



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

NDI REPORTS

PALESTINIANS DISCUSS DEMOCRACY

NDI has expanded its programs to support and strengthen the prospective Palestinian election process. Since the signing of the May 3, 1994 Cairo Accord, various functions of government have been transferred from the Israeli government to the Palestinian Authority. Many Palestinians are eager to become involved in self-rule by contributing to the establishment of structures for elections and governance, and forming patterns for future relations between the population and their elected representatives.

NDI's program seeks to: engage Palestinian civil society in the political process; help develop a broader public consensus on a Palestinian election system by working with Palestinian civic organizations, as well as the Commission on Elections and Local Government; and provide training to Palestinian women to enable them to participate more effectively in the emerging political process.

In October, a series of 17 focus groups were convened in nine sites throughout the West Bank and Gaza to assess the Palestinian community's understanding of democratic processes and institutions. The findings are shaping the development of materials to be used in a civic education program. As an election date approaches, the project will evolve into a voter education program focusing on registration and election-day activities.

In early November, NDI conducted a series of forums on "Citizenship and Democracy" throughout the Gaza Strip. These meetings, cosponsored by local civic groups, provided Palestinians with information about international election standards and the successes and shortcomings of elections in other countries. International presenters at these forums included Juan Ignacio Garcia Rodriguez, the director of Chile's national electoral commission, and Christina Stefaniou, a civic organizer from Romania.

Also in November, NDI organized a series of seminars in Nablus, Hebron and Gaza City, to provide young Palestinian women with practical strategies about how they can become involved in the political process. International experts included: Natalia Barbaro, a political party organizer from Poland; Ileana Parlea, a civic organization leader from Romania; Amina Shafiq, a trade union leader and human rights activist from Egypt; and Karen Woodall, a com-

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Karen Woodall from the U.S. discusses community organizing during NDI conference on the participation of Palestinian women in the political process.

Ukraine Completes Series of Elections

September marked the second anniversary of NDI's field office in Ukraine. Programming throughout the summer helped Ukrainians prepare for presidential, local and the second round of parliamentary elections, and assisted newly elected officials assume their positions in democratically elected local governments.

From June to November, Ukrainians returned to the polls several times to elect a president and local councils and to continue the legislative election process begun in March. The parliamentary elections had left 112 seats unfilled due to inadequate voter turnout or insufficient support for a single candidate, both of which were obligated to meet mandatory threshold requirements. A series of run-off elections were held in April, July, August and November. Local elections were held in June, July, October and November.

In preparation for the parliamentary run-off elections on July 24, NDI trainer Ors Levay with Hungary's Alliance of Free Democrats and NDI Field Representative Kenneth Segel conducted workshops with democratic party activists from five regions that represented a large share of the open seats. The program was designed to assist their participation in the electoral process and support the long-term viability of democratic parties.

NDI continued to support the work of the Non-partisan Committee of Voters, a newly created civic organization established to organize domestic election monitoring efforts. Throughout the spring and summer, NDI helped the Committee develop and

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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.

NDI Supports Democratic Institutions in Malawi

Following Malawi's historic elections in May, NDI has embarked upon a two-year program to assist the continued development of the country's nascent political parties and civic organizations. The program builds upon NDI's work during the pre-election period when the Institute provided technical assistance to Malawian political parties in preparation for the country's presidential and parliamentary elections.

Malawi's first competitive elections marked the culmination of the southern African nation's two-year transition to multiparty democracy. NDI's new program is designed to promote the development of a stable political and civic environment in which Malawi's democratic institutions may evolve and in which Malawians can actively participate.

In September, NDI conducted a series of 14 focus groups throughout the country to evaluate how Malawians' views of the democratic process had changed since the May elections. The focus group findings have helped identify the roles that citizens expect political parties and civic organizations to play in their democratic society. The focus groups also identified factors contributing to public detachment from political involvement.

In October, NDI conducted a series of election study programs for Malawian political and civic leaders in surrounding countries. The program in Botswana responded to concerns expressed by Malawian women about their limited social, economic and political status. Five Malawian female leaders exchanged information with their Botswanan counterparts who have been long active in the political and civic life of their country. The Malawians were also able to observe balloting in both rural and urban sites during Botswana's national and local elections, which took place during their visit.

In Mozambique, six Malawian political and civic leaders observed that country's first multiparty elections in a district bordering Malawi. During the week-long program, delegates also met with election officials, political party leaders and representatives of the United Nations Operation in Mozambique.

One of NDI's upcoming efforts will provide assistance to Malawian legislators on executive-legislative issues as they debate a new constitution for the country.

Illustration from STEPS TO VOTING, a 30-page training manual used in Mozambique that was later adapted into voter education posters, videos and newspaper ads. This illustration explains how the voter will cast two separate ballots, one each for the presidential race and the national assembly.

Mozambique Conducts First Democratic Elections

More than 90 percent of Mozambique's 6 million eligible voters defied predictions of widespread apathy, and overcame logistical impediments and a temporary boycott by the main opposition movement to cast their ballots in the country's first multiparty elections. The October 27 to 29 balloting marked the culmination of a two-year-old peace accord that ended a brutal 16-year civil war between rebels and the formerly Marxist government.

The ruling Mozambique Liberation Front (Frelimo) won 129 of the 250 seats in parliament followed by the opposition Mozambique National Resistance (Renamo) with 112 seats and the Democratic Union with nine seats. Incumbent President Joaquim Chissano retained his office with 53 percent of the ballots, defeating Renamo presidential candidate Afonso Dhlakama.

NDI conducted an extensive nationwide voter education campaign, dubbed "Vota Moçambique," to increase public understanding of voting procedures and encourage participation. Since the Institute opened an office in Maputo in February, NDI activities have reached more than 400,000 potential voters directly by way of a national network of Mozambican voter education trainers and millions through radio broadcasts and voter education materials. NDI's program was administered in cooperation with the Mozambican National Election Commission (CNE).

Using findings from focus group research and working with local writers and artists, NDI developed comprehensive radio programming to inform a wide audience of Mozambicans. Productions included: a 12-week radio drama in nine languages that depicted a family struggling with issues related to the elections; a weekly radio game show where audience members competed for prizes by answering questions about elections and democracy; and a program

that addressed women's concerns such as intimidation and ballot secrecy. In addition, NDI commissioned a theme song to precede all of its programs that subsequently became one of the more popular radio tunes on the air.

NDI also co-sponsored with the U.S. Information Service a series of workshops for journalists from the state-run and newly created opposition radio stations. The workshops, which offered technical assistance on writing news stories and conducting interviews, emphasized nonpartisan election coverage.

Vota Moçambique produced a range of voter education materials for use by NDI trainers, the CNE, the UN and civic and church organizations. These materials, which ranged from a video illustrating the steps involved in voting to a voter education newspaper entitled "Let's Vote," were designed for an audience that is 75 percent illiterate. NDI also created 4,000 mock election kits that contained all of the information necessary to construct a realistic polling station. The kits were placed in specially designed backpacks for trainers who walked or bicycled to rural areas to conduct voter education workshops.

In an effort to reach potential voters in all 10 provinces, NDI initially instructed a core group of trainers about the procedures of democratic elections and voting. They in turn worked in conjunction with the CNE, the UN and other organizations to identify and recruit trainers at the district and local levels throughout the country. By election day, this training network had conducted more than 3,000 workshops.

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Colocação dos boletins nas urnas



O eleitor sai da cabina de voto com os boletins dobrados. Meto o boletim azul na urna azul (eleição do Presidente da República) e o boletim branco na urna branca (eleição da Assembleia da República).

Taber al-Masri, Speaker of Jordan's Lower House, opens conference in Amman for Jordanian political and civic leaders. Pictured to al-Masri's left: Hani Hourani, director of the Al-Urdun Al-Jadid Research Center, and NDI Senior Associate Thomas O. Melia.



Electoral Systems Examined in Jordan

In partnership with the Al-Urdun Al-Jadid Research Center, which is dedicated to raising public awareness of political issues and democratic culture, NDI sponsored a conference in Amman on comparative electoral systems. The September conference brought to Jordan practical information about various election reform efforts in other countries.

Jordan's November 1993 elections, the first in which political parties were permitted to participate, represented an important step in the policy of gradual democratization initiated by King Hussein in 1988. Although the elections received broad support from the electorate, some aspects of the process were controversial and there is general interest among Jordanians to consider refinements.

Jordanian participants at the conference included parliamentarians, academics and journalists. Moussa Al-Keilani, editor-in-chief of *al-Dustour*, and professors Nizam Barakat, Mohammad al-Ghesin and Bassel Bustami provided their analyses of issues such as election administration, current trends in Arab electoral systems and informed public participation.

