone on the political stage, without the support of their parties or of one another. NDI's efforts focus on working with female activists to initiate more coordinated efforts on behalf of women's political development.

Since August, NDI conducted four training sessions in Nairobi for more than 100 potential female candidates and women interested in conducting campaigns. International experts in political organization joined Kenyan specialists to lead a series of workshops that focused on the Kenyan electoral code, impediments to women's participation in the political process, advocacy techniques, campaign goals and strategies, survey research, platform development, mobilizing volunteers and fundraising. NDI cosponsored the programs with Kenyan-based civic groups, including the League of Kenyan Women Voters, the Institute for Education and Democracy, Gender Sensitive Initiatives, the National Commission on the Status of Women, the National Council for the Advancement of Women and Children, and the Democratic Foundation.

BURUNDI

NDI's continued its efforts to provide civic education in a country torn by violent ethnic conflict. In November, NDI finalized its publication of a booklet on democratic values following an extensive process of public consultation, including focus group research. The booklet, entitled *How to Live in Democracy in Burundi?*, incorporates principles identified by Hutus and Tutsis as requirements for a democratic society. *How to Live in Democracy in Burundi?* is written in French and Kirundi and will be integrated into Burundi's high school civic education curriculum through

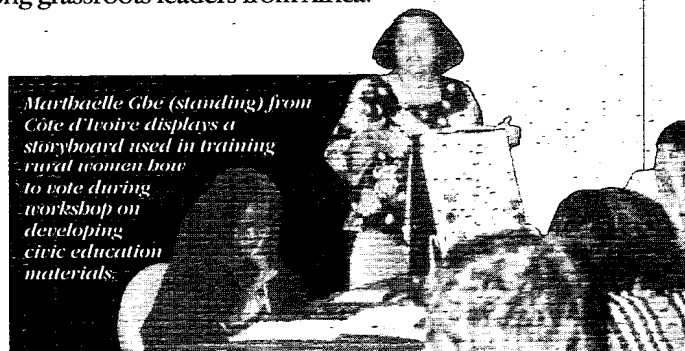
the Ministry of Education. It will also be employed by local and international organizations as part of their ongoing civic education activities. While developing the booklet, NDI organized multi-ethnic forums to help Burundians define a democratic transition in their country. The forums were later broadcast on nationwide radio.

REGIONAL PROGRAM

Developing Civic Education Materials

In July, NDI convened African civic organizers to examine practical methods of developing civic education materials and review options by which they can be more fully circulated throughout the continent. Francophone and Anglophone civic leaders representing 15 countries discussed the use of print materials and electronic media as tools to inform the citizenry about the democratization process. The program, held in Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire, was the second in a series of programs geared toward fostering interaction and cooperation among grassroots leaders from Africa.

Marbelle Gbe (standing) from Côte d'Ivoire displays a storyboard used in training rural women how to vote during workshop on developing civic education materials.



TRAINERS, ADVISERS AND DELEGATES FOR PROGRAM *July-November 1995*

MAGDA AELVOET
M.E.P., The Green Party, Belgium

NARCISSE AKA
Magistrate of the Labor Court of Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire

TADJOUUDINE ALI-DIABACTE
National Election Commission, Togo

HANNAH BALDWIN
Foreign Service Institute, U.S.

HENRY BERGER
Electoral Law Advisor, U.S.

GUY BETHELL
Ontario Liberal Party, Canada

AMANDA BOTHA
Media Specialist, South Africa

CLAUDETTE BOYER
Liberal Party of Ottawa, Canada

SHERMAN COHN
Georgetown University School of Law, U.S.

ANNE-EMMANUELLE DEYSINE
University of Paris X-Nanterre, France

KARAN ENGLISH
Former Member of Congress, U.S.

FRANCESTA FARMER
Nongovernmental Organization Specialist, U.S.

