



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

NDI REPORTS

South Korean President Kim and Senate Majority Leader Mitchell to Receive Democracy Award

NDI will present its eighth annual W. Averell Harriman Democracy Award jointly to President Kim Young Sam of South Korea and Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell. The award will be presented at a November 22 dinner in Washington DC.

The W. Averell Harriman Democracy Award is given annually to individuals from the United States and abroad who exemplify NDI's commitment to democracy and human rights.

In announcing the 1993 recipients, NDI President Kenneth Wollack cited President Kim's vital role in leading the Republic of Korea's transition to democratic government and Senator Mitchell's contributions to the American political system.

NDI worked closely with Korea's democratic movement in 1986 when the Institute sponsored programs with the New Korea Democratic Party, co-chaired by President Kim.

At the dinner, House of Representatives Speaker Thomas Foley, the 1989 recipient of the Harriman Award, will present this year's award to President Kim. U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations, Madeleine Albright, former vice chair of NDI, will give the award to Senator Mitchell. Last year's honorees were former President Jimmy Carter and St. Petersburg Mayor Anatoly Sobchak.

This year's award dinner is chaired by NDI Board member Lewis Manilow. The 70-member Congressional Host Committee for the event is headed by Senate Assistant Majority Leader Wendell Ford, Speaker Foley, and House Majority Leader Richard Gephardt. More than 700 guests, including members of the diplomatic corps, will attend the dinner. ●



Peter Fenn (far left)
leads workshop in
Vladivostok for political
party leaders from the
Russian far east.
Pictured (l to r): Fenn,
Frank Tobe, NDI staff
assistant Konstantin
Panin and NDI Ukraine
field representative
Sarah Farnsworth.

NDI Expands Programs in the Former Soviet Union

Preparations Underway to Support Russian Elections

President Yeltsin's call for parliamentary elections across the Russian Federation promises an intense period of NDI activity. NDI is well positioned for this new phase of democratization in Russia as well as in other states of the former Soviet Union contemplating elections. Over the late spring and summer, NDI field offices in Moscow, Kiev and Almaty have expanded election support projects, increased political party training and strengthened civic education programs.

RUSSIAN FEDERATION

With parliamentary elections scheduled for December 12, NDI plans a major effort to promote confidence and participation in the electoral process. Plans include organizing voter education campaigns and conducting pollwatcher training programs. As it did for the April referendum, NDI will produce public-service films to be broadcast nationally that will describe voting procedures and encourage voter participation. The Institute will also advise Russian television on coverage of the electoral campaign and expand its ongoing program to provide organizational assistance to political parties.

NDI's election program is designed to enhance the capabilities of institutions and organizations that are the foundation of a democratic civil society.

In June, NDI continued its program to assist Russian officials develop a new election system, which at the time was at an impasse in the Constitutional Assem-

(continued on page 15)

*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
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for Democracy, the
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International
Development and
private donations.*

Donna Brazile explains U.S. government tax system to local officials in Marienthal, Namibia.



National and Local Legislators Define New Role in Namibia

"I welcome this seminar that aims to help us streamline and improve the legislative process and clarify relations between the recently constituted National Council and the National Assembly," stated Prime Minister Hage G. Geingob in opening remarks delivered at NDI's legislative seminar in Namibia. The July conference concluded NDI's series of three training programs to strengthen the two cham-

bers of the national parliament. Also in Namibia, NDI launched a project in September to provide technical assistance and management skills to members of newly elected regional councils.

Since 1991, NDI has furnished practical information on parliamentary organization, rules and procedures to both chambers of Namibia's nascent legislature. For the July program, NDI worked closely with a special joint committee of parliamentary whips to design the program. The agenda was tailored to help parliamentary leaders and key staff members define their roles and relationships and further clarify parliamentary procedures.

An international delegation of parliamentary experts led a series of plenary sessions and working groups for members of the National Assembly and National Council, and officers from parliamentary administrative offices. The delegation comprised: Alan Ganoo, minister of justice and attorney general from Mauritius; Margaret G. Lewis, chief of staff for the Ohio Senate Democratic Caucus from the U.S.; Joseph Mbewe, chief minority whip from Zambia; and Mark Talisman, a legislative expert from the U.S. Following the seminar, Lewis and Talisman remained in Namibia to conduct individual consultations with the joint parliamentary leadership and permanent secretaries of select ministries.

Plenary sessions reviewed the Namibian parliamentary process and provided comparative information on parliaments elsewhere. Working groups also evaluated the effectiveness and responsiveness of the Namibian parliament. At these sessions, Namibian participants suggested modifications to the rules, examined committee structures and clarified aspects of the lawmaking process.

Written recommendations generated by the working groups included changes to the Standing Rules and Orders of both houses and procedural changes intended to streamline and

expedite the process. The working groups also drafted a diagram of the legislative process in Namibia, which will be incorporated into a lawmaking handbook to be published by NDI.

During a similar NDI seminar conducted in May for the 26-member National Council, the parliament's upper house, participants requested that NDI work with members of the regional councils to provide technical assistance on local governance. As the first step, NDI organized a survey mission to Namibia from August 28 to September 3 to examine the regional and local authority councils and to identify appropriate themes for a comprehensive local government program.

The National Council comprises members elected from the 13 regional councils. Regional and local councils represent new governing structures, having been elected late last year.

The international survey delegation included: William Bowen, a Ohio state senator from the U.S.; Donna Brazile, chief of staff for Representative Eleanor Holmes Norton; and Dan Neville, member of parliament and the National Body of County Councils in Ireland. They were accompanied by NDI Program Officer Nicholas Van Slyck and Program Assistant Sarah Malm. During their week-long stay in Namibia, delegation members visited nine regional councils, meeting regional and local councilors, governors, mayors and administrative staff.

The delegation found that regional council members face many challenges. "We were elected nine months ago in an effort to bring government to the people but still we do not understand our role and the system in general," said one councilor.


NDI is reviewing the findings of the survey and designing its first program to support the newly elected councils. A series of technical assistance programs and seminars is planned for early next year.

NDI CONDEMNS COUP IN BURUNDI

In a statement issued on October 22, NDI condemned the violent coup in Burundi and the murders of President Melchior Ndadaye and other top-ranking officials of the country's new, freely elected government. NDI supported actions by the international community to restore the democratic government that was overthrown on October 21.

NDI worked closely with Burundian leaders over the last two years to assist the country's transition to democracy. Presidential and legislative elections this summer, and the peaceful transfer of power that followed, established what NDI termed "an historic model" for political reform in Africa. The efforts of thousands of Burundian citizens had created the country's first democratically elected government. The peaceful transition held the potential to resolve the ethnic violence that had resulted in tens of thousands of deaths and forced thousands more into exile.

In October, NDI had the honor to host President Ndadaye, as well as former President Pierre Buyoya, at the Institute's Washington, DC office. An international NDI delegation recently returned from Burundi where it consulted with parliamentary and governmental leaders in preparation for a two-year program to support civic organizations and the newly elected National Assembly.



*Amy Biehl pictured with
Namibian President Sam
Nujoma during March 1991
NDI program for newly
elected members of
the National Assembly.*

IN MEMORIAM

Amy Biehl

Amy Biehl, a program assistant at NDI from 1990 to 1992, was killed in August in South Africa, two days before she was to return home from a 10-month Fulbright scholarship in Cape Town. While the circumstances of her death drew international attention, NDI was affected more personally by the tragedy as we mourned the passing of a former colleague.