International experts shared with their Jordanian counterparts comparative information on various electoral systems and the political implications of those systems. They included: Dr. Farid al-Khazen, a professor of political science at the American University in Beirut, Lebanon; Dr. Idris 'Abdul al-Marakeshi, a former deputy speaker of the Moroccan Parliament; Amira Baha el-Din, an Egyptian lawyer and human rights activist; Charles David Nupen, a member of the Independent Electoral Commission in South Africa; Simon Osborn, from the Electoral Reform Society in the U.K.; and Bernard Owen, director of the Center for Comparative Electoral Studies in France. Patrick Merloe, NDI's senior associate for election processes, chaired a panel on the role of mass media in the electoral process.

In remarks made during the opening session of the

conference, Taher al-Masri, Speaker of Parliament's House of Delegates, highlighted shortcomings in the present Jordanian electoral law, and called for the establishment of an independent body to serve as the administrator of the electoral process. He also cautioned that while there are general principles and criteria applicable to all democracies, it is imperative to "recognize the characteristics, conditions and social structures of the nation." ●

Ethiopian Political Parties Study Democratic Transitions

NDI launched a long-term program in Ethiopia to strengthen the democratic development and organizational capacity of nascent political parties. The inaugural conference, which examined the role of political parties in democratic transitions, was the first party training program to be conducted in Ethiopia since the country's democratic transition began in 1991.

The political climate in Ethiopia remains polarized. Many Ethiopian opposition parties boycotted two elections conducted since the democratic process was initiated and remain estranged from the political process. The NDI program is designed to help parties prepare for elections once reconciliation among political forces creates a more competitive environment. The September conference in Addis Ababa provided the first opportunity for political opponents to meet in the same forum. Thirty-nine out of 58 registered political parties participated, including leading governing and opposition parties.

Political activists from Senegal, South Africa, Zambia and the Czech Republic shared their varied experiences with building political parties during democratic transitions. The conference also analyzed how parties develop and maintain coalitions, and how parties out of power can influence the policymaking process.

International experts for the program were: Ed Brown, a senior consultant to NDI; Momar Diop, the coordinator of training for the Democratic Party of Senegal; Inonge Lewanika, a Zambian parliamentarian and former acting director of the Zambia National Party; Brigitte Mabandla, a South African parliamentarian and a veteran member of the African National Congress; and Petr Pithart, a leading member of the Charter '77 political movement in Czechoslovakia, and subsequently the prime minister of the Czech Republic.



Zambian parliamentarian Inonge Lewanika addresses seminar for political parties in Ethiopia.

(West Bank continued from front page)

munity organizer from the United States.

Outside of the West Bank and Gaza, NDI continues its program to broaden the exposure of Palestinians and other Arabs to election processes in other countries. In August, Mohammed Sawalha joined a team to observe the work of the Electoral Assistance Bureau in Guyana. Sawalha teaches at Al-Najah University in Nablus and is director of the Palestinian House of Friendship, which seeks to educate Palestinians about democracy. In November, community activists Nadiya Al-Kukhen, Rawdeh Basir and Marwan Ali joined an international study mission to the legislative elections in Nepal. ●

Guyana Civic Group Promotes Democratic Elections

NDI supported the August local elections in Guyana in partnership with the Electoral Assistance Bureau (EAB), a Georgetown-based nonpartisan civic organization. For local elections, NDI provided the EAB with technical and material support to conduct a domestic election observation effort, the first in Guyana's history, as well as to carry out a voter education program. The municipal elections permitted Guyanese their first opportunity to vote for local officials in more than 24 years.

NDI also sent a small international team to the elections to provide support to the EAB, to learn from its work and to observe the electoral process. Participants included: Bledi Roshi, associate director of the Society for Democratic Culture in Albania; Gopal Siwakoti, director of the International Institute for Human Rights, Environment and Development of Nepal; and Mohammed Sawalha, director of the Palestinian House of Friendship. All three are involved in NDI programs in their countries.

During the pre-election period, the EAB distributed more than 200,000 educational flyers to Guyanese households and used public address systems and radio and newspaper advertisements to inform the electorate about the voting and registration processes. On election day, EAB election monitors visited six municipalities, covering more than 80 percent of the total polling sites.

Observers reported that while the proceedings were slow, they were generally smooth and free from major incidence. Despite low voter turnout, the elections were the first to be completely free of violence in more than 30 years.

The Elections Commission and the press commended the EAB observers for their professionalism. Other Guyanese involved with the electoral process commented that the presence of EAB observers helped to reassure voters and prevent possible irregularities.

Oklahoma State Senator Bernice Sheddick (center) provides advice on coalition-building during program to enhance leadership capabilities of female legislators in Argentina. Pictured to Sheddick's left: Astrid Heiberg of Norway, and Clara Coria and Guillermo Molinelli of Argentina.



ARGENTINA

Increasing Women's Role in Politics

NDI organized the second in a series of programs to enhance the leadership and law-making capabilities of female legislators in Argentina. The October seminar built on recommendations from a November 1993 NDI conference in Buenos Aires that focused on developing strategies to increase women's participation in politics.

Both programs responded in part to a 1991 Argentine law that requires female candidates to constitute 30 percent of national political party lists. Since that time, 30 new women have been elected to congress, bringing the total number of female deputies and senators to 39 of the country's 300-member bicameral legislature.

NDI divided participants for the four-day program between national lawmakers in Buenos Aires and provincial and municipal officeholders in the province of Mendoza. For each portion of the program, NDI cooperated

respectively with the Foundation for Women in Equality and the Institute of Women's Training, Research and Participation.

Former Norwegian parliamentarian and cabinet minister Astrid Heiberg and Oklahoma State Senator Bernice Sheddick joined leading researchers, civic organizers and elected officials from Argentina to lead plenary and workshop sessions.

International and Argentine panelists opened each session by providing illustrations of efforts at building coalitions. Workshops featured case studies in which participants practiced negotiation techniques needed to promote legislative initiatives. The program concluded with a session on the role that women in leadership positions can play to help other women acquire elected office and obtain key decision-making positions.

EL SALVADOR

Strengthening Local Government

The signing of the Chapultepec Accords in 1992 marked the end of the bitter 12-year civil war that polarized political life in El Salvador. As the country begins a gradual process of decentralization, NDI is seeking to improve communication and interaction between local government officials and their constituencies. Obstacles currently exist that preclude meaningful public participation in local planning, a situation that reduces the level of accountability and responsiveness of municipal officials and often contributes to public dissatisfaction.

To initiate its one-year program, an NDI delegation visited El Salvador to assess the governing process at the local level. The delegation included: Raul Yzaguirre, president of the National Council of La Raza, who chairs the NDI Board of Directors committee on Latin America; José Maria Fernandez, a city council member from San Martin, Argentina; Julio Rovi Fong, a Panamanian community organizer; and

Jann Darsie, a civic organizer from Washington, DC. The delegation met with a range of municipal and community leaders throughout the country.

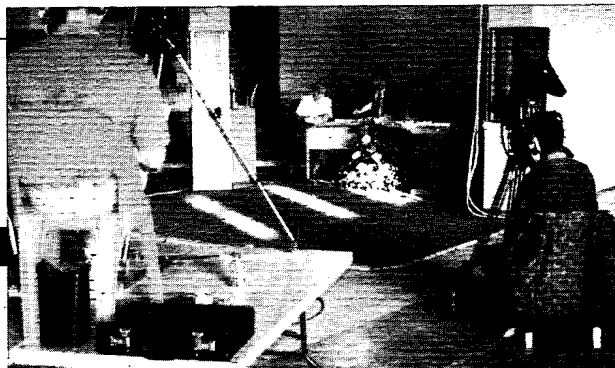
Based on the delegation's recommendations, NDI designed pilot projects in three towns: Textistepeque, Santa Elena and Tecoluca. Each municipality is governed by one of the country's three leading political parties: the Christian Democratic Party, the National Republican Alliance and the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front.

In September, NDI experts advised the mayor and council of each town on procedures to encourage citizen participation in local government planning. These experts included: Mayor Cecilia Gil Barvo of San Juan de Betulia, Colombia and City Councilmember Roger Perez from San Antonio, Texas.

Textistepeque Mayor Luis Henriquez examines municipal financing issues during NDI local government program in El Salvador.



NDI worked with the Namibian Broadcasting Corporation (studio pictured at right) to produce a wide range of voter education programming on radio and television, including expanded campaign coverage and more live broadcasts about election activities.