HILARY FYFE
National Women's Lobby Group of Zambia, Zambia

NANCY GACHOKA
Gender Sensitive Initiatives, Kenya

MARTINE RENÉE GALLOY
GERDES-Congo, Congo

International Delegation Observes Legislative Elections in Côte d'Ivoire

The November 26 legislative elections in Côte d'Ivoire included the participation of the major opposition parties that had boycotted the October 22 presidential contest. The opposition coalition Front Républicain declared an "active boycott" of the presidential election to protest the integrity of the voter lists. In early November, negotiations between the government and the opposition parties led to an agreement under which the electoral lists would be revised. As a result of this agreement, NDI accepted the invitation of the Ivorian government and the United Nations to provide an international delegation to observe the legislative elections. NDI had declined to observe the presidential election, which was won by Henri Konan Bédié, who in 1993 succeeded long-time ruler Félix Houphouët-Boigny.

The 43-member delegation, sponsored jointly by NDI and the African-American Institute (AAI), comprised election officials, political and civic leaders, and academics from Africa, Europe and North America. Delegates were deployed to all 10 regions of the country and observed the voting pro-

cess at 451 polling stations.

The delegation noted that "the political environment that resulted from successful negotiations among political parties before the electoral period allowed for the organization of more open and competitive elections than transpired in October 1995," but added that major issues of contention remained. Among the problems the delegation cited were: inaccuracies on the electoral lists; high numbers of non-distributed voter cards; and inconsistencies and delays in the implementation of the court ordered procedure intended to allow eligible voters whose names did not appear on the electoral lists to cast ballots.

Preliminary results of the elections reveal that the ruling Parti Démocratique de Côte d'Ivoire (PDCI) won 147 of the 175 seats available in the legislature, while the two major opposition parties, Front Populaire Ivoirien (FPI) and Rassemblement des Républicains (RDR), won 10 and 14 seats respectively. Elections have yet to be scheduled in three Western districts that experienced violence during the presidential election.

NDI has maintained a field office in Côte d'Ivoire since June and plans to conduct post-election activities next year. These activities include an election roundtable following the upcoming municipal elections. This forum will address electoral disputes that arose during the presidential, legislative and municipal elections, and explore reform measures that would promote confidence in future elections.

NIGER

NDI recently opened a field office in Niamey to conduct a program to promote stronger ties between the newly elected National Assembly and the country's nascent civil society. The success of Niger's democratic system depends in part on the development of an accountable and responsive legislature as well as the participation of its citizens in the political process. NDI's program focuses on strengthening the capacity of civic organizations to channel citizen concerns into national decisionmaking and promoting mechanisms that would

(continued on next page)

EAST AND WEST AFRICA

MARTHAELLE GBE
The International Movement for
Democratic Women, Côte d'Ivoire

MONORE GUIE
ERDDES-Côte d'Ivoire, Côte d'Ivoire

JOHANN HAMELS
The Green Party, Belgium

BARBARA HUTTON
Development Services Trust, South
Africa

JIPO L. KA
Former Minister of Interior, Senegal

MUTH KABITI
National Commission on the Status of
Women, Kenya

MERRY KANTAI
League of Women Voters, Kenya

WAMBUI KIMATHI
Institute for Education and
Democracy, Kenya

CONSOLATA KIPLIGAT
Public Law Institute, Kenya

GERTRUDE KOPIYO
Gender Sensitive Initiatives, Kenya

CHRISTOPHER LEHMANN
Assistant U.S. Attorney, U.S.

MARIA LEISSNER
Liberal Party, Sweden

SUSANA LORENZO-GIGUERE
Civil Rights Division, U.S. Department
of Justice, U.S.

MIRIA R-K MATEMBE
M.P., Secretary General, Pan-African
Movement, Uganda

WANJIKU MBUGUA
Media Specialist, Kenya

MAUREEN MCTEER
University of Calgary, Canada

ANDREAS MEHLER
Institute for Africa Information,
Germany

FRANCIS MPHEPO
M.P., United Democratic Front, Malawi

JOSEPHINE NG'ANG'A
Civic Education Specialist, Kenya

MATEMBO NZUNDA
M.P., United Democratic Front, Malawi

OTIENO OMBOK
Attorney, Kenya

OCHIENG' GRIFFIN OTIENO
Attorney, Kenya

JAMES PORTNOY
Attorney, U.S. Federal Election
Commission, U.S.