The commitment Amy brought to her job enhanced her efforts far beyond typical standards. Everything about Amy seemed to be amplified. Her work was her cause and her mission, and for two brief years, NDI was the beneficiary of, and channel for, her energy and dedication.

As an undergraduate at Stanford University, Amy delved into the scholarly side of democratic transitions. She wrote her honors thesis on the Namibian transition to independence. At NDI, she was able to apply her idealism to hands-on programs designed to strengthen democratic institutions, a job she met with enthusiasm and her trademark straightforward determination.

Amy was deeply committed to a peaceful, democratic South Africa and popular participation in elections there. She was a fervent advocate for the promotion of women in African politics. Through NDI, Amy worked on programs in Burundi, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Ethiopia, Guyana, Malawi, South Africa and Zambia to provide technical assistance for political parties and civic organizations.

Amy's compassion and vitality enriched the lives of those who worked with her here and around the world. Her death generated an outpouring of tributes filled with great sadness and fond memories. At NDI, Amy's personal and professional legacies are surpassed only by our grief at the loss of a treasured and talented friend.

AMY BIEHL MEMORIAL FUND ESTABLISHED AT NDI

NDI, at the request of the Biehl family, recently established a fund to honor Amy and carry on her work. The Amy Biehl Fund at NDI will support democratization and human rights projects. Particular emphasis will be given to programs promoting the rights and political empowerment of women in Africa and elsewhere in the developing world. These were the issues to which Amy was particularly dedicated. Donations payable to "The Amy Biehl Fund" can be sent in care of NDI in Washington, DC.

KENYAN WOMEN PLAN TO BROADEN POLITICAL ROLE

One of Amy Biehl's last projects at NDI was the design of a women's program in east Africa. The Kenya project was inspired by her original proposal.

At an international conference in October, women from Africa, Europe and the U.S. joined with Kenyan participants to support the newly created Education Center for Women in Democracy. The Nairobi-based Center was recently established to provide practical assistance to women seeking greater participation in Kenyan politics.

The Kenyan participants represented all major political parties and included members of parliament, local elected officials, civic organizers, academics and professional women. During the four-day program sponsored by NDI, action plans were developed for identifying technical and financial resources for women candidates, creating issue-based campaigns, conducting grassroots organizing and voter education programs, and encouraging women to consider elective office.

International women political leaders shared experiences and technical expertise with the participants. The experts included: Dr. Michaela Blaunck, a German parliamentarian; Winnie Byanyima, a candidate for parliament from Uganda; Nuala Fennell, minister for women's affairs from Ireland; Gracia Hillman with the League of Women Voters in the U.S.; Tami Hultman, a U.S.-based journalist with the Africa News Service; Ellen Musialela with the SWAPO Women's Council in Namibia; Prisca Nyambe, an attorney from Zambia; Clara Olsen, a former parliamentarian and managing editor of *The Gazette* in Botswana; and Venita Vinson, former mayor of Denver, Colorado.

From the plans created at the conference, the Center will organize a secretariat that can conduct a nationwide voter education campaign, provide support for women seeking political office, act as a liaison with political parties and community groups, and support nonpartisan advocacy for women's concerns.

Gabriel Marcella (right) addresses conference on civil-military relations. Pictured (l to r): Luis Humberto Guzmán, leader of the UNO coalition in the National Assembly; Luis Tibiletti; Erik Kjönerod, Minister of the Presidency Antonio Lacayo; and Marcella.



Promoting Civilian Oversight of the Armed Forces in Nicaragua

As part of a multi-year effort to help promote civilian control of the armed forces in Nicaragua, NDI conducted a seminar in August for political and military leaders. The Managua seminar provided Nicaraguans with a forum to discuss the new role of the armed forces and presented comparative information on the role of the military in other democratic societies. Segments of the seminar were broadcast on national television and radio, and covered by all major Nicaraguan newspapers.

The seminar built on previous NDI activities in Nicaragua to assist efforts to establish an adequate system of civilian oversight of the armed forces. Although the situation in Nicaragua remains highly polarized, a national dialogue is now underway. Representatives of all political sectors attended NDI's August seminar, including more than 90 military officers, former contra and Sandinista commanders, political party leaders, National Assembly members, government officials, non-governmental representatives and journalists.

International experts for the seminar included: Erik Kjönerod, a former U.S. Army colonel and currently a professor at the National Defense University; Dr. Gabriel Marcella, professor of third-world studies and director of American Studies at the U.S. Army War College; Juan Rial, a Uruguayan history professor who has written extensively on civil-military affairs; and Luis Tibiletti, advisor to the chairman of the Argentine Congressional Defense Committee.

At the end of the seminar, participants recorded issues on which there was agreement. These included improving communication between civilian and military officials through similar forums; guaranteeing greater civilian control over the military; continuing the professionalization of the armed forces under appropriate civilian control;

ensuring the assimilation of military officers into civilian life; establishing an adequate military budget; and creating a civilian-led Defense Ministry.

In her September 2, 1993 Army Day speech, President Violeta Chamorro pointed to NDI's work in Nicaragua and gave her support for continued assistance in the area of civil-military relations. Chamorro announced government plans to enhance civilian oversight of the armed forces. Some of these initiatives had been recom-

mended in NDI's report, "Civil Military Relations in Nicaragua," which was written after a series of consultations in Managua in November 1992.

NDI's future programming in Nicaragua will focus on the training of civilian leaders to create strategies for overseeing the military. The Institute will also develop a curriculum to familiarize Nicaraguan military officers with the nonpolitical roles of the armed forces in democratic societies. ●

NEW INITIATIVES STALLED IN HAITI

Before the most recent political impasse in Haiti, NDI visited Port-au-Prince in early October to survey prospects for renewing democratic development programs in the country. In 1991, NDI had begun programming to strengthen the newly elected parliament and promote civilian control of the armed forces. These activities were suspended following the September 1991 military-led coup against President Jean-Bertrand Aristide.

NDI has been active in Haiti since shortly after the fall of the Duvalier regime in 1986, when it held the first of a series of technical assistance programs for Haitian political parties. NDI also supported Haiti's election process, sponsoring observation missions to the 1987 and 1990 presidential elections.

NDI's mission in October took place at a time of heightening tensions before the then-scheduled October 30 return of President Aristide. The five-member team met with members of the government, including Prime Minister Robert Malval and Justice Minister Guy Malary; members of parliament; General Raoul Cedras, the General Staff and other military officers; political party, civic and religious lead-

ers; and members of the diplomatic community and the missions to the United Nations and the Organization of American States.

The NDI team included: Judy Ayotte Paradis, a state senator from Maine; Carina Perelli, a civil-military expert and the director of Society for Political Analysis in Montevideo, Uruguay; and NDI Senior Program Officer Katharine Koch, Executive Officer Sean Carroll and Program Officer Gabe Hütter.

At the urging of Prime Minister Malval, NDI had hoped to begin a civil-military program in early November, soon after President Aristide's return and before the prime minister's planned November 15 conference of national reconciliation. However, the tragic events since the NDI mission, including the murder of Justice Minister Malary, and the refusal of the military to relinquish power, have disrupted the Governors Island (NY) peace accords and reduced prospects for democracy work in the immediate future. NDI is continuing consultations to prepare for the resumption of programs once the current political deadlock ends.

Argentines Debate Electoral Reform

ANDI technical assistance seminar in Argentina has helped build consensus among the major political parties on electoral reform legislation. The August program was cosponsored by the Andean Foundation and Center for National Studies, Buenos Aires-based foundations associated with the Justicialist and the Radical parties respectively.