Namibia Holds First Post-Independence Elections

In preparation for the December 7 and 8 national elections in Namibia, NDI conducted a technical assistance program to enhance political party participation at the regional level and initiated a nationwide voter education campaign to increase election-day turnout.

Since its independence in 1989, Namibia has served as a model for democratic development in southern Africa. Unlike the transitional elections five years ago, which were funded and supervised largely by the international community, the December elections are managed by Namibians and, therefore, represent an important step in the country's political process.

The political party program built upon an all-parties conference held by NDI in May that underscored the need for strengthening the capabilities of parties at the regional level. For two weeks in October, teams of NDI international experts traveled to 13 regions, training more than 500 political activists from six parties. In church missions, school cafeterias and community halls, faculty members from Ireland, Kenya, Senegal and the U.S. conducted day-long sessions on grassroots organizing, planning and strategy, voter contact, internal communication, fundraising, and women's participation in politics.

The international experts included: Mascheti Masinjila and Wanjiku Mbugua, Kenyan experts on women's leadership development; Gerald Murphy, a member of the General Council of Cork County, Ireland; and Dan Neville, a senator from Ireland. They were joined by NDI field representatives Momar Diop, based in Ethiopia, and Carl Larkins and Anne Perkins, based in South Africa.

The actions of one participant made a simple statement about the workshops: she traveled six hours over a gravel road to attend a session after hearing reviews of the workshop con-

ducted in her own region.

NDI also joined with the Namibian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC) to carry out a comprehensive voter education campaign. The education effort was designed to overcome voter apathy, particularly in rural areas. NBC broadcast an array of radio and television programming, including a four-week radio serial translated into nine languages and a series of panel discussions with party leaders.

The program also included media training for political parties during

which NDI organized workshops on "The Importance of Media Strategy in a Campaign." The highlight of the program was an interactive video teleconference between 50 party leaders in Windhoek and three political experts in Washington, DC. U.S. participants in the teleconference, which was broadcast by USIA, were: Donna Brazile, chief of staff to U.S. Representative Eleanor Holmes Norton; Phyllis Jones, Secretary to the City Council of Washington, DC; and Chris Kepferle, a media expert. ●

South Africa in Transition

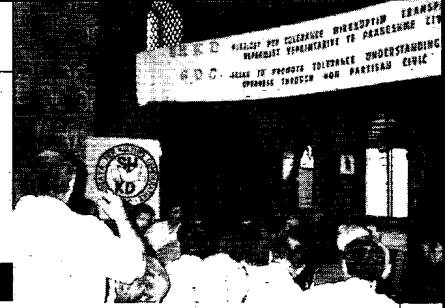
Following historic elections in April, South Africa faces the challenge of establishing new democratic institutions in a multi-racial society. Building on three years of pre-election programming, NDI is undertaking an initiative to help strengthen the role of political parties in newly elected national and provincial parliaments. A second program continues voter education efforts during the next phase of the political transition when South Africans prepare to elect democratic local governing authorities.

Beginning in 1991, NDI and the South Africa-based Center for Development Studies conducted Project Vote, a three-year voter education project that helped educate millions of South Africa's first-time voters about the processes of democratic elections. Since the April elections, Project Vote has been chartered under South African law as an autonomous trust, chaired by Archbishop Desmond Tutu. NDI plans to work with Project Vote to help South Africans prepare for local elections, tentatively scheduled for October 1995, and participate in newly created municipal governments.

Unlike national elections, the local contests require voter registration in order to define residency in constituencies established within municipal boundaries. The NDI/Project Vote initiative will focus first on the registration of voters and creation of electoral rolls. Since local elections will be based on a different system than that used for national elections, subsequent activities will familiarize the electorate with the new procedures. Finally, post-election work will provide information on the purpose, function and responsibilities of the local governments and how they can operate to serve community interests.

NDI's parliamentary assistance program is designed to help strengthen and professionalize South Africa's political parties by focusing on their roles in the nine provincial assemblies. NDI has been asked to provide technical assistance on issues ranging from the roles of parties in a parliamentary forum to standards of accountability, openness and ethical conduct. In October, Kevin Kayes from the parliamentarian's office of the U.S. Senate joined NDI's in-country staff to conduct workshops and consultations in eight of nine provincial capitals. ●

Local officials field a question at
Society for Democratic Culture
town meeting in Shkoder.



Civic Group Monitors Troubled Local Elections in Albania

During local by-elections in late May, monitors for the Society for Democratic Culture (SDC), NDI's domestic partner in Tirana, overcame threats and intimidation to uncover serious irregularities in the election process. SDC volunteers observed the balloting in five districts to fill seats vacated by the retirement or relocation of five Albanian local officials. In a statement issued to national media on June 2, the SDC criticized both governing and opposition parties for contributing to the fractious climate by harassing observers, voters, candidates and election officials.

The elections occurred against a backdrop of partisan discord among Albania's major political parties. Vying

for position in advance of national elections in 1996, the opposition Socialist Party has sought to oust the government by calling for votes of no-confidence in parliament.

While not challenging the results in any of the five districts cited, four of which were won by the governing Democratic Party, the Society cited many irregularities at a post-election news conferences. These included: armed threats directed against observers, including an explosion that injured a SDC monitor; physical assaults on several party members and election officials; organized interruptions of campaign rallies; and a high percentage of spoiled ballots.

Through the observation mission SDC reinforced its reputation as a watchdog for citizens in Albania. Although the Society has recently concentrated on community advocacy issues and civic education, it plans to continue monitoring elections.

In June, NDI worked to increase the organizing capabilities of the SDC's branch clubs. Claude Taylor, director of volunteers at the White House, met with club members in Elbasan, Lezhe and Shkoder where he assisted each club in organizing a public event. Subsequent town meetings allowed citizens to discuss local issues with their elected national and local representatives. ●

Promoting Civic Participation in Slovakia and the Czech Republic

NDI's programs in the Czech Republic and Slovakia encourage citizen participation in politics by enhancing the capabilities of civic groups to communicate with elected officials. To varying degrees, the democratic system in each country suffers from the lack of citizen involvement in local government. The pilot programs offer training to civic organizations, advocacy groups and municipal governments in the cities of Trencin, Slovakia and Plzen, the Czech Republic. The community organizing experiences in these cities will be documented and distributed to similar groups in municipalities throughout the two countries.

SLOVAKIA

Since July, NDI has worked with community organizers in the city of Trencin to heighten awareness of local issues and to motivate citizens to take an active role in resolving those issues.

In Trencin, NDI Field Representative Jerry Morrison helped create an umbrella organization to develop and test methods that nongovernmental groups can use to further community involvement. The organization includes leaders of civic groups with varied constituencies, including teachers, senior citizens, business people, environmental activists, students and labor union members.

In September, this civic coalition organized a nonpartisan forum featuring candidates from seven parties contesting parliamentary seats in the Trencin region. An audience of 250 asked the candidates questions on a wide range of issues including government decentralization, health care reform and raising the retirement age. Local and national media covered extensively the forum, which was the only such event in the country. The candidates commended the local civic leaders for bringing together all of the political parties to face the voters. The group plans to monitor the pledges

made during the forum by candidates who successfully attained elected office. For the November local elections, the group organized a similar forum for mayoral candidates.

The local elections also provided an opportunity for NDI to help political parties enhance their communication with the electorate at the local level and better respond to public concerns. In October, a team of international experts provided technical assistance to municipal candidates from six parties. The trainers included: Natalia Barbaro, a political consultant from Poland; Craig Charney, an American pollster; Wojciech Modelski, a local political party official from Poland; and Peter White, a former spokesperson for the Fine Gael Party in Ireland.

CZECH REPUBLIC

In the Czech Republic, NDI is developing a community organizing pilot program in the city of Plzen and is planning a series of advocacy training seminars for nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) in various regions of the country.

In June, NDI organized a meeting for community organizations in Plzen at which participants indicated a broad interest in promoting cooperation among the city's civic groups. In response to issues raised during the gathering, NDI field representative Antoinette Pearson helped establish a Plzen-based NGO advisory committee, which comprises eight civic groups. The committee plans to organize events and training programs to help raise its public visibility, build coalitions for advocacy campaigns and create working relationships with local government officials.

For its first program, the advisory committee voted to organize a candidate forum prior to the November municipal elections.

Virginia De Simone (right) with the Arlington, Virginia regional office of the League of Women Voters shares with BAFECR members a print-out of the League's membership data base.