CATHERINE SAPPOT
Association of Women Jurists, Central
African Republic

STEVEN TERRAVECCHIA
Legislative Attorney, New Hampshire
State House, U.S.

MULUKEN TESHOME
Action Professionals Association for
the Poor, Ethiopia

DOMINIQUE TREMBLAY
Elections Returning Officer, Canada

PHILIP WILBUR
Advocacy Institute, U.S.

WEST AFRICA

(continued from page 15)

enable parliamentarians to communicate with their constituents.

THE GAMBIA

In August, NDI opened a field office in Banjul to support The Gambia's transition to democratic civilian rule in advance of national elections scheduled for mid-1996. The country is currently administered by a military-led transitional government that took power in 1994 and declared a 20-month timetable to return to democratically elected government. An earlier NDI assessment mission recommended broadening the transition process to encourage increased involvement by various segments of Gambian civil society. The NDI program includes providing technical assistance to the committees tasked with revising the country's constitution and election laws, and helping build the capacity of local groups to familiarize Gambian citizens with the transition and to encourage their

active participation in the process.

REGIONAL PROGRAM *Electoral Complaint Process Examined*

NDI and GERDDES-Afrique jointly conducted a program at which election administrators, civic organizers, political party representatives, and members of the judiciary from West Africa discussed procedures for settling election-related disputes. The September conference, which was held in Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire, drew participants from countries that have experienced the difficult task of adjudicating electoral complaints. Participants from Benin, the Central African Republic, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Gabon, Niger and Senegal identified problems and alternative systems of resolving electoral disputes. The program also included a multiparty delegation from Haiti.

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Paul G. Kirk, Jr.
CHAIRMAN

Rachelle Horowitz
VICE CHAIR

Kenneth F. Melley
SECRETARY

Morton I. Abramowitz
William V. Alexander
Bernard W. Aronson
Emanuel Cleaver, II
Thomas F. Eagleton
Barbara J. Easterling
Dante B. Fascell
Edward F. Feighan
Geraldine A. Ferraro
Shirley Robinson Hall
Maxine Isaacs
Peter G. Kelly
Peter Kovler

Hartina Flournoy
TREASURER

Eugene Eidenberg
FINANCE CHAIR

Elliott F. Kulick
Lewis Manilow
Azic Taylor Morton
Mark A. Siegel
Theodore C. Sorensen
Michael R. Steed
Maurice Tempelman
Marvin F. Weissberg
Andrew J. Young
Raul Yzaguirre

Walter F. Mondale
Charles T. Manatt
CHAIRMEN EMERITI

SENIOR ADVISORY COMMITTEE TO THE BOARD

Michael D. Barnes
John Brademas
Bill Bradley
Richard F. Celeste
Mario M. Cuomo
Patricia M. Derian
Christopher J. Dodd
Michael S. Dukakis
Martin Frost
Richard A. Gephardt
John T. Joyce

John Lewis
Mike J. Mansfield
Donald F. McHenry
Daniel Patrick Moynihan
Edmund S. Muskie
Bill Richardson
Charles S. Robb
Stephen J. Solarz
Esteban E. Torres
Cyrus R. Vance
Anne Wexler

Kenneth D. Wollack
PRESIDENT

Jean B. Dunn
VICE PRESIDENT FOR
ADMINISTRATION AND
DEVELOPMENT



NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

1717 Massachusetts Avenue NW

Fifth Floor

Washington, DC 20036

202-328-3136 • FAX 202-939-3166 • EMAIL demos@ndi.org

NON-PROFIT ORG.
US POSTAGE
PAID
SO. MARYLAND
PERMIT NO. 554