Since Argentina's return to democracy in 1983, more than 50 electoral reform proposals have been introduced in Congress, but deep-seated disagreements among the political parties have prevented even the discussion of the various proposals. NDI designed its program to facilitate dialogue on specific points of the election law.

An international faculty of election experts led plenary sessions and workshops for more than 200 participants including electoral law experts, political party representatives, members of Congress and journalists. The faculty comprised: Manuel Alcántara, a Spanish political scientist and sociologist with expertise in Latin American electoral systems; Daniel Blessington, a specialist in campaign finance law from the U.S.; Marcelo Galindo, a Bolivian political analyst currently in charge of re-writing the Bolivian constitution; and Juan Rial, a Uruguayan historian and expert in Latin American politics.

Before the seminar, the Argentine party foundations drafted a paper analyzing previous electoral reform legislation and outlining the issues to be addressed during the workshop sessions. This document was distributed in advance of the meeting and published by an Argentine legal newspaper.

During the seminar, participants agreed on the need for more openness and transparency in the electoral process. At the end of the workshops, they recorded a list of 12 points of consensus, including holding primary elections on a single day to promote greater citizen participation.

In November, NDI will support a program on women in politics in Argentina for aspiring female candidates. Sponsored by the Women's Equality Foundation, the seminar will focus on developing strategies for women's involvement in politics. ●

Stenghtening Political Parties in Panama

NDI sponsored its second technical assistance program in August to aid the development of political parties in Panama. The training program was co-sponsored by the Pro Democracy Center (Centro Pro Democracia), a civic organization that conducts nonpartisan democratic development projects in Panama.

The program grew out of information gathered during NDI's March assessment mission to Panama and focus-group research conducted later in the spring. The focus-group findings underscored growing public apathy toward political parties. In May, NDI organized its first party training program in Panama City where political parties encouraged NDI to conduct follow-on programs in the interior of the country.

The August program was designed to help strengthen the parties' organizational capabilities at the national and local levels, improve communication between party structures, and enhance the ability of parties to function in a more responsive way to the concerns of the citizenry. Political party experts from other Latin American countries and the U.S. led a series of seminars for national party leaders in Panama City as well as for regional and local party leaders in four cities outside of the capital.

The training team comprised: Juan Bogado, director of organization for the Liberal Radical Authentic Party in Paraguay; Steve Cobble, an Iowa-based political organizer; Gustavo Ferrari, a member of the Radical Party in Argentina; Larry Harrington, a Washington, D.C.-based attorney; Cecile Richards, a pro-bono coordinator for Texas Rural Legal Aid; Roberto Viera, a deputy for the Christian Democratic party in the Legislative Assembly in El Salvador; and NDI Program Officer Joe Keohan.

The international trainers shared their experiences with political party organization, including building coalitions, managing intra-party relations, establishing goals and strategies, communicating policies, administering resources, mobilizing grassroots support, and identifying strategies to promote accountability.

Fifteen of the 18 political parties registered to compete in the May 1994 national elections participated in the workshops in Panama City. Twenty-five to 50 local and regional leaders representing 15 parties attended each of the four regional seminars.

In addition to providing organizational assistance, the regional seminars offered a neutral forum for leaders of different parties to explore areas of mutual interest and concern. One local party leader explained that he had experienced first-hand the important distinction between political adversaries and enemies. ●



Juan Bogado leads workshop on organization for Panamanian party leaders.



Consejo Profesional de Ciencias Económicas

INSTITUTO NACIONAL DEMOCRATA PARA ASUNTOS INTERNACIONALES
FUNDACION ANDINA
Fundacion-Centro de Estudios para la Republica

SEMINARIO



Senator Fernando de la Rúa (second from left) discusses conclusions of seminar on electoral reform in Argentina. Pictured (l to r): Gustavo Ferrari, director of the Center for National Studies; de la Rúa; NDI Program Officer Santiago Canton; Senator José O. Bordón; and Ambassador Federico Mihvé, director of the Andean Foundation.

CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

*Dorothy Cecelski (center)
leads panel discussion on
organizing an issue-based
campaign for leaders of
Bulgarian civic groups.
Pictured (l to r): Raymond
Mullan, Cecelski and
Arthur Cecelski.*



Bulgarian Civic Group Strengthens Local Efforts

A team of NDI civic organizing experts worked to enhance the grassroots capability of the Bulgarian Association for Fair Elections and Civil Rights (BAFECR), one of Bulgaria's most prominent civic groups.

Since its inception in 1990, BAFE-CR, a successful election monitoring organization, has pursued many civic projects during periods between elections. At the same time, the strength of its local efforts has varied from chapter to chapter.

The international experts who visited Bulgaria in July, included Arthur Cecelski, a 20-year volunteer with Common Cause and chair of the Virginia state organization; Dorothy Cecelski, secretary of Common Cause's National Governing Board and director of the Common Cause Office of Leadership Development; and Raymond Mullan, information officer for the Northern Ireland Community Relations Council (CRC).

The three experts first travelled across the country to assess the needs and organizational capabilities of BAFECR chapters in nine cities. The program culminated in a training seminar in Varna where BAFECR national leaders and the international experts conducted a series of workshops for representatives of the local chapters. Workshop topics addressed: volunteer recruitment and management; training and orientation of members; citizen action planning; publicity; local fundraising; and coalition-building.

To complement the workshop

sessions, the participants returned home with translated articles on civic organizing from selected U.S. publications.

The seminar provided BAFECR

activists an opportunity to learn new organizing skills. It also enabled local civic leaders to benefit from the experiences of their counterparts in other communities throughout Bulgaria. ●

Political Party Training in Hungary

Throughout the summer and early fall, NDI continued its year-long series of political party consultations in Hungary. The program is designed to support the development of strong party organizations as they prepare for national elections in May 1994 as well as to promote the long-term viability of parties following elections.

Initiated in response to requests from Hungarian parliamentary and political party leaders, NDI sponsored consultations with four political parties in February and March. In early June, two additional political party consultations were organized with the Federation of Young Democrats (FIDESZ) and the Christian Democratic People's Party (KDNP).

The June consultations were held in Budapest where two teams of political experts worked individually with the two Hungarian parties. International experts working with the parties included: Hugo Dittmar of the Dutch People's Party for Democracy and Freedom; Meus van der Poel of the Dutch Christian Democratic Appeal; and Tina Flournoy and Larry Grisolano from the U.S.

In three days of meetings with party leaders and activists, these experts advised on volunteer recruitment, media relations, grassroots canvassing and other aspects of political party organizing.

In early September, a second round of consultations were organized with the Alliance of Free Democrats (SZDZ), the Hungarian

Socialist Party (MSZP) and the National Democratic Alliance (NDSZ). International experts for these consultations included: Deanna Beach, of the New Democratic Party in Canada; George Birmingham of Fine Gael in Ireland; Laurentino Dias, a Portuguese parliamentarian with the Socialist Party; and Steve Demicco, Maren Hesla, Tom Lindenfeld and Missouri State Representative Karen McCarthy from the United States.



Maren Hesla discusses volunteer recruitment with Hungarian political party representatives.

While the formats for each of the three party consultations differed, they all provided organizational training for regional party managers, and strategies for candidate and volunteer recruitment.

The consultations will continue throughout the autumn and winter months. NDI teams will travel to Budapest in early October for a second round of consultations with the KDNP and the Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF). Initial consultations are also planned for the Republic Party. ●

**БЪЛГАРСКО СДРУЖЕНИЕ
ЗА ЧЕСТНИ ИЗБОРИ
BULGARIAN ASSOCIATION
FOR FAIR ELECTIONS**

Parliamentarians field questions at town hall meeting in Craiova, Romania.