Bulgarians Study Public Advocacy in the United States

"A common feature shared by citizens organizations [in the United States] is the use of different mechanisms for putting pressure on local elected political leaders...for the solution of concrete problems," wrote Stamen Petrov in his final evaluation of NDI's civic education program. Petrov, a regional leader of the Bulgarian Association for Fair Elections and Civil Rights (BAFECR), had participated in a September training and observation mission to the United States conducted for BAFECR officials.

During the two-week program, seven BAFECR regional leaders visited the Washington, DC and San Francisco areas to study American nonprofit advocacy organizations. BAFECR, with which NDI has worked since 1990, is one of Bulgaria's largest and most prominent civic groups. NDI's current efforts with BAFECR focuses on strengthening the programmatic and organizational capabilities of the Association's national office as well as its 28 local chapters.

BAFECR representatives met with national, regional and local leaders from a wide-range of civic groups, examining their internal structures, fundraising methods, communication strategies and community activities. The program was organized by NDI in association with the Partnership for International Education and Training, a U.S.-based organization that provides training in democratization issues through international exchange programs.

The Bulgarian delegates also witnessed civic participation in action. On Capitol Hill they observed a public demonstration and pamphlet distribution effort advocating campaign finance reform. They also took part in an Advisory Neighborhood Commission (ANC) meeting in Washington, DC and addressed a public assembly at the San Francisco Board of Supervisors.

Following their return to Bulgaria, the seven delegation members shared their insights about

U.S. civic organizing with all 28 of BAFECR's regional representatives during the Association's bi-annual conference. The regional leaders will be able to apply some of these methods immediately as they design BAFECR's nationwide get-out-the-vote drive, opinion polls and election monitoring operations in preparation for Bulgaria's national elections in December 1994. ●

Association for Civic Initiative Prominent in National Elections

The October national elections, the first since the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYRM) became an independent republic, were considered an important indicator of the country's stability in the face of regional conflict and economic hardships. Political parties and the media credited a newly formed civic organization, the Association for Civic Initiative (ACI), with promoting confidence and participation in an otherwise-contentious election process. With NDI support, ACI organized more than 1,000 independent domestic observers for two rounds of voting in which Macedonians reelected their president and chose a new parliament.

Earlier in the summer, NDI worked with a core group of civic activists to establish the Association. Efforts focused on developing a volunteer base, preparing registration papers and laying the groundwork for branches outside the capital. While volunteers were preparing to launch the organization, the government announced elections for October 16 and 30. ACI faced the challenge of simultaneously organizing a national conference and a nationwide poll-watching effort.

Public response to ACI's campaign to train election monitors transcended the country's often uncompromising ethnic boundaries, finding support from among minority communities, as well as the Slav majority. For the elections, NDI's Eastern European-based staff traveled to FYRM to support ACI's efforts.

The Association also drew support from

members of the U.S. Congress who appealed successfully to the FYRM government to grant ACI pollwatchers formal accreditation, along with international observers. The appeal was made by Senators Claiborne Pell (D-RI), Richard Lugar (R-Ind) and Dennis DeConcini (D-Ariz), and Representatives Lee Hamilton (D-Ind), Benjamin Gilman (R-NY) and Steny Hoyer (D-MD).

The task of organizing national monitoring efforts in less than a month posed a major challenge to the ACI volunteers who possessed little previous election experience. During the elections, Association volunteers observed more than 1,500 polling sites. "The organization really came of age," said NDI Senior Program Officer Susan Atwood. "They've made the organization a recognized outlet for citizen action."

In its assessment of the October 16 elections, the ACI, as well as international observer groups, registered concern over incomplete voting lists. They also noted problems with secrecy of the ballot and the system by which ballots were invalidated. On the whole, however, they agreed that there was no pattern of disenfranchisement and that the irregularities should be considered administrative rather than intentional.

These conclusions played an important role in the aftermath of the first round, when opposition parties declared a boycott of the second round of voting in protest of alleged manipulation. ACI's independent evaluation provided a stabilizing influence in a tense environment.

Mexico Holds Historic Elections

Election officials count votes at polling site in Uruapan, Mexico.

Mexico's August 21 national elections were seen by Mexicans and the international community as a watershed event. New electoral reforms enacted for the elections were designed to overcome past charges of electoral fraud and public skepticism about the credibility of the country's electoral process.

Accepting invitations from Mexico's three major political parties, electoral authorities and civic organizations,

NDI and the International Republican Institute (IRI) organized an 85-member international delegation to observe the elections. In its post-election statement, the delegation called the elections "a significant step forward for the Mexican democrati-

c process" and noted a number of encouraging developments resulting from recent electoral reforms. Notwithstanding these achievements, the delegation also expressed concern about problems in the electoral process.

The NDI/IRI delegation was co-led by former Canadian Prime Minister Joe Clark; Paul Kirk, chairman of NDI's Board of Directors; Senator John McCain, the IRI chairman; and Andres Allamand, president of the National Renovation Party of Chile. The delegation included former heads of state and diplomats, elected officials, political party and civic leaders, legal scholars, regional specialists and election experts from 17 countries. Representatives from the Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government/Carter Center of Emory University, including former U.S. House of Representatives Speaker Jim Wright, also served on the delegation.

On election day, the delegation divided into 34 teams and deployed to 23 Mexican states and the Federal District where they held meetings with local officials and observed the voting and counting processes. Following the elections, the teams returned to Mexico City to share their observations with other delegates and prepare a preliminary post-election statement that was released on August 23.

The much-anticipated elections saw Ernesto Zedillo, the candidate of the incumbent Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), win the presidential contest. Although the PRI won a comfortable majority in the Mexican congress, oppo-

sition parties such as the Revolutionary Democratic Party (PRD) and the Popular Action Party (PAN) gained seats.

The NDI/IRI delegation lauded the high voter turnout and underscored the electoral reforms adopted before the vote. These measures included: computerizing the voter registry; increasing the independence of the National Electoral Institute; appointing a special electoral prosecutor to investigate possible election irregularities; and instituting technical safeguards such as sequentially numbered ballots and transparent ballot boxes.

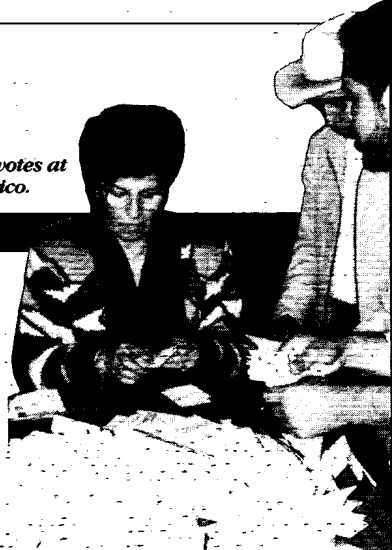
At the same time, however, the delegation also recognized that voting did not occur without problems, pointing to reliable reports that the incumbent party benefitted from government resources and biased news coverage. In addition, delegates witnessed a widespread problem at polling stations designated for voters traveling on election day. Many of these special polling stations ran out of ballots by mid-day on election day, which prevented thousands of citizens from casting votes. No evidence emerged, however, that the impact of these problems would have affected the outcome of the presidential contest.

The election observation mission marked more than three years of NDI activities in Mexico. Since 1991, NDI has sponsored programs with political parties, civic groups, and election officials.

Last April, more than 400 Mexican civic organizations formed a coalition, called the Civic Alliance, to monitor the national elections. NDI-sponsored experts from Canada, Chile, Paraguay, the Philippines and the U.S. actively participated in Alliance pollwatcher training programs in the



Delegation co-leaders discuss election-day observations. Pictured (l to r): former Canadian Prime Minister Joe Clark, NDI Chairman Paul Kirk and Senator John McCain, chairman of IRI.



MEMBERS OF THE NDI DELEGATION TO THE MEXICAN ELECTIONS*

PAUL G. KIRK
Delegation Co-Leader; Chairman, NDI Board of Directors, U.S.

JOE CLARK
Delegation Co-Leader; Former Prime Minister, Canada

GONZALO BRENES
Former Director, Electoral Commission, Costa Rica

FIDEL CHAVEZ MENA
Christian Democratic Party, El Salvador

CURTIS C. CUTTER
Interworld Consultants, U.S.

RITA DI MARTINO
Director of Government Affairs, AT&T; Vice President New York State Republican Party, U.S.

WILLIAM DOHERTY
American Institute for Free Labor Development, U.S.

DAVID DORN
American Federation of Teachers, U.S.