Parliamentarians and Constituents Begin Dialogue in Romania

Amid a corruption scandal that shook the highest levels of the Romanian government, NDI's recent program on parliamentary accountability proved particularly timely. In September, NDI and the Pro Democracy Association (PDA), a Romanian civic organization, co-sponsored a "Parliamentary Dialogue on Constituency Servicing." The program represents an ongoing effort by NDI to enhance communication between parliamentarians and their constituents and to increase accountability of elected officials.

Romanian deputies and senators exchanged practical information on the importance of constituent services with international counterparts from four countries. In addition, the Romanian lawmakers met face-to-face with their constituents in an effort to help bridge a communications gap between public officials and the citizenry. The program was held in Bucharest and two outlying electoral districts where leaders of civic groups discussed local issues with their elected representatives in "town hall" settings.

An international panel of parliamentarians shared personal experiences about balancing national and constituency demands, and provided advice on incorporating constituent concerns into legislative initiatives. The faculty comprised: Michael Creed, an Irish parliamentarian from the Fine Gael Party; Joao de Menezes Ferreira, a Portuguese MP with the Socialist Party; Christopher Kelly, a Democratic Party state representative from Missouri; and Annemie Neyts, a Liberal Party MP from Belgium.

The program complemented and enhanced the activities of PDA and helped it secure a higher profile with parliamentarians and the general public. The format of the September program was drawn, in part, from direct requests from representatives of all parties for information about the link between national duties and responsibilities to constituents.

Many Romanian legislators told the PDA that the public meetings it had previously organized on draft legislation had been the only time that they had engaged in a dialogue with their constituents. The program also helped underscore the principle of representative government and the public's right to petition its elected officials.

September also marked the return to Washington, DC of NDI Romania field representative Robin Freedman.

Since February, Freedman has worked successfully to develop civic education programs and strengthen PDA's organizational structure. Her replacement is Richard Verma, an attorney, who brings considerable legislative experience to the field position. Building on three years of NDI programming, Verma will work with PDA and parliamentarians to develop transparency and accountability in the legislative decision-making process.



Representatives from four Romanian parties discuss hypothetical case study during conference on parliamentary accountability.

INCREASING POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC AND SLOVAKIA

NDI has launched the first phase of a multi-year civic education project, dubbed "Listen to the People," in the Czech Republic and Slovakia. By increasing citizen participation in nongovernmental organizations and political parties, the project seeks to contribute to the development of a broad-based civil society in the two countries.

Both the Czech Republic and Slovakia confront growing public apathy toward government and politics. This alienation stems in part from a dearth of responsive institutions that mobilize public involvement in the democratic process, a problem common elsewhere in the post-communist era.

In July, NDI Program Officer Kathy Toomey and NDI Board member Patrick Griffin visited the Czech Republic and Slovakia where they met with representatives from national and local governments, political parties, civic organizations and the media. They recommended that NDI pursue a program to strengthen the orga-

nizational capabilities of political parties, as well as civic and advocacy groups—the so called "third sector" of society in the two countries.

In September, NDI initiated the program by placing two permanent field representatives in the region—Toomey in Prague and David Breg, a former foreign affairs specialist with the Congressional Research Service, in Bratislava.

Toomey and Breg will first identify public policy issues that can be addressed by well functioning civic organizations. From this research, NDI will help develop a curriculum that will be used to train organizers in the skills necessary to create and sustain civic organizations, allowing them to be effective advocates in their respective areas of interest.

To assist in this process, NDI has identified international and domestic teams of civic and political education specialists that will help design and implement the program.

NDI MONITORS ELECTIONS IN PAKISTAN

Delegate Mirza Haider Ali (left) with NDI official in Rawalpindi, India.

"This election provides an important opportunity to broaden popular support for and confidence in democratic governance," concluded a 35-member NDI international delegation to the October 6 National Assembly elections in Pakistan.

The delegation, led by Canadian Member of Parliament Maurice Foster and NDI President Kenneth Wollack, included parliamentarians, political party leaders, election experts and regional specialists from 17 countries in Europe, Africa, Asia, the Pacific, the Middle East and the Americas. Many delegates were themselves from countries in political transition that will soon be holding their own elections.

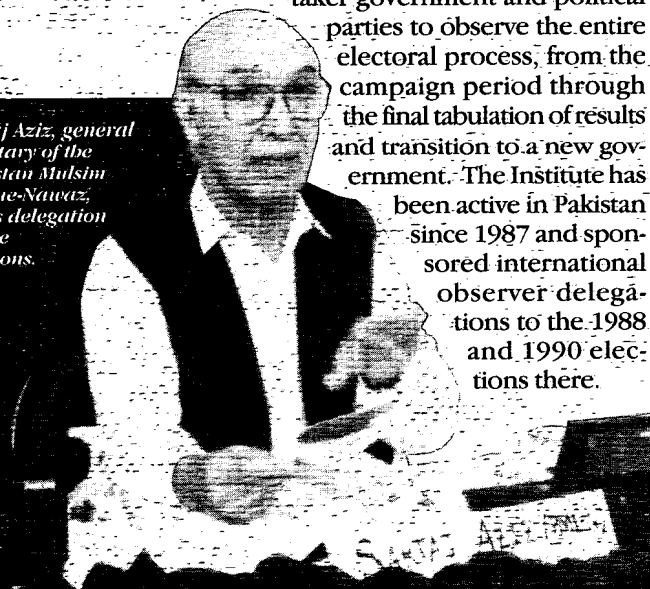
The National Assembly elections resulted in the return of Benazir Bhutto as prime minister, a position she held from 1988 to 1990. In 1990, her government was dissolved by President Ghulam Ishaq Khan, leading to new elections and the selection of a new prime minister, Nawaz Sharif.

In April 1993, the president dissolved the government and called again for new elections. Despite a Supreme Court decision that restored the Sharif government, political polarization ultimately forced both the president and prime minister to step down a month later. New elections were announced in October, and a caretaker government was established to oversee the nation's affairs and to administer the elections.

Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party (PPP) won 86 seats to the National Assembly, followed by the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz group (PML(N)), led by Sharif, with 72 seats. Coalition-building with other political factions enabled the PPP to achieve a majority of the 217-seat Assembly.

NDI was invited by Pakistan's election commission, caretaker government and political parties to observe the entire electoral process, from the campaign period through the final tabulation of results and transition to a new government. The Institute has been active in Pakistan since 1987 and sponsored international observer delegations to the 1988 and 1990 elections there.

Sartaj Aziz, general secretary of the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz, briefs delegation before elections.



In early September, NDI dispatched a 10-member pre-election mission to Pakistan to assess administrative preparations and the campaign environment. Six members of this team remained in-country to observe the campaign and to offer assistance to civic organizations and political parties on election monitoring techniques.

Upon arrival in Pakistan on October 2, the international observer delegation participated in extensive meetings in Islamabad with government and election officials, representatives from political parties and civic organizations, and journalists. Dividing into 22 teams, the delegation travelled to Pakistan's four provinces where they conducted further meetings with candidates and election officials, and observed polling in both rural and urban areas on election day. The NDI delegation's activities were coordinated with those sponsored by other observer groups, including the Commonwealth Group and the European Community.

Drawing upon observations in the field, the October 8 post-election statement, noted "significant improvement"

NDI INTERNATIONAL DELEGATION TO PAKISTAN

MAURICE FOSTER
Delegation Co-Leader
Member of Parliament, Canada

KENNETH D. WOLLACK
Delegation Co-Leader
President, NDI, U.S.