JUAN IGNACIO GARCIA
Electoral Service, Chile

JUAN M. GARCIA PASSALACQUA
Political Analyst, Puerto Rico

SERGIO GARCIA RODRIGUEZ
Fulbright Scholar to Mexico; Partner, Heller, Ehrman, White & McAuliffe, U.S.

SALAHEDDIN HAFEZ
Al-Abram, Egypt

DANNY L. McDONALD
Federal Election Commission, U.S.

GEORGINE DE MIRANDA
Motivana '86, Suriname

ZITA C. MONTES DE OCA
Foundation for Women in Equality, Argentina

IRENE PERURENA
Peace and Justice Commission, Panama

CECILE RICHARDS
Service Employees International Union, U.S.

MAURICE SONNENBERG
Vice Chair, Foreign Policy Association; Member, Council on Foreign Relations, U.S.

capital and interior of Mexico.

NDI also supported the Civic Alliance in developing a nationwide parallel vote tabulation (PVT)—an independent count of election returns used to verify official results. The Alliance successfully executed the PVT and, within hours of the closing of the polls, projected returns within 3 percentage points of the official results.

NDI plans to continue working with the Alliance as it begins to carry out broad-based civic organization efforts. Future activities may include monitoring local and state elections, designing civic education programs to promote citizen participation in the political process and developing programs to promote accountability and transparency in government. ●

Chinese Students Study Civic Organizing

NDI conducted a leadership training program in Washington, DC, that provided expatriated Chinese democrats with practical skills in civic organization in preparation for their return to China. The June conference was co-sponsored by the International Federation of Chinese Students and Scholars (IFCSS).

Since 1989, when the Chinese government crushed democratic dissent in Tiananmen Square, tens of thousands of Chinese students and democratic activists have relocated abroad. In response to an appeal from its membership, IFCSS asked

NDI to help organize a program to assist Chinese students dedicated to the political development of their country gain practical organizing skills. Formed in the aftermath of the Tiananmen crisis, IFCSS is the largest U.S.-based Chinese student group dedicated to political reform in China.

Chinese students, scholars and workers attended the conference from Hong Kong, Japan, France, Canada and throughout the United States. Most participants were veterans of Chinese democracy and labor movements of the last 20 years and brought a range of backgrounds, experiences and interests to the seminar. Common to all participants, however, was a dedication to

Parties and Parliament Seek to Strengthen Cambodian Democracy

Despite an aborted coup attempt on July 3 and continuing Khmer Rouge aggression, Cambodia's nascent parliament and political parties are struggling to consolidate the country's fragile democracy. NDI's parliamentary development program has assisted Cambodian lawmakers strengthen the effectiveness and democratic character of the newly elected legislature. Efforts also continue to enhance the organizational capacities and long-term development of political parties.

In July, the acting president of Cambodia's National Assembly asked NDI to assist a 25-member parliamentary commission established to review the Assembly's rules of procedure. The special commission was created to improve a system that has been the victim of major deadlocks. Working in cooperation with the U.S.-based Asia Foundation, NDI sponsored a series of programs with the commission that began with a study of rules of procedure from other countries. NDI and the Asia Foundation held weekly meetings with each of three subcommittees to review existing rules, and to compile recommendations and prepare drafts. NDI Field Representative Jean Lavoie will continue to work with the special commission through the final drafting, debate and formal promulgation of the new rules of procedure.

In a separate program, NDI Program Officer Sarah Malm joined with the International Republican Institute to conduct workshops with each of the parliamentary political parties in Battambang province. These workshops followed 18 similar party seminars conducted by NDI in six provinces last May. More than 1,100 provincial party members participated in these workshops. While Cambodia's political parties represent different stages of development, leaders from all parties have requested technical assistance on such issues as organization, communications and constituent relations.

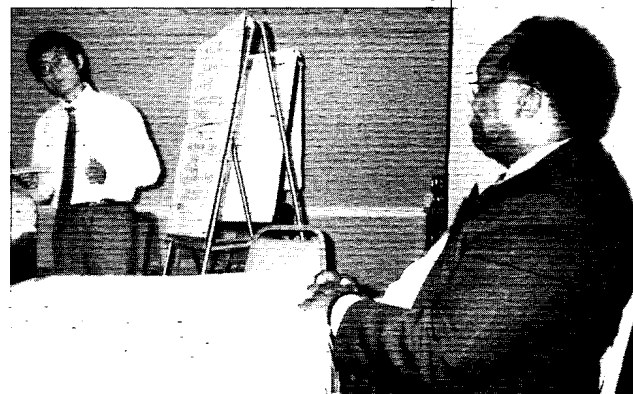
Based on NDI's political party work during the past year, the Institute produced comprehensive reports for the national leadership of each political party. The reports assessed each party's organizational capabilities and recommended future activities to assist the development of local party structures.

peaceful democratic reform in China and a commitment to return to their country.

U.S. and international experts led seminars and workshops covering issues of political and civic organization, including methods of popular participation, strategic planning, message and resource development, coalition-building, internal organization and elections.

The international trainers were selected for their organizing expertise as well as for their experience in operating within nondemocratic or transitional environments. They included Krzysztof Dowgiallo, a former leader of Poland's Solidarity labor movement, and Vladimir Boxer, Mikhail Schneider and Kirill Ignatiev of the Democratic Choice of Russia party. ●

Participant in civic organizing program for Chinese democrats presents conclusions of role-playing exercise to NDI Senior Consultant Ed Brown.



DONNA LEE VAN COTT
Inter-American Dialogue, U.S.

DANIEL WEISS
Fellow, U.S. House Foreign Affairs Committee, U.S.

RAUL YZAGUIRRE
National Council of La Raza; NDI Board of Directors, U.S.

**These delegates were joined by NDI staff members, and participants invited by the International Republican Institute and the Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government/Carter Center of Emory University.*

Civic Organizations Discuss Post-Election Efforts in West Africa

Representatives from 20 civic organizations in 11 countries throughout Africa convened in Cotonou, Benin to develop strategies to help consolidate democratic systems in their respective countries.

Many of the civic organizations in attendance had conducted activities to support their country's first multiparty elections, including civic education, voter registration and election monitoring. They now face the challenge of working in a non-election setting. As Rosemary Mulumo, from the Women's Lobby Group in Zambia remarked: "Everything changed once elections took place; there were new terms, for instance, like multiparty and privatization that we were unfamiliar with."

During the August seminar, an international faculty of civic organization experts addressed the role of civic groups and shared practical skills with civic leaders from Benin, Botswana,

Burundi, Central African Republic, Ethiopia, Malawi, Mali, Namibia, Niger, South Africa and Zambia. NDI encouraged female attendance by inviting representatives from women's organizations and female leaders of other civic groups.

The international faculty comprised professionals with first-hand experience in civic advocacy. They were: Marianna Drenska, Bulgarian Association for Fair Elections and Civil Rights; Nina Robbins, Women's Legal Defense Fund, United States; and Adrian Sorescu, Pro Democracy Association, Romania.

Some civic organizations in attendance were new to democratic development activities, such as the Ethiopian-based A-Bu-Gi-Da; others were more experienced, including the Women's Lobby Group, a Zambian group that promotes a greater role for women in the political process. Seminar topics included: increasing women's participation in politics;

designing a civic education program to teach the fundamentals of democracy; and creating projects to make the legislative process more open and accountable. The seminar also provided a setting for representatives of civic groups from francophone and anglophone countries to compare experiences and program approaches. ●

Strengthening Political Parties in Benin

In September and October, NDI sponsored a series of technical assistance seminars to aid the development of political parties in Benin. The program expands on previous NDI activities in Benin to help build nascent political parties into responsive organizations that can play an important role in the country's democratization process. The seminars evolved from information gathered during a 1993 program for Beninese parties that identified weaknesses in areas relating to party organization and message development, especially at the grassroots level.

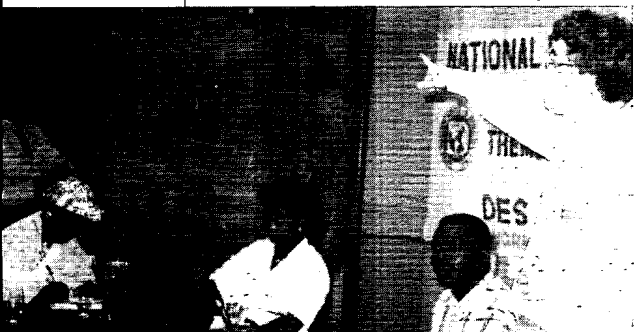
An international faculty of political party experts led plenary sessions and workshops in Cotonou and Parakou for 60 activists from more than 15 political parties. Agenda topics for the first seminar were designed to: help strengthen the organizational capabilities of parties at the national and local levels; improve communication between party structures; enhance the ability of parties to

build and sustain financial and volunteer resources; and promote coalition-building. The second seminar focused on the importance of public-opinion polling in developing party platforms and clarifying public policy issues. International experts shared information on creating party platforms, communicating policies, identifying strategies to promote accountability and mobilizing grassroots support.