MIRZA HAIDER ALI
Study & Research Group for Democracy
& Socio-Economic Development,
Bangladesh

ALFRED ALOCI
Member, Executive Council, Society for
Democratic Culture, Albania

GEORGE BRUNO
Former New Hampshire Democratic
Party State Chair, U.S.

RASHID CHAUDARY
Businessman, U.S.

KAREN CLARK
NDI Senior Program Officer, U.S.

JOE COSTELLO
Member of Parliament, Labour Party,
Ireland

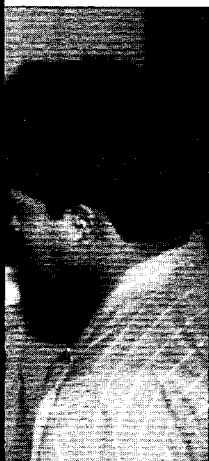
BARBARA DAVIS
Author and Literary Critic, U.S.

AMADOU MODY DIALLO
Former Minister of Justice, Mali

ABDULKADER EL-GUNEID
Physician, Former Mayor of Tatz,
Yemen

GERALDINE JOSLYN FRASER
Natl. Elections Deputy Coordinator,
African National Congress, South Africa

...t) speaks with polling
...reter pictured at left.



Shafqat Mahmood (left), Pakistan People's Party spokesman, addresses delegation at pre-election briefing. Also pictured: Kenneth Wollack and Maurice Foster.

in the pre-election environment compared to the 1990 elections. "Opposing parties," the delegation added, "agreed that the government successfully promoted an open, competitive process."

The statement also underscored the major role played by the armed forces in the elections, pointing out that the large-scale military presence on election day "provided a calming influence." However, the delegation advocated strengthening civil institutions, such as democratic political parties, civic groups and an independent electoral commission, to obviate the need for the military to assume an extraordinary role in future elections.

In particular, the delegation recognized the efforts of the interim government and Central Election Commission to enhance the transparency of the election and the electronic media's generally balanced coverage of the process.

The delegation expressed some reservations, however. Foremost was the quality of electoral rolls, which had not been fully updated since 1991. The delegation was also concerned about the participation of women in Pakistan's electoral process, noting that cultural and social realities, as well as identification procedures, make it difficult for women to vote.

Twenty-two members of the delegation remained in Pakistan to



observe the provincial assembly elections on October 9. Their observations will be incorporated into NDI's final report on the elections.

Having observed Pakistan's third set of elections in five years, NDI also drew attention to the democratization challenges that confront the country's newly elected leaders. "Democracy in Pakistan will only advance through tolerance, dialogue and cooperation among ruling and opposition parties alike," the observer group concluded. ●

Delegation Co-Leaders (l to r) Kenneth Wollack and Maurice Foster deliver post-election statement at press conference in Islamabad.



STAN ELECTIONS

FAITH GAZA
President, Women's Brigade, Inkatha Freedom Party, South Africa

MAHDI ABDUL HADI
President, Society for the Study of Int'l Affairs, East Jerusalem

FEROZ HASSAN
Study & Research Group for Democracy & Socio-Economic Development, Bangladesh

HOUDA KANOUN
Member of Parliament, Tunisia

VIVYANE MPEH KIMA
Attorney, Cameroon

CARL LARKINS
NDI South Africa Field Representative, U.S.

OLEKSANDR LAVRYNOVYCH
Acting Chair, Central Election Commission, Ukraine

MARIA LEISSNER
Former Member of Parliament, Sweden

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

BHARAT PAUDYAL
Director, Center for Electoral Processes and Democratic Governance, Nepal

IRMA ALAMSYA D. PUTRA
Member of Parliament, Indonesia

WILLIAM RICHTER
Professor of Political Science, Kansas State University, U.S.

HOWARD SCHAFER
Former Ambassador to Bangladesh, U.S.

MPHO INNOCENT SCOTT
Deputy Regional Secretary (So. Natal), African National Congress, South Africa

MUSA SHTEIWI
Professor of Sociology, University of Jordan, Jordan

DAVID VAN NOTE
Barton, Gingold, Eaton & Anderson, U.S.

JUAN VARGAS
System Analyst, Chase Manhattan Bank, National Commission of Election Observers, Panama

MICHAEL WEEDER
Executive Director, Project Vote, South Africa

ANITA WEISS
Associate Professor of International Studies, University of Oregon, U.S.

DEGEE WILHELM
Former Personal Assistant to President-Elect Clinton, U.S.

SEAN WOO
Minority Counsel, Senate Committee on Governmental Affairs, U.S.

SUE WOOD
Former President, New Zealand National Party, New Zealand

South Africa Moves Closer to Democratic Elections

With the completion of the multiparty constitutional negotiations in South Africa, preparations are underway for the country's first democratic elections, anticipated for April 27, 1994. NDI expanded its support for the voter education program, Project Vote, and began a second election project to provide training and technical assistance to major political parties that represent South Africa's disenfranchised population.

Project Vote recently began its third year of providing South Africans with information about democratic elections and political systems. Conducted in conjunction with the Center for Development Studies at the University of Western Cape, the Project has trained more than 4,000 civic and political leaders, representing 57 South African national, regional and local organizations, on elections and voting.

Approximately 700 community leaders who have already participated in training workshops will be offered additional training and new materials. They will be provided with a recently completed video, *The Road to Democracy*, featuring Archbishop Desmond Tutu, which describes the election process and encourages participation. New materials will contain updated information about the recently passed election law, the process for securing a voter ID and how to locate a polling site. Project Vote trainers, working with churches and other community based organizations, will concentrate their efforts in areas where the public is least informed about the elections. Project Vote will work

closely with the newly created 11-member independent election commission and local election directors.

POLITICAL PARTY ASSISTANCE

In July, NDI, the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies and the International Republican Institute (IRI) launched the South African Election Support Project to provide assistance to political organizations. Since June, teams of political experts from NDI and IRI have worked individually with the parties, providing information on organization, communication and voter contact. Working with the African National Congress, the Inkatha Freedom Party and AZAPO, the NDI training teams include Nancy Clack, Stanley Greenberg, Frank Greer, Peter Kelly, Celinda Lake, Ronald Lester, Ann Lewis, Michael McAdams and Wanda Williams.

To complement the training program, the Joint Center will convene periodic election seminars with representatives from all South African political parties. The first such conference will be held November 5-7 and will coincide with the release of a national public opinion poll on the attitudes of the electorate. Workshop sessions will address how parties use polling data to develop policies and communicate with citizens. Subsequent conferences will focus on the election law, mediating disputes and addressing complaints, and the role of parties in reducing intimidation and violence. ●

NDI, CARTER WITHDRAW ELECTION OBSERVERS FROM TOGO

NDI and the Carter Center of Emory University canceled plans to jointly observe the August 25 presidential election in Togo. President Jimmy Carter, who was to have led the 20-member international observer delegation, cited "the lack of significant opposition participation in the presidential race and the state of election-related preparations" as major factors in the decision to withdraw the observer effort. President Carter's announcement was made in Lomé the day before the election. He was joined by NDI staff members and Amadou Toumani Touré, the former president of Mali who was a co-leader of the aborted observer group.

Togo's democratic transition has been impeded over the past two years by continued violence and deep polarization between President Gnassingbé

Eyadema and the opposition. Hopes were raised this summer when most of the opposition and Eyadema's supporters negotiated an agreement in Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso to hold a presidential election on August 25.

NDI had been monitoring closely the electoral process since December. The Institute was also providing support to the Togo chapter of the Study and Research Group on Democracy and Economic and Social Development (GERDES), a nonpartisan civic organization that was organizing poll-watching activities and an independent vote count for election day. On August 1, less than three weeks after the signing of the Ouagadougou Accords, NDI established a field office in Togo to examine preparations for the election and the campaign environment.

While some progress had been made in preparing for the election, a number of important factors undermined the process. These included: inflated voter lists; the withdrawal of major opposition candidates; and the inability of the election commission to adequately administer the voting and counting process.

After continuous investigation of these issues, and subsequent meetings in Lomé with President Eyadema and opposition leaders, Carter and NDI concluded that some of these problems could be addressed only if the election was postponed. However, once the government decided to proceed on August 25, NDI and the Carter Center regretfully concluded that minimum conditions did not exist to conduct a meaningful election.



Kenneth Wollack (second from right) introduces Nicholas Wurf who led focus group study in Mozambique. Justice Minister Oussamane Ali Dauto is to Wollack's right.

Supporting Malawi's Transition to Multiparty Democracy

After three decades of one-party rule, Malawians voted by a two-to-one margin to institute a multiparty political system. For six weeks before the June 14 referendum, NDI conducted an electoral assistance program to support nationwide efforts to monitor the historic vote.

Since independence in 1964, Malawi has been ruled by Hastings Banda and the Malawi Congress Party. A March 1992 letter issued by the Malawi Roman Catholic Bishops called for fundamental political change and precipitated demonstrations for multiparty democracy. These protests, accompanied by the withdrawal of most international aid, forced the government to allow the plebiscite.

In March, political and civic groups raised concerns about potential election-day abuses during a series of consultations with NDI staff. NDI and the Malawian groups concluded that well-trained pollwatchers at the country's 2,065 voting sites could help safeguard the process.

NDI field representative Tom Kevorkian arrived in Lilongwe to organize a countrywide domestic election monitoring program with political parties and civic groups. Kevorkian helped design a training manual and checklist for pollwatchers. The documents addressed the role and responsibilities of election monitors, voting and counting procedures, recording irregularities and the appeals process.

Kevorkian and Rev. Emmanuel Chinkwita Phiri, the chairman of a coalition representing the country's two legally registered opposition "pressure groups" and civic organizations favoring a multiparty system, distributed the documents at a series of training workshops in Malawi's regional capitals of Blantyre, Lilongwe and Mzuzu. More than 280 political party and civic organizers attended the sessions. These organizers in turn distributed the training manuals to other prospective pollwatchers who formed a nationwide network of monitors. Workshops were also held for members of the ruling Malawi Congress Party the week before the referendum.

More than 8,000 pollwatchers were trained and 24,000 copies of the manual and checklist distributed as a result of the NDI program. According to international observers, pollwatchers were prevalent at Malawi's voting stations on referendum day. No violent incidents were reported and fewer than 300 electoral complaints were filed.

With competitive elections anticipated for 1994, NDI is opening a four-member Malawi field office in October to conduct extensive training for political parties and civic organizations as they prepare for their first multiparty polling. ●

NDI Programs to Help Mozambique Prepare for First Multiparty Elections

As Mozambique prepares for its first multiparty elections, NDI continued its program to assist the country's democratic transition. In June, the Institute conducted a public opinion study for use in designing a nationwide voter education program. NDI also held a series of technical consultations with the government and political parties to help advance agreement on an election law.

NDI and Louis Harris & Associates conducted 12 focus groups throughout Mozambique. A representative sample of 173 participants were questioned about their perspective on the 1994 national elections, democratic principles and a voter education campaign.

The focus group found that citizens are enthusiastic about the prospects for democracy, but formidable obstacles exist. These include illiteracy, multiple languages, the lack of a mass communications network and distrust of political parties. The report concluded that the country "will need a far-reaching voter education campaign to overcome these difficulties." Using the results of the survey and in consultation with political and civic leaders, NDI plans to initiate a comprehensive voter education program in cooperation with the newly constituted election commission.

NDI's focus group initiative was well received by the government and the major opposition group, RENAMO. In fact, it prompted requests for NDI to help promote agreement on the country's new election system. Within two weeks, NDI responded by sending an international team of election experts to Maputo to analyze the government's draft electoral law.

Members of the team included: Vitor Antonio of the Social Democratic Party of Portugal; Mark Braden, former chief counsel for the Republican National Committee; Antonio Vitorino, a constitutional court judge and member of Portugal's Socialist Party; and Michael Stoddard, NDI's assistant counsel for election processes.

The delegation met in a series of half-day roundtable consultations with key political party representatives to identify concerns about the election system and to offer analysis and comparative examples from other countries. Chief among these concerns were the need for a balanced election commission, a decentralized election system, an independent judicial review for certain electoral decisions and a reasonable threshold requirement to gain parliamentary representation.

The consultations were credited with promoting dialogue between the government and opposition before an all-parties conference was to deliberate on the draft law. ●

Focus group in Cabo Delgado Province, Mozambique



SENEGALESE PARTIES REACH AGREEMENT ON ELECTION REFORM

A NDI-sponsored program for Senegalese political parties promoted agreement on reform measures that could enhance confidence in future elections. In the aftermath of controversial presidential and legislative elections earlier this year, the political parties expressed interest in participating in a roundtable meeting to assess the country's electoral procedures.

In 1991, NDI participated in an intensive debate on Senegal's electoral system that led to the adoption of a new electoral code. While the new code enjoyed broad public support, it did not prevent election-related problems during the presidential contest. NDI, which sponsored an international observer delegation to the February election, proposed a roundtable forum to consider reforms.

For the July conference, an international panel of experts shared their experiences on election administration with representatives of the six parties and coalitions that contested the 1993 elections. They were joined by representatives from the interior ministry, the press, the judiciary and several civic associations. Participants attended sessions on models of election systems, voter registration, the election campaign period, media access and vote tabulation.

The international faculty comprised: Fernando Marques da Costa, a Portuguese member of parliament; Yaovi (Chris) Leguede, secretary general of GERDES-Togo; Hubert Oulyae, vice president of GERDES-Côte d'Ivoire; Abderahmane Niang, president of GERDES-Mali; and Olga Uchan, a professor of law from France.

A number of significant areas of agreement emerged from the roundtable. All of the parties agreed on the need to: overhaul the national election registry; ensure fairer access to the media for all parties; create an objective and uniform criteria for selecting election administrators; and abolish the use of special "ordinances," which allowed citizens to vote even though their names did not appear on the registry. It is expected that these consensus issues will be included in new legislation to amend the electoral code.

Pollwatchers Trained in the Central African Republic

During the six-week period leading up to the September national elections in the Central African Republic, NDI helped organize and fund a nationwide monitoring effort by domestic pollwatchers. In addition to training monitors from political parties and civic organizations, the program was expanded to include local election officials, many of whom lacked any experience in administering elections.

Poor administration was among the official reasons cited for annulling elections last year. In the run-up to this second attempt at multiparty elections, representatives of the election commission, political parties and the international community stressed the importance of ensuring that the process be well administered and viewed as credible by the voters.

Ange-Felix Patassé received more than 52 percent of the votes in the presidential run-off. Patassé and the newly elected members of parliament have succeeded André Kolingba's single-party rule.

NDI, in cooperation with the Study and Research Group on Democracy and Economic and Social Development, known by its French acronym GERDES, conducted sessions on pollwatching and election-monitoring techniques for more than 120 participants in the capital city of Bangui. The CAR and international trainers included GERDES-Africa representatives Taofiki Aminou from Benin and Honoré Guié from Côte d'Ivoire, and GERDES-CAR President Aristide Sokambi.