International experts included: Gordon Ashworth, advisor to the prime minister of Canada; Maxine Griffith, a New York City planning commissioner; Paul Langa, national coordinator for the African National Congress from South Africa; Laszlo Rajk, a Hungarian parliamentarian; Jan Reynaers, counselor to the Belgian secretary of state for development and cooperation; Nicole Vossinkel, professor of sociology at the University of Brussels; and Nicholas Wurf, a public-opinion expert from the U.S. The international trainers were joined by representatives from a broad range of Beninese civic organizations who served as workshop facilitators.

In addition to providing organizational assistance, the seminars offered a neutral forum for party representatives to explore areas of mutual interest. ●

Gordon Ashworth (right) from Canada leads workshop on setting priorities for political party representatives in Benin.



Practicing Modern Pa

Recent political events in Northern Ireland have raised hopes for a peaceful settlement of Europe's most enduring civil conflict. In October, NDI organized the first in a series of programs to strengthen the organizational capabilities of Northern Ireland's major political parties, which have suffered from years of political exclusion. While NDI developed the program earlier this year, the September cease-fire announcement by the Irish Republican Army, underscored the timing for such an effort.

While decades of sectarian political violence have taken thousands of lives in Northern Ireland, the disorder and political stalemate have also demoralized a generation of political leadership and eroded

Interior Minister Emile Constant Bombet from Côte d'Ivoire (center), presided over a seminar on consensus building for Ivorian political parties. Also seated (l to r): Graham Scott, from Canada; Hume Horan, U.S. Ambassador to Côte d'Ivoire; Françoise Kaudjhis-Offoumou, president of A.I.D.-Afrique; Bombet; NDI Senior Program Officer Christopher Fomunyob; Madi Konaté, Ambassador of Niger to Côte d'Ivoire; Fernando Marques da Costa from Portugal; and Guei Koré, president of A.I.D.-Côte d'Ivoire.



Party-Building Program in Côte d'Ivoire Seeks to Enhance Prospects for Credible Election Process

In preparation for national elections in Côte d'Ivoire, NDI conducted a program to promote a peaceful electoral environment. The September conference provided a neutral forum for party representatives to discuss the establishment of a code of conduct to govern inter-party relations during the upcoming electoral period. The Abidjan conference was organized in cooperation with the Association Internationale pour la Démocratie en Afrique (A.I.D.-Afrique), a nonpartisan, regional civic organization.

In 1995, Côte d'Ivoire will hold its first national elections since the death of its founding president, Félix Houphouët-Boigny. Although a multiparty system was legalized in 1990, the recent proliferation of parties has raised concerns about a contentious electoral contest.

Participants attending the seminar included political party representatives from all 40 legalized Ivorian parties, parliamentarians, lawyers, and civic activists. Political and civic leaders from Benin, Guinea, Mali, Niger, Senegal and Togo also participated. International experts included Portuguese parliamentarian Fernando Marques da Costa and Graham Scott, a former provincial minister from Ontario, Canada.

The seminar was viewed as an important step toward establishing a consensus on conditions required to conduct democratic elections. Participants discussed the polit-

ical and legal implications of a code of conduct and ultimately reached agreement on a detailed declaration that could serve as the foundation for an Ivorian code.

African Lawmakers Plan for Increased Role

Legislators from five Central African countries convened in Bangui, the Central African Republic (CAR), to plan strategies for enhancing the effectiveness of their parliaments. The October program, sponsored by NDI, was developed in response to requests from newly elected lawmakers from the CAR, Congo, Gabon, Burundi and Madagascar. Since 1990, all of these countries have held multiparty elections and are now facing new, and oftentimes similar challenges in consolidating democratic institutions.

The parliamentarians examined institutional issues that are essential in promoting effective national legislatures. These included: legislative oversight of the executive branch of government; the internal rules and procedures of a multiparty legislature, including the role of the opposition; access to information; the effective utilization of parliamentary staff; constituent service; and media relations.

NDI also invited legislative experts to exchange technical information and experiences with the participants. They included: Donald Cravins, a Louisiana state senator from the United States; Isabel Espada, a former member of the Portuguese parliament; Alan Ganoo, a parliamentarian and a former minister of justice from Mauritius; and Jim Higgins, a member of parliament from Ireland.

They were joined by Kane Nana Sanou and Bazoum Mohamed, deputies from Mali and Benin respectively, who had participated in an earlier West African regional program sponsored by NDI. Sanou and Bazoum were able to share recent African efforts to strengthen the legislative branch of democratic government.

Politics in Northern Ireland

public confidence in the political system. Northern Ireland's political leaders proposed the program to NDI in order to enhance the leadership and aid the development of their respective parties.

NDI convened the program in the Hague, Netherlands. Participants were drawn from each of Northern Ireland's four constitutional political parties, representing both nationalist and unionist communities. These parties were: the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP); the Alliance Party; the Ulster Unionist Party (UUP); and the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP). Future programming will consider involving additional parties that have recently renounced armed conflict in favor of political settlement.

Plenaries, workshops and consulta-

tions focused on the role and responsibilities of political parties, modern communication techniques and organizational methods.

NDI recruited experts in political party organization to serve as trainers. They included: Edward Feighan, an NDI Board member and a former member of the U.S. Congress; Shawn Hanson, press secretary for U.S. Representative Al Swift; Carlos Huneeus, director of the Center for Contemporary Studies in Chile; and Debbie Willhite, a political organizer from the U.S.

The Eduardo Frei Foundation, the political development institute of the Christian Democratic Appeal Party in the Netherlands, and the Center for Emerging Democracies of the University of Massachusetts collaborated with NDI on the program.

THE BALTIC STATES

Jose Santos Magalhaes (center) from Portugal discusses freedom of information legislation at seminar in Riga for Latvian lawmakers. Pictured (l to r): Pauls Raudseps, editor of DIENA newspaper; Magalhaes; and Vita Terauda, Latvia's Minister of Reform.



Promoting Government Transparency in Latvia

Having only recently emerged from totalitarian rule, Latvia has begun to develop a legal framework for public access to information. An NDI conference in Riga for Latvian lawmakers and government officials examined this issue that will soon be debated in the Saeima, Latvia's 100-member unicameral national legislature. The October program is part of NDI's ongoing effort to help strengthen Latvia's newly elected parliament.

Before the program, Latvia's Council of Ministers had been considering a "protection of information" bill that in

draft form, stipulated that all government information should generally be considered secret. The NDI program was designed to broaden parliament's deliberations on future legislation by offering international experiences with laws promoting government transparency and the public's "right to know."

The timeliness of the program was reflected by the large turnout and sustained interest of the Latvian participants. Thirty-three members of parliament attended or were represented at the seminar, as were 40 representatives from the national government, the legal community and the media.

A panel of experts from four countries discussed a range of issues, including ensuring access to information at different levels of government, and creating policies that balance national security and public accessibility. The international experts were: Meg Bortin, a U.S. journalist based in Paris; Jose Santos-Magalhaes, the chief sponsor of the 1993 Portuguese freedom of information law; Lucien Nedzi, a former chairman of the U.S. House Intelligence Committee; Per-Erik Nilsson, whose 10-year tenure as Sweden's ombudsman included the monitoring of government compliance with a 1766 law that guarantees citizen access to official documents; and Ivan Szekely, an expert on information issues who advised the Hungarian parliament on the adoption of a freedom-of-information law in 1992.

In his opening remarks, former Representative Nedzi underscored the premise that "information is the currency of democracy." It was a phrase that resonated with the audience and was often repeated by Latvians during the conference.

Soon after the NDI conference, the government began revising its draft legislation to reflect a presumption that the public has a right to obtain government information. The new draft, which will be considered by the Saeima, will likely provide exceptions that protect defined interests such as national security, commercial secrets and personal privacy.

Strengthening Local Government in Estonia

The October 1993 municipal elections in Estonia ushered in a new generation of local leaders who face the challenge of meeting community needs in an environment of greater autonomy but fewer resources. A September NDI seminar in Tartu provided officials from three cities with practical strategies on

how to pursue the interests of their communities at the national level. The program is part of a two-year NDI program to help municipalities establish

effective mechanisms for providing local government services.