For training outside of the capital, NDI recruited 24 nonpartisan participants from the Bangui sessions to serve as instructors. For a two-week period beginning July 27, the 24 instructors divided into seven teams to conduct training throughout the countryside.

They succeeded in reaching and training key officials and pollwatchers in 14 of the 16 divisions of the country. More than 4,000 Central Africans participated in these sessions.

In a pilot program supervised by the international team, the new instructors also conducted sessions for 96 election administrators from the eight subdivisions of Bangui in French and Sango, the national dialect of the CAR.

For the second-round of elections, NDI sent a group to evaluate the impact of the NDI training program at the local level. The evaluation team, comprising Professor Herbert Weiss, coordinator of the Central Africa Project at Columbia University, and NDI staff members Christopher Fomunyoh and Yardly Pollas, remained in the CAR through election day. Team members visited two electoral districts and participated in pre-election and post-election briefings for international election observers.

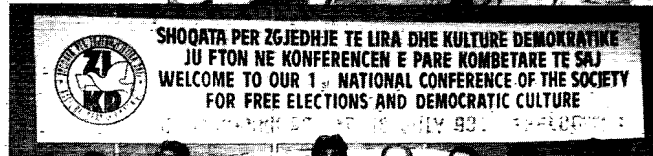
Commenting on the NDI/GERDES program, international observers noted the presence of well informed domestic pollwatchers in both urban and rural areas.

During interviews, Central Africans also spoke enthusiastically about the program and the contribution it made to the successful administration of the elections. The NDI team noted a sense of accomplishment and self-sufficiency developed among the 24 field instructors. This group, pointing to the successful efforts by CAR monitors, said that there will be less need for reliance on international assistance in future elections.

NDI Senior Program Officer Chris Fomunyoh (third from left) briefs international election observers in the Central African Republic.



Delegates vote on resolution at Society for Democratic Culture's national conference in Tirana.



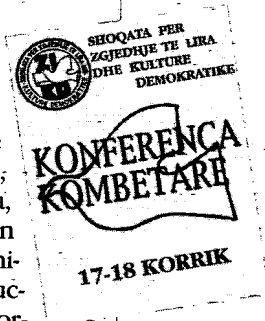
Civic Participation in Albania

The Tirana-based Society for Democratic Culture received a surprise visit from former President Jimmy Carter in early September. In Albania to meet with President Sali Berisha and other government and political leaders, President and Mrs. Carter stopped by the Society's new national office in Tirana to discuss the role of civic organizations in Albania's democratic transition.

The Carters' visit marked the high point of four months of renewed activity by the organization. In June, funding from NDI enabled the Society to rent an office, hire a program director and organize its first national conference. In addition, NDI hired Jonas Rolett as its first Albania field

representative. Rolett will work to enhance the Society's organizational capabilities.

Preparations for the July national conference began in early June when Alina Inayeh, executive director of The Pro Democracy Association (PDA); the Society's counterpart organization in Romania, and Robin Freedman, NDI's field representative in Bucharest, visited Albania to assist with the organization of the conference. The PDA, which has successfully transformed itself from an election monitoring organization to a broader based civic education group, shared its experiences with Society leaders.



Baltic Program Focuses on the Role of Media

NDI conducted a regional seminar in the Baltic states on issues confronting the media in post-communist societies. The June program, held in Vilnius, Lithuania, attracted participants from the print and broadcast media, government press offices and journalism schools.

Five international experts led a series of roundtable discussions and workshops. Issues raised during the panels included: the separation of reporting and opinion; the need to verify facts and to avoid obtaining information under false pretenses; the obligation of the media to understand the experiences of different cultures; and the necessity of granting fair and equal access to a wide spectrum of public opinion. Workshop leaders also presented practical advice to news organizations on how to maintain their independence by learning to survive economically in a free market.

The international faculty comprised: Shlomo Avineri, professor of political science at Hebrew University from Israel; Aimee Breslow, deputy director of the Libra Institute,

a public affairs research center in Ljubljana, Slovenia; Lothar Loewe, a columnist and former correspondent for Berlin television and radio from Germany; Elizabeth Pond, an independent journalist and former correspondent for the *Christian Science Monitor* from the U.S.; and Mariusz Ziomecki, editor-in-chief of *Cash*, an economic weekly from Poland.

Their presentations were complemented by journalists from each of the three Baltic states: Alexei Gorigorievs, a freelance journalist and former MP from Latvia; Vidas Rachlevicius, deputy editor of the daily newspaper *Lietuvos Rytas* from Lithuania; and Anneli Reigas, correspondent for the daily newspaper *Rahva Haal* from Estonia. The three journalists provided an assessment of the press situation in their respective countries, highlighting relations between the media and the state.

In his keynote address, Mariusz Ziomecki stated that economic independence was essential to the success of a free press, as were increased professional standards.

The national conference attracted representatives from the Society's 37 clubs throughout the country. In addition to electing new officers, the meeting reviewed previous Society activities and defined future program work. NDI observers at the conference included Senior Associate Thomas O. Melia, Program Assistant Jason Keiles and Rolett.

Club representatives elected a new president, Alfred Aloci, for a one-year term. He and the newly appointed program director, Adrian Karapici, plan to work with Rolett to implement civic education programs that increase public interest in Albania's democratic process. These will include Society-sponsored forums at which citizens can communicate directly with their elected representatives.



President Jimmy Carter and Rosalynn Carter visit Tirana headquarters of Society for Democratic Culture. Also pictured, NDI field representative Jonas Rolett.

Washington State Senator Janice Niemi leads panel discussion on the responsibilities of a lawmaker at Bangladesh workshop.



Bangladesh Parliament Seeks to Strengthen Legislative Branch

NDI sponsored the first in a series of technical assistance seminars to help strengthen the parliament of Bangladesh. Working with parliamentarians from the four major parties, the year-long program seeks to help the legislature develop the mechanisms for effective democratic governance.

Bangladesh returned to democracy in 1991 following multiparty elections. Several months later, the legislature voted unanimously to

restore Bangladesh to a parliamentary system, after two decades as a presidential system.

Inaugurating the September seminar in Dhaka, Speaker of the Parliament Sheikh Razzaque Ali called upon parliamentarians to give institutional shape to democracy. The Speaker, a co-sponsor of the program, pointed to the high expectations of ordinary Bangladeshis since the February 1991 elections. "If we fail this time, the

future will be dangerous as we do not know what awaits us," he said.

Dr. A. Moyeen Khan, the newly appointed Minister of State for Planning, who assisted NDI in coordinating the event, highlighted the importance of constituent services. He reminded his colleagues that the electorate looks upon the parliament as a medium to find solutions to their problems.

An international faculty of elected officials conducted a series of workshops and seminars on parliamentary rules and procedures. The international delegation comprised: parliamentarians Charles Flanagan from Ireland, Ekaterina Mihailova from Bulgaria and Peter Nagle from Australia; and Janice Niemi, a Washington state senator from the U.S.

The panel shared their experiences with more than 50 parliamentarians. Agenda topics related to the responsibilities of a member, the role of the party caucus, the purpose of back benchers, the importance of constituent relations and the function of parliamentary committees.

Many of the Bangladeshi parliamentarians described the burden they face in meeting the often personal demands of their poverty stricken constituents. Most were surprised to discover that their colleagues from more established and prosperous democracies confronted similar challenges.