While legislation passed in 1993 transferred the administration of local services in Estonia to the municipalities, the national budget does not provide accompanying financial resources. Local officials agree that persuading the national government to increase its support of local governments is their most pressing problem.

The audience at NDI's seminar comprised local government officials from Tartu, home to the oldest university in the Baltic States; Narva, an industrial city in the northeast with a predomi-

nantly Russian population; and Voru, a small southern border town. NDI field representative Wallace Rogers, a public administration specialist, has conducted regular consultations with local officials from these towns since May, when NDI opened an office in Tartu.

NDI invited international experts to share a variety of experiences with state and local government relations. These experts included: Joanne Adams, former chief of staff to the mayor of Houston, Texas; Eric Anderson, the city manager of Evanston, Illinois; Roger Appleton, a local council administrator from London; Grzegorz Grzelak, president of the provincial assembly of Gdansk, Poland; John Krauss, a former deputy mayor of Indianapolis, Indiana; and Thomas Volgy, a former mayor of Tucson, Arizona. Adams, Krauss and Volgy have previously participated in NDI local government programs in the former Soviet Union.

The panelists stressed the need for cooperation among municipalities in their efforts to influence national policy, and provided practical approaches for building local and national coalitions around public policy issues. In addition to sharing information about advocacy methods, the experts suggested that local officials pursue legislation to strengthen the long-term effectiveness of local government by making the municipalities less dependent on the national government.



Ants Veetousme, chairman of the Tartu city council, poses a question at seminar for municipal officials in Estonia.

Hungarian Parliament Adopts New Rules of Procedure

NDI provided technical assistance to members of the Hungarian National Assembly on the practical and political implications of amending the parliament's existing rules of procedure. The August program built on strong relationships developed between NDI and Hungarian political parties, and complimented previous NDI efforts to strengthen the organizational capabilities of the Hungarian legislature. The National Assembly subsequently adopted new rules of procedure in September.

NDI's efforts to help the National Assembly develop its operating rules began in 1991. By early 1993, political leaders concluded that a two-thirds consensus on a lengthy draft would be impossible to achieve in the current parliament. Following the May 1994 parliamentary elections, the new chairman of the Constitutional, Legal, Judicial and Rules Committee requested that NDI return to consult with an all-parties working group on what was considered to be the final draft of the rules of procedure.

NDI responded quickly to the request by sending two international parliamentary procedure experts to Budapest to help the working group resolve outstanding issues. The international experts were: Maurice Manning, the minority leader of the Irish Senate and Brian Kidney, a former chief clerk in the California state legislature. Much of the discussion centered on making committee meetings more effective forums of debate in order to reduce the amount of business conducted in plenary sessions. Other issues examined the role of interest groups and government agencies in the work of committees, the function of public hearings, and the rights and obligations of committee witnesses.

On the day after these discussions, the NDI international experts observed the meeting of the full Constitutional Committee, which voted to begin general debate on the draft and consider amendments. Committee members often cited issues addressed at the NDI-sponsored program.

In addition to its parliamentary program, NDI has been working to enhance the long-term development of broad-based political parties in Hungary. In October, NDI evaluated this two-year effort. Paul Willems, international secretary for the Flemish Christian Democrats (CVP) in Belgium joined three NDI staff members to conduct interviews with party leaders and activists from seven of the eight parties with which NDI worked. The evaluation examined issues of program design, format and impact. It uncovered many examples where training techniques had been transferred to second tier party leaders and activists on issues such as volunteer recruitment, the development of training materials, and improved communication and coordination between national and local party branches. ●



Canadian Senator Maurice Manning (back to camera) and Brian Kidney (to Manning's left) from the U.S. discuss parliamentary rules of procedure with Hungarian lawmakers in Budapest.

Civic Participation and Legislative Effectiveness in Romania

In September, more than 10,000 Romanians cast their ballots at polling sites throughout Bucharest, not to vote for president or parliament but to participate in mock elections conducted by the Pro Democracy Association (PDA). The ballot asked each "voter" to rate the effectiveness of individual legislators. PDA, NDI's civic partner in Romania, designed the elections as part of its "Voter Month," which was organized to remind people that they can hold their parliamentary representatives accountable even when elections are not pending.

During Voter Month, PDA clubs around the country sponsored a coordinated series of events to promote civic participation including concerts, a civic participation play, civic education contests, a video display on government accountability and other popular activities designed to reach a wider audience than typical public forums.

In May, NDI and PDA co-sponsored a seminar that provided leaders of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) with strategies for developing legislative advocacy programs. Subsequently, NDI met with key parliamentarians on the issue of government transparency while PDA began producing a brochure for NGOs on current issues before parliament. At the local level, NDI and PDA conducted seminars in four cities that examined how the NGO community can contribute to local and national policymaking. The training was conducted by James Fort, a former legislative representative for the United Parcel Service who now resides in Romania.

Through roundtable discussions, town meetings and innovative events, PDA's civic education activities have increased communication between elected officials and their constituents and encouraged citizens of all ages to become more active in civic life. Events conducted throughout the summer included a "garbage festival" to attract interest in local recycling initiatives, a summer youth camp to improve Romanian-Hungarian relations and a local children's election.

In addition to supporting the activities of PDA, NDI programs focused on strengthening the effectiveness of Romania's nascent democratic legislature. In September, parliamentarians and technical staff from the judicial committees of the Romanian Senate and Chamber of Deputies sought NDI's assistance with their efforts to revise the legislature's internal rules of procedure, portions of which had been ruled unconstitutional. NDI, in cooperation with the U.S. Congress Special Task Force on the Development of Parliamentary Institutions in Eastern Europe, brought two legislative experts to Bucharest to conduct a series of consultations on the legal, practical and political implications of amending the rules. The experts were: Stanley Bach, a senior specialist in the legislative process at the Congressional Research Service (CRS) of the U.S. Library of Congress; and Charles Flanagan, an Irish parliamentarian and member of the Dail (Irish Parliament) Reform Working Group and Parliamentary Committee on Procedure and Privileges.

INTERNATIONAL TRAINERS FOR NDI PRO JUNE-OCTOBER 1994

JOHN C. CAVANAUGH
Former Member of Congress, U.S.

DAVID CONRADT
*Department of Political Science,
Eastern Carolina University, U.S.*

BRIAN DOHERTY
*Deputy Director, Subcommittee on
Consumer Credit and Insurance,
Banking Committee, House of
Representatives, U.S.*

FRANÇOIS FROMENT-MEURICE
*Deputy, European Parliament,
France*

WILLIAM HAMMINGA
CBC Alberta News, Canada

GARY HART
Former U.S. Senator, U.S.

LISE HEINTZ
*Southern New England
Telecommunications, U.S.*

RUSSIAN FEDERATION

NDI's recent activities in the Russian Federation have been divided between U.S.-based programs and training seminars throughout Russia on political party development, civic advocacy, and parliamentary and local government reform.

In the U.S., NDI has begun to host delegations of Russian political organizers through the NIS Exchanges and Training Project (NET), a program supported by the Agency for International Development and administered by the Washington-based Academy for Educational Development. NDI works closely with NET to select participants and conduct training programs to familiarize political activists from the former Soviet Union with democratic procedures and practices in the United States.

During September, NDI hosted a visit by a group of 13 political activists who spent a week in Washington, DC observing the U.S. political process at the national level, as well as 10 days in Michigan and Massachusetts examining preparations for state and local elections. On the day of Maryland's primary elections, the Russians toured Baltimore polling sites, met candidates, witnessed demonstrations of polling machines and accompanied Maryland State Election Administrator Gene Raynor on his election-day rounds.

Meanwhile, NDI's program work continues to develop in the Russian cities of St. Petersburg, Ekaterinburg, Krasnodar, Vladivostok and Samara. In recent months, NDI's Moscow-

based field staff has travelled to Krasnodar and Vladivostok to conduct training sessions and consultations for political parties prior to local elections in those regions.

In June, NDI also conducted a six-week program with members and staff of the Moscow City Council to examine practical methods to enhance communication between the newly elected deputies and their constituents. The program focused on mechanisms to incorporate public concerns into policy-making and to provide services to constituents. Throughout the summer, NDI conducted a similar program with more than 20 deputies from the State Duma, the lower house of the national parliament.

In July, NDI worked with committee members from the Council of the Federation, the upper house of parliament, to explore issues surrounding the development of a federal system of government. Topics included division of powers, fiscal management and systems of taxation.

(Ukraine continued from front page)

distribute voting guides and election monitoring materials as well as recruit more than 1,800 volunteers to observe presidential and local elections on June 26. On July 10, the Committee monitored more than 500 polling sites in 43 of 122 districts contesting parliamentary seats. Observing the work of two Committee chairs in Bilopilia, NDI field officer Marta Baziuk reported that the

women "are what I imagined the Non-partisan Committee to be—ordinary citizens taking on as their responsibility the establishment of democratic norms in their community."

Following the second round of local elections in July and October, NDI convened more than 60 newly elected democratic mayors and municipal council members in Kiev to discuss a range of topics related to the processes of local governance. Topics included opening lines of communication with parliament, building coalitions, strengthening constituent relations and examining pending legislative proposals on local self-government. Similar sessions were conducted in September with local officials from Severodonetsk and Kharkiv. International trainers for these programs included: Natalia Barbaro, strategy manager for Poland's Democratic Union Party; William Luking, former director of legislative affairs

for the city of Chicago; Wojciech Modelski, vice chairman of Poland's Democratic Union Party; Bipasa Nadon, former staff member to the mayor of Chicago; Christopher Nadon, former Civic Education Project Educator at the University of Kiev-Mohyla; Thomas Volgy, former mayor of Tucson, Arizona; and Zev Yaroslavsky, member of the Los Angeles City Council.

In preparation for the November 20 parliamentary run-off elections, NDI sponsored two political party training seminars in Kiev. The seminars were led by NDI field representatives Ross Reid, a former Canadian cabinet minister, and Daniel Ebert, a former staff member in the U.S. Congress. They were joined by David MacGregor, a U.S.-based political organizer. Following the Kiev program, the NDI trainers travelled for two weeks conducting similar programs for party activists throughout the country.



NDI field representative Ross Reid, a former Canadian cabinet minister, works with local elected officials from throughout Ukraine on coalition-building and communication.

KAY JENKINS
*Former Editor,
 BALTIMORE EVENING SUN, U.S.*

OTTHAR LOEWE
ILD-Zeitung, Germany

PAUL MCLOUGHLIN
*Political Commentator, CBC Calgary;
 Publisher, ALBERTA POLITICAL SCEN,
 Canada*

MICHAEL MURPHY
*Executive Director, Multilingual
 Orientation Services to Assist
 Immigrant Communities, Canada*

MARIE NAHIKIAN
New York Habitat for Humanity, U.S.

SARAH SILVER
*Natural Resources Defense Council,
 U.S.*

Also in July, NDI conducted an intensive training program for 18 civic leaders from across Russia. The program sought to improve the skills of these top organizers who will join international experts as trainers in future NDI programs for civic organizations in four Russian cities.

In September, NDI followed up on its May seminar on civic organizing in St. Petersburg. More than 100 civic activists representing 70 organizations reviewed practices and techniques that civic groups can use to develop effective advocacy programs at the local level. In October, NDI conducted a similar seminar in Vladivostok that served as a foundation for NDI's future work in the city.

Domestic Monitors Prepare for Nepal Elections

In response to the scheduling of early parliamentary elections, NDI began a program to assist Nepalese civic groups and political parties in organizing a nationwide election monitoring effort. Problems associated with elections two years ago fueled public concern about the credibility of the country's election process.

The Nepal political landscape altered dramatically in July when Prime Minister Girija Prasad Koirala resigned. King Birendra dissolved parliament and called for elections in November.

In September, NDI opened a field office in Kathmandu and began working with the National Election Observation Committee (NEOC), a coalition of Nepalese civic groups, to organize a national monitoring effort. Initial plans called for the NEOC to field

500 domestic observers.

In October, NDI organized a conference in Kathmandu that provided technical assistance in election monitoring to more than 100 representatives from 24 nongovernmental organizations. The conference was led by a team of international experts. They included: Guillermo Luz, secretary general of the National Citizen's Movement for Free Elections (NAMFREL) in the Philippines; Fernando Marques da Costa, a Portuguese member of parliament; and Chaiyan Rajchagool, a founder of Poll-

ties, which requested NDI assistance in training their own pollwatchers.

Notwithstanding significant cultural and other obstacles to female participation in politics, 33 women attended the conference as well as a separate workshop that examined issues of particular concern to women. Prompted by the conference, the NEOC developed a more comprehensive national monitoring campaign. NEOC and NDI formulated a joint plan to recruit monitors and to organize training sessions around the country.

Building Democracy in Central Asia

Pluralistic institutions are likely to emerge in Central Asia as the result of a long-term process that encourages democratic practices and values at the popular level. Working with parliament, political parties and civic groups, NDI programs are designed to help establish an institutional framework to assist this democratization effort.

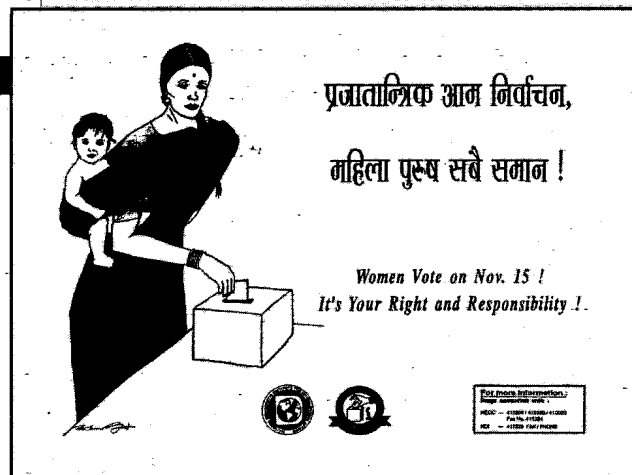
In Kyrgyzstan, NDI is providing technical assistance to support efforts by political parties to monitor the country's first independent parliamentary elections. In September, NDI conducted a program on electoral preparations for political parties in Osh, a city in southern Kyrgyzstan. The seminar brought together multiparty delegations from both the north and south, thereby making a contribution toward bridging the geographical gap in this divided country. NDI staff, local experts and U.S. political organizer Zack Hudgins comprised the faculty for the seminar.

Midway through the seminar, Kyrgyzstan President Askar Akaev called for a constitutional referendum in October and new parliamentary elections on December 24. The elections were subsequently postponed until February 6, 1995.

At the conclusion of the September program, a consensus emerged to develop a coordinated pollwatching effort by the political parties. A number of entrepreneurs and journalists attending the seminar also pledged their support for a broad-based election monitoring effort.

In neighboring Kazakhstan, NDI began a parliamentary assistance program that builds upon previous programming in the country. Kazakhstan held its first independent multiparty elections in March. Like its Soviet precursors, Kazakhstan's parliament has little real authority, and lacks legislative experience, technical resources and staff. Institutional weaknesses threaten to erode an already fragile base of popular legitimacy and support.

NDI initiated its program in June with a seminar on parliamentary process for more than 35 newly elected lawmakers. NDI will continue to develop its program, working with individual parliamentarians and legislative committees on rules of procedure and a new law on civic organizations.



Get-out-the-vote poster distributed by NDI and the National Election Observation Committee, a Nepal-based civic organization. The poster was part of a campaign to encourage women's participation in the political process.

Watch, a national election monitoring organization in Thailand. NDI also consulted with each of Nepal's political parties,

UPCOMING PROGRAMS

BANGLADESH NDI will open a field office in Dhaka in January to help civic groups organize a monitoring effort for national elections expected in 1996. The program is designed to increase public confidence in the country's electoral process.

CROATIA In response to requests by Croatian parties, NDI will provide organizational assistance to help develop more broadly based political parties.

GEORGIA NDI's Tbilisi field office will conduct the first in a series of seminars to strengthen the capabilities of political parties in preparation for parliamentary elections in October 1995. Another program will provide technical assistance to the parliament as it begins to review draft constitutional reform proposals.

HAITI NDI will open a field office in Port-au-Prince to support parliamentary and local elections in 1995. The programs will advise political parties on election-monitoring activities and will assist local civic groups to carry out voter education efforts.

KENYA NDI will continue its program to provide practical assistance to women seeking greater participation in Kenyan politics. The Institute plans to conduct leadership training workshops for women aspiring to political office.

PERU At the request of the Peruvian civic organization, Transparencia, NDI is conducting a program to assist the group in organizing an independent vote tabulation and training election monitors for the April 1995 national elections.

THAILAND NDI will sponsor a program in Korat for representatives of non-governmental organizations and local governments to address decentralization efforts in Thailand. The program will include experts from other countries that have confronted the issue of decentralization and addressed key issues related to the transfer of power to localities.

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