Parliamentarians were eager to discuss ways in which the legislature could become more influential in the development of national policy. Representatives of all of the parties underscored several ongoing obstacles. These included confronting a bureaucracy that still initiates legislation and addressing the lack of information available to parliamentarians about legislative issues. Many seminar participants agreed that strengthening the committee system would improve the parliament's participation in policy development.

Cambodia Lawmakers Begin to Build New Institution

As part of a multi-year program to promote democratic development in Cambodia, NDI co-sponsored a parliamentary assistance seminar for members of the Cambodian National Assembly. The October program, conducted in partnership with the International Republican Institute (IRI), built on previous efforts by the institutes to strengthen the country's newly elected legislature.

Since the United Nations-sponsored elections in May, the Constituent Assembly has drafted and passed a constitution. The constitution established the framework for a new government and for the Assembly to assume the legislative powers of a permanent parliamentary body.

During the seminar, an international team of legislative experts addressed parliamentary organization, rules and procedures. NDI's experts included par-

liamentarians Abul Kalam Aza and Zia Khan from Bangladesh, and legislative development expert Socorro Reyes from the Philippines.

The new Cambodian parliamentarians, faced with consolidating a fledgling institution, were particularly interested in technical information that could be put into practice immediately. Sessions focused on creating parliamentary rules and committee structures, and developing procedures for drafting and adopting laws. Zia Khan's description of the bill-reading process in Bangladesh provided valuable standards for building consensus and for strengthening an independent parliament through debate and deliberation.

In addition to their lawmaking responsibilities, participants were eager to learn about management issues, a task often undertaken by an office of the general secretariat. During this discussion, members shared concerns and apprehensions about accomplishing their objectives with limited resources. At the final session, comparative descriptions of general secretariats in Bangladesh, Thailand and the Philippines helped the parliamentarians set benchmark targets and focus on attainable administrative goals.

Cambodian legislator discusses findings from a workshop on parliamentary procedures.



Workshop on organization for political party leaders from the Russian far east. Pictured (l to r): NDI Russian field representative Ken Payne, Lesley Israel from the U.S., an interpreter, and Tibor Vidos from Hungary.



(Russia continued from page 1)

bly. From June 25-28, three international law experts participated in consultations with Yeltsin Administration officials and Russian lawmakers. The visit was organized in cooperation with Nina Belyaeva, president of Interlegal, a Moscow-based nongovernmental legal foundation, and People's Deputy Yuri Nesterov, affiliated with the parliamentary faction Agreement for Progress.

Scott Sinder, an election-law specialist from the U.S., Antonio Vitorino, a judge on the Constitutional Court in Portugal, and then-NDI Senior Associate Larry Garber discussed specific options for developing a framework for elections. The program, according to participants, provided a neutral setting for resolving aspects of the election-law debate.

To complement these consultations, NDI launched a series of regional political party training programs this summer, bringing Russian party organizers to regional centers from surrounding areas. NDI's Moscow-based field representatives, Joe Keohan, Anne Mavity, Greg Minjack and Ken Payne, conducted political party training workshops in Irkutsk, Khabarovsk, Vladikavkaz and Kirov. These programs focused on party organization, communication and volunteer recruitment.

In addition to its regional activities, NDI conducted political party training programs in and around Moscow. A September 11-14 program in Moscow focused on preparations for parliamentary by-elections. NDI also organized a training seminar later in the month for 80 representatives of groups associated with the newly created Russia's Choice, founded by Deputy Prime Minister Yegor Gaidar.

Also in September, NDI sponsored a series of party building workshops in Vladivostok, the principal city in the Russian far east. Political experts from the U.S. and Hungary led workshop sessions and met separately with individual parties to help address specific issues and concerns. The international faculty included: Anna Bennett, Peter Fenn, Lesley Israel and Frank Tobe from the U.S.; and Tibor Vidos from Hungary.

A similar program was held a month later for political parties organized in the St. Petersburg area. International experts at these workshops included Bennett, Fenn, Israel, Vidos; Andrew Ellis and Philip Gould from the United Kingdom; and Marta Lagos from Chile.

Peter Fenn, a media specialist who filmed NDI's party programs in St. Petersburg and Vladivostok, will develop a series of training videos for use by Russian political parties.

UKRAINE

NDI's Kiev office continued to expand its local government programs. In June, NDI brought John Krauss, former deputy mayor of Indianapolis, Indiana to the Dnipropetrovsk region for consultations with local officials. Krauss discussed the powers of city councils and the setting of budget priorities with the mayors of Dnipropetrovsk, Nikopil and Novo-Moscow, the city council of Petrokivka and representatives

of the office of the President's representative in the region.

As in the Russian Federation, NDI also expanded its work with political parties. In September, Ors Levay, a member of the Alliance for Free Democrats in Hungary, conducted consultations with four political parties in the Kiev area. Levay met with each group individually and advised on field organization, fundraising, message development, and voter identification. Several participants commented favorably on the relevance to Ukraine of Levay's experience as a political party organizer in Hungary.

NDI's Kiev office continued to disseminate reference materials on civic organizing, party building and municipal government. In September, NDI, in partnership with the American Bar Association, began publishing a newsletter for members of city councils and political parties. The newsletter contains information on local self government and privatization laws.

CENTRAL ASIA

As NDI moved into its second year of programming in Central Asia, John Ritchotte replaced James Chavin as NDI's field representative in Almaty. During his tour, Chavin succeeded in establishing a favorable reputation for NDI, developing an infrastructure for regional activities and building a solid foundation for future political development activities. In commenting on Chavin's departure, U.S. Ambassador William Courtney said Chavin's work has "already made a difference in the thinking of Kazakhstan's emerging democrats."

Throughout the summer and the fall, NDI focused on election-law assistance in Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan in anticipation of parliamentary elections in 1994. In September, NDI conducted an election-law roundtable in Washington, DC for a visiting delegation of Kazakhstani parliamentarians, who are members of the Commission on Election Laws. At the roundtable, five U.S. election experts discussed the majoritarian system of representation, political party financing and the role of independent media in election campaigns. Further consultations will continue in Almaty later in the fall.

In early October, at the request of the Parliamentary Committee for Human Rights in Kazakhstan, NDI conducted consultations on draft election legislation. Thomas Carothers, a senior associate at the Washington, DC-based Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and Michael Gallagher, lecturer in the political science department at Trinity College in Ireland, examined the political implications of various election systems with authors of Kazakhstan's draft law.

UPCOMING PROGRAMS

EL SALVADOR Following the 1994 national elections, NDI will sponsor a series of local government programs to enhance the capabilities of newly elected municipal officials.

FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA In November, NDI will establish a field office in Skopje to support civic and political education programs. Activities will include town hall meetings throughout the country designed to promote greater understanding of democratic processes.

MEXICO NDI will continue its support for domestic election monitoring efforts by providing the Council for Democracy with technical and financial assistance to conduct an independent vote count for the gubernatorial election in Yucatán on November 28.

POLAND NDI will organize a conference on executive-legislative relations for the newly elected parliament. The conference will include representatives of the six parties that gained representation in the Sejm following the September 19 elections.

WEST AFRICA NDI will organize a legislative training program for members of the national assemblies of Niger, Benin and Mali. The seminar will provide an opportunity for west African participants to address issues common to their nascent legislatures.

WEST BANK & GAZA NDI plans to assist the development of democratic institutions following the historic Israel-Palestinian Declaration of Principles signed in September.

YEMEN Building upon NDI's previous activities, the Institute will organize a program to strengthen Yemen's political parties in early 1994.

ZAMBIA NDI will continue its technical assistance program to strengthen political parties in Zambia by conducting party building workshops with local leaders in Kasama in the Northern Province.

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